

# THE CYPRUS REVIEW

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A Journal of Social, Economic  
and Political Issues

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NUMBER 1

# THE CYPRUS REVIEW

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ARTICLES

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# US-British Policy on Cyprus, 1964-1974

ANDREAS CONSTANDINOS

## Abstract

*Government documents from the British and American National Archives, currently within the public domain, have provided a revealing insight into Whitehall's and Washington's objectives in relation to the geopolitically strategic island of Cyprus. Whilst many continue to argue in favour of a Western conspiracy to overthrow President Makarios and divide the island in the summer of 1974, British and American governments' documents suggest that whilst the American intelligence community's role in the coup against Archbishop Makarios remains nebulous, any possible suggestion of collusion, whether British and/or American, with Turkey in its subsequent invasion, can now be largely dismissed.*

*This article looks at the history of US and British policy on Cyprus from 1964-1974, by examining the crucial way in which Whitehall allowed its foreign policy vis-à-vis Cyprus to become influenced by decision-makers in Washington, and the role played by the two countries in the infamous and ultimately tragic summer of 1974.*

**Keywords:** Britain, America, Cyprus, Makarios, Callaghan, Kissinger, Turkish Invasion, 1974

When Cyprus gained its independence in 1960, US objectives in relation to the island were focused on (a) Cyprus' strategic importance, i.e. continued unhampered access to the British Sovereign Base Areas as well as the US communication facilities on the island and (b) creating a situation in which Cyprus itself was 'willing and able to resist Communist subversion'.<sup>1</sup> These policy objectives were largely passive, as Washington expected Guarantor Power and former colonial master Britain, and to some extent Greece and Turkey, to take the leading role in terms of Cyprus' need for military and economic aid.<sup>2</sup>

However, with signs of British disinterest in the developments on the island, and growing concern over Makarios' tendency to play 'East against West', Washington decided it was time for a symbolic gesture. Consequently, in June 1962, despite the CIA's assessment that as long as

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1 *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS), Eisenhower Administration 1958-1960*, X, Part 1, Eastern Europe, Soviet Union, Cyprus, pp. 819-828, National Security Council (NSC) Report 6003 'Statement of US Policy toward Cyprus', 9 February 1960, pp. 825-826.

2 *FRUS, Eisenhower Administration 1958-1960*, X, Part 1, Eastern Europe, Soviet Union, Cyprus, Section 19 of 19, August – December 1960, tel.313 from US Under Secretary of State C. Douglas Dillon to the US Embassy in Nicosia, 19 December 1960, 'Initial US Relations with the Republic of Cyprus'.

Makarios remained in power he would be able to rally enough support to avoid Communist control of the Cypriot Government, President Kennedy decided to invite Makarios to Washington in order to discuss the 'Communist threat' within Cyprus.<sup>3</sup>

Following Makarios' visit, the CIA enacted plans 'directed against Communists' in Cyprus, with documents from the British National Archives providing evidence that both Britain and the US supported the anti-Communist Minister of the Interior, Polykarpos Georkadjis, in order to counterbalance the 'Communist' threat on the island.<sup>4</sup> By and large however, Makarios was able to successfully thwart American efforts at countering the perceived 'Communist threat' on the island. For example, the Archbishop continuously refused to form a non-Communist party, told Washington that they could only establish a Voice of America station on the island for a 'stiff price' and opposed American plans to have the post-1963 intercommunal violence peacekeeping force under Western control.<sup>5</sup>

Throughout 1960-1963, both Britain and the US were reluctant to involve themselves in Cyprus' domestic affairs and supported the *status quo*, namely the strengthening of the island's independence.<sup>6</sup> Contrary to some accounts, neither Whitehall nor Washington supported Makarios' expressed intention of unilaterally changing the Cyprus Constitution.<sup>7</sup> However, due to a combination of American unwillingness to involve themselves in a dispute in Cyprus and the perceived British dependence upon the goodwill of the Archbishop to secure the continued unhindered use of their bases, the two countries, led by their respective Ambassadors in Nicosia, Sir Arthur Clarke and Fraser Wilkins, adopted a course of action whereby they encouraged Makarios to present reasonable amendments which could then be taken to Ankara.<sup>8</sup> Declassified

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- 3 National Archives and Records Administration (NARA): State Department Central Files (SDCF), 1960-1963, Box 2032, doc.780A.00/1-3161, tel.367 from the US Ambassador in Cyprus, Fraser Wilkins to the State Department, 31 January 1961.
  - 4 *FRUS, Kennedy Administration 1961-1963, Volume XVI*, Cyprus, 'Results of the Makarios Visit; Maintaining the Momentum it Generated', memorandum from the Executive Secretary at the State Department, William Brubeck to McGeorge Bundy, Special Assistant to the US President for National Security Affairs, doc.262, 13 June 1962 and The National Archives (TNA): Dominions Office (DO) 204/5 'Communist Threat in Cyprus', tel.898, British High Commissioner in Cyprus, Sir Arthur Clarke to the Commonwealth Relations Office, 'Assessment Communist Threat in Cyprus', 15 November 1963.
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  - 6 Lyndon B. Johnson (LBJ) Library, Austin, Texas, Papers of LBJ, National Security Files (NSF), National Security Council (NSC) Histories, Cyprus Crisis, December 1963 – December 1967, Box 16, doc. 2i, letter from the Staff Assistant to the Special Assistant to the US President for National Security Affairs, Robert Komer to the US Ambassador in Nicosia, Fraser Wilkins, 7 June 1963.
  - 7 For example: F. Argyrou (2000) *Conspiracy or Blunder? The Evolution of a Bizonal Bicomunal Federation in Cyprus*, Nicosia: Adouloti Kyrenia.
  - 8 NARA: State Department Subject Numeric Files, 1963, POL 15-5 CYP, Box 3881, tel.384, from US Secretary of State George Ball to the US Embassy in Ankara, 24 October 1963.

documents from the British and American National Archives reveal that the roles played by Clarke and Wilkins in supporting Makarios' decision to put forward his infamous 'Thirteen Proposals to Amend the Cyprus Constitution' on 30 November 1963, were not conspiratorial in nature, but were instead clouded by Britain and America's focus on the perceived 'Communist threat' in Cyprus and based on a gross miscalculation of the likely Turkish reaction to the Archbishop's attempt at amending the Cyprus Constitution.<sup>9</sup>

Following the communication of Makarios' 'Thirteen Proposals', the Cyprus constitution broke down and intercommunal violence erupted across the island. This led to a dramatic change in Washington's approach to the island, as the United States became, for the first time officially, involved in the Cyprus Problem.

Fearing for the stability of NATO, the US abandoned its 'We favour a solution on which all parties can agree' policy and became involved, for the first time, in an official capacity.<sup>10</sup> Discussions between the British Embassy in Washington and the State Department in October 1964 revealed that the US attached importance to Cyprus for two reasons: (1) the continued operation of their facilities on Cyprus and (2) the relationship of their two strategic allies, Greece and Turkey.<sup>11</sup> Following the initial outbreak of violence, policymakers in Washington still expected Whitehall to take charge of the situation.<sup>12</sup>

However, just a few weeks later, the British gave their first indication that they would disengage both militarily and politically from Cyprus.<sup>13</sup> It was at this point that US Under-Secretary of State, George Ball decided to take charge of the crisis.<sup>14</sup> Astonishingly, Ball was not only authorised to handle the crisis by Washington, but British Prime Minister, Sir Alec Douglas-

9 LBJ Library, Papers of LBJ, NSF, NSC Histories, Cyprus Crisis, December 1963-December 1967, Box 16, doc. 2J, memorandum from member of the NSC, Harold Saunders to the Staff Assistant to the Special Assistant to the US President for National Security Affairs, Robert Komer, 2 July 1963 and TNA: Foreign Office (FO) 371/168975, 'Cyprus: Municipalities Dispute, Constitutional Situation', C 1015/233, 'Copy of Proposals handed to Dr. Fazil Küçük by Archbishop Makarios on 30 November 1963' and C 1015/229, tel.926 from the British High Commission in Cyprus to the Western and Middle East Department at the Commonwealth Relations Office, 'Cyprus Constitutional Questions', 29 November 1963.

10 NARA: SDCE, Box 3278, doc.747C.00/1-1657, Memorandum, 'Situation Regarding Cyprus', addressed to US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, C. Elbrick, 16 January 1957.

11 TNA: Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) 9/72, 'British policy on Cyprus', Report from the British Embassy in Washington following talks with the US State Department, 11 October 1964.

12 TNA: Prime Minister's Office (PREM) 11/4139, 'Situation in Cyprus, pt.27', tel.4032, David Ormsby-Gore, British Ambassador in Washington, 24 December 1963.

13 NARA: State Department Subject Numeric Files, 1964-1966, POL 23-8, CYP, Box 2078, tel.3146, David Bruce, US Ambassador in London to the State Department, 10 January 1964.

14 From *Frontline Diplomacy: The US Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection*, eds. Marilyn Bentley and Marie Warner, CD-Rom, Arlington, VA: Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training 2000: George Ball interviewed by Paige Mulholland, 8 July 1971.

Home also gave permission for Ball to speak on behalf of the British Government.<sup>15</sup> This proved to be a watershed moment in Whitehall's approach to its former colony, as it wilfully delegated political responsibility over the future of Cyprus to its Atlantic ally. Staff Assistant to the Special Assistant to the US President for National Security Affairs, Robert Komer summarised the situation as follows:

'First, we let this crisis creep up on us, even though fully warned. Second, from a posture of let the UK do it, State suddenly panicked in response to UK panic ... we're still committed now to play a major role ...'<sup>16</sup>

The situation on the island continued to deteriorate and culminated in June, when Turkish Foreign Minister, Feridun Erkin informed US Ambassador to Turkey, Raymond Hare that the Turkish Cabinet was to meet on the evening of 4 June to discuss a possible military intervention.<sup>17</sup> The result of this development was the infamous 'Johnson letter', in which the President unequivocally explained why he felt a Turkish intervention was not justified. The letter warned that a Turkish move could provoke a Soviet intervention and that if this transpired without prior consultation with, and the full consent of, Washington, the US would have to consider its obligation to protect its NATO ally.<sup>18</sup> According to Hare, when he presented the letter to Prime Minister Inonu and Foreign Minister Erkin, the latter responded 'Mr Ambassador, after this the relations between Turkey and the US will never be the same'.<sup>19</sup> Erkin was right as this would prove to be a landmark in US-Turkish relations, which subsequently deteriorated until the late 1970s. Within twelve months, Turkey had requested the US stop using Turkish bases for reconnaissance flights over the Soviet Union and began a gradual, yet deliberate, process of economic and political accommodation with Moscow, which by the 1970s made Turkey one of the biggest recipients of Soviet economic assistance outside the Warsaw Pact.<sup>20</sup>

Having unwillingly been left in a position of responsibility and believing that Makarios could be bypassed as regards any possible solution to the current crisis, Washington embarked upon a journey during which it would attempt to enforce various settlements upon the island of Cyprus,

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15 Frontline Diplomacy: Hermann Eilts interviewed by William Brewer, 12 August 1988.

16 LBJ Library, Papers of LBJ, Presidential Papers, National Security Files, National Security Council Histories, Cyprus Crisis, December 1963 – December 1967, Box 16, doc.3a, Staff Assistant to the Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Robert Komer to Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, McGeorge Bundy, 15 February 1964.

17 LBJ Library, Special Files, Recordings and Transcripts of Telephone Conversations, White House Series, 1964, Box 4, doc.3623, US Secretary of State Dean Rusk to President Johnson, Telcons, 4 June 1964.

18 *FRUS, Johnson Administration: 1964-1968, Vol. XVI*, Cyprus; Greece; Turkey, doc.54.

19 Frontline Diplomacy: Raymond Hare interviewed by Dayton Mak, 22 July 1987.

20 A. Constandinos (2009) *America, Britain and the Cyprus Crisis of 1974: Calculated Conspiracy or Foreign Policy Failure?* Milton Keynes: AuthorHouse, p. 61.

enlisting both Ankara and Athens, in ways that would crystallise Cypriot suspicions of US foreign policy towards their island for years to come.

### Conspiracy in 1964?

Considerable evidence can be found in both the American and British archives to support copious secondary source material which suggests that in 1964 Washington favoured the partition of Cyprus as a solution to the irritable Cyprus Problem.<sup>21</sup>

On 19 June, the CIA concluded that due to the mutual hostility between the two Cypriot communities, a settlement based upon co-operation between them could be excluded. This left *Enosis* and double *Enosis* as the only two possibilities which, with the support of Ankara and Athens, could be forced upon the Cypriots and thereby secure Western security and intelligence interests in this strategically vital region of the world.<sup>22</sup> The demographic realities on the island made *Enosis* the most practical solution. However, for geopolitical reasons, Washington valued her alliance with Ankara over that with Athens and generally saw the Turkish Cypriots as the victims on the ground, which meant that some kind of concession had to be made to Turkey.<sup>23</sup> Based upon these considerations, Dean Acheson, former Secretary of State and author of the Truman Doctrine, formulated various 'solutions' to the crisis in Cyprus that would all ensure:

- (a) That by dividing the island between the Greeks and Turks it would be removed from the non-aligned and possible Communist spheres of influence, and enter the NATO sphere. Britain would retain her bases and the US her communication facilities.
- (b) That Makarios be politically neutralised.<sup>24</sup>

Essentially, Acheson's plans were based upon the premise that the majority of the island should unite with Greece with a concession being made to Turkey in the form of a military base. Following the failure of Acheson's first plan, a second plan was devised which hoped to assure Turkey of her security by leasing, as opposed to ceding, a portion of the island to Ankara, which could be used as a military base.<sup>25</sup>

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21 For example: Strigas, A. (1995) *Diethneis Synomotes*. Athens: Nea Thesis, B. O'Malley and I. Craig (2004) *The Cyprus Conspiracy, America, Espionage and the Turkish Invasion*, London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, and M. Packard (2008) *Getting it Wrong, Fragments from a Cyprus Diary 1964*, Milton Keynes: AuthorHouse.

22 CIA: FOIA: Special National Intelligence Estimate, 'The Cyprus Dispute', 19 June 1964.

23 NARA: Record Group (RG)59, Central Foreign Policy Files (CFPF), 1964-1966, Political and Defence, Demonstration Riots, Cyprus, memorandum, US Ambassador to Greece, Philips Talbot to the Under Secretary 'Cyprus Solution - Tactics Toward Accomplishing *Enosis* or double *Enosis*', 18 May 1964.

24 TNA: FO 371/174750, CI015/1361, 'Washington talks: Cyprus', John Rennie, Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Foreign Office, 17 April 1964.

25 NARA: State Department Subject Numeric Files, 1964-1966, POL 23-8, CYP, Box 2088, US Ambassador to Greece, Henry Labouisse to the State Department, tel.171, 30 July 1964.

Acheson's second plan was rejected by Ankara. Whilst a frustrated Ball and Acheson considered their next move, further intercommunal violence erupted on the island, when Greek Cypriot forces attacked Turkish Cypriots in the Kokkina and Mansoura region.<sup>26</sup> A few days later, Cypriot Foreign Minister, Spyros Kyprianou informed the US Embassy in Nicosia that in the face of another Turkish threat to engage in military activity, Nicosia had asked Moscow to intervene.<sup>27</sup> Coupled with the existing frustration at Makarios' intransigence and the consequent stalemate in negotiations, the Americans turned to a previously drafted contingency plan. Greece and Turkey would have to reach a broad agreement on *Enosis*, which would have to be publicly stated before parliamentary votes in Athens and Nicosia, endorsed the plan. Following that, Greece would be allowed to 'take over' in Cyprus and 'use force if necessary to remove Makarios'.

Acheson relayed this plan to Britain's representative at the Geneva talks, Lord Hood, who described the plan as 'pretty explosive stuff'.<sup>28</sup> Earlier in 1964, US policymakers had drafted a similar plan in which Turkey would be allowed to invade the Karpass peninsula, trigger a Greek response, resulting in *Enosis* with concessions for Turkey. The plan was only to be used if Ankara could not be dissuaded from military action. It was cleared by the Department of Defence and the decision was made that if the Greeks further provoked the Turks, and Ankara threatened to intervene, the US would 'delineate areas into which Turkey could move her forces, so that the Greeks would see it as a limited intervention and thus not go to war'. Once it was clear that Turkey would take action, the US Ambassador in Ankara, would inform the Turkish Premier that he could proceed with a 'deliberate and carefully controlled movement', rather than a full-scale military invasion. This would avoid a Greek retaliation, prevent a war within NATO, and convince international opinion that Turkey had invoked her rights under the Treaty of Guarantee, rather than having simply reacted emotionally. Washington would try to delay the Turks for as long as possible. Once they could no longer defer a Turkish intervention, Ankara would have to be informed of the predetermined areas it could invade, so as to avoid conflict with the Greeks. It would be suggested Turkey should:

'... move out from Kyrenia into a rough triangle including Lefka and having its apex in the northern half of the walled city of Nicosia.'<sup>29</sup>

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26 NARA: State Department Subject Numeric Files, 1964-1966, POL 23-8, CYP, Box 2089, US Ambassador to Cyprus, Taylor Belcher to the State Department, tel.178, 6 August 1964.

27 NARA: State Department Subject Numeric Files, 1964-1966, POL 23-8, CYP, Box 2089, US Ambassador to Cyprus, Taylor Belcher, unnumbered telegram, 9 August 1964.

28 TNA: FO 371/174753, 'Moves to try and resolve the Cyprus Problem', Britain's representative at Geneva, Lord Hood to John Rennie, Assistant Under-Secretary of State, Foreign Office, 14 August 1964.

29 NARA: RG59, CFPP, 1964-1966, Political and Defence, Demonstration Riots, Cyprus: Memorandum from Executive Secretary Benjamin Read to McGeorge Bundy, National Security Adviser, 'Contingency Planning to "Control" Turkish Unilateral Action', 14 February 1964.



Makarios had not just frustrated the Americans, but certain British officials too began arguing for his removal, with Britain's Ambassador in Athens, Sir Ralph Murray advocating Britain should 'go all out for *Enosis* by hook or by crook', which would result in the removal of Makarios.<sup>30</sup> This was subsequently discussed in some detail by British officials within the Foreign Office's Central Department.<sup>31</sup> It was suggested that if the coup was made to look like a Cypriot affair and as long as Greece and Turkey had both given Washington assurances that they would not engage militarily, Greece could be allowed to launch a coup, with Turkey being compensated with a base in the Karpas and the cession of the island of Kastellorizon. If both Greece and Turkey gave these assurances to the US, all parties could publicly deny any Greco-Turkish agreement and could save face by denouncing each other's moves.<sup>32</sup> Ultimately however, the Foreign Office made it clear that Britain:

... cannot be privy to any plan of a *coup d'état* against another Commonwealth Government or to any suggestion of making representations to a third Government on the basis that such action is being planned.<sup>33</sup>

The following day, Ball informed the British Embassy in Washington that President Johnson believed the negotiations had come under threat by reports, reminiscent of events in Cuba, that Russian technicians were about to install Surface-to-Air missile sites in Cyprus. Ball revealed that Johnson had instructed Acheson that any move for *Enosis* would have to come from Greece alone, as the US would play no further part and that Washington hoped for full British co-operation in this initiative.<sup>34</sup> There is no current archival record of what made President Johnson adopt this line. According to Parker Hart, US Ambassador to Turkey in 1965-1968, American support for a Greek move was denied during a meeting in Washington, attended by Acheson, Ball, Defence Secretary Robert McNamara, Dean Rusk, senior White House official McGeorge Bundy and President Johnson. With upcoming presidential elections, deteriorating developments in Vietnam, indications that Soviet support for Makarios might not have been as strong as first believed and the fact that President Johnson did not believe such a plan could be 'neatly and tightly controlled', it was ultimately decided not to follow this course.<sup>35</sup>

30 TNA: Ministry of Defence (DEFE) 11/455, 'Cyprus', doc.3335, tel.19, British Ambassador in Athens, Sir Ralph Murray to the Foreign Office, 4 August 1964.

31 TNA: FO 371/174754, 'Moves to try and resolve Cyprus Problem', tel.38, British Ambassador in Athens, Sir Ralph Murray to the Foreign Office, 14 November 1964.

32 TNA: FO 371/174754, 'Moves to try and resolve Cyprus Problem', paper by Foreign Office official, Robert Wade-Gery, 'Cyprus', 20 August 1964.

33 TNA: PREM 11/4712, 'Internal Situation, pt.38', unsigned tel.2602, from the Foreign Office to the British Embassy in Athens, 19 August 1964.

34 TNA: PREM 11/4712, 'Internal Situation, pt.38', tel.2938, Minister at the British Embassy in Washington, Sir Denis Greenhill to the Foreign Office, 20 August 1964.

35 NARA: RG59, CFPE, 1964-1966, Political and Defence, Demonstration Riots, Cyprus, tel.479, US Secretary of

Acheson recommended that Washington should cease promoting Greco-Turkish agreement on Cyprus and concentrate US policy on preventing the island from becoming another Cuba.<sup>36</sup> The belief among some within Washington that Makarios was the 'Castro of the Mediterranean' belonged very much to the Johnson administration. It suited their 'black and white' view of the world and displayed a high level of ignorance with regards to Makarios' domestic relations.

Soon after, Soviet support began to drift away from Nicosia towards Ankara as Moscow sought to exploit the troubles caused within the US-Turkish relationship by the Johnson letter.<sup>37</sup> Both Kennedy and Nixon, who both had audiences with Makarios, knew that as long as Makarios was in power, there was little threat of a Communist election victory in Cyprus. They realised that, despite being a member of the non-aligned movement and his flirtations with Moscow, Makarios was actually pro-Western, with Kissinger even admitting that 'we didn't consider him anti-American particularly'.<sup>38</sup>

As far as Britain was concerned, the fact that Athens and Ankara had not reached an agreement on 'instant *Enosis*', meant that Whitehall instructed Lord Hood to inform Ball that Britain could not support or be associated with any Greek move that did not come with a prior Turkish agreement.<sup>39</sup> That same day, Ball confirmed that the idea 'was dead'.<sup>40</sup> Clearly, there existed a degree of support within Whitehall to go along with the plan to have Makarios removed.<sup>41</sup> However, as soon as Washington expressed a change of heart, any possibility of Britain going ahead with such a move evaporated.

Research in the National Archives of both Britain and the US verifies the multitude of secondary sources that have suggested that in 1964 Washington was intent on dividing the strategically valuable island between Greece and Turkey, thereby ensuring a NATO stake in Cyprus, securing the Sovereign Base Areas and US communication facilities on Cyprus and eliminating Makarios.<sup>42</sup> Britain, which since independence had shown a distinct lack of concern

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State, Dean Rusk to former US Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, 23 August 1964: '... Khrushchev's August 9 letters give [sic] no promise of military support ...' and P. Hart (1990) *Two NATO Allies at the Threshold of War: Cyprus, a Firsthand Account of Crisis Management, 1965-1968*, London: Duke University Press.

36 TNA: PREM 11/4712, 'Internal Situation, pt.38', tel.406, Head of British Permanent Mission to the European Office of the UN in Geneva, Charles Scott to the Foreign Office, 23 August 1964.

37 TNA: DEFE 11/461, 'Cyprus', doc.4154, tel.2356, British Ambassador in Moscow, Sir Trevelyan to the Foreign Office, 9 November 1964.

38 H. Kissinger (1999) *Years of Renewal*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, p. 199.

39 TNA: PREM 11/4712, 'Internal Situation, pt.38', tel.10368, Foreign Office to the British Embassy in Washington, 25 August 1964.

40 TNA: PREM 11/4712, 'Internal Situation, pt.38', tel.2972, Minister at the British Embassy in Washington, Sir Denis Greenhill to the Foreign Office, 25 August 1964.

41 TNA: PREM 11/4712, 'Internal Situation, pt.38', Note of a meeting at 10 Downing Street, 18 August 1964.

42 CIA: FOIA: Special National Intelligence Estimate, 'The Cyprus Dispute', 19 June 1964; NARA: Record Group 59, CFPF, 1964-1966, Political and Defence, Demonstration Riots, Cyprus, memorandum, from the Assistant

for its former colony, adopted a co-operative background approach, so that when the US initiative was ultimately called off, Britain was perfectly happy to follow suit.

The existence of these contingencies within the State Department and Foreign Office has led many commentators to believe that the events of 1974 were part of an Anglo-American conspiracy.<sup>43</sup> To base this assumption purely on the existence of such contingency plans is naïve and shows a lack of understanding of the workings of a country's Foreign Service. For example, in the immediate aftermath of the coup in 1974, it was unclear whether Makarios had survived the attack on the Presidential Palace. In Washington, the 'Contingency Planning Working Group' drafted multiple contingencies based on various factors, including whether the Archbishop was dead or alive.<sup>44</sup> It is, of course, possible that a country may ultimately use a previously-drafted contingency plan, but in order to ascertain whether it did so, one cannot simply rely upon its mere existence. Despite the failure of the various Ball and Acheson initiatives, Washington was not too disappointed for as long as there were no adverse effects on Greco-Turkish relations and therefore no disruption to the cohesion of the south-eastern flank of NATO, there was no reason to object to the continued independence of the island.

### **The United States, Kissinger and Cyprus, 1968-1973**

Unlike some of his predecessors, Kissinger did not see Makarios as a threat to US interests in the Eastern Mediterranean, instead recognising that Makarios' immense domestic popular support made him a stabilising factor in an otherwise precarious region. As far as the only direct American interest in Cyprus was concerned, its communication facilities, Makarios had formally acknowledged American use by virtue of an agreement in 1968 and the National Security Council had concluded that as long as Makarios remained in power, Washington was assured

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Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, Phillips Talbot to the Under-Secretary 'Cyprus Solution – Tactics Toward Accomplishing *Enosis* or double *Enosis*', 18 May 1964, in which Talbot commented: 'That double *Enosis* could not therefore be a lasting solution' and TNA: FO 371/174750, CI015/1361, 'Washington talks: Cyprus', British Assistant Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, John Rennie to the Foreign Office, 17 April 1964.

- 43 For example: B. O'Malley and I. Craig (2004) *The Cyprus Conspiracy, America, Espionage and the Turkish Invasion*, London: I.B. Tauris Publishers; M. Packard (2008) *Getting it Wrong, Fragments from a Cyprus Diary 1964*, Milton Keynes: AuthorHouse; F. Argyrou (2000) *Conspiracy or Blunder? The Evolution of a Bizonal Bicomunal Federation in Cyprus*, Nicosia: Adouloti Kyrenia and C. Hitchens (1984) *Hostage to History: Cyprus: From the Ottomans to Kissinger*, London: Quartet Books Limited.
- 44 NARA: Nixon Presidential Materials Staff (NPMS), National Security Council (NSC), Institutional File, Washington Special Action Group Meetings (WSAGM), Memorandum for US Secretary of State Dr Henry Kissinger from his National Security Council staff, Richard Kennedy, Henry Appelbaum and Rosemary Niehuss, 15 July 1974.

continued use of these facilities.<sup>45</sup> Britain, too, recognised that although Cyprus followed a non-aligned foreign policy, the island was essentially pro-Western.<sup>46</sup> Further, despite the irritation at Makarios playing the East-West game, his ability to distinguish himself from all political factions was never better illustrated than when he visited China in May 1974, exemplifying his independence from the pro-Soviet left.

The overthrow of Greek democracy on 21 April 1967 by the Greek military dramatically changed the dynamics of Greco-Cypriot relations. As the junta controlled the armed forces on Cyprus, 'Makarios had to ... establish a certain amount of confidence with the junta'.<sup>47</sup> Policymakers in both Whitehall and Washington had concluded that a prerequisite for a Greek attempt on Makarios' life was a Greco-Turkish agreement. Without such an agreement, any Greek move against Makarios would logically result in a Turkish invasion. Britain had information confirming 'a series of secret exchanges' between Athens and Ankara even before the junta came to power.<sup>48</sup> Washington too, had been monitoring the apparent Greco-Turkish *rapprochement*, and deduced that due to the junta's firm control of their domestic situation, it was able to contemplate making concessions which other Greek governments could not.<sup>49</sup> The CIA believed the junta's leader George Papadopoulos had convinced his colleagues that the continuation of the Cyprus Problem harmed Greece's long-term interests and that it needed to be solved, even if it meant making concessions to Turkey.<sup>50</sup>

It appears that the CIA, or at least some of its officers, was aware of what certain elements within the junta were planning. In late February 1970, the US Ambassador to Cyprus, David Popper warned Makarios that an attempt on his life would be made within the next fifteen days. By this point, Makarios, who had just visited Kenya, had already received the same warning from the US Embassy in Nairobi.<sup>51</sup> Makarios later described these events to journalist Laurence Stern:

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45 NARA: NPMS, National Security Council Files (NSCF), Senior Review Group Meeting (SRGM), 'Pakistan/Cyprus', part 2, 6 August 1971.

46 TNA: FCO 9/1667, 'Cyprus: Annual Review for 1972', Counsellor at the British High Commission in Cyprus, Derek Day to the FCO, 1 January 1973.

47 H.A. Richter (2010) *A Concise History of Modern Cyprus, 1878-2009*, Ruppolding, Germany: Peleus, Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Griechenlands und Zyperns, Band 50, Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, p. 152.

48 TNA: FCO 9/65, 'UK Policy: Cyprus', Foreign Office/Colonial Office draft paper 'Cyprus' requested by 10 Downing Street, doc.39: Between May and December 1966.

49 NARA: NPMS, NSCF, Cyprus/Greece, tel.2608 from the US Ambassador to Turkey, William Handley to the State Department, 16 April 1971.

50 CIA: FOIA, National Intelligence Estimate, Number 291-68: 'Greece', 11 April 1968.

51 Confirmed by Makarios initially in an interview with Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci. See: O. Fallaci (1976) *Interview with History*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, p. 317. In early 1977, Makarios repeated the assertion to *New York Times* journalist Cyrus Leo Sulzberger. See: TNA: FCO 9/2501, 'Cyprus: Internal Political Situation' (Part A), telegram from the British Ambassador to Greece, Sir Brooks Richards to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, doc.2, WSC 014/2, 28 January 1977.

'We were about to have lunch. I was late in arriving and someone in the American Embassy insisted that he had an urgent message. We were in a hurry and I was not very pleased at the interruption, but I agreed to hear him. The message was this: "According to reliable sources, when you go back to Cyprus there are plans for your assassination at the airport in Nicosia." This was the first time I had heard of an attempt being made on my life. I smiled and said "Thank you very much, but I don't think it is probable." Actually, I didn't think the airport would be a suitable place for an assassination. But the American said, "Be careful".'<sup>52</sup>

A recently declassified document from the US National Archives reveals there were two reasons the CIA decided to warn Makarios of the plot against him. Having received credible evidence that Georkadjis was involved in the planning of an assassination attempt against Makarios in January 1970, Washington informed US officials in Kenya to pass this information to Makarios who was in Nairobi, making a stopover during a tour of Africa. A CIA memorandum from the Office of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, Directorate of Operations dated 17 March 1970 reveals the reason behind the US Government's decision to forewarn Makarios:

'The decision to warn Makarios was based on the fact that whatever one may think of him his continued survival is vital to the stability of Cyprus and this is in the interests of U.S. foreign policy.'

The CIA memorandum goes on to say:

'... that the decision was also motivated by a belief that if Makarios had independently discovered the plot, he would have suspected U.S. involvement since Georkadjis had close contacts with U.S. officials during his long service as Interior Minister.'<sup>53</sup>

CIA official George Constantinides argues that those who know 'the full story of the events of that period and of the fascinating and imaginative effort that went into both the collection and distribution of information' relating to the plotting against Makarios, know that any allegation of CIA involvement is unfounded.<sup>54</sup>

In February 1972, in response to the creation of EOKA-B, an anti-Makarios organisation set up by the septuagenarian Grivas, Makarios imported a large amount of arms from Czechoslovakia,

52 *FRUS, 1969-1976, Volume XXIX, Eastern Europe; Eastern Mediterranean, 1969-1972, doc.350, Editorial Note, quoting the interview with Laurence Stern. Also found in L. Stern (1977) *The Wrong Horse: The Politics of Intervention and the Failure of American Diplomacy*, New York: Time Books, pp. 86-87.*

53 CIA, Records of the Office of the Deputy Director of Operation, Job 79-01440, Near Eastern Division, found in *FRUS, 1969-1976, Volume XXIX, Eastern Europe; Eastern Mediterranean, 1969-1972, doc.350, Editorial Note.* Additional documentation on the attempted assassination plot against Makarios is in the CIA, Records of the Directorate of Operations; NARA: NPMS, National Security Council Files (NSCF), Box 592, Country Files – Middle East, Cyprus, Volume I, January 1969 – 30 June 1974; and NARA: NPM, NSCF, Box 1235, Saunders Subject Files, Greece, 10 January 1969 – 31 December 1969.

54 NARA: CREST: CIA Studies in Intelligence, George Constantinides, Vol. 22, No. 1, Spring 1978.

at a cost of approximately \$1.3 million, in order to equip his supporters, and in particular, his new Tactical Reserve Force.<sup>55</sup> Athens used this as a pretext for their long-standing desire to unseat Makarios and on 11 February delivered an ultimatum demanding these arms be placed under UN control, that Makarios take strong action against Cyprus' Communist party (AKEL) and that he recognise Greece to be the centre of Hellenism.<sup>56</sup>

Of course Makarios was not the only Greek Cypriot importing weapons into Cyprus. At a social event in Nicosia on 15 September 1972, Glafkos Clerides, President of the Cypriot House of Representatives, took William Crawford, the Deputy Chief of Mission of the US Embassy in Cyprus to one side in order to discuss the Cyprus Intelligence Service (CIS)' infiltration of Grivas' entourage. They had revealed a shipment, valued at 180,000 Cypriot pounds (approximately \$468,000) from an unidentified party in Lebanon, delivered to Cyprus by three *caïques*. The arms contained within the shipment were believed to be mainly of Soviet manufacture, and 'thought to include 500 automatic weapons and heavy machine guns and bazooka-type weapons'. Neither Makarios nor Clerides were sure as to the precise involvement of the junta and its intelligence service in this shipment and consequently did not pass on this information to KYP. However, shortly after receiving the information from CIS, KYP provided Makarios with the same information. Clerides recalled that:

'Greece informed [sic] Archbishop of Grivas absence from Athens very promptly after his disappearance from home last fall. At the time Clerides noted, Greek services, to his positive personal knowledge, had known for approximately two months of Grivas' plans to return to Cyprus.'<sup>57</sup>

Clerides continued his private briefing by divulging that the penetration of Grivas' organisation had also shown that Grivas planned to overthrow Makarios 'between now and the scheduled presidential elections in February 1973' should Makarios accept any settlement in the meantime that expressly ruled out *Enosis*. In order to finance his anti-Makarios campaign, Grivas had received:

'50,000 Cypriot pounds (approximately US\$130,000) from the Bishop of Kyrenia, 10,000 pounds (approximately US\$26,000) from [the] Bishop of Kitium, and a very large personal contribution from a mainland Greek shipping magnate.'<sup>58</sup>

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55 CIA, Records of the Directorate of Intelligence, Intelligence Information Cable, found in *FRUS, 1969-1976, Volume XXIV*, Eastern Europe; Eastern Mediterranean, 1969-1972, doc.389, 'Purchase of Czechoslovakian Arms by the Government of Cyprus', 4 February 1972.

56 NARA: NPMS, National Security Council Institutional Files, Box H-084, WSAG, 11 February 1972.

57 *FRUS, 1969-1976, Volume XXIX*, Eastern Europe; Eastern Mediterranean, 1969-1972, doc.417, tel.1717, 'Arms Delivery to Grivas', from the US Ambassador to Cyprus, David Popper to the State Department, 16 September 1972.

58 *Ibid.*

In an attempt to convince the US Embassy of the 'thoroughness of Makarios' penetration of Grivas' organisation', privately called into question by the US Embassy, Clerides disclosed information that Grivas had recently instructed a member of his organisation to 'prepare a report on means of bugging telephones' of both Makarios and other senior officials and that this information had been at the disposal of Makarios within 24 hours. Makarios had therefore been able to 'establish the identity of the individual concerned and has him under surveillance'.<sup>59</sup> Greece had embarked on a coordinated effort to build up its assets in Cyprus, which were essentially being used in support of Grivas and against Makarios.

At this point, Washington had already discovered that Athens had informed Ankara of its intentions and asked Turkey to treat any possible move against Makarios as an 'internal affair'.<sup>60</sup> Both the US Embassy in Turkey and the CIA confirmed that Greece and Turkey were 'in cahoots' and had reached a broad agreement on a solution to the Cyprus Problem.<sup>61</sup> A recently declassified document from the US National Archives reveals that the US Embassy in Cyprus itself had 'glimpses into private channels of communication between Athens and Ankara'.<sup>62</sup> This assertion is crucial and goes to the very heart of our understanding of what might have induced Ioannides to launch his coup against Makarios in 1974 in such firm belief that Turkey would not invade. Consequently this document is worth quoting in some detail:

'During a visit here, Acer's deputy referred to a link using Papadopoulos' private secretary (name not given) and Ambassador Turkmen. Specifically, he spoke of a message received on this channel in which Papadopoulos had signified his support of double-*enosis* as the only solution. A military channel also seems to exist, using the Greek military Attaché in Ankara. At a higher level, we would be curious to know the content of exchanges now taking place in Athens between Turkish General Staff Chief of Staff General Tagmac and his Greek counterparts. Locally we are aware of a "hot line" between "Bozkurt" and General Kharalamvopoulos. For example, General Edward Leslie, Chief of Staff, UNFICYP, tells us of tense situations in which he has found his own (inimitable) phrases used with the Turkish Fighter leadership coming back at him an hour or two later from Kharalamvopoulos.'<sup>63</sup>

The existence of a 'hot line' contact between Papadopoulos and Ankara has also now appeared in a recently released British government document written by the British Ambassador to Greece, Sir

59 *Ibid.*

60 NARA: NPMS, NSCF, WSAG, tel.973, from the US Ambassador to Turkey, William Macomber to Henry Kissinger, 11 February 1972.

61 NARA: NPMS, National Security Council Institutional Files, Box H-084, WSAG, 11 February 1972.

62 *FRUS, 1969-1976, Volume XXIX*, Eastern Europe; Eastern Mediterranean, 1969-1972, doc.383, letter from the Counsellor at the US Embassy in Cyprus, William Crawford to the Cyprus desk officer at the State Department Thomas Boyatt, 19 November 1971.

63 *Ibid.*

Brooks Richards. It suggests that this 'hot line' was already in existence in 1970 and although the trigger for enquiries made by the British Embassy into the validity of this claim was an article in *The New York Times* by Cyrus Leo Sulzberger, Richards admits that:

... preliminary enquiries here suggest that the existence of a "hot line" was a matter of public knowledge at the time and it looks therefore as though the key question is likely to be whether it was used as an instrument of treasonable collusion between Papadopoulos and the Turks in 1970.<sup>64</sup>

Historian Claude Nicolet's publication *United States Policy Towards Cyprus, 1954-1974: Removing the Greek-Turkish Bone of Contention* is generally regarded as the best authority on US policy during this period. Nicolet contends that Papadopoulos had planned to launch a coup against Makarios in 1972 and that the US prevented Athens from doing so.<sup>65</sup> Recently declassified material contradicts this contention.

US Ambassador to Greece, Henry Tasca was instructed by Kissinger to inform Papadopoulos that the initiative was potentially 'highly dangerous' and to delay the ultimatum. Papadopoulos rejected this and the ultimatum was delivered.<sup>66</sup> Safe in the knowledge that Greece and Turkey were 'in cahoots', Washington took a cautious approach. If the junta were able to manufacture a swift *fait accompli*, then US interests would not be harmed.

However, Kissinger and his staff were concerned that if Athens bungled the coup, it could develop into protracted civil war which might lead to Soviet involvement.<sup>67</sup> Greece's Ambassador to Cyprus, Constantinos Panayiotakos revealed the junta's thinking in that Athens believed the Greek Cypriots would choose Greece over Makarios. Despite the strong feeling for Hellenism in Cyprus, this assessment proved completely inaccurate. Many Greek Cypriots held the junta in low esteem and had great admiration for their *Ethnarch*.<sup>68</sup> Following the Greek ultimatum, Makarios was able to rouse huge domestic support which put Papadopoulos in a position where he would either have had to take additional steps to escalate the situation 'or lower the temperature'.<sup>69</sup> Having already survived thirteen Greek Governments, Makarios rejected the ultimatum, but

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64 TNA: FCO 9/2501, 'Cyprus: Internal Political Situation' (Part A), telegram from the British Ambassador to Greece, Sir Brooks Richards to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, doc.2, WSC 014/2, 28 January 1977.

65 C. Nicolet (2001) *United States Policy Towards Cyprus, 1954-1974: Removing the Greek-Turkish Bone of Contention*, Mannheim und Moehnesee: Peleus, Studien zur Archaeologie und Geschichte Griechenlands und Zyperns, Band 9, Bibliopolis, pp. 406-407.

66 NARA: Record Group 59, Central Files 1970-1973, DEF 19-6, CZECH-CYP, tel.762, from the US Ambassador to Greece, Henry Tasca to the State Department, 11 February 1972.

67 NARA: NPMS, National Security Council Institutional Files, Box H-084, WSAG, 11 February 1972.

68 NARA: NPMS, NSCF, Box 594, Country Files, Middle East, Greece, Volume III, tel.288, from the US Ambassador to Cyprus, David Popper to the State Department, 11 February 1972.

69 NARA: NPMS, NSCF, Box 594, Country Files, Middle East, Greece, Volume III, tel.971 from the US Ambassador to Greece, Henry Tasca to the State Department, 18 February 1972.



knew he would have to yield the minimum to prevent a Greco-Turkish move. This he did, by placing the Czech arms in UN custody and a few months later by removing his Foreign Minister Spyros Kyprianou (as requested by the junta).<sup>70</sup>

Contrary to some observations, declassified documents provide exculpatory evidence that Washington did not collude with either Athens or Ankara and that when Clerides approached the US Ambassador to Cyprus, David Popper to inform him that Greece was ready to make a 'move tonight', neither Kissinger nor his staff believed him.<sup>71</sup> Although the CIA had information that Greek forces on the island were ready to move 'at a moment's notice', they had no intelligence to support Clerides' specific claim.<sup>72</sup> Believing Makarios and Clerides simply wanted to involve the US, Kissinger instructed his Ambassador to delay any meeting with Makarios and Clerides for as long as possible.<sup>73</sup> This does not mean that Greece was not planning a move, as there is evidence supporting Nicosia's belief that Athens, possibly in collaboration with General Grivas, had prepared to launch a coup.<sup>74</sup>

Neither Kissinger nor his staff were able to categorically explain why 'the move' never came but it appeared as though Athens had greatly underestimated Makarios who had once again proven himself as a 'shrewd poker-player'. Ultimately Kissinger adopted a policy of non-involvement and concluded that Washington would not associate itself with military intervention by Greece or Turkey in a move that would have extinguished the independence of Cyprus. Washington played no part in preventing a possible coup and State Department official John Irwin II jokingly commented that Makarios 'may even have thought we were instrumental in stopping the Greeks'.<sup>75</sup> Clerides certainly thought so.<sup>76</sup>

Several developments had taken place which would substantially influence the events in 1974. Washington had discovered that unlike the Turkish Cypriot leadership which was controlled by Ankara, Makarios would not succumb to Greek, or any other, pressures if he felt they were not in the interests of Cyprus. Additionally, Washington should have realised that both Greece and Turkey would not prioritise the cohesion of NATO over their national prestige, a mistake which the Americans repeated a decade later. Further, Washington demonstrated that its primary

70 NARA: Record Group 59, Central Files 1970-1973, DEF 19-6 CZECH-CYP, tel.409 from the US Ambassador to Cyprus, David Popper to the State Department, 8 March 1972.

71 L. Stern (1975) 'Bitter Lessons: How we failed in Cyprus', *Foreign Policy* (Summer), p. 129.

72 NARA: NPMS, National Security Council Institutional Files, Box H-085, WSAG, 14 February 1972.

73 NARA: NPMS, NSCF, WSAG, tel.25339 from Henry Kissinger to the US Ambassador to Cyprus, David Popper, 16 February 1972.

74 CIA, Records of the Directorate of Intelligence, Intelligence Information Cable found in *FRUS, 1969-1976, Volume XXIV*, Eastern Europe; Eastern Mediterranean; 1969-1972, doc.389, 'Purchase of Czechoslovakian Arms by the Government of Cyprus', 4 February 1972.

75 NARA: NPMS, National Security Council Institutional Files, Box H-116, WSAG, 16 February 1972.

76 G. Clerides (1989) *Cyprus: My Deposition, Volume III*, Nicosia: Alithia Publishing, p. 140.

concern was the stability of NATO and as long as Cyprus did not cause difficulties in Greco-Turkish relations, US policymakers were quite content with the *status quo*.

### Henry Kissinger and 1974

By 1974, Kissinger not only held the position of National Security Adviser but was also US Secretary of State as well as chairing various other National Security Council committees, prompting Robert Dellums of the House and Senate committee that had been established in order to scrutinise the performance of US intelligence, to comment:

'Frankly, Mr. Secretary, and I mean this very sincerely, I am concerned with your power, and the method of your operation.'<sup>77</sup>

Kissinger had manoeuvred himself into the forefront of American foreign policy to such an extent that foreign policy decision-making in Washington had virtually become a one-man show.

It is essential to the understanding of the crisis of 1974, that these events and the policies held by the respective governments need to be distinguished from those of the 1960s. For one, relations between the US and Makarios had improved substantially. Despite some residual concern over Cyprus' economic relations with the Communist countries the days when the State Department feared Cyprus could become the 'Cuba of the Mediterranean' appeared to have gone.<sup>78</sup> A combination of Moscow's improved relations with Turkey, as well as the development of *détente*, led Washington to conclude that Moscow's interest in Cyprus was no more than that of a distant observer.<sup>79</sup>

In addition, Makarios had recently (1968) signed an agreement with the US over the use of the latter's communication facilities and in October 1970, US President Richard Nixon met with Makarios in Washington.<sup>80</sup> During their meeting in the Oval Office, Makarios emphasised that despite being a member of the non-aligned movement, Cyprus was pro-West and could never become like Cuba, 'partly because Cypriots are a deeply religious people'. Makarios added that he had never appointed a left-wing person to a significant post and that:

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77 *US Intelligence Agencies and Activities: The Performance of the Intelligence Community*, Hearings before the Select Committee on Intelligence, US House of Representatives Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1975-1976, (94th Congress, 1st and 2nd Sessions, July 1975-February 1976), pt.2, pp. 842-852.

78 CIA: FOIA: Intelligence Memorandum, 'Cyprus: Increasing Economic Dependence on the USSR and Eastern Europe', 1 August 1968, p. 10.

79 NARA: Lot 70D46, Entry 5191, Office of the Executive Secretariat: Cyprus Crisis Files, 1967: Working Papers, Box 3, memorandum, Thomas Hughes, Director of Intelligence and Research, State Department to the Cyprus Working Group, 'Contingency Planning on Cyprus – Assessment of Likely Soviet Action', 22 November 1967.

80 NARA: State Department, Lot 72D328, Entry 5037, Executive Secretariat: Briefing Books, 1958-1976: Summary of US Relationships, August-September 1972, Box 152, 'Summary of Cyprus-US Relationship', 31 August 1972.

'They support me because they can't do otherwise and I accept their support because it is a good way of keeping them under control. The simple people of Cyprus have more confidence in me than anybody. I don't rely on the army or on the police force; my strength is my goodness.'<sup>81</sup>

The reality was that on the eve of the Cyprus crisis, US Secretary of State Dr Henry Kissinger knew and cared little about the domestic developments on the island and as long as American interests were not affected he was happy continuing with his policy of non-involvement.<sup>82</sup>

### **Washington and Whitehall**

The interaction of American and British policy during the Cyprus crisis nicely encapsulates a growing trend that developed within the special relationship possibly since the end of the Second World War, but almost certainly since the Suez Crisis of 1956. Throughout the Cyprus crisis, British Foreign Secretary James Callaghan struggled to coordinate British foreign policy along the lines of the views expressed by his counterpart across the Atlantic. He firmly believed that strong Anglo-American co-operation was needed and was ultimately left frustrated by its failure to materialise.

On issues such as the continued recognition of Makarios following the 15 July coup, Britain's belief that only the withdrawal of the Greek officers from Cyprus following the coup could prevent a Turkish invasion, the possibility of a naval blockade being used in between the northern coast of Cyprus and southern coast of Turkey in order to prevent further Turkish troop reinforcements following the initial Turkish landings, as well as on the issue of employing the correct approach to be used at the Geneva conferences, British and American policy diverged to various degrees.<sup>83</sup> Callaghan's struggle to align Britain's policy with that of his American counterpart on the issues of recognition and restoration stand as a case study for what was to come and consequently deserves a more in-depth analysis.

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81 NARA: RG59, CFPE, 1970-1973, 'Cyprus', Political and Defence, Box 2224, memorandum of conversation (MemCon) between Secretary of State Kissinger, President Nixon and President Makarios in the Oval Office, 10.00, 25 October 1970.

82 NARA: NPMS, NSC, Institutional Files, Meeting Files, WSAGM, Box H-185, 'US Policy towards Cyprus, Contingencies and Options' prepared by National Security Council Interdepartmental Group for the Near East and South Asia, July 1971, p. 12 and attached Analytical Summary, 6 August 1971, p. 13. The reviewed study from April 1974 can be found in Box H-096.

83 TNA: FCO 9/1894, 'Military Coup in Cyprus – Friday 19 July', tel.528, British Foreign Secretary James Callaghan to British UN representative Ivor Richard, doc.274, 19 July 1974 and TNA: PREM 16/19, 'Coup, Sampson, Invasion and SBAs', Letter by Prime Minister Harold Wilson's Private Secretary, Lord Bridges, 18 July 1974 and TNA: War Office (WO) 386/21, 'Report on the Cyprus Emergency', 'The Proposed Royal Navy Blockade of Northern Cyprus', Commander of the British Forces Near East Sir John Aiken, 15 May 1975 and *FRUS, Nixon/Ford Administration, 1973-1976, Vol. XXX*, MemCons, 'Cyprus', doc.137, 17 August 1974.

Almost immediately after news of the coup had reached London, Callaghan informed the British Embassy in Athens that Makarios was the legitimate President and that Athens should unambiguously state what its intentions were whilst removing the Greek officers in the National Guard responsible for the coup.<sup>84</sup> Sir Robin Hooper, the British Ambassador, met with the acting Foreign Minister, Constantine Kypraios, and explained Britain's position. Kypraios 'balked slightly' and asked why Britain still did not recognise the Portuguese dictator Dr Caetano or Colonel Papadopoulos, the leader of the initial junta, at which point Hooper explained there was a difference

'... between a freely and constitutionally elected President and one imposed without genuine popular consultation.'<sup>85</sup>

The reaction across the Atlantic was very different. Throughout the crisis, Ambassador Robert Anderson, the State Department's press spokesman, would inform the media of Washington's stance during his daily noon briefings. Anderson had received instructions from Kissinger to avoid any binding statements regarding the recognition of Makarios.<sup>86</sup> On the day of the coup, Anderson commented that the situation in Cyprus was 'unclear', that there was no confirmation of whether Makarios was dead or alive and that

'The question of recognition ... does not arise because the situation on the island is changing. It is necessary first to know who controls the territory of Cyprus ... Our policy remains that of supporting the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and its constitutional arrangements.'

By not condemning the coup, the US was tacitly recognising Nikos Sampson who had unconstitutionally been sworn in as the new President of Cyprus. A CIA report dated 19 July revealed that Kissinger had argued that it was better to deal with Sampson, than risk offending the junta, as otherwise they could 'toss the Sixth Fleet out of Greek ports'. US policy concentrated on preventing the declaration of *Enosis*, as Turkey would not allow this and it would almost certainly result in a war between two NATO allies, thereby weakening the Alliance's south-eastern flank, with only one possible beneficiary – Moscow. Washington, already concerned over its relations with Ankara due to the dope trade, showed further concern upon discovering that Russia, 'always eager to foment trouble, has lined up with Turkey'.<sup>87</sup>

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84 TNA: FCO 9/1891: Instructions from James Callaghan to the British Embassy Athens, 16 July 1974.

85 TNA: FCO 9/1891: tel.204 from British Ambassador to Greece Robin Hooper to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 16 July 1974.

86 NARA: State Department, tel.154133, 17 July 1974, 'Department press briefing – Cyprus'.

87 Under Ecevit, Turkey had re-commenced poppy cultivation. For several years, US pressure and financial aid had persuaded Ankara to ban such cultivation. Ecevit wanted Turkey to move away from its dependence upon other countries, most notably the US and NARA: CIA Records Search Tool (CREST), CIA report, Research Institute Staff, Friday 19 July 1974.

On 16 July, Anderson was asked whether the Makarios government was the government of Cyprus, to which Anderson replied 'I would rather just not comment on it at all'.<sup>88</sup> This was almost twenty-four hours after it had been revealed that Makarios was still alive and almost two hours after Callaghan had spoken to Kissinger about evacuating Makarios from Cyprus. Callaghan explained that he felt Britain should continue to recognise Makarios as he believed the Archbishop was genuine in his desire for Cypriot independence and by supporting him, one could 'avoid him turning to Moscow. This I did'.<sup>89</sup>

At 14.30 on 17 July, Makarios met with the British Prime Minister, whom he told that he had never expected the junta to launch a coup against him on 15 July. Once more he told the story of his escape and explained that when, on the following day, a small National Guard warship approached Paphos port and began shelling the Bishopric, he realised he would have to leave. Makarios expressed his gratitude for the British Government's remarks in the Commons and at the UN, although he admitted that they could have been stronger.<sup>90</sup>

A few hours later, Makarios met with Callaghan, and expressed criticism of the Americans, which Callaghan understood. Washington was officially worried that Makarios would enlist the support of the Soviet Union, to the possible detriment of NATO, although we now know that the CIA downplayed the possibility of this occurring.<sup>91</sup>

Makarios informed the Foreign Secretary that he intended to leave London the following morning and was certain that if the Greek officers could be made to withdraw from Cyprus, Sampson would fall. When Callaghan asked about the future of the National Guard, Makarios explained that he did not want an army, but that Athens had felt it was necessary to protect Cyprus from Turkey. Ironically, Makarios concluded, it had now become clear that Greece posed a greater threat. Finally, Callaghan outlined his own thinking on the matter, by confirming that Britain continued to recognise Makarios as President and that he wanted him to return to Cyprus in that capacity.<sup>92</sup>

Already on 15 July, the British Government had unequivocally expressed her continued recognition of President Makarios. Following several days during which Washington made it abundantly clear that the US view on this matter was diametrically different, Callaghan sent a revealing telegram to the UK's representative at the United Nations, Sir Ivor Richard, underlining the extent to which Britain was happy compromising her foreign policy in order to maintain good

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88 L. Stern (1977) *The Wrong Horse*, New York: Time Books, p. 112.

89 J. Callaghan (1987) *Time and Chance*, London: Collins, p. 338.

90 TNA: FCO 9/1892, 'Military Coup in Cyprus – Wednesday 17 July', Makarios' meeting with Prime Minister Harold Wilson at 10 Downing Street, 14.30, 17 July 1974.

91 CIA, Executive Registry, Job 86-B00269R, Box 12, Folder 83, found in *FRUS, 1973-1976, Volume XXX, Greece; Cyprus; Turkey, 1973-1976*, doc.171, 'Study prepared by the Intelligence Community Staff for Director of Central Intelligence Colby', Washington, January 1975.

92 TNA: FCO 9/1892, 'Military Coup in Cyprus – Wednesday 17 July', Makarios' meeting with James Callaghan at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 1745 GMT, 17 July 1974.

Anglo-American relations. Callaghan instructed Richard that although Britain believed Makarios was the legitimate President of Cyprus, if the US were to make an issue out of it:

‘... don’t commit to continued recognition of Makarios indefinitely regardless of the circumstances.’<sup>93</sup>

Kissinger was fearful that Makarios would enlist the help of Moscow at the UN or secure his recognition as the head of state in a resolution. Ultimately, Washington’s policy on Makarios would have a significant effect on the development of Britain’s intention of restoring him as the legitimate head of state.

The question of restoring Makarios as President of Cyprus also revealed differences between London and Washington. At a Cabinet meeting on the morning of 16<sup>th</sup> July, Harold Wilson informed his Cabinet that Britain was ready to implement contingency plans if needed, suggesting that Britain was seriously considering restoring Makarios to Cyprus.<sup>94</sup> On the following morning, Anthony Acland Callaghan’s Private Secretary, together with Callaghan, reviewed answers given to Callaghan by the Ministry of Defence on this question.

The Ministry of Defence felt that the British forces in the Sovereign Base Areas could cope with the National Guard, but if they were to be used offensively, they would need reinforcing. The aircraft carrier, *HMS Hermes* was twenty-four hours from Cyprus and other forces were currently seven days notice away and could only be made available at the expense of Britain’s Northern Ireland contribution.<sup>95</sup> Provisionally, the Ministry of Defence felt Makarios could be restored militarily, provided the only opposition was that of the National Guard.<sup>96</sup> It was considered that National Guard standards of training were poor, their equipment heavy and weapons old and that their morale before the coup was not high. The Ministry of Defence believed the operation could be successful, but that the problem might come afterwards, with Britain being left with a situation similar to that in Northern Ireland.

The question that needed to be answered was whether a situation could be created where British troops could simply return to the Sovereign Base Areas and leave Makarios and his Government in a secure state – extremely low was the conclusion. One of the difficulties would be the 23,000 civilians (service dependants, British citizens and friendly nationals) living in Cyprus, as they could be used as hostages. They would have to be evacuated first, which might initiate action by the National Guard which Britain would want to forestall.<sup>97</sup> A minimum force

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93 TNA: FCO 9/1894: James Callaghan to the British representative at the UN, Ivor Richard, 19 July 1974.

94 TNA: CAB 128/55: Cabinet meeting, 10 Downing Street, 11am, 16 July 1974.

95 TNA: DEFE 11/729: Paper related to ‘preliminary draft’, 17 July 1974.

96 The National Guard comprised 10,000 men, light tanks, artillery and heavy equipment and could mobilise a further 30,000.

97 TNA: DEFE 11/729: Paper related to ‘preliminary draft’, 17 July 1974. Of those 23,000, 17,500 live outside the Sovereign Base Areas of which 13,000 are service dependants or UK personnel employed in the Sovereign Base Areas.

would 'require three brigades plus a HQ element and a detachment [sic] close air support airfield', which would take two weeks to mount.<sup>98</sup>

However, it was concluded that Britain would enjoy international support for this venture as long as the operation was based on the Treaty of Guarantee.<sup>99</sup> If Britain failed to act, Turkey 'might go it alone'. Possible disadvantages cited were that even with Makarios restored, the situation would still be unstable, he would have to make improved constitutional arrangements and might ask for 'some kind of continuing military guarantee' which could affect the Defence Review.<sup>100</sup> Crucially, it was also agreed that the US Government would have to be warned in advance and that they should seek assurances from Moscow not to intervene. It was clear that Washington would never agree to such a venture, having failed to denounce the coup or recognise Makarios as President of Cyprus.<sup>101</sup> Additionally assurances would be needed from Ankara that the Turkish Cypriot and Turkish forces on the island would not resist Britain and might even give unsolicited assistance.<sup>102</sup> On 18 July, Wilson told his Cabinet that urgent studies were being made of the implications of military intervention. While he thought that intervention was undesirable, if diplomatic pressure on Athens failed, military action would have to be contemplated. 'HMG had made some precautionary naval dispositions and [sic] looking at [sic] usefulness of [sic] international blockade ...'<sup>103</sup>

Washington and Whitehall had already differed fundamentally with regards to the continued American vacillation over recognising Makarios and US failure to condemn the coup, for which Washington was receiving considerable domestic media criticism. For example the lead editorial of *The New York Times* read 'It is disgraceful that the US has not seen fit to take an equally [UK] strong stance ...'.<sup>104</sup> These differences continued to appear throughout diplomatic contact on Wednesday 17 July.

When British Ambassador in Washington, Sir Peter Ramsbotham, spoke to Kissinger, the latter revealed that in his opinion Britain's stance was too absolute and asked Ramsbotham if Whitehall could agree 'to play the hand more slowly'.<sup>105</sup> Further discussions were held in Washington between British and US officials about the imminent UNSC meeting, during which

98 TNA: DEFE 11/729: paper (not draft), 17 July 1974.

99 TNA: PREM 16/19: 'Implications of Reinstating Makarios with UK military support'.

100 TNA: FCO 9/1915, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Sir John Killick to head of the Southern European Department at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Alan Goodison, 17 July 1974, Anthony Acland and James Callaghan.

101 NARA: NPMS, National Security Council (NSC), Greece/Cyprus, 'The Cyprus situation – today's WSAG Meeting', 16 July 1974, memorandum for Nixon from Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Brent Scowcroft.

102 TNA: FCO 9/1915, Top Secret: 'Possible military intervention in Cyprus'.

103 TNA: CAB 128/55: Cabinet meeting, 10 Downing Street, 11.30am, 18 July 1974.

104 *The New York Times*, lead editorial, 17 July 1974.

105 TNA: FCO 9/1892, 'Military Coup in Cyprus – Wednesday 17 July', tel.2414 from the British Ambassador to the US, Sir Peter Ramsbotham to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 17 July 1974.

the Americans expressed difficulty with any UN Security Council resolution in which Makarios was referred to as 'President'.<sup>106</sup> On this point, the British were being backed by UN Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim, who felt that the threat of an increase in the UNFICYP (UN force in Cyprus) through the addition of British soldiers could be enough to force a swift Greek withdrawal and cause the Nicosia regime to collapse.<sup>107</sup> Callaghan and Makarios both believed that if the Greek soldiers could be made to withdraw, the Sampson regime would be unsustainable.<sup>108</sup>

Early that morning the US Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs Joseph Sisco arrived in London, and was met by the British Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Sir John Killick. Sisco informed Killick that the UN process needed to be slowed down and felt it was wrong to support Makarios as it would be impossible to reinstate him by political means. He urged a joint Anglo-American approach at the UN and that a package deal could perhaps be put to both Ankara and Athens. Callaghan later said that he disagreed with a good deal of this analysis, but that a package solution was required.<sup>109</sup> During a Cabinet meeting later that morning, Callaghan again expressed his disappointment and confusion over American policy, still believing that if the Greek officers could be made to withdraw, Sampson would probably fall and Makarios would be free to return.<sup>110</sup>

Whitehall had recommended to Washington that 'they would establish the principles, and we would implement the policy'. Even if Britain had principally approved the decision to restore Makarios militarily, it was unwilling 'to do anything to bring it about. They wanted to leave that to us [Washington]'.<sup>111</sup> Makarios could not be restored politically and Britain realistically did not have the means to restore him militarily. The only way a military restoration of the Archbishop could have been achieved was by a joint Anglo-American or unilateral US venture. Britain had also expressed its desire for the removal of the coupists from Cyprus. However, the US Ambassador in Athens, Henry Tasca informed Washington that such a request would 'be received in the most negative fashion' by Greece. The US Embassy in Greece believed that to make such a request to the junta would be tantamount to inviting its overthrow.<sup>112</sup>

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106 *Ibid.*

107 TNA: FCO 9/1892, 'Military Coup in Cyprus – Wednesday 17 July', tel.786 from the British permanent representative at the UN, Ivor Richard to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 17 July 1974.

108 J. Callaghan (1987) *Time and Chance*, London: Collins, p. 338.

109 TNA: FCO 9/1892, 'Military Coup in Cyprus – Wednesday 17 July', Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Sir John Killick to Alan Goodison, head of the Southern European Department at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 'Note for the Record' – Cyprus.

110 TNA: CAB 128/55, Cabinet meeting at Downing Street, 11.30, 18 July 1974.

111 NARA: RG 59, Executive Secretariat, Daily Activity Report from Principals, 1973-1975, Box 4, 'Cyprus Critique', pp. 9-10.

112 NARA: NPMS, NSC, Country Files, Box 595, Greece, tel.4538 from the US Ambassador to Greece, Henry Tasca to Secretaries of State and Defence, 17 July 1974.



It is too easy to simply blame the US for preventing Britain from implementing her contingency plan with regards to the military restoration of Makarios. This is a discussion which will have to be confined to debates on alternative history. However, what can be deduced is that Britain's intention to implement this plan was seriously affected by policy-decisions in Washington, and had the US agreed with this proposal, we could claim with some degree of certainty the likelihood of its joint implementation.

From the onset of the crisis, Callaghan strongly believed that only Washington had enough influence in order to put sufficient pressure on both Athens and Ankara to prevent the escalation of the crisis.<sup>113</sup> At times, Kissinger did apply enough pressure to affect the development of the crisis. On 22 July, American pressure was to a certain extent responsible for the declaration of a ceasefire, whilst Callaghan himself recognised that the first Geneva Conference might well have collapsed had it not been for Kissinger's 'behind-the-scenes' manoeuvring.<sup>114</sup>

Callaghan concluded that throughout the crisis US policy had remained nebulous, that consequently Anglo-American policy had 'never marched together', which Callaghan, despite Watergate, attributed to Kissinger's 'habitual reluctance to be open with his allies' and ultimately questioned Washington's handling of the crisis.<sup>115</sup>

As the crisis developed and with the benefit of hindsight, it has become clear that it was the US who had the greatest leverage over the foreign policy decisions in Britain, Greece and Turkey and thereby the greatest ability of affecting the events of the summer of 1974.

Additionally, members of the State Department also recognised that Washington had a primary responsibility for Cyprus as Washington had played an active mediatory role through the Ball (1964) and Vance (1967) missions in preventing previous crises. However, despite an argument that the US should influence the situation in a positive way to avoid further crises, it was believed that any active role would expose the US to criticism from all parties and that as long as the intercommunal talks continued, the threat of violence in Cyprus was minimal. Direct US intervention was therefore only to be used as a last resort should an outbreak of uncontrollable violence seem imminent.<sup>116</sup>

113 TNA: FCO 9/1892, 'Military Coup in Cyprus – Wednesday 17 July', 'Note for the Record-Cyprus', Permanent Under Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs John Killick to head of Southern European Department, Foreign Office, Alan Goodison, doc.175/Q, 17 July 1974.

114 *FRUS, Nixon/Ford Administration, 1973-1976, Vol. XXX*, Turkey, Intelligence Interagency Memorandum, 'Turkey after the US Arms Cut-off', doc.217, 21 February 1975 and NARA: NPMS, Heinz Alfred Kissinger (HAK), Transcript of Telephone Conversation (TCT), Kissinger and Callaghan, 18.15 GMT, 22 July 1974 and TNA: (Cabinet Office) CAB 128/55, 10 Downing Street, 11.30, 1 August 1974.

115 J. Callaghan (1987) *Time and Chance*, London: Collins, p. 356 AND TNA: FCO 9/2186, 'Relations between UK and Cyprus', Callaghan to British High Commissioner in Cyprus, Stephen Oliver, 'British Policy on Cyprus: July – September 1974', doc.26, 28 April 1975.

116 NARA: RG59, Central Files, 1970-1973, POL27, CYP, Action Memorandum from Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Joseph Sisco to Secretary of State William Rogers, 'Cyprus: Strategy Paper for Next Steps', 1 September 1971.

## The Crisis

During a post-crisis discussion with his staff, Kissinger revealed his belief that only a huge show of American force could have prevented the second Turkish military operation and, not wanting to establish a precedent of 'Great Power intervention', he refused to entertain the idea. Further, opposing the Turks would have meant adversely affecting relations with Ankara, something Kissinger was not willing to do on account of Turkey's strategic importance. Had the US acted in response to Turkey's breach of the United Nations Security Council resolution, it would also have set a dangerous precedent in terms of Washington's relationship with Israel.<sup>117</sup>

Ultimately, allowing Turkey to take a third of the island was not against American interests, as with Greece in no position to oppose Turkey, the threat of war within NATO ceased to be of concern. In fact allowing Turkey to proceed might actually be better than the uneasy *status quo ante bellum*. As far as Cyprus was concerned, Kissinger would be quite frank in conceding that he cared little about what happened on the island itself.<sup>118</sup> In relation to Defence Secretary James Schlesinger's threat of removing US nuclear weapons from Greece and Turkey, Kissinger summed up the importance his *Realpolitik* approach had assigned to the fate of the people of Cyprus: 'If we took them [nuclear weapons] in this minor-league crisis over a third-rate island, God knows what we would have to do elsewhere'.<sup>119</sup>

As far as the coup was concerned, Kissinger once famously asserted that information on the coup 'was not exactly lying in the street'. However in the introduction to its investigation on Cyprus, the Select Committee on Intelligence disagreed, questioning the failure to predict the coup in view of the abundance of strategic warnings.<sup>120</sup> This was attributed to poor reporting from the US Embassy in Athens, in part due to the CIA's exclusive access to the junta's leader Dimitrios Ioannides and the analysts' failure to react to claims of an 'impending crisis'.<sup>121</sup>

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117 NARA: RG59, AI, Entry 5403, Office of the Secretary, Records of Henry Kissinger, 1973-1977, Box 9, MemCons, 'Cyprus', 17 August 1974, p. 2.

118 TNA: FCO 9/1947, 'US Reaction to the Cyprus crisis', tel.4, British Ambassador to Washington, Sir Peter Ramsbotham to the FCO, doc.15, 12 August 1974.

119 Digital National Security Archive (DNSA): MemCons, Kissinger Transcripts (KT)01286, 'Cyprus', 08.15, 14 August 1974.

120 NARA: Access to Archival Database (AAD), Diplomatic Records, tel.158901, 'Press Conference by Secretary Kissinger on Cyprus Situation', 22 July 1974.

121 *Crisis on Cyprus: 1975 One Year after the Invasion*, Staff Report prepared for the Subcommittee to investigate problems connected with refugees and escapees of the Committee on the Judiciary, US Senate; preface by Edward M. Kennedy, Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1975, 94th Congress, 1st session, 20 July 1975, p. 9 and *US Intelligence Agencies and Activities: The Performance of the Intelligence Community*, Hearings before the Select Committee on Intelligence, US House of Representatives Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1975-1976, part 2, 4 and the final report. (94th Congress, 1st and 2nd Sessions, July 1975-February 1976). Extracts of which are published in: *CIA: The Pike Report*, with an introduction by Philip Agee, Spokesman Books, 1977, '6. Cyprus: Failure of Intelligence Policy', p. 158.

Thomas Boyatt, the State Department's Cyprus Desk Officer, described the intelligence from Athens as conflicting at best. He referred to the CIA's later claim that US intelligence had forewarning of the coup on Cyprus as a misrepresentation, citing two CIA documents, one dated 12 July, and the other from the day of the coup which contained the statement that Ioannides had decided not to make a move against Makarios. Various officials within the State Department believed that Ioannides had in fact 'deliberately misled the US government', believing that due to Washington's important strategic relationship with Athens, he would have enough leverage over the US to allow him to be intransigent.<sup>122</sup>

William Hyland, Director of Intelligence and Research at the State Department concluded that Ioannides might first have interpreted the weak US pre-coup responses as US acquiescence and secondly that Washington had warned of Greco-Turkish fighting, so that 'as long as his gambit was intra-Greek' the US would not be concerned. According to the CIA, when Ioannides was asked immediately after the coup about foreign reactions, he replied 'the Americans are okay'.<sup>123</sup> It appears the CIA had become so close to the Greek regime that they had lost all objectivity. Boyatt was adamant:

There they [CIA] were, sitting there with the entire intelligence establishment of the United States in all of its majesty having been conned by a piss-ant Greek brigadier general.<sup>124</sup>

After Kissinger removed Henry Tasca from his post as US Ambassador in Athens, the former personally selected veteran diplomat Jack Kubisch as his replacement. Kubisch immediately requested that Stacy Hulse be replaced as CIA station chief, who according to a former CIA official had been assigned the task of 'controlling' Ioannides, and the CIA consequently sent Richard Welsh, who had already served as station chief in Lima and Guatemala City, as his replacement.<sup>125</sup> Welsh had only been in Athens for a few months, when he was shot outside his home in Athens on 23 December 1975, and became the first station chief in the agency's history to be assassinated.<sup>126</sup> Kubisch described what he had experienced in Athens as '... the terrible price the US government must pay when it associates itself so intimately ... with a repressive regime'.<sup>127</sup>

122 Gerald R. Ford Library: PCF for Middle East, Pouch Asia: Folder Title: Cyprus. MR 08-30, Memorandum from Thomas Boyatt to Dr Henry Kissinger, 8 September 1974. In 1964 and 1967, Washington had prevented Turkey from invading the island.

123 *FRUS, Nixon/Ford Administration, 1973-1976, Vol. XXX, 'Cyprus Coup Post Mortem'*, doc.148, 10 September 1974.

124 Frontline Diplomacy: Thomas Boyatt, speech at Foreign Service Institute, 30 September 1992.

125 P. Agee and L. Wolf (1987) *Dirty Work, The CIA in Western Europe*, New York: Dorset Press, p. 82.

126 *FRUS, Nixon/Ford Administration, 1973-1976, Vol. XXX, Greece*, Memorandum prepared in the CIA, 'Assassination of Senior US Embassy Official in Athens', doc.58, 24 December 1975.

127 Frontline Diplomacy: Jack Kubisch interviewed by Henry Mattox, 6 November 1989.

Having told his CIA contact of his ability to remove Makarios should the Archbishop continue to provoke him, only strong representation through the same channel could have prevented Ioannides from launching his coup.<sup>128</sup> The Select Committee agreed that the US Embassy in Athens failed to take adequate steps to 'underscore for Ioannides the depth of US concern over a possible Cyprus coup attempt'.<sup>129</sup> Hyland's assessment was that Washington did not have:

'... what could be called "warning" of an impending crisis. What we did have were sufficient storm signals to warrant some diplomatic action – which, in retrospect, seems to have been weak and indecisive.'<sup>130</sup>

The case against Kissinger was no doubt influenced by Washington's covert involvement in the 1973 coup against Chilean President Salvador Allende, but unlike the removal of the Marxist Allende, the removal of Makarios did not serve US interests. Due to Makarios' 'great ability and independence' he had functioned as a buffer to a direct Greco-Turkish confrontation over Cyprus. Kissinger's *Realpolitik* approach was all about stability, and Washington assessed that the junta's subversive tactics in Cyprus were far more destabilising than any Communist threat on the island. It was not believed that Makarios was pro-Communist – there were no Communists in his government – and his overwhelming electoral victory 'provided a needed element of stability in the Cyprus situation'.<sup>131</sup>

Additionally, not only was Kissinger busy flying around the world, but arguably the biggest domestic scandal in contemporary American history, Watergate, was about to reach its crescendo. Circumstances could hardly have been less conducive to warrant a crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>132</sup> Less than three months after the coup, Kissinger, sitting with Makarios in the Waldorf Towers in New York, gave the Archbishop his word that neither the US government nor the CIA had been involved in his overthrow.<sup>133</sup>

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128 Gerald R. Ford Library: PCF for Middle East, Pouch Asia: Folder Title: Cyprus. MR 08-30, Memorandum from Thomas Boyatt to Dr Henry Kissinger, 8 September 1974.

129 *US Intelligence Agencies and Activities: The Performance of the Intelligence Community*, Hearings before the Select Committee on Intelligence, US House of Representatives Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1975-1976, part 2, 4 and the final report. (94th Congress, 1st and 2nd Sessions, July 1975 – February 1976). Extracts of which are published in: *CIA: The Pike Report*, with an introduction by Philip Agee, Spokesman Books, 1977, '6. Cyprus: Failure of Intelligence Policy', p. 160.

130 *FRUS, Nixon/Ford Administration, 1973-1976, Vol. XXX*, 'Cyprus Coup Post Mortem', doc.148, 10 September 1974.

131 NARA: AAD, Diplomatic Records, tel.103030, from Rush in Washington and drafted by the Cyprus desk, 'Cyprus: Cyprus/Greek Relations', 17 May 1974.

132 C. Nicolet (2001) *United States Policy Towards Cyprus, 1954-1974: Removing the Greek-Turkish Bone of Contention*. Germany: Mannheim und Moehnesee: Peleus, Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Griechenlands und Zyperns, Band 9 Bibliopolis, p. 421.

133 DNSA: KT01348, MemCons, Kissinger and Makarios, 2 October 1974.

If anything, the Cyprus crisis is a prime example of a failure of Kissinger's approach to foreign policy. Sufficient information about a possible coup had reached the US State Department. Boyatt had even drafted a contingency study which considered Washington's options if Athens attempted to depose Makarios in which he suggested that the US should put its views to Athens 'on an informal and personal basis'. This needed to be balanced as it could complicate US-Hellenic relations especially as Athens officially denied all ties to EOKA-B. Boyatt warned that:

'... if subversion were successful or very destabilising, low-key involvement may not be sufficient ... A hands-off approach would be interpreted by Athens and Ankara as tacit approval of a coup.'<sup>134</sup>

Whilst it is beyond the scope of this article to deal with this issue in greater detail, future declassification of government documents may show that individual CIA agents, supported and encouraged the coup, but based on what has so far been declassified, it appears highly unlikely that they will reveal a conspiracy authorised by the CIA or by Washington. In early August, Kissinger told his staff:

'But if any actions were taken against Makarios by any American officials (which I do not believe occurred) it was against our instructions and against our convictions ...'<sup>135</sup>

Kissinger's style of autocratic governance meant that he failed to take the advice of professional specialists within the Department who had been following events in Cyprus.<sup>136</sup> Kissinger later explained that with so many conflicting intelligence reports from different sources coming into the Department, it was easy, post-crisis, to pick out the accurate one as if it had been the only one.<sup>137</sup> This was a direct result of Kissinger's 'one-man-show' approach to US foreign policy as well as sustaining a set of conditions which essentially allowed the CIA in Athens to shape US foreign policy.

British policy was not primarily concerned with the stability of NATO or a desire to avoid the crisis from becoming internationalised, as provided the Sovereign Base Areas and the British servicemen and nationals on the island could be protected, Callaghan, at least in theory, was willing to go further to (a) remove Turkey's pretext for invading, and (b) prevent Turkey from expanding following its initial invasion. On both counts, Britain suffered from what Callaghan described as

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134 NARA: NPMS, NSC, Institutional Files, Meeting Files, WSAGM, Box H-096 'NSC Interdepartmental Group for Near East and South Asia', *Contingency Study for Cyprus*, April 1974.

135 NARA: RG59, Executive Secretariat, Daily Activity Report from Principals, 1973-1975, Box 4, 'Cyprus Critique', p. 10.

136 *Ibid.*

137 *US Intelligence Agencies and Activities: The Performance of the Intelligence Community*, Hearings before the Select Committee on Intelligence, US House of Representatives Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1975-1976, 94th Congress, 1st and 2nd Sessions, July 1975 – February 1976, part 2, p. 843.

'responsibility without power', as Britain, a signatory to the Treaty of Guarantee, had unwillingly been thrust into a position of responsibility, but assessing that no unilateral military action could be taken without American co-operation, lacked the power to take effective action. Despite receiving considerable criticism from all parties to the Cyprus crisis, including the House of Commons Select Committee on Cyprus, Callaghan believed that '... only those who overestimate our power can reproach us for the outcome'.<sup>138</sup>

Whilst some obscurities remain *vis-à-vis* the American intelligence community's actions prior to the coup, no such ambiguity exists with regards the invasion. British and American knowledge of Turkish troop and naval movements as well as Turkey's errantly perceived co-operation in the evacuation of British and foreign nationals helped ferment the accusation of collusion. This accusation, based on the now released and declassified government documents, can be categorically refuted. Consequently, we can conclude that the British and American governments were responsible for the events on Cyprus in 1974 by virtue of acts of omission rather than commission.

In October 1974, Kissinger told Makarios that the best solution to the Cyprus Problem would have been to leave it alone.<sup>139</sup> This would have required an effective intervention by Washington in Greece, something which the US was unwilling to do. The American declassified documents reveal that Kissinger's knowledge of Cyprus was extremely limited as Kissinger simply believed 'a third rate island' such as Cyprus did not warrant his interest. As expressed by former CIA official George Constantinides:

'Kissinger's moves from the moment of Makarios' overthrow and his singleton performances were not among his finest moments, and there are those who will contend that after economics, he understood Cyprus least of all the issues he dealt with.'<sup>140</sup>

In September 1974, Kissinger told Greek Foreign Minister George Mavros that had he been at Geneva he would have secured Turkish agreement to the 'cantonal solution' and then obtained Turkish agreement to reduce the occupied area.<sup>141</sup> Had Kissinger shown an interest in Cyprus or accepted some of the policy advice from officials in the State Department, then the humanitarian tragedy that was the Cyprus crisis could possibly have been avoided. Perhaps this is why when asked about his professional failures Kissinger told Michael Parkinson:

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138 TNA: FCO 9/2186, 'Relations between UK and Cyprus', James Callaghan to Sir Stephen Oliver, British High Commissioner to Cyprus, 'British Policy on Cyprus: July – September 1974', doc.26, 28 April 1975.

139 DNSA, KT01348, MemCon, Henry Kissinger and Archbishop Makarios, Waldorf Towers, New York, 11.25, 2 October 1974.

140 NARA: CIA Records Search Tool (CREST), CIA Studies in Intelligence, George Constantinides, Vol. 22, No. 1, Spring 1978.

141 DNSA, KT01329, MemCon, 'Secretary's meeting with Greek Foreign Minister, George Mavros', 09.30, 24 September 1974.

'... the handling of the Cyprus crisis in '74 coming as it did ... coinciding with the disintegration of the Nixon presidency was ... could have been more effectively done.'<sup>142</sup>

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# Applying Conflict Transformation in Cyprus: A Neo-Functional Approach

DEMETRIOS NICOLAIDES

## Abstract

*This paper will apply the concept of conflict transformation with respect to the Cyprus dispute. It suggests a model to allow self-realisation for both communities, while at the same time providing a forum for the collaboration and/or unity of both communities. All efforts thus far to reach a settlement to the Cyprus problem have ended in failure. Although the idea of a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation (BBF) is still the primary goal of both communities, this paper will argue that an alternative political settlement should also be considered. A failure in negotiations to reunite Cyprus may lead to the perpetuation of the status quo into the indefinite future. However, there may be a third option to consider and this is explored in the idea of 'unity in sovereignty'.*

**Keywords:** Cyprus, conflict, transformation, peace, neo-functionalism, violence, Cyprus problem

## Introduction

For over thirty-six years, the protracted ethno-nationalist conflict (Anastasiou, 2007) of Cyprus has failed to yield positive results. Numerous meetings, international conferences and UN sponsored initiatives have all been unsuccessful. The 1977 and 1979 High Level Agreements have yet to come to fruition and the recent United Nations sponsored comprehensive proposal for the settlement of the Cyprus issue (Annan Plan) foundered in simultaneous referenda in 2004. The direct result of the collapse of the Annan Plan meant that a divided Cyprus was admitted to the European Union. Although academic works mainly focus on the resolution, management and mitigation of the Cyprus conflict, there are very few which focus on the transformation of the Cyprus conflict. This paper will utilise the theory of Conflict Transformation and apply its conclusions to the Cyprus issue.

It will centre on transforming the original contradictions of the Cyprus issue into new realities where both communities can mutually benefit, through a neo-functionalist approach.

Before outlining the details of a neo-functional approach to the Cyprus issue, it must be stated foremost that the author believes the most acceptable course for both Greek and Turkish Cypriots is a bi-zonal, bi-communal, federation (BBF); however, this ideal has not been fulfilled to date. The disappointing results regarding the creation of a BBF is attributable primarily to obstacles posed by nationalistic leaders on both sides. From 1974, until recently, the Turkish Cypriot (TC) leader at the time, Rauf Denktaş, had been the main negotiator for Turkish Cypriot rights and interests.

There is no denying of the hard line stance of Denktash and his nationalistic views and tendencies (Denktash, 1982). There have been numerous UN reports and Security Council resolutions indicating the breakdown of negotiation after negotiation, specifically because of the unyielding position of the Turkish Cypriot leader. Regardless of the fact that the creation of a BBF was agreed upon by both sides in the 1977 and 1979 High Level Agreements it has not been realised, predominantly due to the monopoly of power by nationalistic leaders if not on one side, then on the other.

For example, at a crucial moment during the negotiations of the UN sponsored Annan Plan, the Greek Cypriots went to the polls in 2003 to elect a new president. The outcome was the election of Tassos Papadopoulos, the joint candidate of AKEL, DIKO and EDEK. Papadopoulos was well known as a hardliner, involved in the EOKA campaign of 1955-1959, and a hate figure for many Turkish Cypriots (Ker-Lindsay, 2005). The upshot was a resurgence of nationalist tendencies amongst the Greek Cypriot population which led to a tougher stance at the negotiating table. According to Harry Anastasiou, 'Papadopoulos had reactivated nationalism ...'<sup>1</sup>

It was not until the elections of December 2003 that Turkish Cypriot opposition to Denktash reached a peak which culminated in a larger mandate for the two main pro-solution parties in northern Cyprus: the Republican Turkish Party (CTP) and the Peace and Democracy Movement (BDH). This presented a challenge to the traditional nationalists as CTP leader Mehmet Ali Talat then became Prime Minister of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC).<sup>2</sup> Talat would subsequently replace Denktash as the main negotiator of the Turkish Cypriot side and in 2005 Talat was elected President of the TRNC. These events represent a significant opinion shift in northern Cyprus as the resolute nationalist Turkish Cypriot negotiator, Rauf Denktash, had lost discernable power.

As a consequence the overall result was the weakening of hard-line nationalist views in the Turkish Cypriot leadership (largely spurred by Cyprus' impending entry to the EU) and a renewal of rigid nationalist views amongst the Greek Cypriot political elite – also possibly propelled by Cyprus' impending accession to the EU (Anastasiou, 2007). 'Even in the face of favourable conditions and historically opportune moments for a settlement, nationalism proved to be the central obstacle to success.'<sup>3</sup>

In this regard it is the opinion of this author that if nationalistic tendencies in the political elite can be curbed for long enough, an agreement based on a BBF can be realised. However, if the renewal of nationalism amongst the Greek Cypriot elite has impacted the civilian population,

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1 Harry Anastasiou (2007) 'Nationalism as a Deterrent to Peace and Interethnic Democracy: The Failure of Nationalist Leadership from The Hague talks to the Cyprus Referendum', *International Studies Perspectives*, Vol. 8, p. 199. MA, USA: Blackwell Publishing.

2 Although the northern part of the island is referred to as TRNC in this essay, it is acknowledged that the TRNC is not recognised by the international community except Turkey.

3 Harry Anastasiou (2007), *op. cit.*, p. 191.

which some studies might suggest, (Anastasiou, 2007 and Webster, 2005) or there is a resurgence in Turkish Cypriot nationalism or divisionism, it might then be necessary to examine other possibilities. Evidence of the revival of TC nationalism can already be seen with the increase in popularity of the National Unity Party (UBP) in the April 2009 'parliamentary' elections in the TRNC and the choice of hardliner, Derviş Eroğlu, in the 2010 'Presidential elections'. These recent events highlight the need to examine alternative processes, such as conflict transformation.

Since the events of 1974, the Greek Cypriots have focused their attention and energy on the attainment of re-unification of lost Cypriot lands and homes. Furthermore, they have been committed to the re-unification of the entire island under one governmental roof. Unity is the real motivation here. From the Turkish Cypriot perspective the issue of sovereignty has become the focal point of the negotiations. They are committed to maintaining a degree of sovereignty from the Greek Cypriots in order to safeguard their rights as a minority and prevent their subjugation from a more populous and wealthier Greek Cypriot neighbour. It is based on these fundamental positions of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots that a neo-functional approach to the Cyprus issue can be examined. The main principle here is that both communities can retain their sovereignty but also be united. Numerous works exist already which have suggested that re-integration or evolutionary approaches are best suited for Cyprus (Hadjipavlou and Trigeorgis, 1993; Prodromou, 1998; Nicolaidis, 1998; Olgun, 1998 and Bahcheli, 2000).

### **Why a Neo-Functional Approach?**

After the most destructive and devastating war in modern history, European leaders and visionaries dreamed of a Europe devoid of violence and bloodshed. Their answer was to intertwine and integrate the European economies to such an extent that even traditional realist leaders would find that war would be contrary to national interest; and to this end, they have succeeded. Although the European Union is not without its own issues, it remains evident that nationalist divisions have successfully been transformed into a situation where all involved parties equally benefit. Thus the same approach can be envisaged for Cyprus.

Just as in conflict transformation, which presupposes that peace is more a way of life than a tangible result (Lederach, 2003) so too is a neo-functional approach more concerned with the process rather than the outcome (Haas, 1958). While a discussion on the similarities and differences between neo-functionalism and conflict transformation is best reserved for another article, it will serve as a pretext for this discussion.

### **Cyprus Problem - Overview**

In order to diagnose and successfully transform the Cyprus problem it is imperative to come to an understanding of the root causes of the conflict, and in order to achieve this it is necessary to examine the events and ideologies of the pre-1950s period in Cyprus. For the Greek Cypriot

community the main ideology at this time was the idea of *Enosis* or union of Cyprus with Greece. *Enosis* stemmed from the belief that Christian Cypriots were ethnically Greek and linked to Greece linguistically, religiously and, of course, culturally. Claiming to be descendents of ancient Greeks and pointing to the long Greek history in Cyprus, the Christian Cypriots began to identify themselves as being ethnically Greek.

The rise of the *Enosis* movement itself, in its earliest form can be traced back to the independence of Greece from the Ottomans in 1821. For probably the first time in history, the Greek Cypriots began to associate themselves with the general principles of Hellenism. By 1821 the 'Great Idea' had been born in Greece, which essentially advocated the incorporation of all historical Greek territories into a greater Greek Republic (Pollis, 1973; Markides, 1974). Even though Cyprus was never part of modern Greece, the large number of Greeks who had settled on the island provided enough argument for supporters of the 'Great Idea' that Cyprus should also be incorporated into a greater Greek Republic. This also included most of the islands in the Aegean, but even advocated the incorporation of parts of western Turkey, including Constantinople which had fallen to the Ottoman Turks in the fifteenth century. Constantinople itself held an important significance for Greeks as a whole because it was the centre of the Eastern Orthodox Byzantine culture and today still remains the location of the head of the Greek Orthodox Church. When the 'Great Idea' incited a war between Greece and Turkey in 1919 the effect on the Greeks of Cyprus was tremendous as Greek Cypriots began to feel more connected with Greece and saw their inclusion within Greece as natural and legitimate. Markides highlights this growing cultural connection between the Greek Cypriots and the 'Great Idea': 'Because the Greeks of Cyprus have been considering themselves historically and culturally as Greeks, the "Great Idea" in the form of *Enosis* has had an intense appeal. Thus, when the Church fathers called on the Cypriots to fight for union with Greece, it did not require excessive efforts to heat up emotions'.<sup>4</sup> Highlighting these cultural links is imperative to the analysis here and clarifies that the pre-1950 ideologies and root causes of the conflict are directly related to the awakening of the Greek Cypriot identity.

A consequence of the Greek Cypriot awakening was an increase in Turkish Cypriot nationalism as well. The Turkish Cypriots were largely concerned that under *Enosis* their cultural and ethnic associations would be enveloped by the larger Greek Cypriot population. Fears were also abound that they may even be expelled to Anatolia, as occurred in Crete in 1923 after Ottoman control had ended and Crete unified with Greece. Opposing cultural associations quickly developed into full-blown armed ethnic nationalism with the development of the Greek Cypriot guerrilla organisation, EOKA, and its Turkish Cypriot counterpart the TMT. The violence of the 1950s erupted again in 1963 and culminated in 1974 with the Greek-backed coup

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4 K.C. Markides (1974) 'Social Change and the Rise and Decline of Social Movements: The Case of Cyprus', *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 1, No. 2. (May), p. 315 American Anthropological Association.

and the Turkish military invasion. Whilst these events have created additional contradictions in the Cyprus conflict, it is important that the root causes be addressed and transformed so that a process of sustainable peace in Cyprus can begin to take place. Much work has been done on the ethno-nationalist origins of the Cyprus conflict, specifically by Anastasiou, 2007; Bryant, 2004; Morag, 2004 and Richmond, 2002.

Evidence of the nationalist origins of the Cyprus conflict can also be seen in early British policy in Cyprus, which was used in a bid to diffuse opposing ethno-nationalist ideologies and maintain British colonial rule. In the late 1920s and 1930s British Imperialist archaeologists emphasised the importance of the *eteocypriots*, which were perceived as the indigenous population of Cyprus, dating back to the Iron Age. By examining scriptures, building designs, antiquities, monuments and other archaeological evidence, it was argued by colonial authorities that the true ethno-cultural origins of the Cypriot people lay with the *eteocypriots* and not with Greece and Turkey (Given, 1998). These attempts by colonial Britain to diffuse opposing ethno-national beliefs illustrate that identity and ethno-nationalist associations were key to the development of the Cyprus issue and that the *Enosis* movement was beginning to challenge traditional British colonial authority.

### **Neo-Functional Conflict Transformation**

By definition, such an approach involves: a) a slow integration in Cypriot low politics; b) the creation of supranational institutions; c) shifting of loyalties to these supranational institutions, and d) the creation of a mutually beneficial future. A neo-functionalist approach to the Cyprus problem would observe first and foremost the recognition of two separate and distinct political units in Cyprus, each with their own sovereignty and independence in decision-making. Although the idea of a politically sovereign Turkish Cypriot political unit is generally considered anathema, there may be recent evidence to suggest that with the passage of time, local opinion is actually more in favour of division or a negotiated partition. Jakobsson-Hatay, 2004; Webster, 2005 and Georgiades, 2007, have all researched Greek Cypriot inclinations toward a Cyprus settlement and found that younger generations are more inclined to support division over unification. Webster, in his face-to-face surveys of over one-thousand individuals found that 41% of respondents between the ages of 18 and 24 favoured division over unification, and a further 35% of respondents between the ages of 25 and 34 favoured division as well. While the motivation for the high level of divisionism among Greek Cypriot youth is not further researched and is beyond the scope of this paper, there appears to be sufficient evidence to suggest that partition is becoming a more viable option for the Greek Cypriots. Thus, the idea of maintaining two sovereign political units in Cyprus may indeed be achievable and even desirable. Moreover, this first step is crucial in order to create a neo-functionalist approach to the Cyprus issue because both political units must be on the same footing before integration can begin.

### **Stage 1 - Prerequisites**

As described above, the first stage of such a neo-functionalist approach would involve the maintenance of two political units in Cyprus. This, however, must be met with certain pre-conditions such as: a) agreed territorial readjustment; b) demilitarization (with respect to previous agreements); c) compensation for refugees and re-instatement where possible; d) treaty of friendship and reconciliation between the two political units, and e) a mutually acceptable vision statement for Cyprus.

Just as the European Union has progressed in incremental stages, in specific areas subsequently spilling over into other socio-economic areas, something similar should be applied in Cyprus. In parallel, the aim should be a Cypriot Union, retaining the importance that a final objective should not be emphasised. Areas, such as tourism, that would be of mutual benefit to both communities should be pursued as the first instance of low politics integration. A high authority, akin to the administrative body of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), might maintain administrative functions over this specific area of integration and exist as a supranational body. As per the experience of the EU, civil society organisations and other concerned groups in the respective integrated area would then be able to begin to develop at the supranational level. Additionally, the creation of such supranational bodies might inevitably lead to elite socialisation, again as witnessed in the EU. The development of EU political parties, federated Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and other supranational bodies exist as evidence of this elite socialisation.

### **Stage 2 - Integration**

Whether as a result of neo-functionalist impetus or intergovernmental bargaining it is palpable that spill over is a likely and plausible result of integration. Evidence of spill over within the ECSC can be verified by its development into the European Economic Area and subsequent institutions such as the European Parliament, the European Union itself, the Eurozone, the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), the Rapid Reaction Force (RRF), the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, Schengen, and more recently the President and Foreign Minister of the EU. With the likely possibility of spill over, it can be expected that something comparable would indeed occur within Cyprus. The direction or context of this may be difficult to foresee, but further integration is quite credible.

Consequently, such a neo-functionalist approach might also serve as an instrument of conflict transformation. Where conflict transformation requires the transformation of existing contradictions into mutually beneficial outcomes (Lederach, 2003), a neo-functionalist approach may well serve as an instrument to transfer loyalties to the supranational institutions and generate a new level of bi-communal socialisation.



## **Benefits**

In this section some of the benefits in undertaking a neo-functionalist approach in Cyprus are outlined. The main benefit of this process is that the autonomy of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots is maintained and protected. Greek Cypriots would not need to worry about Turkish Cypriot obstructionism in a united government and Turkish Cypriots would not need to be concerned about Greek Cypriot economic, political or cultural domination. Furthermore, both political units would be free to determine when, where and how fast the integration process should occur.

## **Territorial Adjustment and Compensation**

The establishment of two sovereign political units (the basis for such a neo-functionalist approach) as described earlier, requires a degree of territorial readjustment and the re-instatement of refugees. The loss of property and homes is still a contentious issue for both communities and one that must be successfully resolved in order to move forward with wider reconciliation and trust building. In a recent analysis of Greek Cypriot attitudes toward peace some 58% of respondents viewed the repatriation of refugees as a reward to reunification (Georgiades, 2007). It is clear that the property issue and the repatriation of refugees is of prime concern, at least to the Greek Cypriot community, and while the number of Greek Cypriot refugees is significantly higher than Turkish Cypriot refugees, territorial readjustment and repatriation would serve the majority of all Cypriot refugees. A similar structure to that detailed in the 2004 UN sponsored Annan Plan would suffice in redistributing territory between the two political units and dispensing compensation.

## **Continuity of the Republic of Cyprus**

Another key benefit of such an approach is the continued existence, sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Cyprus. During his televised address to the Cypriot people in 2004, then President, Tassos Papadopoulos, urged the Greek Cypriots to vote 'no' to the UN sponsored proposal for a comprehensive solution to the Cyprus problem. In his address, President Papadopoulos stated that he could not agree to a proposal that would result in him giving-up an internationally recognised sovereign state and acquiring in return a mere community in a United Cyprus. The continued legal existence of the Republic of Cyprus was in question and furthermore, Papadopoulos was equally concerned that should the new federation dissolve, the status of the Republic of Cyprus would be unclear and the Greek Cypriots would have lost their state for nothing. In their analysis of the Annan Plan and its implications on the continuity or succession of the Republic of Cyprus, Ahmet Sözen and Kudret Özersay conclude that the Annan Plan displayed a mix of both succession and continuity, with more features confirming the continuity of the Republic of Cyprus (Sözen and Özersay, 2007). It is clear that fears of the possible dissolution of the Republic of Cyprus run deep in the Greek Cypriot community and again, a neo-functional approach could alleviate such uncertainties. The Republic of Cyprus would be

maintained as a sovereign, legal and independent political unit and would only transfer sovereignty to the supranational institutions by its own decree. Functional spill over and elite socialisation would pressure both political units to transfer more sovereignty to the supranational bodies, but the ultimate and final decision would rest with the political leaders. As stated above, both political units would maintain control over the scope and timing of further integration and thus assist in alleviating specific Greek Cypriot fears.

### **Economic Benefits**

A neo-functional approach may, by default, boast large economic benefits for both communities. Apart from the remuneration associated with greater economic cooperation between the two communities, a neo-functional approach would also bring to an end the economic isolation of the Turkish Cypriots. As a separate political unit, the Turkish Cypriots would have greater freedom in international commerce and their economic development would be allowed to flourish. Furthermore, a neo-functional approach would permit a more competitive, modern and stronger economy for all Cypriots. Many EU member states have benefited tremendously from their involvement in the EU and Eurozone, not only from the Common Agricultural Policy or Social Cohesion Fund but from being a part of one of the largest markets in the world. The same benefits, naturally on a smaller scale, can be envisaged for Cyprus. Nonetheless, unifying the two economies, whether it is in tourism, agriculture or the service industry, should bring about a high degree of economic development and prosperity.

The issue of the costs associated with integrating two unequal economies is, of course, raised here. A neo-functional approach to the Cyprus issue might also help to address this concern. By creating two sovereign political units, the Turkish Cypriots would be able to explore new avenues of economic development, previously not allowed, thus permitting the reduction of economic disparities between the two political units to take place. The harmonisation of economic policies between the two political units must be of high priority as the neo-functional approach calls primarily for integration in low politics. The harmonisation of tourism, for example, would empower both political units to further develop the industry and provide mutual economic benefits. Due to the slow integration process between the two political units, any costs incurred by unification that the Greek Cypriot community may be hesitant to pay, would become a non-issue. The neo-functional approach does not provide for a quick overnight reunification, and its slow pace of integration ensures that major subsidies will not be required for one community or the other. As an example we can take the ECSC – while France and Germany both suffered devastating economic effects due to the Second World War, Germany was indeed in a worse economic condition. Over the course of time the economy of Germany was restored and France was not forced to bring the German economy up-to-par before beginning some aspects of integration.

Some, however, have argued that economic integration in Cyprus – as in post-war Europe –

would not succeed and the main costs associated with reunification would be payable by the Greek Cypriot community (Georgiou, 2009). Citing problems relating to economies of scale and the long-standing political problem, Georgiou argues that, "There will ultimately be a "tax dividend" levied on the Greek Cypriots to pay for the much touted "peace dividend" that will accrue primarily to the Turkish Cypriots".<sup>5</sup> While most of Georgiou's claims may indeed be true in that under a re-unified Cyprus, the Greek Cypriot community would take the brunt of the costs associated with reunification he fails to take into account any funding that would be received from international donors, i.e. in the 2004 referenda on the UN sponsored Annan Plan, an international donor's conference pledged assistance for a reunified Cyprus. Under a neo-functional approach, however, such issues can be avoided. As mentioned above the creation of two sovereign political units should allow the time and space for the unequal economies to reduce their disparities and subsequently move closer to parity. That having been said, a neo-functional approach would not necessarily result in reunification in the traditional sense. As previously discussed, neo-functionalism is primarily concerned with the process of integration and does not argue for a specific end result (Haas, 1958). Hence, under a neo-functionalist approach, reunification may indeed not occur. As highlighted earlier, the pace and context of integration may be decided by the two political units and if further integration is perceived as too costly, it can therefore be slowed down or halted for a period of time.

### **Conflict Transformation**

To reiterate, a neo-functional approach to the Cyprus issue also embodies aspects and elements of conflict transformation. Conflict transformation seeks the transformation of earlier contradictory positions into positions of mutual prosperity and benefit. Transformation through non-violent means and creativity are the hallmarks of the conflict transformation agenda via analysis of a neo-functional approach. As outlined, these elements are indeed embodied in this integration process. Conflict transformation also seeks to transcend the contradictions of the past and reach a situation where all parties involved achieve their maximum desires and goals (Galtung, 1996 and Lederach, 2003). If we take our previous understanding of the root cause of the Cyprus conflict as being a clash of perceived incompatible identities, applying conflict transformation would therefore require either: a) the creation and maintenance of a new identity for all of Cyprus or b) the creation of a situation where both identities can co-exist whilst contributing to the fashioning of a new *status quo*. It is this second option that a neo-functional approach to the Cyprus issue may achieve. A neo-functional approach, as discussed, would provide for the sovereignty of two political units, and as a consequence maintain the superiority of each community in their respective political unit whilst at the same time bringing them together to construct a mutually beneficial future. The

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5 G. Georgiou (2009) 'Cyprus: Economic Consequences of Reunification', *Mediterranean Quarterly*, (Summer), p.62

preceding section highlights some of the avenues in which a mutually beneficial future may be created together with the 'peace dividend' that might result from such an approach.

### **Preservation of Identity**

One of the central themes of conflict transformation considered in this paper is the non-violence transformation of conflict. By design, a neo-functional approach to the Cyprus problem is non-violent: no unpopular proposal would be forced upon either community; perceptions of foreign involvement would be non-existent, and tough decisions associated with national interest would be minimised. This is crucial because any proposal forced on the Cypriot people or one in which one side or another is pressured into accepting may contain unpopular aspects which may cause further tension in the future. To all intents and purposes the violent imposition of a proposal on either community should be avoided so that each community can move towards making the national decisions necessary for further integration when ready and desired. Essentially, a situation viewed by both communities as zero-sum can be transformed into one of positive-sum.

Regarding the fundamental issue of identity, a neo-functional approach could maintain the sovereignty of both identities within their respective political units. The Turkish Cypriots, for instance, would not need to be fearful of Greek Cypriot domination and the Greek Cypriots would not need to be fearful of perceived Turkish Cypriot obstructionism in a unified state. In essence, both would be culturally, religiously and politically free, independent and secure. During the first stages of a neo-functional approach, small areas of low politics could be integrated which, if successful, would provide a modicum of trust and reconciliation. The ramifications of a flourishing cooperation without fears between Greek and Turkish Cypriots could provide further impetus for continued integration.

### **Maintaining Basic Needs**

Apart from acting as an avenue to safeguard the preservation of both identities in Cyprus, a neo-functional approach would additionally ensure that the basic needs of both communities are met. The basic needs of life, liberty, freedom and security would be guaranteed under such an approach and following Maslow's hierarchy of needs, once these basic physiological and safety concerns have been fulfilled, then the needs of love, belonging, esteem and self-actualisation can be realised (Maslow, 1954). Apart from meeting basic needs, this approach can also contribute to the development of a stronger Cypriot economy and consequently to a higher quality of life for both communities. Some of these fundamental needs are discussed in additional detail below.

### **Freedom**

Freedom, be it cultural, political, linguistic or religious, is a fundamental necessity for any community, and as observed, is a vital requirement for both communities in Cyprus. A neo-

functional approach may provide the maintenance for all forms of freedom for all Cypriots and through a slow integration process, these freedoms would never be lost, but rather transferred to supranational institutions that both communities have pledged to create. Furthermore, if such a neo-functional approach should break down, both communities would be able to 'fall-back' to their previous positions as sovereign political units without fear of losing their freedom (Hadjipavlou and Trigeorgis, 1993). While Hadjipavlou and Trigeorgis do not discuss the creation of two sovereign political units, they do highlight the creation of specific zones which would share and slowly cede power to a federal structure before moving to complete federalism. In their discussion, however, they highlight the need for both communities to retain a 'fall-back' position as well, should their approach fail.

### **Economic Prosperity and High Quality of Life**

As deliberated in this paper, a neo-functional approach, with integration beginning in low politics, can assist economic prosperity and subsequently forge a high quality of life for both communities. Economic prosperity and a high quality of life essentially form the core of this neo-functional approach. Apart from supplementing the construction of good living conditions, accomplishing success in economic integration would lead to spill over in other areas such as political, foreign affairs, and defence/security as in the case of the European Union.

### **Security**

Comparable to the need for freedom and independence in Cyprus, security is also of prime concern. The violent events of the 1950s and from 1963 to 1974 have left both communities with traumatic experiences (Anastasiou, 2007). The Greek Cypriots constantly fear further aggression from Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots are subsequently always fearful of subjugation by the Greek Cypriots. A neo-functional approach with the creation of two sovereign political units would help to alleviate these fears. What is more, a demilitarization of all forces in Cyprus would be a prerequisite to such an approach. Demilitarization may be secured among the Turkish Cypriots in compliance for the recognition of their political unit. As a consequence of no permanently stationed Turkish army in Cyprus the Greek Cypriots might find their confidence to reciprocate the demilitarization. UN peacekeeping forces might further extend the scope of their mission in Cyprus to facilitate this and, as envisaged in the Annan Plan, to oversee the territorial readjustment and re-installment of refugees. Much like the Annan Plan, a slow and gradual demilitarization could occur, with respect to previous agreements, resulting in a complete withdrawal of all foreign forces from Cyprus. Additional treaties of friendship, reconciliation and solidarity may be agreed upon by the parties involved which would serve to: a) provide necessary security guarantees, and b) begin a process of reconciliation and sociological peace building between the two communities. A new supranational body could also be established to facilitate the coordination of island-wide

reconciliation efforts including: a) erasing symbols of division and creating symbols of unity; b) instituting peace education programmes; c) enacting trust building measures, and d) creating a culture of peace more generally.

## **Obstacles to a Neo-Functional Approach**

### *Transfer of Loyalties*

As debated, it is necessary to transform the existing root causes of the Cyprus problem. This may be addressed by creating a situation whereby both identities can co-exist whilst contributing to the construction of a new *status quo*. For such an approach to be successful it is vital that one of the main and yet unproven elements of neo-functionalism is realised. This relates to the transfer of loyalties to the supranational institutions (Risse, 2005). This perhaps presents the single most important obstacle to this neo-functional approach. Taking examples from the general success of the European Union, it is this one element that has not yet been accomplished in the EU itself and it thus remains inconclusive as to whether such a transfer of loyalties can actually occur. It is suggested in this paper that a possible reason for the failure of this aspect of neo-functionalism in the European context, is its size. Operating amongst 27 member states which span an entire continent and function through a highly bureaucratic structure, the EU is largely disengaged and separate from the civil population. EU political parties, for example, do not campaign and engage voters across the continent and EU Parliamentary elections remain rather a matter of national politics. During EU elections, voters only have the option of selecting local representatives from local parties and, therefore, select candidates based on local issues. The EU political parties are not present on the ballot for their own elections and for this reason they contribute to the level of disengagement in EU affairs (Habermas, 1995; Hix, 1999; Marks *et al.*, 2002).

In Cyprus, however, its size may prove to be advantageous. Its small population and client-based political culture (Ker-Lindsay and Faustmann, 2009, pp. 17-45) may in fact assist in overcoming one of the main obstacles of the EU and provide for a workable neo-functional approach. Securing the transfer of loyalties to new supranational institutions is imperative to the successful transformation of the Cyprus conflict. The two communities would be able to move beyond ethno-nationalist associations and find common causes in the new structures and institutions whilst not interfering in the delicate and unpredictable identities within Cyprus. Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots would retain their cultural and ethnic associations to the highest degree and at the same time work together to better their quality of life and their future.

### *Obsolescence of Neo-Functionalism*

Another fundamental obstacle to this approach is the fact that neo-functional theory was actually declared obsolescent by Haas himself (Haas, 1975, 1976). Nonetheless, it must be remembered that the original aim of neo-functional theory was to explain and understand the phenomenon of EU

integration. This paper has presented how neo-functionalism can instead operate as an instrument of conflict transformation. As indicated earlier, the details of a relationship between conflict transformation and neo-functionalism is beyond the scope of this paper, but it is certainly an area where further research is needed. Apart from its failure to explain EU integration, one aspect of the original motivations of functionalism has indeed succeeded (Mitrany, 1966). In his original work, David Mitrany outlined the functional approach in his book, *A Working Peace System* (emphasis added). From further investigation into his work, it is clear that his motivation was to create a system of peace. Moreover, the European leaders who began the process of integration, including Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman, envisaged the creation of a situation whereby war could never occur between Germany and France (and across Europe in general), and in this regard they have evidently succeeded. Today it is inconceivable for war, which has plagued the continent for many centuries, to break out between the nations of the EU. The use and threat of war has been largely removed from the continent and it is this key development that must be replicated in Cyprus. As both conflict transformation and neo-functionalism are concerned with the process of peace and integration, a neo-functional approach could provide this guiding force. The only objective that must be pursued is to establish a situation whereby the use or even threat of war is removed from Cypriot consciousness. Additionally, the integration of the EU without a clear final objective is also synonymous with the ideals of peace as a lifestyle, outlined within the context of conflict transformation.

## Conclusion

In conclusion a neo-functional approach to the Cyprus issue may certainly serve as a successful process of conflict transformation. The emphasis must also shift from existing desired outcomes, such as creating a federation, confederation or two independent states, and focus rather simply on the process. As outlined in this article, peace is a way of life and an ongoing process, and in order to successfully transform the Cyprus conflict it is vital that the process becomes the desired objective, with both communities continuously working together with no specific goal in mind. To quote the work of Ergün Olgun (1998):

'Change and resolution occur best in an evolutionary manner. Such an evolution is usually accompanied by a clear sense of direction based on a vision of cooperation, common good and equal partnership.'<sup>6</sup>

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6 E. Olgun (1998) 'Recognising Two States in Cyprus Would Facilitate Co-existence and Stability'. Response to H.E. Prodromou, (1998) 'Reintegrating Cyprus: The Need for a New Approach', *Survival*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (Autumn), p. 38. International Institute for Strategic Studies.

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# From Nation-Building to Europeanisation: The Influence of History on Greek-Cypriot Education

CHRISTINA HAJISOTERIOU

## Abstract

*The socio-historical context of Cyprus entails various consequences for Greek-Cypriot education. However, the distinctive character of Greek-Cypriot education does not only have historical credentials, but it is also bound to the contemporary situation that includes Cyprus' accession to the EU. This paper explores the ways in which history influences Greek-Cypriot education. Furthermore, it examines the types of interaction between European influences and national education policies by reporting on policy-document analysis and semi-structured interviews carried out with Greek-Cypriot policy-makers. As Greek-Cypriot education has been developed in a case characterised by both inter-communal and intra-communal conflict, it has been inextricably linked to the nation-building project. The Europeanisation of Greek-Cypriot education has been merely symbolic, indicating 'simulated' development and implementation processes.*

**Keywords:** education, history, nation-building, Europeanisation

## Introduction

Cyprus is an independent, sovereign Republic of a presidential type. It is a small island situated at the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea, south of Turkey, west of Levant, north of Egypt, and south-east of Greece. Cyprus has always demonstrated a unique historical context because of its strategic geographical location, at the crossroads of civilisations that has led to a continuous situation of conflict and conquest. The 1960 constitution of the Republic of Cyprus recognises the Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot groups as the two major communities of the island and establishes Greek and Turkish as official languages. In modern history, the two communities have attempted to establish a strong link between the actual state and the nations that they represent (Greece and Turkey). The presentation of the Cypriot state as coterminous with one of these two nations has had adverse implications for the separate education systems of the two communities.

Coulby (1997, p. 34) argues that 'it might be expected that the nature of the state's selection of nations would be reflected in the culture and knowledge chosen within curricular systems'. The state can potentially control cultural reproduction through school curricula; therefore education should be assessed against cultural forces that are historically formatted. The notion of nationhood, which historically became stronger in the Cypriot context, has influenced the educational

arrangements of Cyprus. However, the portrayal by school curricula of the state as coterminous with a homogenous culture and nation might operate to produce and reproduce xenophobia towards non-dominant groups (i.e. immigrants) (Coulby, 1997). On the other hand, Coulby suggests that a state's accession to the EU could potentially become 'a corrective against nationalist isolationism' (*ibid.*, p. 34). Arguably, Greek-Cypriot schooling and society is substantially influenced by the traditional Cypriot historical context and, more recently, Cyprus' accession to the EU and Europeanisation.

### Conceptualising Europeanisation

Europeanisation is assembled as the effect of policy development within European-related structures of governance, but also as the process of political problem-solving which influences the interactions of policy actors and networks in Europe (Lawn and Keiner, 2006). Radaelli (2000, p. 4) defines Europeanisation as the processes in which:

'(a) construction (b) diffusion (c) institutionalisation of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, "ways of doing things" and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of EU decisions and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures and public policies.'

Europeanisation often bears a diversified impact of European requirements and procedures on domestic policies.

In examining the mechanisms through which European institutions may influence national policy, literature identifies coercion, mimetism, framing mechanisms and elite learning. *Coercion* indicates that European institutions pressurise member states to bring their domestic policies into line with European policies by deploying legal or economic incentives (Radaelli, 2003). *Mimetism* indicates that 'if the countries adopting EU policies provide a critical mass, the remaining countries can feel the force of attraction of the EU "centre of gravity" and join in' (*ibid.*, p. 42). *Framing mechanisms* are weaker instruments and, by extension, softer modes of Europeanisation, that operate by: (a) suggesting new policy solutions to a national policy problem; (b) diffusing ideas via processes such as benchmarking, sharing of best practice, monitoring and evaluation; or (c) the promotion of the network mode of governance' to the member states. Lastly, *elite learning* implies the adoption of adaptation and coping strategies in response to external stimulation (*thin learning*) or the shift of beliefs, preferences and values (*thick learning*).

Nonetheless, researching Europeanisation through the lens of an exclusively top-down rather than a bottom up perspective disregards the complex two-way interrelationship of European integration (Radaelli, 2003). Europeanisation is an 'interactive process of policy-making whereby member states co-construct, influence or shape the formation of policies, which get crystallised as "European"' (Alexiadou, 2007, p. 107). The adoption or implementation of supranational (i.e.

Europeanised) educational policies at the national level involves processes of translation and recontextualisation. The flows of Europeanised ideologies are mediated by national histories, cultures and politics (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010). Accordingly, we examine the influences of history on Greek-Cypriot education.

### **Pre-Independence Period: Implications on Education**

The contemporary reality and ideology, which underpin Greek-Cypriot education, are strongly influenced by Cyprus' historical context. Persianis (1996) suggests that the unique historical context of Cyprus has substantially affected the development of its educational affairs. In discussing Cypriot modern history, Kizilyürek and Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis (1997, p. 10) suggest that we should go 'as far back as the Ottoman occupation of the island in 1571 ... because herein lies the origins of bicomunalism in Cyprus'. The expansion of the Ottoman Empire to include the island led to the settlement of the Muslim population in Cyprus and planted the seed of bicomunalism. During the period of Ottoman rule (1571-1878) the different communities appropriated their own cultural, educational and religious administration (Kizilyürek and Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis, 1997). This period was neither a period of integration nor conflict.

Greece's independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1824 affected the politics of the island. Cyprus was officially excluded from the territory of the Greek state. However, following a process of state- and nation-building, Greece mobilised the implementation of the vision of the *Megali Idea* (Great Idea). The concept of the Great Idea implied the goal of establishing a Greek state that would include all Greeks and thus Cyprus. This political programme necessitated the creation of intellectual links between Greece and its eastern periphery. The Greek-Cypriot Orthodox Church became the 'vehicle' for the intellectual expansion of the Hellenic Kingdom to Cyprus. The Church and the Hellenic Centre cultivated the interpretation of local traditions as national assertions. This raising of national consciousness by the means of education inspired the vision of *Enosis* (unification) of Cyprus with Greece (Philippou, 2007).

In 1878, Turkey exchanged Cyprus for 'a British commitment to maintain the integrity of Turkish dominions in Asia against Russia' (Persianis, 1996, p. 47). The Greek-Cypriot community, fearing its 'dehellenisation' by the colonial government, adopted an ideology of 'Greek supremacy', which reinforced a construction of collective existence attached to the unification of Cyprus with Greece (Persianis, 1996). On the other hand, the Turkish-Cypriot community, which had no interest in the union of Cyprus with Greece, announced a counter-demand for the continuation of British Colonial rule. Otherwise, they demanded the return of the island to the successor of the Ottoman Empire (Holland, 1998). The clash between the two nationalisms boosted an intercommunal conflict between right-wing Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots. Greek-Cypriots' aim of *Enosis* (Union) with Greece mobilised an armed anti-colonial struggle (1955-1959) led by EOKA, an organisation mainly formed by right-wing Greek-Cypriot fighters (Papadakis, 1995). In 1956, a major shift marked both Turkish and Turkish-Cypriot politics

suggesting a demand for the partition (*taksim*) of the island. Moreover, left-wing Greek-Cypriots were subject to suspicion and violence as AKEL, the communist party of Cyprus, expressed reservations about the timing and the form of the struggle.

During this period, the educational policy in Cyprus was marked by the conflict between the Greek-Cypriot Orthodox Church and the colonial government. The former exploited education to promote the vision of *Enosis* in Greek-Cypriot consciousness, while the latter attempted to carry out a 'civilising task' towards their colonies (Koullapis, 1999). During the first period of Cypriot colonialism (1878-1931), Greek-Cypriot education promoted nationalist propaganda through the teaching of Greek history. But over the second period (1931-1960) the British adopted a policy of planned cultural and educational 'lending' (Persianis, 1996, p. 45). The colonial power attempted to 'lend to the Cypriots the academic model of the British metropolitan schools, the English language and culture and the advantages of the British universities and colleges' (*ibid.*, p. 57). The British founded multicultural secondary schools for the co-education of students from all communities in Cyprus. By the end of the British rule, they had established Britain's technical model of schooling. Herein lay an attempt at cultural integration through education in order to restrict the development of Greek or Turkish consciousness among Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots respectively. In order to secure its rule over the island, Britain attempted to develop a Cypriot collective identity (in contrast to a Greek or a Turkish one) by making Cypriots aware of their responsibilities as part of the British Empire. They deployed education as a means for establishing a new middle class which would be culturally responsive and politically supportive of the Colonial government. Through academic secondary education they sought to prepare a class of public servants, who would work for, and not against, their governance. The new middle class would function as the link between the colonial government and the masses.

However, Greek-Cypriot resistance to British integrationist policies strengthened Greek-Cypriot nationalism (Koullapis, 1999). Greek-Cypriot teachers purposely ignored the history curricula and textbooks imposed by the British administration and adopted a teaching-as-usual approach. Many Greek-Cypriot secondary schools refused British financial support and retained the National Curriculum of Greece. Lastly, in the 1950s, central high schools (i.e. Pancyprian Gymnasium in Nicosia) organised anti-colonial parades in favour of *Enosis*. It may be argued that Greek-Cypriot teachers' perceptions of their cultural identities constrained the implementation of British educational policy. The enactment of educational policy legislation by the British was not equivalent to the execution of this policy by Greek-Cypriot schools.

### **The Independence Period: Implications on Education**

Moving from colonialism to independence, Cyprus was granted independence as a bicomunal Republic by the Zurich-London agreement in 1960 (Papadakis, 1995). Even so, the previous intercommunal conflict militated against cooperation between the two major communities as a bicomunal Republic. Although the two 'mother' countries (Greece and Turkey) agreed to

abandon their counter goals for Cyprus' unification with Greece and partition, respectively, they continued to reinforce Greek or Turkish consciousness among Cypriots (Kızılyürek and Hadjipavlou-Trigeorgis, 1997). The strong resistance of the two communities towards cooperation led to an out-break of intercommunal violence and the consequent collapse of the bicomunal structures of the state. Eventually, Turkish-Cypriot Ministers withdrew from the Cabinet and Turkish-Cypriots were moved by their leaders into certain locations to form self-administered enclaves in 1963. In 1964 the United Nations Security Council stationed an international peacekeeping force (UNFICYP) on the island and appointed a UN mediator to promote a peaceful settlement of the problem in accordance with the Charter of the UN.

This period of intercommunal conflict between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots was also substantially marked by intra-ethnic conflict between right-wing Greek-Cypriots, to whom the administrative authority was rendered; and left-wing Greek-Cypriots who were considered as not eligible for positions of power on the basis of their absence from the anti-colonial struggle. Taking advantage of this situation, the dictatorial military government (Junta) of Greece, which came to power in 1967, encouraged a coup against the government of the Republic in 1974 to fulfil the aim of unification of Cyprus with Greece. In response, Turkey invaded Cyprus leading to the division of the island and the massive relocation of Greek-Cypriots in southern Cyprus and Turkish-Cypriots in northern Cyprus (Papadakis, 1993).

In 1975, the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus was formed which formally declared its independence as the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) in 1983.<sup>1</sup> The UN Security Council Resolution 541 (UN, 1983) claimed the invalidity of such a state and TRNC is recognised as an independent state only by Turkey. Even though since 1974 the Greek-Cypriot government has controlled only the southern part of Cyprus, it is recognised as the *de jure* government of the whole island (Constantinou and Papadakis, 2001). Since 1974 various UN led attempts to overcome the division of the island on a bizonal, bicomunal basis failed. The island came closest to a reunification when in 2004 the two major communities of the island held an unsuccessful referendum to settle the Cyprus question in April 2004. Turkish-Cypriots and Greek-Cypriots were asked to ratify or reject the 'Annan Plan for Cyprus' (fifth revision), a UN proposal for settlement. As a result, when Cyprus became a full member of the EU (May 2004), the *acquis communautaire* (total body of EU law accumulated thus far) of the EU remained suspended in the occupied north. Moreover, in 2003 there was a partial opening of crossing points between north and south Cyprus. The Turkish-Cypriot administration allowed access to the northern part via specific checkpoints across the buffer zone, where Greek-Cypriots are asked to demonstrate their passports.

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1 Although the northern part of the island is referred to as the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) in this essay, it is acknowledged that the TRNC is not recognised by the international community except Turkey.

The aforementioned intercommunal conflict between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots and the intra-communal one between the political left and the right permeated the Greek-Cypriot educational policy. The language used to describe national identity by various curriculum documents drew upon two conflicting discourses: (a) *Hellenocentrism* that asserts the Greekness of Greek-Cypriots and was mainly argued by the right wing; and (b) *Cypriocentrism* that pursued a Cypriot identity common to all the communities of the island and was mainly deployed by the left wing (Philippou, 2007). The Turkish invasion and the division of the island resulted in a stronger 'hellenocentricity' of Greek-Cypriot education. Koyzis (1997, p. 30) argues that the Greek-oriented philosophy of education attempted 'to place Cypriot education within the broader premises of Greek national education'. Hellenocentrism implied the adoption of nationalistic history curricula, which reproduced the national myth (Trimikliniotis, 2004). History teaching presented Greek-Cypriot history as highly enmeshed with ancient and modern Greek history. During this period, Greek-Cypriot education relied on textbooks freely provided by the Greek state. However, a reformist education movement arose, lasting from 1976 to 1992, which enabled the expansion of the Cypriocentric school of thought (Koyzis, 1997). Cypriocentrists introduced Cypriot history as a separate subject or as sections of courses on the history of the Greek world. Moreover, Cypriot geography and Cypriot literature became part of general geography and Modern Greek subjects respectively. Civic education was added to the curriculum of the third year of lower secondary education. The reformists favoured a Cypriot educational route independent of Greece. Even though Greek-Cypriot education continued to draw upon the freely provided Greek textbooks, Greek-Cypriot publications were included in the curricula of secondary education. The early 1990s meant a return to cultural and educational conservatism and thus a return to the Hellenocentric orientation (*ibid.*). Although the Greek-Cypriot Ministry of Education was now publishing up to 45% of all textbooks used in secondary education, the subject of ancient Greek was introduced to the curriculum of the first grade of gymnasium. Koyzis (*ibid.*, p. 35) contends that 'this return to "formalism" in language education signals a return to a 1970s ethno-nationalism through language teaching'.

Koutselini-Ioannidou (1997) adds to the debate arguing that the political situation in Cyprus and the unresolved political problem influence the philosophy underlying Greek-Cypriot secondary education. She explains that monolithic cultural considerations have shaped a national conscience that permeates school curricula. Koutselini-Ioannidou concludes that the curriculum should be studied as a political text. On a similar route, Philippou and Varnava (2009) claim that the construction of Cypriot identity as Greek in the curriculum and textbooks is denoted by salient mechanisms which attribute responsibility for the Cypriot political problem, while at the same time legitimising particular solutions over others. The first mechanism refers to the use of language 'using the term "Cypriot" or "nation" to systematically denote Greek Cypriot or Greek nation in Cyprus', while excluding others (i.e. Turkish-Cypriots) as non Cypriots (*ibid.*, p. 199). The second mechanism ascribes to the construction of a linear chronological historical narrative



by the textbooks, which pertains to the Greek origins of Cyprus. The third mechanism points to the depiction of Turkish Cypriots as the remnants of the 'conquers' Turks, underestimating them as a religious minority and not as a community with equal political rights. The fourth mechanism relates to the content attached to Cypriot identity by the use of national symbols and anthems of the motherland Greece. Lastly, the fifth mechanism portrays Cyprus as European because of its Greek-Roman culture and Christian heritage. We may then argue that the Greek-Cypriot curriculum and textbooks emphasised the interconnection between culture and Greek civilisation. This reinforced the conceptualisation of cultural differences in terms of ethnic differences.

International literature criticises this conceptualisation and suggests that cultures should be constructively critical, both of others and of themselves (Gaglar, 1997). Spyrou (2002) argues that in ethnically divided societies, education draws upon nationalism to define a political sense of 'self' in contrast to 'others'. Koullapis' (1999) research on Greek-Cypriot textbooks illustrates that in the post-1974 era Greek-Cypriot textbooks have constructed the absolute 'Greekness' of Cyprus. While they conceal the existence of other non-Greek speaking populations on the island, they deploy the notion of 'Hellenism' as a defence mechanism towards the division of the island. Koullapis asserts that Greek-Cypriot education has a strict monocultural orientation. Consequently, other ethnic groups within Cyprus are systematically ignored or condemned as 'obstacles' or enemies.

This assumption legitimates 'attempts to "cleanse" the national body ... from such elements' (Papadakis, 1995, p. 57). These attempts might also take the form of peaceful operations, such as linguistic purification movements or folklore studies. Through school commemorations of national celebrations and the presentation of national heroes as role models school curricula construct the 'self' as superior to the 'other' (Zikas and Koutselini-Ioannidou, 2002; Trimikliniotis, 2004). Damanakis' (2002) case study of Cyprus illustrates that the national education goals suggest the teaching of traditions and attitudes that may contribute to the 'survival' of Greek-Cypriot Hellenism; the raising of a 'fighting' consciousness for national liberation; the conservation of Greek-Cypriots' memory of their history and lost land; and the development of national over individual interests.

Nonetheless, the partial opening of the crossing points (2003), the subsequent inter-communal meetings between Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot students and teachers; the Annan Plan (2004) and the efforts for reconciliation have brought up questions about the relevance of the 'I don't forget curriculum'. Also, Panayiotopoulos and Nicolaidou (2007) report that since the opening of the divide, a considerable number of Turkish-Cypriots have moved to the south aiming at a better quality of life. They argue that educational reform and intercultural education become an imperative need within the context of Cyprus' accession to the EU.

### **Cyprus' Accession to the EU: Implications on Education**

Trimikliniotis (2001a) locates Cyprus' turn towards the EU in the context of the collapse of the USSR and the decline of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) through which Cyprus had

attempted to gain recognition of its sovereignty in the past. Moreover, the failure of the intercommunal talks under the auspices of the UN led to the adoption of a discourse presenting the European Community (EC) as a potential catalyst in the resolution of the Cyprus' problem (Trimikliniotis, 2001b; Kizilyürek, 2002). Although the Community reaffirmed Cyprus' European character in 1993, it also set the resolution of Cyprus' political problem as a precondition for its accession to the EC. Nevertheless, the condemnation of the Turkish-Cypriot side as solely responsible for the absence of a solution by the 1994 EC report on the evolution of the Cypriot Problem led to a change of direction in EC policy. As a result, Cyprus' accession negotiations with the EU (former EC) started in 1998. Accession negotiations with the Greek-Cypriot government, which was subsequently recognised as the sole interlocutor, provoked Turkish and Turkish-Cypriot reaction. Even though Cyprus became a full member in 2004, its political question remains still unresolved.

'Euro-enthusiasts' argue that Cyprus' accession to the EU will gradually lead to the social and educational modernisation of the island. They claim that the EU educational agenda reinforces the development of policies that will potentially abolish the nationalistic elements within Greek-Cypriot schooling and society. Nonetheless, Trimikliniotis (2004) contends that Greek-Cypriots have always perceived themselves as victims of 'racism' due to British colonialism and Turkish occupation of the northern part of the island. Therefore a debate about Europeanisation does not "fit in" the national story of victimisation of Greek-Cypriots'.

Philippou's research (2007) indicates that Europeanisation was warmly welcomed only by the political, not the educational, domain. Notably, the rationale for Cyprus' accession to the EU was mainly political, arguing for the EU's role as a catalyst in the resolution of the Cypriot problem. Philippou reports the marginal inclusion of European discourses in Greek-Cypriot education. She asserts that the traditional ethnocentrism of Greek-Cypriot education impedes Cyprus' participation in the European cultural space. The Greek-Cypriot Ministry of Education markedly included the European dimension of education in its main aims for education. In spite of that the European dimension has been restricted to the addition of EU languages to school curricula and participation in EU teacher and student exchange programmes. Furthermore, the concept of the European dimension has been associated with technological and economic development. Philippou concludes that the Ministry has purposely avoided the cultural implications of the Europeanisation of Greek-Cypriot education. Her findings necessitate the examination of Greek-Cypriot educational policy within the context of 'simulated-Europeanised' schooling.

Taking into consideration the debate between 'Euroceptics' and 'Euroenthusiasts', it is important to examine if and how the EU has influenced Greek-Cypriot educational policy processes. This, in turn, raises the question of the role of the EU in the formulation of Greek-Cypriot policy. However, there are few assessments of the impact of European integration on Greek-Cypriot educational policy. The Cypriot problem overwhelms the research agenda examining education as a promising element of the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot relationships (i.e. Damanakis, 2002; Spyrou, 2002). Drawing upon our conceptualisation of

Europeanisation, we examine the role played by European institutions in the formulation of Greek-Cypriot educational policies and the Greek-Cypriot responses to these influences.

### **Methodology**

To this end, we drew upon policy documentary and interview data coming from the Greek-Cypriot Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC), which represents an institution of the Cypriot state. Given the scant literature examining the field, policy documentation was a crucial data source. We also interviewed officials working within the MEC. Interview data were essential, as we regarded 'the information yielded through the spoken word as a matter of "filling the gaps" left by an incomplete documentary record' (Gardner and Cunningham, 1997, p. 38).

We examined a wide array of official documents from the MEC's archives (i.e. national curricula, annual reports, circulars sent to schools). The Greek-Cypriot policy-makers were selected purposively according to the level of their involvement in the development of educational policy. On the basis of a snowball selection, we used each policy-maker that we identified as an informant to put us in touch with other policy-makers working in the field of intercultural education. We selected ten policy-makers working in the MEC's departments including the Bureau of Primary Education, the Pedagogical Institute and the Inspectorate. The duration of the interviews was approximately 90 minutes. The interview questions focused on the interviewees' definitions of educational reform and their understandings of the policy-making dynamics between Greek-Cypriot and European educational arenas. The interviews were tape-recorded and fully transcribed so that no verbal information would be lost. To maintain credibility, we adopted a member check measure (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Thus interviewees were asked to review and revisit the interview transcripts and the themes that emerged from their interview accounts.

Data analysis started at the beginning of our data collection. We carefully examined our collected data in order to identify groups of concepts, issues, perceptions and behaviours and the ways in which all these groups are interrelated within a theoretical model (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). In trying to establish the trustworthiness of the data, we examined and triangulated our data from multiple angles and different perspectives, continually looking for alternative possibilities and different explanations, trying to develop a richer understanding of them (*ibid.*).

### **Europeanising Greek-Cypriot Education: Europe as a Centre of Gravity?**

The last national curriculum for primary education, which will stop being in force in the next school year, was developed in 1994 and revised in 1996. The 1994 curriculum was produced in the light of the re-evaluation of Cypriot institutions and ideologies that consequently generated a debate concerning curriculum reconstruction. It is remarkable that the MEC showed its devotion to the Cypriot tradition in articulating the curriculum goals:

'The general aims of education are defined by the state on the basis of our national, religious and cultural tradition, the socio-economic situation, and international educational, technological and cultural achievements.' (MEC, 1996, p. 17)

'In regard to the orientations of Cypriot education, a substantial role is played by, *inter alia*, the semi-occupation of Cyprus, the existence of the Greek-Cypriot refugee population and the speedy socio-economic change.' (MEC, 1996, p. 17)

It is noteworthy that the MEC explicitly emphasised that the goals of Cypriot education were state-derived and, by extension, MEC-derived as the Ministry is the only official state institution concerned with educational issues. The MEC stressed the particular importance of nationalistic, religious and cultural elements in the making of Cypriot education. It justified such an approach on the basis of the division of the island. The aforementioned extracts exclusively recognised *our* Greek-Cypriot culture as the cornerstone of Cypriot education. Even though, the curriculum referred to international cultural achievements, these achievements were not defined or specified. It may be argued that the goals of the Cypriot state and the MEC prioritised the political sovereignty of the country which was legitimised by a nationalistic discourse. Cross-cultural understanding was included in the curriculum goals, albeit by simply referring to Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot relations (MEC, 1996).

Policy Maker 9 (PM) goes on to describe that in 2004, the MEC began a campaign for educational reform to address the above issues. It is noteworthy that the campaign coincided chronologically with Cyprus' accession to the EU. The slogan 'Democratic education in a Euro-Cyprian society' was adopted to describe the MEC's efforts to steer the national education system towards a European orientation (Committee for Educational Reform, 2004). In the context of this campaign, the MEC composed a committee of academics to examine the prospects for educational reform in Cyprus. The committee indicated the need for curriculum reform, while their suggestions reinforced the elimination of ethnocentric and monocultural elements in Cypriot education (*ibid.*, p. 4). To this extent, the MEC composed inter-disciplinary committees of academics and teachers, who worked towards the reform of the national curriculum. The aims of the 'new' curriculum include *inter alia*: (a) the adoption of an intercultural ideology that connects Cypriot tradition with the knowledge of other cultures; (b) the development of citizens' such attitudes as democracy, tolerance, 'friendship' and cooperation; and (c) the emphasis on the European dimension in education (MEC, 2010). As the 2010 curriculum had not been put in practice yet, we cannot examine its impact on educational practice in Cyprus. Yet, these observations beget further crucial questions regarding the impetus for educational policy change. The discussion below sets the aforesaid discursive field in the European context.

It is arguable that the new policy orientation towards reform and Europeanisation was not entirely self-induced or self-determined. In line with the guidelines of international and European institutions, the Cypriot state sought to transform its educational policy by legitimising Europeanisation as the overarching discourse from which the Greek-Cypriot educational policy

would emanate. The following extracts evidence the turn in Greek-Cypriot educational policy in the context of its accession to the EU:

'As future European citizens we should democratically and peacefully co-exist in a socially pluralistic society. Cultural and linguistic diversity in public schools is a common reality for all the member states.' (MEC, 2007, pp. 1-2)

One aspect alluded to by the MEC's documentation was the new roles ascribed to the Cypriot state in regard to educational provision. Policy-related documents suggested that in the light of Cyprus' accession to the EU, the MEC ought to ensure that the quality of Greek-Cypriot education adhered to the European standards.

Arguably, the EU functions as a 'centre of gravity' for the Cypriot state and, by extension, for the Greek-Cypriot Ministry of Education. At times, MEC documentation claims that the Greek-Cypriot educational policy identifies with the usual policy of other EU member states. The shift in the educational rhetoric from national-building towards the creation of the Euro-Cyprian society should undeniably be examined in the context of Cyprus' accession negotiations with the EU. According to the Copenhagen Criteria, the applicants for membership of the EU must fulfil political, economic and *acquis* criteria. Political criteria indicate that states must establish institutions to safeguard democracy, law, human rights and respect for, and protection of, minorities (Wilson, 2002). Economic criteria emphasise the development of a market economy, while *acquis* criteria underline the allegiance to the current goals of the EU by integrating the EU law into the state's legislation. Consequently, the Cypriot state and its institutions (i.e. the MEC), are required to comply with EU goals in all spheres of public life, and particularly in the field of education. On the other hand, Greek-Cypriot policy-makers in their interview accounts emphasised the absence of coercive mechanisms deployed by the EU beyond the conventions ratified by the Cypriot state. The extracts below are indicative of their responses when asked to comment upon the impact of Europe on the national educational agenda:

'Inevitably the EU affects all the spheres of our society: educational and economic. However, there is no educational *acquis* that we are forced to implement. Education is a matter of the national state and the EU has a subsidiary role. Nevertheless, all the conventions ratified by the Cypriot Republic because of our accession to the EU are acknowledged in the formulation of the Ministry's policy.' (PM1)

One aspect alluded to by policy-makers was the absence of provision of strong legal measures by the EU. Policy-makers suggested that Europe possesses an implicit and subsidiary role instead of an explicit and top-down one in the Greek-Cypriot educational policy process. Hence they depicted a rather weak connection between European and Greek-Cypriot institutions in the field of educational policy, even though this link was evident in the MEC's policy documentation.

Nevertheless, when policy-makers were asked to describe specifically the relation between Europe and Greek-Cypriot educational institutions, they identified alternative mechanisms of

interaction. Policy-makers pointed to the participation of the Greek-Cypriot Minister of Education in the Council of the European Union, or informally the Council of Ministers (i.e. PM1). The Council is the main decision-making body of the EU. The Ministers of the member states meet within the Council of the EU. Depending on the issue on the agenda, each country is represented by the Minister responsible for that subject (e.g. school curricula, history education etc). From policy-makers' accounts, supranational imperatives in relation to educational policy issues often appear to have been reliant on the network mode of governance, a mechanism that has no coercive force in the EU. Network governance draws upon the negotiation of the satisfaction criteria for the educational organisations' lines and integrates processes for the measurement and improvement of the efficiency. Policy-makers argued that the definition of common objectives formed the major network-governance technique adopted by the Cypriot state:

'The Council of Ministers of the EU and the Ministers of Education who participate in the Council set out common objectives which influence the development of our Ministry's policy.' (PM1)

Despite the existence of EU framing mechanisms, the policy-makers who participated in this study argued that educational policies were exclusively shaped by Greek-Cypriot institutions like the MEC. They claimed that top-down educational incentives deriving from the European space were merely recommendations and did not have any coercive impact on Greek-Cypriot policy processes. The following quote is indicative of such an approach:

'The EU's influence was marginal. Although there was pressure for policy change, there were no penalties for the absence of educational reform. We are not the only "mischief-makers". Other states should be pressurised too.' (PM2)

Interestingly, policy-makers highlighted the fact that the MEC often exerts influence on the Europeanisation of Greek-Cypriot educational policy by delaying decision-making and implementation processes. They contended that the centralisation of the Greek-Cypriot educational system added to the slow-down of educational policy change and thereby its adherence to European standards. The quote below echoes their concerns relating to the centralisation of Greek-Cypriot education:

'We still have a long way to go. Our progress is slow but steady. These are the drawbacks of our centralised system.' (PM3)

Literature asserts that the centralised character of the Cypriot educational system pertains to a sequential array of policy gatekeepers, whereby policy-makers assert the highest influence on policy formulation processes (Kyriakides, 1996). Policy-makers argued that the MEC should adhere to European recommendations if Greek-Cypriot policy-makers agreed to such recommendations. Thus Greek-Cypriot policy-makers could act as 'vetoers' of recommendations proposed by Europe, whenever their personal beliefs were in contrast to European recommendations. This enabled

national institutions and therefore the MEC to exert influence on the Europeanisation of Cypriot educational policy.

### **Conclusion**

The development of the Greek-Cypriot educational system, in terms of content and structure, has historical and political origins. Greek-Cypriot education has been inextricably linked to the nation-building project, as it has been developed in a case characterised by both inter-communal and intra-communal conflict. Thus, the restrictive character of Greek-Cypriot educational policies has allowed for discriminatory ideologies and discourses to prevail in the Greek-Cypriot society. In any event, Cyprus' accession to the EU would provide the impetus for educational reform providing a European dimension in education. In the context of Cyprus' accession to the European Union, the Greek-Cypriot Ministry of Education and its officials, the schools and their personnel were called upon for the first time to develop and implement Europeanised policies. European institutions induced the reform of Greek-Cypriot educational policies by imbuing the Greek-Cypriot socio-political environment with discourses of Europeanisation and modernisation. However, such discourses often run counter to nationalistic notions of identity. Greek-Cypriot education has drawn upon the nation-building project, mainly because of the unresolved Cypriot problem. Therefore discourses arguing for students' assimilation to the national identity remain present in the socio-historical context. Yet Cyprus has had to respond to calls for the Europeanisation of its educational agenda.

It may then be argued that the Greek-Cypriot educational policy has been formed by complex and often counteractive influences. Such influences include supranational variables, national factors and policy actors' values regarding history and politics. This incongruity mirrored substantial tensions within and between the national and European arenas. Arguably policy-makers operated within this context of shifting discourses and the subsequent evolution from the nation-building project towards Europeanisation. Often accountable to European monitoring institutions, policy-makers provided the link between EU and national educational policy agendas. Therefore policy options were not only shaped by the national, but also by the European context. However, Europeanisation processes of Greek-Cypriot educational policy were constrained by initiatives, which pertain to covert nationalism.

Our findings suggest that the Europeanisation of the Greek-Cypriot education is merely symbolic, indicating 'simulated' development and implementation processes. Although a process of educational reform was initiated and is still in process, it has exclusively focused on curriculum reform. The educational system itself has delayed such a process due to the absence of consensus within and among the national and the European spheres. Undeniably, there remains a high degree of ambivalence towards the process of transformation needed to make Europeanised educational policy a 'reality' in Cyprus.

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# Personality and Psychological Adjustment of Greek-Cypriot Youth in the Context of the Parental Acceptance-Rejection Theory

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## Abstract

*Research reported here is based on Rohner's personality sub theory component of the Parental Acceptance-Rejection Theory (PART) of Socialisation: Perceived parental rejection has consistent negative effects on the psychological adjustment of children and adults worldwide (Rohner and Khaleque, 2008). As part of a research project on antisocial behaviour of Cypriot youth we postulated the hypothesis that the individual's overall psychological adjustment (comprised and represented by the Total Composite Test Score and the scores on the seven scales of the Personality Assessment Questionnaire – PAQ), can predict antisocial behaviour in form of racist tendencies in a given population. We tested 1,185 Greek Cypriots (aged 15-23 years) using PART's Personality Assessment Questionnaire (PAQ) and other especially developed questionnaires. Here we present the findings of the initial stages of our research, namely the analysis of the responses of the Greek Cypriot sample on the Adult-PAQ scales. The majority of the Greek Cypriot respondents were found to be in the zone of good emotional and behavioural functioning. These findings, paired with the results of the Cyprus Child PARQ for high perceived acceptance and low rejection in childhood (Demetriou and Christodoulides, 2006) seem to confirm Rohner's postulates in the Parental Acceptance Rejection personality sub theory.*

**Keywords:** Parenting styles, Parental Acceptance-Rejection, personality functioning

## SECTION 1

### Introduction

What kinds of childhood experiences affect the personality and the overall psychological adjustment of individuals? Parenting style is a critical ingredient of the early childhood environment. Parenting style is conceptualised as a variable that moderates the relation between parenting practices and developmental outcomes (Darling and Steinberg, 1993). The significant relationship between warm and accepting parenting style and positive personality outcomes has been established repeatedly within ethnically diverse populations and it applies to adult and adolescent behaviours as well as those of young children (Baumrind, 1991; Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg and Dornbusch, 1991). On the other hand, the most consistently negative outcomes on

personality have been associated with cold, rejecting and uninvolved parenting which is linked with such personality characteristics as low self-esteem, increased aggression, reduced control over impulses, and insecure attachment (Egeland and Sroufe, 1981).

The Parental acceptance-rejection theory (PARTheory) (Rohner, 1980, 2004) is an evidence-based theory of socialisation and lifespan development that attempts to predict and explain major causes, consequences, and other correlates of parental acceptance and rejection within the United States and worldwide. The theory counters five classes of questions divided into three sub theories. These are personality sub theory, coping sub theory, and socio-cultural systems sub theory (Rohner, Khaleque and Cournoyer, 2009b). Because this article discusses central issues within personality sub theory the other two sub theories will not be elaborated upon, though they are described at length in Rohner (1986, 2004), Rohner, Khaleque, and Cournoyer (2009a) and elsewhere.

PARTheory's personality sub theory proposes four fundamental postulates: First, it postulates that children everywhere – in different socio-cultural systems, racial or ethnic groups, genders, and the like – respond in essentially the same way when they perceive themselves to be accepted or rejected by their parents (Postulate 1: Child adjustment). Second, it postulates that the effects of remembered childhood rejection extend into adulthood and old age (Postulate 2: Adult adjustment). Third, it postulates that the perception of rejection by an intimate partner or other attachment figure in adulthood is likely to be associated with the same form of psychological maladjustment as experienced by rejected children (Postulate 3: Partner adjustment). Fourth, the sub theory postulates that variations in culture, language, race, gender, and other similar defining conditions are not sufficient to override the apparently universal tendency for individuals who perceive themselves to be rejected by attachment figures to develop a specific form of psychological maladjustment called in PARTheory the acceptance-rejection syndrome (Rohner, 2004) (Postulate 4: Universality) (Rohner and Khaleque, 2008).

Postulates regarding universality in PARTheory draw from the phylogenetic perspective (Rohner, 1975, 1976, 1986) or from what some now call evolutionary developmental psychology (Geary and Bjorklund, 2000). This viewpoint asserts that human beings have developed over the course of behaviour-genetic co-evolution the enduring biologically based emotional need for positive response from their major caregivers. According to the theory, this need in childhood is for parental affection, nurturance, and support or in the context of the PARTheory, acceptance. PARTheory's Postulates 1 (Child adjustment), 2 (Adult adjustment), and 3 (Partner adjustment) all draw from the phylogenetic perspective and phylogenetic model (Rohner and Khaleque, 2008). Following this perspective leads PARTheory researchers to assume that when this need for positive response is not fulfilled by significant others, humans have the phylogenetically acquired tendency to develop a specific set of negative socio-emotional and cognitive dispositions specified in personality sub theory (Rohner, 1999). Similar concepts can be encountered in Erikson's Psychosocial Theory of Personality where in the first year of life development of basic trust toward

oneself and toward the world stems from the mother's sensitive care. On the contrary the early development of the sense of basic mistrust derives from primary caregivers who act in unreliable, arbitrary and rejecting ways toward the infant (Erikson, 1968). Consequently failure to develop basic trust may seriously interfere with a child's sense of security and compromise her ability to successfully master the challenges of the personality development stages that follow.

Furthermore, in the attachment theory, Bowlby (1969/1982, 1973, 1980) saw attachment as being crucial to a child's personality development and to the development of healthy ways of relating to others. The theoretical basis of most of the attachment research is that secure attachment in infancy will predict good psychosocial outcomes in later years. Ainsworth and Bowlby (1991) distinguished between two types of attachment called secure and anxious. It appears that the primary cause of secure versus insecure attachment is the parent's behaviour toward the infant. Caregivers who are consistently sensitive and responsive to their infants' needs are more likely to raise children who are securely attached to them. Securely attached children are more likely to have close friends, be more socially competent, more accepted by their peer group, have more empathy for others and be able to read emotional cues (Waters *et al.*, 1979; Minnesota Parent-Child Project).<sup>1</sup>

According to the PARTheory personality sub theory the emotional need for positive responses from significant others is a very powerful motivator in children. In adulthood, the need becomes more complex and differentiated to include the wish (recognised or unrecognised) for positive regard from people with whom one has an affectional bond of attachment. People who can best satisfy these needs are typically parents for infants and children, but include significant others and non parental figures for adolescents and adults (Rohner and Khaleque, 2008). A significant other is any person with whom a child or adult has a relatively long-lasting emotional tie and who is interchangeable with no other person.

Among other things the PARTheory personality sub theory asserts that parental rejection has consistent effects on the personality and behavioural dispositions of children and adults everywhere, regardless of culture, ecology, language, or other limiting conditions. Evidence suggests that as much as 21% of the variability in adults' psychological adjustment can be explained by childhood experiences of caregiver acceptance-rejection (*ibid.*). With respect to the consequences of perceived parental acceptance-rejection research has been concerned mainly with a limited constellation of personality dispositions, dispositions that are thought to be an expectable outcome of parental aggression or neglect everywhere (*ibid.*). Seven personality dispositions among both children and adults tend to vary with the childhood experience of parental rejection. These dispositions include (a) hostility, aggression, passive aggression; (b) dependence or defensive independence, depending on the form, frequency, and intensity of rejection; (c) impaired self-

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1 Minnesota Parent-Child Project. Available at [[www.cehd.umn.edu/research/highlights/Parent-Child/default.html](http://www.cehd.umn.edu/research/highlights/Parent-Child/default.html)], accessed on 6 April 2011.

esteem; (d) impaired self-adequacy; (e) emotional unresponsiveness; (f) emotional instability; and (g) negative worldview. Theoretically these dispositions are expected to emerge because of the great psychological pain produced by perceived rejection. According to the personality sub theory children and adults who experience significant rejection are likely to feel increasing anger, resentment and other negative emotions that may become intensely painful. As a result, many rejected persons close off emotionally in an effort to protect themselves from the hurt of further rejection.

In the context of this study, obtaining data on the aforementioned seven personality dispositions of our Greek Cypriot youth sample through the PAQ and comparing it to findings obtained on perceived parental acceptance and rejection in Greek Cypriot children through the PARQ-Child (Demetriou and Christodoulides, 2006) aims at examining cross-culturally Rohner's postulates in the PARTheory personality sub theory as well as testing for a potential predictor of antisocial behaviour, in form of racist tendencies, in our sample.

In section 2 of the present study we explain the method (including sample, procedure and instrument) used to reach the goals of this study. In particular we give a summary of the features of the Adult PAQ, a developed Greek version of which is the instrument applied on our sample of the Greek Cypriot youth population. In section 3 we show the analysis of the data resulting from the application of the Greek Adult PAQ leading to a profile of the dimension 'parental warmth' (acceptance-rejection) experienced by our sample of Greek Cypriot youth. Finally in section 4 we conclude with an assessment of the results.

## SECTION 2

### Method

#### *Sample and Procedures*

The Limassol district, with a population of 226,700, was chosen to serve as the background population field for the research. The district includes Limassol, the second biggest city of the Republic of Cyprus, with a metropolitan population of 183,000.

The participants of the present research were students and soldiers aged 15-25 years, with an approximate mean age of 17.5, in almost all secondary and tertiary education institutions as well as military units of the district of Limassol in the spring of 2000. This was done in the framework of a research programme that studied antisocial behaviours in the form of racism within Cypriot youth (Harakis, 2005). The valid sample (N = 1185) resulted in the following stratification that corresponded to the real population characteristics – in the selected age range – for the selected strata: (a) lower secondary school students (13%), (b) higher secondary school students (51%), (c) tertiary education students (19%), and (d) soldiers (17%).

As far as gender is concerned 66% of the sample was male while 34% was female. The actual proportion within the population under investigation is 57:43 (due to the presence of the soldiers' strata). However, since the sample size is particularly high – for the purposes of the present study – this disproportion has no effect on the results. Moreover, it must be clear that – again for the purposes of the present study – the social characteristics of the sample is not a factor, and is not presented here, but can be seen in Harakis (2005).

### ***Instruments***

#### *The Greek Adult PAQ*

In order to be used with the Cypriot sample the Adult Personality Assessment Questionnaire (PAQ, see §2.2.2) was translated into the Greek language by a bilingual person familiar with the questions asked and with the nature of the research. A second translator then back translated them into English. The original English and the back-translated versions of the PAQ were then compared, and discrepancies were noted and corrected. The process was repeated until the back-translated version matched very closely the original English version. We henceforth refer to the questionnaire that resulted through the above-mentioned process as Adult Gr-PAQ.

Cronbach's coefficient alpha ( $\alpha$ ) a measure of internal consistency of items within a scale (Nunnally, 1978; Guilford and Fruchter 1973) was used to test the reliability of the Adult Gr-PAQ. The internal consistency of Gr-PAQ is judged as satisfactory since the coefficients are reasonably high for all the scales and range from 0.60 to 0.78 ( $p < .001$ ) with a median of 0.71 (see table 1, p. 88). Moreover, the overall coefficient alpha turns out to be 0.75, well within the acceptable region for reliability, and in accordance with most previous studies on PAQ (Khaleque and Rohner, 2002b).

#### *Personality Assessment Questionnaire (PAQ)*

The Personality Assessment Questionnaire is a self-report questionnaire designed in 1971 to assess individuals' perceptions of themselves with respect to the aforementioned seven personality dispositions. Collectively the seven PAQ scales represent a measure of the respondents' overall psychological adjustment. This is a form of adjustment or maladjustment predicted in PARTheory to be universally associated with the experience of parental acceptance-rejection, and with the experience of acceptance-rejection by attachment figures in other relationships throughout life (Rohner and Khaleque, 2008).

The PAQ was constructed on a rational-theoretical basis. In order to facilitate its cross-cultural use the following additional considerations guided its development:

- (a) Scales were to have worldwide applicability;
- (b) Terms within each scale were to have common international referents; and
- (c) Phraseology of the items was to be decentred from standard idiomatic English (Rohner *et al.*, 1978).

Two versions of the PAQ are available: (i) The Adult PAQ is used by adolescents and adults and asks them to reflect on their own personality dispositions. The adult version contains 9 items per scale for a total of 63 items; (ii) The Child PAQ is designed to be used with children from about seven through twelve years of age. It asks children to reflect on their personality dispositions. The child version contains 6 items per scale for a total of 42 items. Both versions of the questionnaire are written in the present tense and ask respondents to reflect on their true – not ideal – feelings about themselves.

In the current research we administered the Adult PAQ after having translated it into Greek. It is probably needless to say that, apart from the translation, all the features of the questionnaire remain unaltered with respect to the original Adult PAQ. Although all these (and more) details can be found in Rohner and Khaleque (2008), we find it useful, for reader's sake, to give a summary of the above-mentioned features.

Each questionnaire has a title page, which should be read by adult respondents before they begin. Respondents are encouraged to complete the questionnaires by themselves and not to dwell for any length of time on any particular item, because the object of the test is to ascertain the respondents' first overall reaction. They are also reminded that there is no right or wrong answer to any item.

Both versions of the PAQ utilise the same response options and scoring system described below thus maximising direct comparability between versions. In all versions of the PAQ, respondents are instructed to ask themselves if an item is basically true or untrue about the way they see themselves or believe the child sees him/herself. If an item is basically true then they have to ask themselves, 'Is it almost *always* true?' or, 'Is it only *sometimes* true?' If an item is basically untrue about the way they perceive themselves or the child sees him/herself they are instructed to ask, 'Is it *rarely* true?' or 'Is it almost *never* true?' The numerical scoring is done as follows: 4 for Almost always True, 3 for Sometimes True, 2 for Rarely True and 1 for Almost Never True.

All scales are designed so that a high score (e.g. a score of 4) indicates a maximum of the behaviour that is predicted to be associated with parental rejection, namely high hostility, dependence, negative self-esteem, negative self-adequacy, emotional unresponsiveness, emotional instability, and negative worldview. In order to minimise response acquiescence or agreement response-set, certain items in each scale, as described below, are phrased so that a high score (e.g. a score of 4) reveals independence (rather than dependence), positive self-esteem, emotional responsiveness, and so forth. Twenty items (32%) in the adult version (as opposed to thirteen items, i.e. 31%, in the child version) must be reverse-scored (Rohner and Khaleque, 2008). The PAQ is scored on the PAQ Scoring Sheet by summing the item scores in each scale, and by recording this number at the foot of each column. All seven PAQ scale-scores are added and that number is recorded on the bottom of the score sheet.

By summing the seven PAQ scale scores researchers can form an overall or total (composite) PAQ score: The higher a total-test score, the more impaired an individual's psychological adjustment is regarded to be.



From the structure of the Adult-PAQ it is clear that the possible (theoretical) maximum and minimum values as well as the midpoints of each scale are 936 and 22.5 respectively. The Total Composite Test Score (TCTS) may spread from a low of 63, revealing excellent psychological adjustment, to a high of 252, revealing serious psychological maladjustment. The theoretical midpoint is 157.5. Scores at or above this test midpoint on the Adult-PAQ indicate more overall maladjustment than adjustment. However it should not be automatically assumed that very low composite PAQ scores (e.g. low to mid 60s on the Adult-PAQ) are necessarily accurate representations of the level of respondents' psychological adjustment because such scores may sometimes indicate social desirability, response bias, denial, wish fulfilment, or other forms of bias (Rohner and Khaleque, 2008).

### SECTION 3

#### Results

##### *Total Composite Test Score*

The statistical analysis of the current research yields the results shown in tables 1 to 3 (pp. 88, 90). Based on these data we can then attempt a first assessment of the emotional and behavioural adjustment of our sample (the standardisation will be the object of further research).

Our first data analysis regards the Total Composite Test Score since this data yields a general profile of the Greek Cypriot sample participating in the research.

In theory, because the mean and standard deviation of the seven scale scores are likely to vary in different samples, researchers may need to convert scale scores to standardised z-scores (Guilford and Fruchter, 1973) prior to summing the Total Composite Test Score. Here, it has been verified that the use of standardised z-scores does not affect the results, as the standard deviations of the individual scales range on the same levels. Strictly in theory, one may say that individuals or groups with a TCTS lying close to or below the midpoint (157.5) generally have good emotional and behavioural functioning. The higher a TCTS lies above 157.5, the more impaired an individual's adjustment is regarded to be. On a practical level though, where we encounter the sample/standard errors and the confidence levels, as well as the degree of reliability of the questionnaire, the theoretical midpoint cannot on its own constitute the critical point (threshold) between the zones of good and bad emotional and behavioural functioning.

As already mentioned, the theoretical midpoint of the Adult PAQ is 157.5. The analysis of our results shows the TCTS to range from a low of 92 to a high of 209. The mean is 144.4 and is well below the theoretical midpoint. The majority of our sample (78%) has a TCTS below the midpoint, with only 22% above it (see tables 1 and 2, p. 88). These scores (with all reservation mentioned above about errors and reliability) allow us to assume that the majority of our respondents are within the zone of good emotional and behavioural functioning.

**Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for the Adult Gr-PAQ Scales (N = 1185)\***

Scale	<i>M</i>	<i>S.D.</i>	Median	Range	Theoretical		<i>a</i>
					Low	High	
Hostility/Aggression	22.5	4.7	21	9 – 36	9	36	0.71
Dependency	24.4	4.3	27	10 – 35	9	36	0.68
Negative Self-Esteem	17.6	4.7	18	9 – 35	9	36	0.78
Negative Self-Adequacy	18.6	4.5	17	9 – 36	9	36	0.76
Emotional Unresponsiveness	19.0	4.3	20	9 – 36	9	36	0.66
Emotional Instability	22.9	3.8	24	11 – 36	9	36	0.60
Negative Worldview	19.3	4.5	21	9 – 36	9	36	0.75
Total Composite Test Score	144.4	18.4	146	92 – 209	63	252	

\* It should be noted that the highest of the typical errors for the mean (for the Adult Gr-PAQ scales) lies at 0.14 and for the Total Composite Test Score at 0.53

For the investigation of possible differences between the genders we used a two-sample two-tailed t-test, both for the TCTS as well as for the seven scales. Where statistically significant differences were detected the p-value is mentioned. The analysis of the TCTS of our Greek Cypriot sample does not yield statistically significant differences between the genders (table 3, p. 90).

### ***Individual Scales of the Gr-PAQ***

All the PAQ scales are designed so that a high score should indicate the highest form of behaviour that the PARTheory predicts to be associated with parental rejection, namely high hostility and aggression, high dependence vs. independence, negative self esteem, negative self adequacy, emotional unresponsiveness, emotional instability and negative worldview.

**Table 2: Scores of the Adult Gr-PAQ Sample in Relation to the Theoretical Midpoint**

<i>Scale</i>	<i>Theoretical</i>	<i>% Scores</i>	<i>% Scores</i>
	<i>Midpoint m</i>	<i>&lt; m</i>	<i>&gt; m</i>
Hostility / Aggression	22.5	50	50
Dependency	22.5	33	67
Negative Self-Esteem	22.5	84	16
Negative Self-Adequacy	22.5	82	18
Emotional Unresponsiveness	22.5	79	21
Emotional Instability	22.5	46	54
Negative Worldview	22.5	79	21
Total Composite Test Score	157.5	78	22

The behavioural dispositions described below have a continuum-like quality, which is not emphasised in the following definitions, but this fact of variability among individuals should not be overlooked (Rohner, Kean and Cournoyer, 1991).

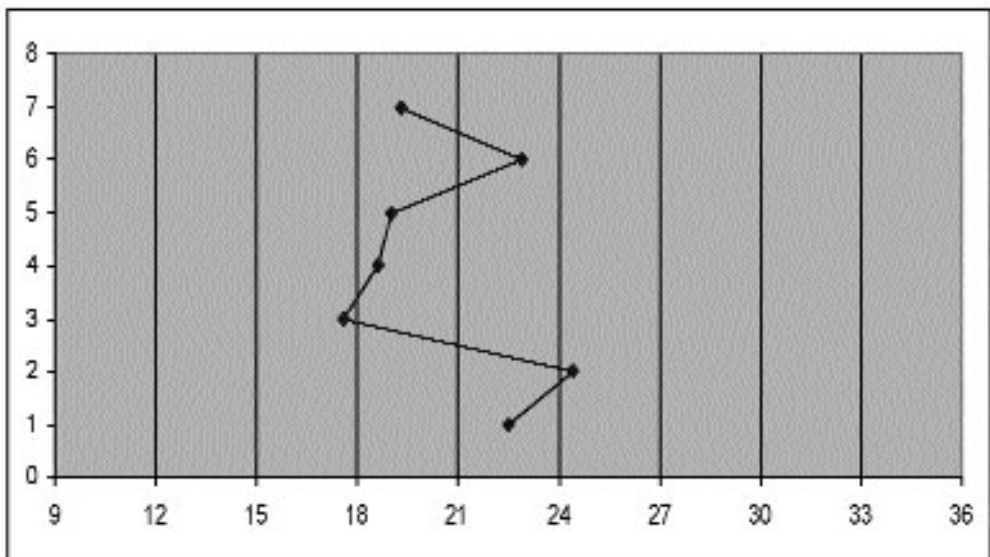
Finally, a schematic synopsis of the means of the individual scales and the TCTS of the respondents participating in the Adult-Gr PAQ gives in a way the personality profile of the 'average' Greek Cypriot youth (see figure 1).

*Hostility/Aggression*

Hostility is an emotional response or feeling of anger or resentment toward another person or situation or toward the self. Hostility is expressed on a behavioural level in the form of aggression, with acts that aim to harm another person, object or the self. Active aggression may be manifested verbally in such ways as sarcasm, humiliating acts toward another person, criticism or by saying cruel things. Passive aggression is a less direct expression of aggression in such forms as stubbornness, bitterness, vindictiveness, irritability, and temper tantrums. A high score on this scale suggests that a person or a group of individuals tend(s) to experience the above named negative emotions to an extent that is above the average.

**Figure 1: Schematic Personality Profile of the 'Average' Greek Cypriot Youth**

↑ Individual scales and TCTS of the Adult-Gr PAQ



→ Means of individual scales and TCTS of the Adult-Gr PAQ

**Table 3: Descriptive Statistics for the Adult Gr-PAQ Scales with regard to Gender**

Gender Scale	Men		Women					
	<i>M</i>	<i>S.D.</i>	% > <i>m</i>	% < <i>m</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>S.D.</i>	% > <i>m</i>	% < <i>m</i>
Hostility/Aggression	22.9	4.7	53	47	21.6	4.6	43	57
Dependency	23.7	4.2	62	38	25.7	4.2	77	23
Negative Self-Esteem	17.5	4.6	14	86	17.9	5.0	19	81
Negative Self-Adequacy	18.5	4.6	17	83	18.7	4.4	20	80
Emotional Unresponsiveness	19.4	4.1	23	77	18.2	4.6	17	83
Emotional Instability	22.4	3.7	48	52	24.0	3.8	66	34
Negative Worldview	19.3	4.6	23	77	19.4	4.3	18	82
Total Composite Test Score	143.7	17.9	21	79	145.6	19.2	25	75

In our sample the mean is 22.5, thus corresponding to the theoretical midpoint. In comparing the men and women of the sample we find statistically significant differences between the genders on this scale ( $p < 0.001$ ). While the men (53%) of our sample exhibit a mean of 22.9 that lies slightly above the theoretical midpoint, women (57%) exhibit a mean of 21.6 that lies quite below the theoretical midpoint of 22.5 (see tables 1-3). This difference corresponds with the stereotypical perception of the Greek Cypriot society that men tend to be more hostile/aggressive than women.

### *Dependence*

Dependence is the internal psychologically felt yearning for emotional (vs. instrumental) support, care, comfort, nurturance, attention, and similar positive responses from significant others and attachment figures. Dependence in PARTheory also refers to the actual behavioural bids individuals make for such responsiveness. Independence is essential freedom from such emotional reliance. Overall the dependence scale on the PAQ stresses items dealing with the individual's need to have sympathy or encouragement from significant others when they are ill or troubled.

It should be noted that dependence is the only personality disposition in PARTheory that is expected to have a curvilinear relation with perceived acceptance rejection. That is, we expect children and adults to become increasingly dependent as they experience more and more rejection (Rohner and Khaleque, 2002).

The scores of the Greek Cypriot sample show firstly that the mean of the sample is 24.4 and thus higher than the theoretical midpoint of 22.5. This mean shows a tendency of the entire sample regardless of age and gender toward emotional dependence. A large percentage of respondents (67%) exhibit scores above the theoretical midpoint and fall within the zone of psychological/emotional dependence while only 33% of our respondents are within the zone of psychological/emotional independence.

Additionally, statistically significant differences between the Greek Cypriot men and women of our sample were established ( $p < 0.001$ ). It is however interesting that despite these differences the scores of both men and women of our sample tend toward the zone of emotional dependence. Men's scores have a mean of 23.7 but only 38% of men's scores lie within the zone of psychological/emotional independence. On the other hand the mean amongst the Greek Cypriot women's scores is 25.7 with the majority of them (77%) being within the zone of psychological/emotional dependence (see table 3).

#### *Self-Evaluation (Self-Esteem and Self-Adequacy)*

The Self-Evaluation scale includes emotions, attitudes or perceptions regarding the self, ranging on a continuum from positive to negative. Self-evaluation consists of two related dimensions, self-esteem and self-adequacy.

Self-esteem is a global, emotional appraisal of oneself in terms of worth. Positive emotions of self-esteem indicate that a person likes himself, accepts himself, is rarely disappointed in himself and generally perceives himself as a person of worth, or worthy of respect. Negative self-esteem on the other end of the continuum, implies that a person dislikes or disapproves of himself, devalues himself, perhaps feels inferior to others, and perceives himself as being a worthless person.

The first significant finding is that the mean of this scale is much lower (17.6) than the theoretical midpoint (22.5). We see the vast majority of respondents (84%) to have scores below the theoretical midpoint and to be within the zone of high self-esteem. No statistically significant differences were found between men and women. However we can see from the scores that men have a slightly higher tendency than women toward high self-esteem. While 19% of the Greek Cypriot women are in the zone of low self-esteem, only 14% of the Greek Cypriot men are within this zone (see table 3).

Self-Adequacy is an overall self-evaluation of one's competence to perform daily tasks adequately, to cope satisfactorily with daily problems and to satisfy one's own needs. If a person has positive feelings of self-adequacy it means that he views himself as capable of success in the things he sets out to do; he is self-confident and feels socially adequate. Negative feelings of self-adequacy imply that the individual feels incompetent to meet the challenges of everyday life. The person perceives himself as a failure and as being unable to successfully compete for the things he aspires to.

Our findings on this scale show that the respondents in the Greek Cypriot sample tend to be more in the zone of high rather than low emotional self-adequacy since the mean (18.6) is well below the theoretical midpoint (22.5). The large majority of respondents (82%) have scores below the theoretical midpoint thus being within the zone of positive self-adequacy. Only 18% of our sample feels inadequate to respond successfully to the challenges of everyday life. No statistically significant differences can be observed between men and women. There is a slightly higher percentage of the Greek Cypriot men (83%) than women (80%) in the zone of positive self-adequacy (see table 3).

### *Emotional Responsiveness*

This fifth scale of the PAQ refers to the person's ability to openly express his/her emotions (e.g. warmth and affection). Emotional responsiveness is expressed through the spontaneity and ease of the individual to respond emotionally to another person. Emotionally responsive persons have little difficulty forming intimate and lasting attachments, which are not burdened by defensiveness. Individuals with low emotional responsiveness tend more toward social isolation and are able to form only restricted and/or defensive emotional relationships. They may be friendly and sociable but their relationships with other people tend to be superficial and with very little emotional involvement. Often individuals with low emotional responsiveness are unable to give or receive affection.

In this scale the Greek Cypriot sample tends to be more in the zone of high rather than low emotional responsiveness. The mean (19.0) lies below the theoretical midpoint (22.5). The majority of the participants (79%) exhibit scores below the theoretical midpoint. However in this scale there are statistically significant differences between men and women ( $p < 0.001$ ). Women, with a mean score of 18.2, tend to be more emotionally responsive than men (mean score of 19.4). Only 17% of the women compared to 23% of the men are within the zone of poor emotional responsiveness (see table 3).

### *Emotional Stability*

The sixth scale of emotional stability refers to a person's steadiness of mood and his ability to withstand frustrations, setbacks and failures without becoming emotionally upset. A person with emotional stability can maintain his composure when faced with minor emotional stress and is not easily excited or angered. On the other end of the continuum emotionally unstable individuals have frequent and unpredictable mood swings from such poles as e.g. friendly to hostile.

More than half of the respondents of the Greek Cypriot sample (54%) tend toward the zone of emotional instability. There are statistically significant differences between the genders ( $p < 0.001$ ) with a significantly higher percentage of men (52%), with a mean of 22.4, than women (34%), with a mean of 24.0, having scores below the theoretical midpoint and thus being within the zone of emotional stability (see table 3).

### *Worldview*

This scale describes a person's overall evaluation of life and the universe as being essentially a positive or negative place or in Erikson's (1968) words develops a Basic Trust and views the universe as being essentially positive (positive worldview) or Mistrust where he perceives the universe as a bad, insecure, threatening and uncertain place full of danger and evil (negative worldview). Worldview does not refer to a person's empirically derived knowledge of the economic, political, social or natural environment in which they live.

The results of our sample show that the population tested has a positive worldview. The mean (19.3) is below the theoretical midpoint (22.5) and the vast majority of our sample (79%) is within

the zone of positive worldview (see tables 1-3). The analysis does not reveal statistically significant differences between men and women. However there are certain tendencies to be mentioned: Fewer women (18%) than men (23%) are within the zone of negative worldview thus implying that the Cypriot women of our sample tend to view the universe as being essentially positive more than the Cypriot men (see table 3).

## SECTION 4

### Discussion

As established by Rohner and Khaleque (2008), as much as 26% of the variability of children's psychological adjustment can be accounted for by the degree to which they perceive themselves to be accepted or rejected by their major caregivers. Additionally, as much as 21% of the variability in adults' psychological adjustment can be explained by childhood experiences of caregiver acceptance-rejection.

In order to assess the relationship of perceived parental acceptance-rejection to the personality functioning of the Greek Cypriot sample we used a study on the Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire in a sample of 220 Greek Cypriot boys and girls aged 9 to 12 years, henceforth called Child Gr-PARQ (Demetriou and Christodoulides, 2006).

In summing our analysis of the Adult Gr-PAQ we established that the vast majority (78%) of the Greek Cypriot participants shows a general profile (see TCTS) below the theoretical midpoint and lies therefore within the zone of good emotional and behavioural functioning. Moreover the vast majority of our Greek Cypriot sample is within the zone of positive self-esteem with no significant differences between the genders and tends more toward high emotional adequacy. Also regarding emotional responsiveness the Greek Cypriot sample tends more toward the zone of high rather than the zone of low emotional responsiveness. Lastly the vast majority of our sample is within the zone of positive worldview.

The aforementioned Adult Gr-PAQ TCTS findings paired with the analysis of the Child Gr-PARQ seem to confirm R. Rohner's postulate in the PARTheory that parental acceptance and rejection has a major impact on adults' personality and psychological adjustment (Rohner and Khaleque, 2008). Namely, the results on the Child Gr-PARQ reveal that in the TCTS 97% of the Greek Cypriot children had totals below the theoretical midpoint and were well in the region of 'acceptance'. The overall acceptance-rejection profile of the Greek Cypriot children of that sample showed that they perceived their parents as warm and affectionate thus indicating that they felt 'loved' and accepted by their parents. The analysis of the particular warmth/acceptance scale, which refers to parent-child relationships where parents are perceived to give love or affection without qualification, showed that 98% of the Greek Cypriot children's scores were below the theoretical midpoint and were thus well in the 'acceptance region'.

Furthermore, recall that Cypriot men appear to have significantly higher tendencies toward hostility/aggression than the women (47% of the men and 57% of the women have scores below the theoretical midpoint). It turns out that these results compare well with those obtained from the Child Gr-PARQ on the same aggression/hostility scale. This scale, in the Child PARQ, refers (a) to the conditions where the individual as a child perceives his/her parents as angry or resentful of him/her (hostility), and/or (b) to conditions where the child believes his/her parents intend to hurt him/her (physically or verbally). In their vast majority (94%) the children of the Child Gr-PARQ were below the theoretical midpoint. With a mean score lying well below the theoretical midpoint one could establish that the level of aggression/hostility perceived by the respondents was very low (Demetriou and Christodoulides, 2006). It seems, therefore, that the fact that children in the Greek Cypriot society seem to perceive very low hostility/aggression from their caregivers may account for their very low hostile-aggressive tendencies on the corresponding PAQ scale.

In general, our results seem to confirm the PARTheory's postulates about expected relations between perceived acceptance-rejection and individuals' mental health status (psychological adjustment). According to Rohner and Khaleque (2008) within a band of individual variation, children and adult's mental health status is 'likely to become impaired in direct proportion to the form, frequency, severity, and duration of rejection experienced'. The findings both on the Child Gr-PARQ as well as on the Adult Gr-PAQ point in the direction that adult emotional security and wellbeing tends to be dependent on the perceived quality of relationship with major caregivers. These findings coincide with those of many studies (Khaleque and Rohner, 2002a) involving thousands of participants cross-culturally and among major American ethnic groups showing that about 80% of the children and adults respond as personality subtheory predicts. Perceived acceptance by major caregivers in childhood is an important predictor for good psychological functioning in adulthood.

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# Allocation of Religious Space in Cyprus

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## Abstract

*This paper evaluates the Republic of Cyprus' legal framework and the society's tolerance in regards to the allocation of religious space. What we argue is that with respect to the legal framework, the allocation of space for the building of places of worship is directly connected to the right of religious freedom, viewed as both a fundamental right and as an aspect of organisational religious freedom. Insofar as society's tolerance is concerned, this paper examines five different cases of religious space allocation. The case studies clearly indicate that the allocation of religious space, including the erection of places of worship, provoke criticism and occasionally strong public reactions. It is found that the reaction by organised groups has been more intense in recent years with respect to the erection of places of worship of the majority religion. Concerning the places of worship of minority religions, there are sufficient indications that the most intense forms of intolerance do not occur between majority and minority groups, but rather between the minority groups themselves.*

**Keywords:** Cyprus, religion, religious tolerance, religious space, religious freedom, respect, Muslim, Orthodox, Jewish

## Introduction

The aim of this paper is twofold: to discuss and evaluate the current legal framework in the Republic of Cyprus with respect to the allocation of religious space, and to examine the society's tolerance and respect towards this issue.

The first part of the paper sets out the main societal facts and boundaries of the study, which include, *inter alia*, the territorial applicability, religious distribution of the population and the degree of 'religiousness' of Cypriots. The second part of the paper clarifies the notions of religious freedom, tolerance and respect and the interaction between them in regards to the allocation of religious space. The process of building places of worship is assessed both as a fundamental right, and as an aspect of organisational religious freedom of religious communities. It is therefore argued that space allocation for the building of places of worship is directly connected to the right of religious freedom and the respect of other religions associated with that right.

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The third part discusses the planning law exemption to the right of religious communities to build places of worship, arguing that the application of planning law so as to discriminate, either directly, or indirectly, against any religious organisation is prohibited, as this would amount to a violation of the organisational religious freedom of the affected religious organisations. Finally, the paper examines several cases regarding the erection of places of worship, for both the minority and majority groups, which include a case of Jehovah's Witnesses religious space, the case of the Synagogue in Larnaca, and the cases of the Paphos and Nicosia Cathedrals. In addition, the paper evaluates the conflict between Muslim communities with respect to the use of the only currently active Mosque in Nicosia, namely the Omeriye Mosque.

The case studies provide a clear indication that the allocations of religious space as well as the erection of places of worship, may, and do, provoke criticism and sometimes strong reaction from the public and civil organisations. Such reactions do not arise only when the places of worship are to be erected or used by groups of minority religions, but also when they are to be erected by the majority religion of the island as well.

## Basic Societal Facts

### *Territorial Applicability of the Case Studies*

The analysis presented in this paper refers exclusively to the government-controlled areas, and not to the areas occupied by Turkey since the 1974 invasion.<sup>2</sup> This is, *inter alia*, due to the fact that the European Convention on Human Rights, rule of law and the *acquis* apply in the government-controlled areas, whereas none of these considerations apply with respect to the areas being under military occupation. This study does not therefore deal with the, more than 500, churches, chapels, temples and monasteries which are situated in the occupied areas.<sup>3</sup>

In the areas not controlled by the government the vast majority of the population are Turkish Muslims. Thus, when this paper examines the places of worship for the Muslim population in Cyprus, this does not refer to the Muslim population currently residing in the occupied areas, nor at the places of worship there; rather it refers to the Islamic population who currently reside in the government-controlled areas (most of which are immigrants from Islamic countries, other than Turkey, and only a small minority of which are Turkish Cypriots).

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2 Cyprus became a full member of the European Union on 1 May 2004. However, the application of the *acquis communautaire* in the occupied areas has been suspended until a solution to the Cyprus Problem is found.

3 For further information on the conditions of Christian religious spaces in the areas not controlled by the government see D. Demosthenous (2000) *The Occupied Churches of Cyprus*, Nicosia: Monastery of Kykkos; C. Chotzakoglou (2008) *Religious Monuments in Turkish Occupied Cyprus*, Nicosia: Monastery of Kykkos.

### ***Population and Religion***

Since 1974, providing precise figures with respect to the population of Cyprus has presented certain difficulties due to the abnormal situation prevailing on the island. The Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus has estimated, however, that by the end of 2009 the population of Cyprus was 892,400, out of which 672,800 (75.4%) belonged to the Greek community, while 89,200 (10%) belonged to the Turkish Community.<sup>4</sup> The remaining 136,400 (14.6%) are foreign residents, mainly from Greece and Britain, but also from Russia, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Romania and Bulgaria.<sup>5</sup> Overall, it is estimated that 82% of the total population of Cyprus (excluding the Turkish settlers) are Orthodox Christians, 13% are Muslims,<sup>6</sup> 2% are Roman Catholics, 1% are Anglicans, 0.7% are Maronites and 0.4% are Armenians, while the remaining population adheres to other religions or rites including Jews, Buddhists, Protestants, Jehovah's Witnesses, or atheists. It is further estimated that approximately 2,000 Cypriots are Orthodox Christians who follow the Old Calendar. It is worth noting that with the exception of few agnostics, atheists, or naturalised foreign citizens, members of Greek origin normally adhere to the Greek Orthodox religion.

### ***Society and Religion***

According to Eurobarometer (2005), the Republic of Cyprus is one of the most religious countries in the European Union, with over 90% of Cypriots in the government controlled areas declaring that they believe in God. Similarly, the 1998 International Society Survey Programme (ISSP) survey suggested that Greek Cypriots show confidence in the Orthodox Church and other religious organisations and while there are small minorities of atheists and agnostics, the great majority of the population declares that they believe and have always believed in God. No indication of strong shifts of religiosity during the lives of Cypriots was revealed during the survey. In line with the earlier surveys, the Cyprus Human Development Report (2009) provides evidence that young Cypriots appear to be more religious than their European counterparts. In particular, in the question 'Do you believe in God?', the vast majority (94%) replied 'Yes', 5% replied 'I am not sure' and only 1% replied 'No'. Indicative of the vast difference with other

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4 The actual number of Turkish Cypriots residing in Cyprus is difficult to estimate with precision. The Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus (2009) estimates that since 1974 there has been a decrease of the Turkish Cypriot population by 31,000 or 26%. Estimations of the number of settlers currently residing in Cyprus also vary. The Statistical Service (2009) estimates the number at 160,000 – 170,000. Earlier sources estimate the number at around 114,000 (See Council of Europe, 2 May 2003, Doc. 9799, *Colonisation by Turkish Settlers of the Occupied Part of Cyprus* (Rapporteur Mr Laakso). It must be noted that the settlers are not included in any estimation of the current population of Cyprus.

5 Source: Statistical Service of the Republic of Cyprus (2009) *Demographic Report 2009*. Nicosia: Printing Office of Republic of Cyprus.

6 Who, as already stated, predominantly reside in the areas not controlled by the Republic.

European states is the fact that the percentage of young persons who believe in God in Germany is 45.1% and in Britain 31.15%.<sup>7</sup>

Religion undeniably has a central place in Cypriot society. Cypriots, whether they are Orthodox, Muslim, or belong to smaller religions or denominations, consider their religious beliefs as an essential part of their identity. The centrality of religion in Greek-Cypriot society is also evident from the fact that the overwhelming majority of Cypriots feel that religious leaders should not attempt to influence government decision-making, but at the same time they also reject the view that Cyprus would be in a better position if religion were any less influential.<sup>8</sup>

Greek Cypriots specifically attend religious services regularly, confess to religious ministers and adhere to periods of fasting. That said, the number of Cypriots regularly participating in church activities, other than religious services, is relatively low. Interestingly, while the vast majority of young Greek Cypriots believe in God, according to the Cyprus Human Development Report (2009), only 6% of the youth goes to church once a week, 22% once a month, 51% only on important religious days, 11% once or twice a year, 8% seldom and 1% never.<sup>9</sup>

Turkish Cypriots, like most Turkish nationals, are followers of Sunni Islam. Within Sunni Islam, Turkish Cypriots have traditionally followed the Hanafi school of legal interpretation, a rather austere variety of Islam. They were among the first to adopt Atatürk's prohibition of Arabic in religious services and to use the Quran in Turkish translation. Since Atatürk's death, Turkish Cypriots have generally followed the religious practices of Turkey. That said, Turkish Cypriots are much more secular than Turks;<sup>10</sup> indeed, as Yesilada notes, 'Turkish Cypriots represent some of the most secular Muslims in the world'.<sup>11</sup> It is worthy of comment here that Turkish Cypriots, unlike Muslims originating from other Islamic countries, mostly favour a secular state due to the strong influence of Kemalism in Turkish-Cypriot religious affairs. Although there is some fasting during the month of Ramadan, moderate attendance at the Friday prayers and widespread observation of the holy days, few Turkish Cypriots are considered to be orthodox Muslims. Indeed, most days they live an 'unorthodox' life; indicatively, Turkish Cypriots do not generally abstain from alcohol as standard Muslim teaching requires, but rather follow traditional Mediterranean drinking customs.<sup>12</sup>

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7 Source: Cyprus Human Development Report (2009), *Youth in Cyprus: Aspirations, Lifestyle and Empowerment*, available at [[http://hdrundp.org/en/reports/nationalreports/europethecis/cyprus/cyprus\\_hdr\\_2009\\_en.pdf](http://hdrundp.org/en/reports/nationalreports/europethecis/cyprus/cyprus_hdr_2009_en.pdf)], accessed on 11 May 2011.

8 Source: ISSP Surveys (1998) *International Social Survey Programme: Religion II*, available at [<http://www.esds.ac.uk/findingData/snDescription.asp?sn=4482>], accessed on 11 May 2011.

9 *Ibid.*

10 Recent reports might suggest a growing inflow of Turkish Islamists in the Turkish-Cypriot Community.

11 B. Yesilada (2009) 'Islam and the Turkish Cypriots', *Social Compass*, Vol. 56, No. 1, pp. 49-59.

12 See further, A. Emilianides (2005) 'Islamic Faith as One of the Main Religions: The Case of Cyprus' in Institute for State-Church Relations, (ed.), *Islam in Europe*. Bratislava: Institute for State-Church Relations, pp. 220-228;

## Allocation of Religious Space and Religious Freedom

### *Religious Freedom, Tolerance and Respect*

Article 18 of the Constitution of Cyprus safeguards the right of religious freedom, including the freedom of religious conscience and freedom of worship. The aforementioned article corresponds in many ways to article 9 of the European Convention of Human Rights, but it is more detailed, while its provisions cover sectors which are not recorded in article 9. Article 18 § 1 provides that every person has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. Such right is far-reaching and profound. Freedom of thought, conscience and religion is safeguarded for any person, whether a believer or an atheist, a citizen or a non-citizen of the Republic of Cyprus. Conscience and religion are thus not confined to the belief of the relation of a human being to a Creator. Religion or conviction refers to theistic, non-theistic and atheistic convictions. It includes convictions such as agnosticism, free thinking, pacifism, atheism and rationalism. It is therefore, not limited in its application to traditional religions or to religions and beliefs with institutional characteristics or practices analogous to traditional religions.<sup>13</sup>

The Supreme Court of Cyprus has specified that Article 18 of the Constitution safeguards religious freedom, which is not to be confused with religious tolerance. It was held that:

“Tolerance as a legal concept is premised on the assumption that the State has ultimate control over religion and the churches, and whether and to what extent religious freedom will be granted and protected is a matter of state policy. The right of religious liberty is a fundamental right. The days that oppressive measures were adopted and cruelties and punishments inflicted by Governments in Europe and elsewhere for many ages, to compel parties to conform in their religious beliefs and modes of worship to the views of the most numerous sect, and the folly of attempting in that way to control the mental operations of persons and enforce an outward conformity to a prescribed standard, have gone. Mankind has advanced and the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion is now a fundamental right.”<sup>14</sup>

In this sense, tolerance is viewed as a limited notion when compared with the notion of religious liberty, or freedom. Religious freedom entails much more than mere tolerance of differing views. In the current system of coordination between the State and the various religions,<sup>15</sup> the fundamental

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F. Dassetto, S. Ferrari and B. Maréchal (2007) *Islam in the European Union: What's at Stake in the Future*, Brussels: European Parliament, 93ff.

13 *Pitsillides v. The Republic* [1983] 2 CLR 374. For a detailed analysis see A. Emilianides (2011) *Law and Religion in Cyprus*, Hague: Kluwer, Part II.

14 *Pitsillides v. The Republic* [1983] 2 CLR 374.

15 A. Emilianides (2006) ‘The Constitutional Framework of the Relations between Church and State in the Republic of Cyprus’, *Nomokanonika*, Vol. 1, 37ff [in Greek]; C. Papastathis (1981) *On the Administrative Organisation of the Church of Cyprus*, Thessaloniki, p. 34.

right to religious freedom implies that the State has to respect religious views, irrespective of their content. While it could be accepted that a society should protect its own existence by restricting personal autonomy,<sup>16</sup> this should not mean that a society should be allowed to restrict personal autonomy and individual liberty in order to conform to the prevailing views about religion. If it is accepted that personal autonomy is an important value in itself, then any restriction should be justified on rational grounds and on the basis that some significant harm to society should be avoided.

The State is in principle allowed to promote the vision of good life that the majority of its citizens believe in,<sup>17</sup> and may treat divergent visions of good life in a different manner.<sup>18</sup> However, the rationale of respect as enshrined in the fundamental right of religious freedom dictates that no idea of the good life should be singled out and treated differently from another, unless there is a rational justification for the differentiation and unless any restrictions on liberty are proportional to such justification. While every democrat is obliged to accept that political power is best entrusted to the majority, this should not mean that the majority may impose its views on the minorities without any rational justification.<sup>19</sup>

The aforementioned view is supported by the case-law of the European Court of Human Rights. The European Court has underlined the importance of the rights protected by Article 9 of the European Convention; it stressed that freedom of thought, conscience and religion is one of the foundations of a democratic society and that pluralism depends upon such freedom.<sup>20</sup> The need to safeguard pluralism and to avoid arbitrary restrictions is the main criterion.<sup>21</sup> A pluralistic society recognises and embraces the public dimension to religion, while at the same time attempting co-operation with all religions. The significance of faith in people's lives is considered worthy of protection by the state and where the function of the state overlaps with religious concerns, the state seeks to accommodate religious views, insofar as they are not inconsistent with the state's interests.<sup>22</sup>

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16 C. Tomuschat (1992) 'Democratic Pluralism: The Right to Political Opposition' in A. Rosas and J. Helgesen, (eds.), *The Strength of Diversity: Human Rights and Pluralist Democracy*, Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, pp. 27-47.

17 A different conclusion would prove to be impossible since values are always in real and potential conflict and the state inevitably favours some over others. See also J. Hitchcock (1981) 'Church, State and Moral Values: The Limits of American Pluralism', Vol. 44, No. 2 (Spring) *Law and Contemporary Problems* at 3.

18 For a criticism of equal promotionist neutralism see E. Mack (1988) 'Liberalism, Neutrality and Rights' in R. Pennock and W. Chapman (eds.), *Nomos XXX: Religion, Morality and the Law*, pp. 51-52.

19 See H.L.A. Hart (1963) *Law, Liberty and Morality*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 79.

20 *Kokkinakis v. Greece*, Judgment of 25 May 1993; (1994) 17 EHRR 397.

21 *Metropolitan Church of Bessarabia v. Moldova*, Judgment of 14 December 2001; (2002) 35 EHRR 306. See also *Serif v. Greece*, Judgment of 4 December 1999; (2001) 31 EHRR 561.

22 For pluralistic models in general see J. Rivers (1994) 'Irretrievable Breakdown? Disestablishment and the Church of England', *Cambridge Papers*, Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 3.



The Constitution of Cyprus guarantees the more particular manifestation of an individual's religious freedom, stipulating that every person is free and has the right to profess his faith and to manifest his religion or belief, in worship, teaching, practice or observance, either individually or collectively, in private or in public, and to change his religion or belief.<sup>23</sup> While religious freedom is primarily a matter of individual conscience, it also implies the freedom to manifest one's religion, since such freedom is intrinsically linked with the very existence of religious convictions.<sup>24</sup> The term '*worship*' embraces, but is not confined to institutional forms of worship; it extends to ritual and ceremonial acts giving direct expression to belief, as well as practices integral to such acts, *including the building of places of worship*.

### ***Building Places of Worship as a Fundamental Right***

Space allocation for the building of places of worship is therefore directly connected to the right of religious freedom and the respect of other religions associated with that right. The freedom to manifest one's religion (including the constitutional right to build places of worship) can be restricted, so long as such limitations are prescribed by law and are necessary in the interests of: a) the security of the Republic, b) constitutional order, c) public safety, d) public order, e) public health, f) public morals, and g) the protection of the rights and liberties guaranteed to every person by the Constitution.<sup>25</sup> In view of the above, two general principles may be accepted:

- i) there has to be a legal basis for the interference with the fundamental right to religious freedom; a restriction has to be prescribed by law and in accordance with the national law. Such law must be adequately accessible and sufficiently precise and must have been enacted by the appropriate organ, and
- ii) the interference has to be necessary for one of the constitutionally specified legitimate aims; a limitation which has been prescribed by law in order to facilitate interests other than those explicitly referred to in the Constitution, shall not be considered to be legitimate.

In addition to the conditions mentioned above, any limitations of the freedom to manifest one's religion must be considered to be necessary in a democratic society.<sup>26</sup> Establishing that the measure is necessary in a democratic society involves showing that the action taken is in response to a pressing social need and that the interference with the rights protected is no greater than is

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23 Article 18 § 4 of the Constitution.

24 *Kokkinakis v. Greece*, Judgment of 25 May 1993; (1994) 17 EHRR 397.

25 Article 18 § 6 of the Constitution.

26 Article 9 § 2 of the European Convention on Human Rights. C. Yourow (1996) *The Margin of Appreciation Doctrine in the Dynamics of European Human Rights Jurisprudence*, Hague: Kluwer Law International; R. MacDonald (1993) 'The Margin of Appreciation' in R. Macdonald, F. Matscher and H. Petzold, (eds.), *The European System for the Protection of Human Rights*, Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, p. 123.

necessary to address such pressing social need; consequently, a test of proportionality should therefore be applied. Any restrictions should further not discriminate among religions.

The freedom of religious communities to designate sacred sites, such as religious buildings and places of worship, is one of the keystones of religious liberty.<sup>27</sup> Sacred spaces normally provide the forum where the manifestation of religious beliefs, such as collective worship, may take place. The regulation of land use by planning authorities and the interpretation of planning legislation may be used either as a tool to limit the growth of a particular religious community, or as a ground upon which the State may discriminate between religions. Particular religious groups may be treated under special planning rules on the basis of their longer presence in the territory of a State, or their special connection with the State.<sup>28</sup> As discussed later, there could in other words, be cases where there is indirect discrimination for the allocation of religious space.

### ***Building Places of Worship as an Aspect of Organisational Religious Freedom***

'All other aspects of the individual's freedom of religion would become vulnerable'<sup>29</sup> were the organisational life of a religious community not protected by Article 18 of the Constitution. A legal person that constitutes a religious organisation is capable of having or exercising the rights mentioned in Article 18. While a religious association is not capable of exercising the right of freedom of conscience as this would be a metaphysical impossibility, such a religious association is capable of exercising the right to manifest its religion. The right of a religious community to religious freedom complements the individual right to religious freedom of the members of such community so that non-discrimination of religious communities may be effected; equality of religions necessarily implies that a religious community enjoys certain rights as such, in addition to the rights of its members.

With respect to legal persons, Article 18 should be read in conjunction with Article 21 of the Constitution,<sup>30</sup> which provides, *inter alia*, that every person has the right to freedom of association with others, including the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests. No restrictions shall be placed on the exercise of these rights other than such as are prescribed by law and are only absolutely necessary in the interests of the security of the Republic or the constitutional order or the public safety or the public order or the public health or the public morals or for the protection of the rights and liberties guaranteed by this Constitution to any

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27 See P. Edge (2002) *Legal Responses to Religious Difference*, Hague: Kluwer, 321ff; B. Reymond (1995), 'Architectural Patterns of the Relationship between States and Churches' in R. Traer (ed.), *Religion and Human Rights in Europe*, Oxford: IARF; A. Dervitsiotis (2010) *The Building of a Temple as a Keystone of Religious Freedom*, Athens: P. Sakkoulas [in Greek].

28 See e.g. *Islamic Center of Mississippi v. City of Starkeville* 840 F 2d, 293 (5th Cir. 1988).

29 *Hasan and Chaush v. Bulgaria*, Judgment of 26 October 2000; (2002) 34 EHRR 1339.

30 Article 21 of the Constitution corresponds to Article 11 of the European Convention on Human Rights.

person, irrespective of whether or not such person participates in such assembly or is a member of such association.

The European Court of Human Rights has held that:

‘Where the organisation of the religious community is at issue, Article 9 must be interpreted in the light of Article 11 of the Convention which safeguards associative life against unjustified State interference. Seen in this perspective, the believer’s right to freedom of religion encompasses the expectation that the community will be allowed to function peacefully, free from arbitrary State intervention. Indeed, the autonomous existence of religious communities is indispensable for pluralism in democratic society and is thus an issue at the very heart of the protection which Article 9 affords.’<sup>31</sup>

### **Conflicting Historic Claims and Religious Space**

In depth considerations of disputes with respect to conflicting historic claims to ‘sacred loci’ is beyond the scope of this paper, as this is mostly related to cultural heritage, rather than allocation of religious space, which is the focus of this paper. In addition, some main parameters of the treatment of buildings exhibiting multiple layers of successive religious use are included in this section so as to enable a more complete view of the subject.

In view of Cyprus’ turbulent history ancient Christian churches are often unearthed at the foundation of mosques.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, Byzantine wall paintings are often recovered in mosques during repairs. The policy of the Antiquities Department of the Republic of Cyprus is to maintain each of the successive historical phases of an ancient monument intact, irrespective of whether they are Christian, Muslim or any other, so as to safeguard Cypriot religious heritage, respect the various contested religious claims on these sites and enable the understanding of the transformation of Cypriot history.<sup>33</sup> The Republic of Cyprus has declared 17 mosques in the non-occupied areas as ancient monuments and has undertaken the expenses for their restoration and maintenance. Four of these mosques, the Hala Soultan Tekke and Kebir mosque in Larnaca, the Omeriye in Nicosia and the Kebir mosque in Limassol are funded by the State as ancient monuments and are further used by Muslim worshippers for religious purposes.

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31 *Hasan and Chaush v. Bulgaria*, Judgment of 26 October 2000; (2002) 34 EHRR 1339, para. 36.

32 A recent example is the Christian basilica of St George in Limassol which was unearthed in the foundations of a mosque.

33 Marina Solomides-Ieronymides, the Registrar of Antiquities commented that monuments should remain an open book and that by appreciating the history of the monument, a person is also appreciating the history of Cyprus. See *Cyprus News Agency* 26 August 2010, available at [<http://www.cna.org.cy/website/subject1.shtm#TZAMIA>], accessed on 11 May 2011.

## Planning Law and Allocation of Religious Spaces

### *The Right to Property*

The Constitution stipulates that no deprivation, restriction or limitation on the right to acquire, own, possess, enjoy or dispose of any movable or immovable property, belonging to any See, monastery, church or any other ecclesiastical corporation or any right over it or interest therein, shall be made, except with the written consent of the appropriate ecclesiastical authority being in control of such property.<sup>34</sup> The protection afforded by the said paragraph extends not only to monasteries, churches and ecclesiastical corporations of the Orthodox Church, or the three constitutionally recognised religious groups, but also to monasteries, churches and ecclesiastical corporations of other Churches and ecclesiastical corporations.<sup>35</sup> The same right is accorded to all Muslim religious institutions.<sup>36</sup>

The ambit of the aforementioned provisions was considered in the case of the *Holy Temple of Chryseleousis*.<sup>37</sup> The Republic of Cyprus had held that certain buildings belonging to the Holy Temple of Chryseleousis should be declared as ancient monuments, without asking for the prior written consent of the appropriate ecclesiastical authority being in control of such property; it was argued on behalf of the Republic that the act of declaring that the buildings were ancient monuments, did not amount to limitation or restriction of the right to property. The Court held that the said act amounted to a restriction of the Church's right to property, which could not be justified on grounds of town and country planning. Consequently, declaring that the buildings in question were ancient monuments, without the prior written consent of the Holy Temple of Chryseleousis was unconstitutional. The aforementioned principles were reiterated in the case of the *Holy Monastery of Kykkos*.<sup>38</sup>

### *State Provisions on Muslim Religious Institutions*

All matters relating to Muslim religious institutions, including Vakf properties, or properties belonging to Mosques, would be governed by the Laws and Principles of Vakfs and the laws and regulations enacted by the Turkish Communal Chamber. The State may not interfere with such matters pertaining to the administration of Vakfs, or Vakf properties, or relating to other Muslim religious institutions. Accordingly, it is provided that neither the House of Representatives, nor the Council of Ministers, nor any other state organ, have competences with respect to such matters. Any interference with such Laws or Principles of Vakfs and with such laws and regulations of the

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34 Article 23 § 9 of the Constitution.

35 See further the wide definition of a 'religious organisation' adopted in section 2 of Cap. 224.

36 Article 23 § 10 of the Constitution.

37 *The Holy Temple of Chryseleousis v. The Republic* [1989] 3 CLR 3074.

38 *The Holy Monastery of Kykkos v. The Republic* [1996] 3 CLR 3362.

Turkish Communal Chamber shall be invalid.<sup>39</sup>

The Law further provides that the Mufti is the religious head of the Turkish-Cypriot Community and exercises several powers. In particular he has, *inter alia*, the power to authorise the erection of new Mosques and major repairs to the existing ones and to supervise the smooth function of Mosques, tekkes, shrines and Muslim cemeteries.<sup>40</sup> The Office of Evkaf has competences with respect to all matters concerning Vakfs, or any other Muslim religious institutions or cemeteries, while the Office of the Mufti has competences with respect to all religious matters concerning the Turkish Community of the island.

The Turkish invasion of 1974, however, and the subsequent anomalous situation pertaining in Cyprus, have in essence rendered the aforementioned provisions of state law ineffective, since there is no Mufti and no Department of Vakfs and Religious Matters in the areas controlled by the Government of the Republic of Cyprus. As a result most of the approximately 100 mosques situated in the areas controlled by the Government of the Republic, are currently under the responsibility of the Minister of Interior who acts as the Guardian of Turkish-Cypriot Properties, and are managed by the Ministry's Turkish-Cypriot Property Management Service.<sup>41</sup>

### ***The Planning Law Exemption and Minority Religions***

#### *The Planning Law Exemption*

Restrictions or limitations for the purposes of town and country planning are exempted from the provisions of Articles 23 § 9 and § 10 of the Constitution.<sup>42</sup> Of course, any State action interfering with peaceful enjoyment must be directed at a legitimate aim such as preserving the amenity of residential areas or the protection of the environment and must be proportionate to such aim.

Planning law is a field where much of the action of State officials is based upon discretionary rules and as a result there is little explicit policy on how to accommodate contrasting religious interests within the application of planning law. There are currently no policy guidelines in Cyprus stating how State officials ought to deal with religious interests with respect to allocation of religious space. This might potentially lead to cases of institutionalised inequalities; the fact that there is an abundance of Orthodox Churches might cause the construction of other places of worship for other religious organisations in the same area much more difficult because of zoning

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39 Article 110 § 2 of the Constitution.

40 Turkish Religious Head (Mufti) Law, Cap. 340.

41 See A. Emilianides (2009) 'Turkish Cypriot Properties and the Guardian: A Critical Review of the Case-Law', *Cyprus and European Law Review*, Vol. 9, pp. 457-501 [in Greek].

42 This is consistent with Article 1 of Protocol 1 of the European Convention on Human Rights which provides that States have the right to enforce such laws as they deem necessary to control the use of property in accordance with the general interest. See T. Jones (1996) 'Property Rights, Planning Law and the European Convention', *European Human Rights Law Review*, Vol. 3, p. 233.

and planning limitations. In this manner, religious discrimination might occur indirectly through the fact that planning legislation is applied in a manner which advantages the majority religion.

The same problem of potential institutionalised inequality applies to the allocation of space for cemeteries. Specifically, the law provides that the costs for building new cemeteries may be distributed among the residents of the community, on the basis of the religious community they belong to.<sup>43</sup> So, in principle nothing precludes any religious community from requesting the local authorities for a cemetery to be built for its members. But despite that, in practice the fact that the great majority of Cypriots belong to the Orthodox Church might lead to additional difficulties for members of minority religions who wish to build a cemetery for their members, simply because legislation might be applied in a manner which advantages the majority religion of the island. With respect to the constitutionally recognised religious groups of Cyprus (Maronites, Armenians and Roman Catholics), the law explicitly provides that their privileged status will be retained;<sup>44</sup> such religious groups receive state funding in order to build and administer the cemeteries of their respective members.<sup>45</sup>

The application of planning law so as to discriminate, either directly or indirectly, against any religious organisation is prohibited as this would amount to a violation of the organisational religious freedom of the affected religious organisations. While in certain cases it is true that the mere fact that the majority religion – professed by the bulk of the island’s population – might lead to a difference in treatment, the crucial question is whether such a difference in treatment is consistent with the principle of respect and not the result of religious discrimination.

#### *The Case of Jehovah’s Witnesses*

The first case we examine is that of *Ktimatiki Eteria Neas Taxeos* concerning a building permit in Zakaki. The members of the applicant company were Jehovah’s Witnesses, who, on 26 February 1987 applied to the Municipal Corporation of Limassol (i.e. the appropriate authority for granting building permits for the quarter of Zakaki) for a building permit to erect a two-storey building, which was to be used for religious purposes, on a plot of land belonging to them. On 29 January 1988 the Municipal Council replied to the Applicants in the following manner:

‘I refer to your letters dated 18.6.1987 and 21.7.1987 under Ref. B724(b) and I inform you that the Municipal Council, as the appropriate authority by virtue of the Streets and Buildings Regulations Law, examined the application of your clients “Ktimatiki Eteria Neas Taxeos Ltd.” and after taking into consideration its contents, the purposes of the use of the proposed building, the character of the area, the road network and other considerations, decided that it cannot grant the permit applied for, to your clients.’

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43 Section 10 of the Cemeteries Law 45(I)/2007.

44 Section 33 of the Cemeteries Law 45(I)/2007.

45 See A. Emilianides (2009) ‘The Legal Status of the Latin Community of Cyprus’ in A. Varnava, N. Coureas and M. Elia (eds.), *Minorities of Cyprus*, Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 229-240.

The applicants impugned the decision whereby the permit was refused. During the proceedings in the recourse it was made apparent that the real reason was public order or safety, which according to the Municipal Council of Limassol would have been endangered had the permit been granted. The Municipal Council of Limassol referred to the strong objection of the Ecclesiastical and local authorities of the Orthodox Church and the inhabitants of the Zakaki area to have a building belonging to the said religion erected in their area.

The case above, and more specifically the fact that the Council's decision was based on the Orthodox Church's and the inhabitants' pressures and reactions, suggests that some degree of intolerance on a public level does indeed exist. Moreover, beyond the intolerance on a public level, this case provides evidence that there exists intolerance in the ranks of the institutions of the majority religion, namely Orthodox Church.

Nonetheless, what must be noted is that the impact of this intolerance is mitigated by the constitutional protections of religions freedom. Specifically, the Supreme Court of Cyprus has had the opportunity to state the principles concerning allocation of religious space and prohibition of discrimination between religions in the case of *Ktimatiki Eteria Neas Taxeos*.<sup>46</sup> The Supreme Court annulled the sub judice decision and held that reasons for denying the right of a person or group on grounds of public safety or public order to manifest his/her or their religion or belief can only be limited by Law.<sup>47</sup> An administrative organ (e.g. a Municipal Council) cannot by itself refuse on such grounds an application submitted to it.

Thus, it was confirmed that the right to manifest one's religion refers not only to individuals, but also to Churches and other religious communities and any restriction of such right should be in accordance with the law, should meet one of the specified legitimate aims and should be necessary in a democratic society. Any interference will be unconstitutional if it is not proportionate to the pressing social need that it addresses.<sup>48</sup> Consequently, restrictions to the religious minorities' right to build places of worship owing to the opposition of the majority religion of the island are considered to be contrary to the constitutional protection of religious freedom and are expressly forbidden.

The end result was that the members of the Jehovah's Witnesses and their company *Ktimatiki Eteria Neas Taxeos* did not face any significant problems in acquiring permits for the erection of places of worship.<sup>49</sup>

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46 *Ktimatiki Eteria Neas Taxeos v. The Chairman and Members of the Municipal Committee of Limassol* [1989] 3 CLR 461.

47 In accordance with Article 18 of the Constitution and Article 9 of the European Convention on Human Rights.

48 A. Emilianides (2010) 'The Application of the Freedom of Religion Principles of the European Convention on Human Rights in Cyprus' in A. Emilianides (ed.), *The Application of the Freedom of Religion Principles of the European Convention on Human Rights in the European Union*, Leuven: Peters, pp. 89-98.

49 Source: The Jehovah's Witnesses Congregation in Cyprus.

Having said that it should be noted that Article 18 of the Constitution safeguards only activities of a religious organisation that refer to the exercise of their religious freedom; any other activities of a non-religious character are not safeguarded. Such was the case of *Church of Nazarene International Ltd.*, when the petitioners argued that the State should not have refused to grant them a permit to buy offices in Cyprus because that was contrary to the freedom of religious liberty.<sup>50</sup> The Supreme Court acknowledged that the administration cannot hinder, directly or indirectly, the exercise of religious freedom. However, the Court held that in the circumstances of the particular case there had been no violation of Article 18 because the petitioners requested a permit to buy offices in Cyprus for *residence* and *vacation* purposes for the members of a limited company and not for any purpose, directly or indirectly related to the exercise of religious freedom. Subsequently, Article 18 was not deemed to be applicable in the aforementioned case. The result would have been different, had the petitioners intended for the offices to be used as a place of worship and not for residence purposes.

The aforementioned decisions offer a balanced method for the judicial control of the actions of administrative authorities, insofar as the practical application of the planning exemption is concerned. The discretionary powers of the administrative authorities may be invoked only to the extent that they do not violate the core of the religious liberty of any given religious organisation. As a consequence, administrative decisions concerning allocation of religious space ought to be governed by the freedom of religion principles in order to be consistent with the Constitution of Cyprus.

#### *The Case of Larnaca Synagogue*

The Larnaca Synagogue was inaugurated on 12 September 2005 and is still the only Synagogue in Cyprus. The specific religious place is essentially the Rabbi's house which was turned into a Synagogue due to lack of alternatives. Although the specific place is recognised distinctly by the state and the Jewish community alike as a Synagogue, it does not meet the community's needs. The Rabbi's house and 'de facto' Synagogue is a temporary solution until the Community erects a more suitable religious place. The lack of a more appropriate religious space creates, according to Rabbi Arie Zeev, problems as it cannot meet the community's demands, especially during major holidays. To temporarily resolve this problem the Rabbi rents other spaces when the need arises.

To resolve this problem permanently, the Jewish Community requested from the state a piece of land where they could build a proper place of worship.<sup>51</sup> Their application has been pending since 2003, which is a significant delay that could be interpreted as a form of unwillingness on behalf of the state to facilitate the process. On the other hand, the Jewish community's request is

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50 *Church of the Nazarene International Ltd v. Minister of Interior* [1996] 4 CLR 3091 [in Greek].

51 It should be noted that according to the Archdiocese, the Archbishop of Cyprus is currently considering leasing property to the Jewish Community for the purposes of building a proper place of worship.



not as easy to meet. Their request is for the state to provide the Community with an appropriate piece of land in an area that meets their specific criteria (i.e. near the city centre and near the airport). Considering the size of Larnaca and the land available, the specific criteria could justify the delays. The official position of the Rabbi Arie Zeev is that '[he] want[s] to believe that the delays are not due to the unwillingness of the state to help, but rather because of bureaucratic reasons'.<sup>52</sup>

Former Minister of Education and Culture at that time, Pefkios Georghiades, and other government officials actively showed their support to the Jewish community by, *inter alia*, participating in the inauguration of the Synagogue in 2005. Chief Rabbi of Israel Yona Metzger expressed his satisfaction regarding the inauguration, while the former Cypriot Minister of Education Pefkios Georghiades stated that: 'Cyprus is a state where all religions are tolerated and thus, the Jewish synagogue is welcome'.<sup>53</sup>

A similar open and tolerant approach seems to exist on a public level as well, even though this was not the case at the very beginning. The inauguration of the Synagogue was actually met with some outrage from certain groups of citizens who threatened to take action against it. Some zealous Orthodox groups claimed that the Synagogue is a tragic event for the civilisation and the Orthodox history of the island.<sup>54</sup> Others expressed their concern for the need of a Synagogue in a country where members of the Jewish community do not exceed 2,000 persons. Such public reaction indicates a form of intolerance on behalf of segments of the Cypriot society but in spite of this, the majority of the population did not subscribe to such reaction and consequently public reaction quickly faded, and the threats were never materialised. Since then, as Rabbi Zeev conveyed to us, the people in Cyprus have been very welcoming and friendly with the Jewish Community.

The only problems faced at the Synagogue were from Muslim minorities' groups who frequently gathered outside the Synagogue and threw eggs, among other things, at the building. This led to significant security measures, which included the use of close circuit cameras and the building of high walls around the Rabbi's house. Rabbi Zeev believes that these hostile actions express the Arab communities' dissatisfaction with the on-going Middle East problems and do not necessarily reflect intolerance against the specific religious place and the Jewish community of Cyprus.<sup>55</sup>

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52 Personal interview with Rabbi Arie Zeev on 9 February 2011.

53 Source: *Cyprus News Agency*, available at [[http://www.hri.org/news/cyprus/kypegr/2005/05-09-13\\_kypegr.html](http://www.hri.org/news/cyprus/kypegr/2005/05-09-13_kypegr.html)], accessed on 11 May 2011.

54 Samples of these '*polemics*' are also accessible via the web, e.g. M. Michael, 'Is Cyprus a Jewish Island?', available at [<http://www.romiossini.com/articles.php?lid=1629>], accessed on 20 October 2010; M. Michael, 'Jewish Hanukah and the Orthodox Reaction', available at [<http://www.romiossini.com/articles.php?lid=3950>], accessed on 20 October 2010.

55 Personal interview with Rabbi Arie Zeev on 9 February 2011.

### *The Case of the Omeriye Mosque*

While relatively few Turkish Cypriots currently reside in the government controlled town of Nicosia, there is a growing number of Muslim immigrants who reside in the areas controlled by the Republic and in particular the old town of Nicosia. Currently, just one of Nicosia's mosques, the Omeriye, is in active use. The next two mosques in terms of size are the Bayraktar and the Tahtakallas, both of which are designated monuments to be restored under the Nicosia Master Plan but they are not yet active for religious purposes.

The fact that there is only one active Mosque in the city has created problems within the Muslim community of Nicosia. In early September 2009 a clash involving more than 100 people took place at the Omeriye Mosque following the ejection of a group of Shia Muslims by the majority of worshippers who are Sunni Muslims. Five of the worshippers involved in the clash were injured severely and were taken to Nicosia General Hospital. Nearby property was also damaged. The eruption of violence between the Sunni majority and the Shia minority of worshippers of the Omeriye Mosque was the direct outcome of a dogmatic difference between the two schools of interpretation of Islam, but also the indirect result of the limited number of Mosques in the old town of Nicosia. The well-established Sunni Muslims (who count the great majority of Turkish Cypriots in their ranks) consider the mostly immigrant Shia Muslims as intruders to the Omeriye Mosque.

It should be recorded that the violent reactions are very infrequent, and the specific event has led to the immediate response of both the state and the public. Several Greek-Cypriot residents of the old town of Nicosia expressed fear and maintained that the Police should immediately act in order to restore order in the area.<sup>56</sup> The police's response was immediate and decisive. Police Commissioner of Nicosia, Kypros Michaelides, as well as the Police Spokesman Michalis Katsounotos, stated that the police would promptly arrest and deport any immigrant who fails to act within the limits of the law. The Police Commissioner further stated that the Police had consulted the Imam and various Muslim leaders and informed them of the decisiveness of the Police to take drastic actions if needed.<sup>57</sup> Additionally, Katsounotos noted that while the police have concerns regarding the matter, the reporting of incidents has to be serious, objective and without exaggeration. The Police Spokesman also added that:

'we are living in a European country which needs to deal with multiculturalism, in both its positive and negative aspects. We must accept differences relating to skin-colour and religion. If what is published does not stand up to scrutiny, then we will start to cultivate racial hatred and racism.'<sup>58</sup>

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56 *Simerini* newspaper, 3 September 2009, available at [<http://www.sigmalive.com/simerini/news/188329>], accessed on 11 May 2011.

57 *Phileletheros* newspaper, 2 September 2009, available at [<http://www.phileletheros.com/Digital/Default.aspx?d=20090902&pn=1>], accessed on 11 May 2011.

58 Source: *Cyprus News Agency*. 'Muslims clash at Omeriye Mosque', 1 September 2009.

The Mayor of Nicosia, Eleni Mavrou, expressed the opinion that the problem might be solved if more mosques were opened, but did acknowledge that the management of the mosques would be a major problem, since currently there are no practical solutions for covering running costs and taking care of the daily management of them.<sup>59</sup> Yiorgos Matsepoulos, Senior Officer of the Nicosia District Turkish-Cypriot Property Management Service supported the Mayor's assessment of the situation and further noted that the various Islamic groups are not formally organised and often express very different opinions, a fact which causes difficulties to their taking care of the daily management of the mosques.<sup>60</sup>

It is noteworthy that the abovementioned clash took place just a few days after another incident, when worshippers at the Omeriye Mosque had thrown stones at the assembled crowd which attended a concert by Greek singer Pantelis Thalassinos at a nearby café. Worshippers considered that the singer had rudely interrupted their evening prayers.

The incident with the singer is an indication of 'multilocality', which demonstrates how people hold multiple semiotic meanings for a specific place.<sup>61</sup> On the one hand, the meaning attributed to the Omeriye Mosque by worshippers was that of a sacred place; a place which provides them the opportunity to perform their religious practices. On the other hand, the group of people that attended the concert near to the Mosque have a completely different relationship with the specific place as well as the surrounding area. While the latter group perceives the Mosque as a monument of the old city, it concurrently neglects the religious significance it holds for the Muslim minorities.

Since then there have been no further incidences involving the local non-Muslim majority population and the Muslim minority groups or between the minority groups. On the contrary, as the owners and employees of the nearby cafés, restaurants and shops attest, there seems to be a peaceful co-existence between the local immigrants visiting the Mosque and the local non-Muslim population.<sup>62</sup> Similarly, there seem to be no notable problems between the Shia and Sunni worshippers who share the specific religious space.

Cypriot authorities may guide themselves on how to deal with the situation of two differing religious communities claiming use of the Omeriye Mosque by consulting the judgment of the European Court of Human Rights in the case of *Serif v. Greece*.<sup>63</sup> The applicant in the case of *Serif* enjoyed the support of part of the Muslim community in Thrace and was elected Mufti, despite

59 Source: *Cyprus Mail* Newspaper. 'Clash at Omeriye Mosque', 2 September 2009.

60 *Ibid.*

61 S.M. Low and D. Lawrence-Zuniga (2003) 'Locating Culture' in S.M. Low and D. Lawrence-Zuniga (eds.), *The Anthropology of Space and Place*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 1-47.

62 Anonymous interviews conducted in January, 2011.

63 *Serif v. Greece*, Judgment of 4 December 1999; (2001) 31 EHRR 561. See also *Agga v. Greece*, Judgment of the European Court of Human Rights of 17 October 2002.

the fact that another Mufti had already been appointed by the Greek Government. The applicant was subsequently convicted of the criminal offences of having usurped the functions of a minister without having the right to do so. The European Court, finding a violation of Article 9 of the European Convention on Human Rights, noted that tension between competing religious groups is an unavoidable consequence of pluralism; the role of the authorities in such a situation is not to remove the cause of the tension, thereby eliminating pluralism, but instead to ensure tolerance between the rival factions. In a democratic society, there is no need for the State to take measures to ensure that religious communities remain or are brought under a unified leadership. What is more the Constitution provides that all religions are equal before the law and no legislative, executive or administrative act of the Republic shall discriminate against any religious institution or religion.<sup>64</sup> There should in principle be no discrimination between newly established religions, or religions which represent religious minorities. Accordingly, the Republic of Cyprus may, in principle, not discriminate between Sunni and Shia Muslims, simply because one of them is more established in Cyprus. In order to reach solutions which respect the need of pluralism, Cypriot authorities should try to accommodate the differing religious communities not by putting an end to the cause of tension, and thereby eradicating pluralism, but rather by attempting to establish tolerance and respect between the opposing groups.

### *The Planning Law Exemption and the Majority Religion*

The application of planning law is not a tool that is used solely to restrict the actions of the minority religion. Indeed, it has been used in cases of majority religion as well. Indicatively, during the years 2009 and 2010, the Orthodox Church of Cyprus has clashed with political parties as well as civil society organisations with respect to the erection of Cathedrals in the districts of Nicosia and Paphos. Starting with the latter, we examine these two cases.

#### *The Case of the Paphos Cathedral*

The Metropolitan of Paphos filed a petition for a permit to erect a Cathedral in the Paphos town park on 9 July 2009. Political parties and civil society organisations reacted immediately and opposed the Metropolitan's petition which led to the Metropolitan issuing a detailed statement. The statement was addressed to all Orthodox Christians of Paphos and explained the Metropolitan's reasoning for the filing of the petition. The main argument was that the former Cathedral of St Theodoros could no longer serve the needs of the constantly growing population of Paphos, and a new Cathedral was deemed necessary in order to enable the hosting of ceremonies and liturgies.

The Metropolitan observed a need for the Cathedral to be close to the Metropolis, mainly for practical reasons. However, apart from the town park located at the centre of the city, the

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64 Article 18 § 3 of the Constitution.

Metropolis of Paphos owns no other property in the area. The town park had been leased to the Paphos Municipality in 1955 under an agreement that stipulated that part of that area would eventually be used for the erection of a Cathedral. According to the Metropolitan, the Cathedral would respect the main characteristics of the area, since it would be designed as a neoclassical Cathedral in an area with several other neoclassical buildings. The Cathedral would essentially occupy less than 5% of the total area of the town park (14.382 square metres) and the remaining space would be given to the Municipality of Paphos to be used as a public park.<sup>65</sup>

The erection of the new Cathedral in the specific area required a deviation from the existing planning laws, since the town park area had been declared a protected zone where only parks and open sport areas could be built. Hence, while the Municipality of Paphos could issue an opinion and the Board of Deviations could file a detailed report on the matter, the final decision for the erection of the Cathedral ultimately rests upon the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cyprus.

On 26 January 2010 the Municipality of Paphos turned down the application of the Metropolitan of Paphos by a majority of 16 to 1, arguing that the town park, which is situated in the most central area of the town, ought to remain a green area. The Metropolitan, upon hearing the decision, highlighted that there is no other place for the Cathedral to be erected. 'We cannot have a Cathedral erected in the air' he joked, expressing the view that the great majority of his flock is in favour of erecting the Cathedral as planned.<sup>66</sup>

Following the negative decision of the Municipality, the Board of Deviations took over the issue in order to deliver a report to the Council of Ministers. The Board performed a public hearing of the application on 15 September 2010, which was attended by civil society organisations both in favour and against the erection of the new Cathedral in the town park area. Charis Komodromos on behalf of the Initiative Group in favour of the erection of the Cathedral underlined that it would upgrade the town centre, as well as the town park. Similarly, Evgenios Neophytou of the civil society organisation 'Human and Environment' claimed that the town park is deteriorating day by day and the only solution to save it is for the Cathedral to be erected. On the contrary, Kostas Koutsoftides on behalf of a civil society group opposing the erection of the Cathedral argued that the planning legislation should promote green areas and not contribute to their further degradation. It is worth noting that a group of students held signs stating 'Save the trees' during the public hearing.<sup>67</sup> A final decision on the matter is still pending.

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65 Source: Pamphlet of the Metropolitan of Paphos concerning the Cathedral.

66 *Simerini* newspaper, 27 January 2010, available at [<http://www.sigmalive.com/simerini/news/local/232991>], accessed on 11 May 2011.

67 *Phileleftheros* newspaper, 16 September 2010, available at [<http://www.philenews.com/Digital/Default.aspx?d-20100916&cpn=1>], accessed 11 May 2011.

### *The Case of the Nicosia Cathedral*

On 28 December 2007 Archbishop Chrysostomos II submitted a petition to the Municipal Council of Nicosia for a building permit for a new Cathedral in the historical centre of Nicosia, near the Archdiocese of Cyprus. As was the case of Paphos, the Archbishop noted that the current Cathedral of St John can no longer accommodate the needs of the Archdiocese and highlighted the need for the erection of a new larger Cathedral.

The petition of the Archbishop provoked even more intense reaction (compared to the case of Paphos) from civil society organisations, which argued that the architecture, planning and morphology of the new Cathedral would negatively affect the natural environment and the character of the historical centre of Nicosia.<sup>68</sup> They also argued that the erection of the new Cathedral would essentially lead to the destruction of the Archdiocese park which is a significant green area in the old town and would create, *inter alia*, adverse effects to the quality of air. In addition, protesters noted that the new Cathedral would lead to severe parking problems, nuisance, and the destruction of the planning zone of the old town.<sup>69</sup> Some civil society groups expressed more extreme views and accused the Orthodox Church of attempting to promote its hegemonic role in an anachronistic and conservative manner by imposing a huge Cathedral upon the immigrants and the emerging ethno-cultural structure of the old town of Nicosia.<sup>70</sup>

Cyprus Scientific and Technical Chamber (ETEK), the official technical consultant of the State and the professional body of all Cypriot mechanics, adopted in May 2010, a report evaluating the proposal for the erection of the new Cathedral of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus.<sup>71</sup> ETEK criticised the proposal, stating that the architectural design of the new Cathedral had been unsuccessful and highly problematic, and concluded that:

‘the new Cathedral seems to have been based upon the logic of a supra-sized building which is in a vain search of space and which defies any logic of urban adaptation ... as a result, problematic relations between the building and the surrounding space, the existing buildings of the Archdiocese and the existing private buildings, are being formed ...’

Furthermore, ETEK shared the civil society organisations’ views that the existing park, one of the most important green spaces in Nicosia, would be destroyed with the erection of the Cathedral.

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68 It is worth noting that the height of the new Cathedral would be approximately 26 metres.

69 See e.g. Committee for the Struggle against the Erection of a Huge Cathedral in the Old Town of Nicosia, Friends of Ancient Civilisation ELEFSIS, Federation of Environmental and Ecological Organisations of Cyprus, Environmental Movement of Cyprus, Friends of Nature Cyprus, Movement for Social Ecology, Action Group of Residents of the Old Town of Nicosia, ‘Against the Erection of a Cathedral in the Old Town of Nicosia’, available at [[http://admin.typos.com.cy/nqcontent.cfm?a\\_id=134076](http://admin.typos.com.cy/nqcontent.cfm?a_id=134076)], accessed on 20 October 2010.

70 A good example of such critique is Q Team, ‘How the Erection of a New Cathedral Suppresses Social Rights’, available at [<http://omadaq.wordpress.com/>], accessed on 20 October 2010.

71 ETEK, ‘Report and Evaluation of Data on the Erection of a New Cathedral of the Church of Cyprus’, Nicosia, May 2010.

ETEK concluded its report by stating that the new Cathedral had been inadequately designed and its morphology was inconsistent with the character of the historical town centre and the Byzantine morphology of the old town of Nicosia. As a result, ETEK suggested to the Orthodox Church of Cyprus to reconsider the whole issue from scratch.

The Technical Director of the Archdiocese of Cyprus, Stelios Georghiou, rejected ETEK's criticism and pointed out that the new Cathedral was an integral part of the seven-year programme of upgrading the premises of the Archdiocese in the old town of Nicosia.<sup>72</sup> He further argued that the increased size was necessary in order for the Archdiocese to cope with its emerging functional needs. In any event, he argued, that the new Cathedral was still small when compared to other similar cathedrals in the European Union. The project's architect, Nicos Meletiou, further noted that the size of the proposed building was within the existing practice of urban centres in Europe and argued that it had been designed so as to fit perfectly within the existing architectural topology of the old town of Nicosia, and consequently considered ETEK's criticism to be unfounded. Moreover, he pointed out that Owen Luder, a distinguished architect and twice President of the Royal Institute of British Architects, also expressed the view that the new Cathedral would refresh and reinforce the identity of the old town of Nicosia.<sup>73</sup> This view was also supported by a number of well-known and influential Cypriots, such as businessman Nicos Shakolas, who argued that the erection of the new Cathedral was indeed essential.<sup>74</sup>

On 6 July 2010 the Municipal Council of Nicosia approved the petition of the Archdiocese by a majority of 16 votes in favour, 10 against and 1 abstention. The decision led to public reaction. Outside the Municipality, a group of civil society organisations that gathered to lobby against the petition expressed their dissatisfaction and argued that it is the citizens that ought to have the last say on the matter and not the Municipality. The Mayor of Nicosia, Eleni Mavrou, who voted against the petition, commented that the latter has been approved and that any changes to the architectural plan could only take place with the consent of the Orthodox Church.<sup>75</sup> The Archbishop expressed his satisfaction at the decision and claimed that the criticism levelled against the Church was unsubstantiated and a result of political power struggles. On 2 October 2010 forty-two persons filed a recourse before the Supreme Court of Cyprus against the erection of the new Cathedral; the recourse is still pending.

72 *Phileleftheros* newspaper, 15 March 2010, available at [<http://www.philenews.com/Digital/Default.aspx?d-20100315&pn=1>], accessed 11 May 2011.

73 *Simerini* newspaper, 6 June 2010, available at [<http://www.sigmalive.com/simerini/news/social/273042>], accessed on 11 May 2011.

74 See N. Shakolas, 'The Erection of a Cathedral is Necessary', available at [<http://www.churchofcyprus.org.cy/article.php?articleID=1225>], accessed on 20 October 2010 and the replies by Elefsis, available at [<http://m4trix87.wordpress.com>], accessed on 20 October 2010.

75 *Phileleftheros* newspaper, 7 July 2010, available at [<http://www.philenews.com/Digital/Default.aspx?d-20100707&pn=1>], accessed on 11 May 2011.

Urban settings such as the old part of the city of Nicosia are often transformed into 'contested spaces' between the various groups interacting in the area.<sup>76</sup> In these contested spaces different meaningful relationships with the locales are established when the different groups attach diverse and often conflicting meanings to a specific space. Through this ongoing interactive process a 'space' is transformed into a meaningful 'place'. The symbolic meaning that people attribute to a place is not fixed, monolithic or stable through time.

The flexible and negotiated meaning of a place reflects the complex urban structures and the competing social groups that coexist in the specific setting. In such complex settings even the locals hold conflicting perceptions about the symbolic value of the old part of the city.

In the case of the Nicosia Cathedral, the groups against the petition seem to perceive the old part of the city as a symbol of history, cultural heritage, multiculturalism, diversity and overall as a non-conventional and alternative space. On the contrary, groups in favour of the petition seem to perceive the specific place as a symbol of underdevelopment, degradation, poverty and immigration. An extension of this ideological conflict is reflected also in the different visions that these groups hold in relation to the 'development' of the area and the respective ways to improve the 'quality of life' within the urban centre. What is considered 'development' for one side is loss of 'quality of life' for the other, and *vice versa*.

## Conclusion

In this paper we attempted to shed some light on the legal framework concerning the allocation and use of religious space in Cyprus and elucidate, through the several case studies, how the Cypriot legal structure allows or limits the development of such spaces and how it safeguards the religious freedom of both the majority as well as the minority religious groups. In addition, the case studies provide a clear indication that the allocation of religious space as well as the erection of places of worship, may, and do, provoke criticism and sometimes strong reaction from the public and civil organisations.

What is particularly interesting is that these reactions do not arise only when the places of worship are to be erected or used by groups of minority religions, but also when they are to be erected by the majority religion of the island as well. It is rather difficult to confirm whether the public reaction of certain organised groups correspond to the position of the majority of the residents in the specific areas or indeed of the entire population of Cyprus. It is more sensible to confirm that the reaction by organised groups has been more intense in recent years with respect to the erection of places of worship of the *majority* religion. Indeed, public reaction concerning erection of places of worship for minority religions has not, in general, been overtly intense. With the notable exemption being the inauguration of the Larnaca Synagogue (although public

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76 S.M. Low and D. Lawrence-Zuniga (2003) 'Locating Culture', *op. cit.*



reaction was short-lived even in that case), there have been no other published or annotated cases in recent years which indicate intense public reaction with respect to the allocation of religious space in Cyprus to minority religions.

The cases of the Paphos and Nicosia Cathedrals demonstrate that the development and use of religious spaces, especially in complex urban settings, provide the opportunity for competing groups with diverse visions and access to material and symbolic resources, to engage in power struggles. The social conflict that took place in Nicosia was not only the outcome of conflicting interests between the various groups in the area, but also that of diverse meaningful relationship to the specific religious places.

The cases of the Omerie Mosque as well as that of the Synagogue in Larnaca provide sufficient indications that the most intense forms of intolerance do not occur between majority and minority groups, but rather between the minority groups themselves. Nonetheless, the intolerance does not seem to be attributed to the dissatisfaction over the use or erection of a specific place of worship by one or another group. Rather the most important reactions seem to derive from non-Cypriot factors such as the dogmatic differences between the Sunni and Shia and the intractable Israeli-Palestinian conflict. To a greater degree the former is of particular importance for Cyprus, not least because the (Muslim) immigrant community will most likely continue to grow, and as long as the Omeriye Mosque remains the only place of worship in Nicosia, it is likely that inter-group problems will re-emerge.

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# Attainment of Ethnic Minority Secondary School Students in Cyprus\*

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## Abstract

*There is evidence that the attainment of ethnic minority children differs from that of native children. Examining this and the reasons behind it is important in ensuring equal opportunities and a sound education for all children. This paper identifies differences in attainment between minority and native students in Cyprus by examining the grades of students from two secondary schools in Modern Greek and Mathematics. Using the Rasch analysis, results showed that ethnic minority groups perform significantly lower than native students and regression analysis indicated that ethnic background, gender, family socio-economic status, generation status, absenteeism, and age have a significant effect on attainment. The study in Cyprus, homes in on the educational reality in Cyprus, highlights the need for immediate policy implementation on the part of the government and identifies areas of further study.*

**Keywords:** education, attainment, quantitative study, minorities, Cyprus

## Introduction

The arrival and settlement of immigrants in many countries, especially after the nineteenth century, is a phenomenon that has lent a heterogeneous character to many societies in different countries all over the world (Lynch, 1989). As a result, people with dissimilar cultural, religious, linguistic, and ethnic backgrounds have ended-up living in places and circumstances different to those of their 'homelands'. The student population is also affected by this change, with worrisome results regarding attainment<sup>1</sup> being reported for ethnic minority groups in many different countries: black students in the UK (Connolly, 2006; Demack *et al.*, 2000) and the US (Glick and White, 2003; Rumberger and Palardy, 2005), Pakistani (Demack, Drew, and Grimsley, 2000) and Bangladeshi students (Demie, 2001) in the UK, Hispanic students in the US (Fryer and

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1 Attainment in educational studies refers to the standard of students' work compared to national and local benchmarks. In contrast, achievement refers to the progress students have 'made since they were last tested to gain their current test results' (Education, Children and Young People Scrutiny Board, 2008, p. 3).

Levitt, 2004; Ma, 2005), Turkish and Moroccan students in the Netherlands (Driessen, 1995; Hofman, 1994), Albanian students in Greece (Korilaki, 2004). The disparity in educational outcomes among different ethnic groups has become known in research as the 'minority achievement gap' (D'Amico, 2001; Olszewski-Kubilius, 2006).

Examining whether and for what reasons some minorities underachieve, and then tackling problem areas, is considered important for delivering a sound education to all students and thus preparing them for living their lives fully within a well-functioning society with equal opportunities. The international literature has identified a variety of factors as likely to affect attainment. These include gender, generation status, socio-economic status, absenteeism, and age. Some of the earlier findings on these factors are presented below.

Some studies suggest that females outperform males in most subjects, including Reading or Language or Writing (Fryer and Levitt, 2004; Hao and Bonstead-Bruns, 1998; Hoxby, 2002), and Mathematics (Bempechat *et al.*, 1999; Lee and Smith, 1995; Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999). Other studies, however, have shown males outperforming females in Mathematics (Glick and White, 2003; Lee and Loeb, 2000) and others still have shown no significant gender differences (McCoy, 2005; Rong and Grant, 1992). Further, many studies have not examined gender in analyses (Condron and Roscigno, 2003; Portes and MacLeod, 1996; Sheldon and Epstein, 2005), or have not examined the attainment of male and female students in relation to minority and majority groups separately (Entwisle and Alexander, 1990; Sammons, 1995).

In terms of generational difference in immigrant populations, some studies show a tendency of lower generation status students towards better school performance. For example, Padilla and Gonzalez (2001) and Rumbaut (1995) found first-generation students to have better performance than second- or third-generation children. However, there are studies that show opposite results (Ream, 2005; Rong and Grant, 1992; Wojtkiewicz and Donato, 1995), and a plethora of studies that have not considered this factor (Hustinx, 2002; Orr, 2003).

There are many studies showing that students of higher socio-economic status tend to achieve higher than students of lower socio-economic status (Connolly, 2006; Cook and Evans, 2000; Fejgin, 1995; Zvoch and Stevens, 2006). Here also, there are many studies that have not included this important factor in their analyses (Barnett *et al.*, 2002; Callahan, 2005; Hoxby, 2002; Rong and Grant, 1992). Others have used a single (Demack *et al.*, 2000; Driessen, 1995; McCoy, 2005; Pearce, 2006) or some weak indicators (e.g. free school meal) for the measurement of family status of students (Sheldon and Epstein, 2005; Zvoch and Stevens, 2006), thus potentially introducing bias through misclassification.

In the literature, low attendance levels appear to predict low performance (Caldas, 1993; Rumberger and Larson, 1998; Smyth, 1999). Many studies, though, have not examined absenteeism in relation to minority and majority students separately (Kahne *et al.*, 2005; Smyth, 1999), or the effect of absenteeism on student attainment in particular (Kahne *et al.*, 2005; Phillips, 1997). Also, the reviewed studies have not investigated absences for a long period, but only for a short time-period, such as a few days (Bos *et al.*, 1992) or a single semester (Kahne *et al.*, 2005;

Rumberger and Larson, 1998). In addition, none of the reviewed studies has examined the effect of absences on student attainment in particular subjects.

Earlier studies have suggested that older students in a year group tended to perform better than younger students (Crosnoe, 2005; Fryer and Levitt, 2004; Sammons, 1995). However, in studies with students much older than their classmates, age appeared to have a negative effect on school performance (Driessen, 1995; Lee and Loeb, 2000; Ma, 2005). The majority of reviewed studies, though, have not included age in their analyses (Connolly, 2006; Pearce, 2006; Ream, 2005).

In Cyprus, a fairly new European country member, the school population has become progressively more heterogeneous (Oikonomidou, 2003) during the last decade, due to the settlement of immigrants. This situation is predicted to continue in an accelerated fashion with the expansion of the European Union. The rapid demographic changes have affected school composition (*ibid.*) as well. According to information supplied by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Cyprus (where the research was conducted in 2004-2005<sup>2</sup>) regarding secondary schools, the number of minority students in the 2004-2005 academic year had doubled compared to the corresponding figure in the academic year 2001-2002, whilst the number of native students was similar. A more recent report of the Ministry of Education and Culture (Annual Report, 2009) showed that the number of foreign-language students in primary schools continues to increase. In particular, for the academic year 2005-2006, there were 3,759 students attending the local primary schools (6.7% of the total) for whom Greek was not their mother language. This number rose to 4,605 (9% of the total) for the academic year 2008-2009. No data is reported for secondary schools but one would expect a similar trend.

There are presently no studies on the attainment of ethnic minority secondary school students in Cyprus. Research related to minority students is limited to a few qualitative studies, which explore issues of multicultural/intercultural education in Cypriot schools (Angelides *et al.*, 2003 and 2004; Martidou-Forsier, 2003; Panayiotopoulos and Nicolaidou, 2007; Papamichael, 2008). In some of these cases, there are hints of problematic performance on the part of ethnic minorities. For example, in the study by Panayiotopoulos and Nicolaidou (2007) there is reference to low academic performance among non-indigenous students. It is also suggested that the high concentration of minority students in a particular school was a factor pushing parents of native students to stop sending their children to that particular school because of perceived lower academic standards.

From the above, it is obvious that no firm conclusions can be reached about the attainment of minority secondary school students in Cyprus based on prior literature alone, especially because the school population has been changing so rapidly. Furthermore, as highlighted above, earlier

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2 The current study has only considered schools under the control of the Republic of Cyprus as access to data across the divide was difficult.

studies on attainment of minority students are mired by methodological problems. A study examining the attainment of minority students in Cyprus and looking at a large number of possible factors responsible for this attainment is the one way of remedying this situation. On this basis, we conducted a study aiming to answer two research questions:

- (1) What are the patterns of attainment for minority and native secondary school students in the Republic of Cyprus?
- (2) Which of the examined factors influence the attainment patterns of these students?

### **Methodology**

**School and Student Sample:** Two Greek-Cypriot public secondary schools (known as 'gymnasiums') in different cities (Larnaca and Paphos) were included in the study. As the intention was to examine schools with a substantial number of ethnic minority students, the schools were randomly selected from the total number of schools with a concentration of minority students equal to or greater than 5%. All students (769 in total) enrolled in these gymnasiums during the academic year 2004-2005 were included. Children from Georgia formed the largest ethnic minority group in these schools, whilst smaller numbers of other groups (Russians, British, Romanians, Bulgarians, Africans, and Americans) were pooled together under a category of 'Others'. Specifically, the sample included 72 'Georgians', 98 'Others', and 597 'Natives'. Across the Republic of Cyprus, these numbers would account for 10.4% of Georgian, 25.4% of 'Other' and 2.2% of Native children enrolled in all secondary schools (suggesting that the objective of capturing schools with a substantial number of ethnic minorities was achieved).

**Academic Achievement:** The attainment level of students was measured utilising student grades from three consecutive trimesters in two different subjects: Modern Greek, a subject of theoretical context where language is of paramount significance, and Mathematics, a practical subject which is less language-dependent. Other theoretical subjects, for example History, and practical subjects, such as physics, could also serve similar purposes and these areas could be used in future studies. As there are no external examinations, trimester grades from each gymnasium offer the only available indication of student attainment during an academic year. The trimester grades are to a large extent dependent on the curriculum taught during the trimester. They reflect the average of a number of tests over the period in question based on material of the national curriculum taught during the year. Even though we initially planned to examine the scores from end-of-year exams as well, and the relevant information was collected, it was realised that the term-time grades were much more consistent and tended to reflect the attainment of individual students much more accurately than the final exam scores. This might have been due to a tendency by students who had passed their year from semester grades, not to pay as much attention to the final exam, thus bringing down the mean score and not allowing for appropriate separation between different levels of ability among students.



**Variables:** Parental birthplace is the only accurate and available indicator for defining ethnicity in the population sample and is the method that schools and the Ministry of Education and Culture in Cyprus use. This way of defining students' ethnic background has been used in other studies as well (e.g. Hustinx, 2002). 'Georgians' were defined as those children who had at least one parent born in Georgia. These are known locally as '*Rossopontioi*' or '*Ellinopontioi*'. 'Others' were students who had at least one parent born in a country other than Cyprus or Georgia. Students who had one Cypriot parent and the other from another country were considered to belong to the ethnic group of the non-native parent. 'Natives' were mainly those whose parents had both been born in Cyprus. For practical reasons, a very small number of students from Greece were also included in the native category; this was felt appropriate in view of the similarities in language, religion and culture. The population of Cyprus at large also includes Turkish-Cypriots as well as people from three 'religious groups', Maronites, Armenians and Latins but this particular student sample included nobody from these groups. This is not surprising as the overwhelming majority of Turkish-Cypriots study across the divide in the northern part of the island and those from the 'religious groups' tend to prefer English-speaking private schools.

Student generation status was indicated by place of birth. That is, students born abroad with at least one parent born abroad were defined as first-generation, and those born in Cyprus with at least one parent born abroad were defined as second-generation. This way of differentiating students between first and second-generation immigrants has been used in other studies (e.g. Goyette and Xie, 1999). Students born in Cyprus of parents born in Cyprus or Greece were defined as natives.

Other variables used were gender, socio-economic status (based on the highest level of parental education and parental occupation), and absenteeism (absences from teaching periods in the two examined subjects, as well as the overall number of absences for the whole academic year). Student age (measured in months), year group, and school were also controlled. Absenteeism was examined in relation to student performance in the particular subjects. The categories employed for each of these variables were:

- For gender: male and female;
- For parental education: primary education, secondary education, and further studies;
- For parental occupation: manual unskilled workers, manual skilled workers, civil servant and private workers, teachers and senior civil servants and senior private workers, and professionals and chief managers;
- For year group: first year, second year, third year;
- For school: School A and School B. Attainment, absenteeism, and age were used in the statistical analysis as continuous variables.

**Analytical Methods:** Rasch analysis was employed, in order for the student grades (A, B, C, D, E), which represent ordinal data, to be transferred into a linear scale which could then be used for the

regression analysis (as linearity is a presupposition for this analysis). Rasch analysis processed the grades of all students from different trimesters and gave an overall performance index for each student. A particular model of the Rasch 'family' was used for the needs of the present study – the Partial Credit Model (Wright and Masters, 1982).<sup>3</sup>

Based on the Rasch scores, some descriptive statistics were created first. Then, a regression analysis (Ordinary least-squares regression) was employed to assess how accurately an independent variable predicts a dependent variable, determining the proportion of the variation in the dependent variable that can be accounted for by the variation in the independent variables. Regression analysis could also indicate whether or not a particular relationship is statistically significant (Allen, 1997). Two multiple regression models (one for each subject) with attainment as dependent variable and a number of factors as independent variables were performed to check on possible influences of the independent variables on student attainment. Due to the small population sample, the regression models included all students, despite the fact that they came from three different year groups. The age difference among students was, however, controlled by including their age and year group in the models. As the particular study dealt with data on different levels – that is student-level data and school-level data – multilevel models would normally be the appropriate method of analysis. But because the number of schools was small, this technique could not be used in this case. The statistical package SPSS Version 12.0 was used for the analyses.

**Limitations:** Some limitations of the present research need to be mentioned. Firstly, the findings may not be suitable for generalisations or assumed to be representative of the whole population, as the study is based on the population of two schools. Secondly, the student scores of attainment are based not on a standardised test but on marks given by teachers. This could introduce bias, which could invalidate results. Nevertheless, as this is the only assessment available in Cyprus at present, it represents a pragmatic approach. Also, the fact that a number of grades from three different trimesters are used reduces the possibility of introduction of bias from single measurements.

**Sources of Information:** Student grades and absences were obtained from the most accurate and valid available source: a database held by the Ministry of Education and Culture, which is based on the students' official report cards. Parental origin, education, occupation, student birthplace, and age were collected from school-held records. All the information on school records was collected from parents. As parents are assumed to be the ultimate authority on student/family information (Entwisle and Astone, 1994), using school records as a source of information can, to a great extent, ensure the reliability of the information collected. It should be noted that the official interpretation of this data may introduce categorisation (e.g. as 'native' or 'non-native') that does not accurately reflect parents' or students' perceptions of themselves.

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3 For more information about Rasch models, see Bond and Fox (2001).

**Ethics:** Ethical issues arise from the nature of the research project itself, as it deals with ethnic differences and personal information of a sensitive kind. For this reason, a particular procedure of access and acceptance has been followed. Official permission for using students' grades and absences was obtained from the Ministry of Education and Culture in Cyprus. Student data was collected using an indicative number and not names. Schools were asked to participate on a voluntary basis. The right of students and schools to privacy has been protected, and their confidentiality and anonymity guaranteed. International guidelines dealing with ethical issues in educational research (e.g. Cohen *et al.*, 2004), have also been honoured.

## Results

### *Descriptive Statistics*

In this section, a table of descriptive statistics and a number of graphs are presented. The table offers demographic data broken down into the three different ethnic groups examined, 'Natives', 'Georgians', and 'Others'. The graphs show patterns of attainment across the variables that the present study examines, i.e. ethnicity, gender, generation status, parental education, and parental occupation.

#### *The Population Sample and the Variables Used in the Study*

As table 1 overleaf indicates, about three-quarters of the student population were 'Natives', while the remainder were 'Georgians' and 'Others'. In the group of 'Natives' and 'Georgians' about one-half of them were female, while in the group of 'Others' 60% of the sample were female. All the 'Georgians' were of first-generation status, while approximately one-half of the 'Others' were of second-generation status, and the rest of first generation.

Regarding parental education, approximately one-third of native parents only, had received further studies while about one-half of the 'Georgian' and 'Other' parents had undertaken further studies. This indicates that minority parents possessed higher educational levels than native parents did. In terms of parental occupation, it appeared that about one-third of native parents were in the two higher occupational categories. From the two minority groups, around one-quarter of the 'Other' parents and less than one-fifth of 'Georgian' parents were classed in these categories. 'Georgian' parents had the highest proportion of workers in the two lower occupational categories, followed by that of 'Other' parents. This indicates that minority parents had a lower occupational level than native parents, with 'Georgian' parents having the lowest level of all.

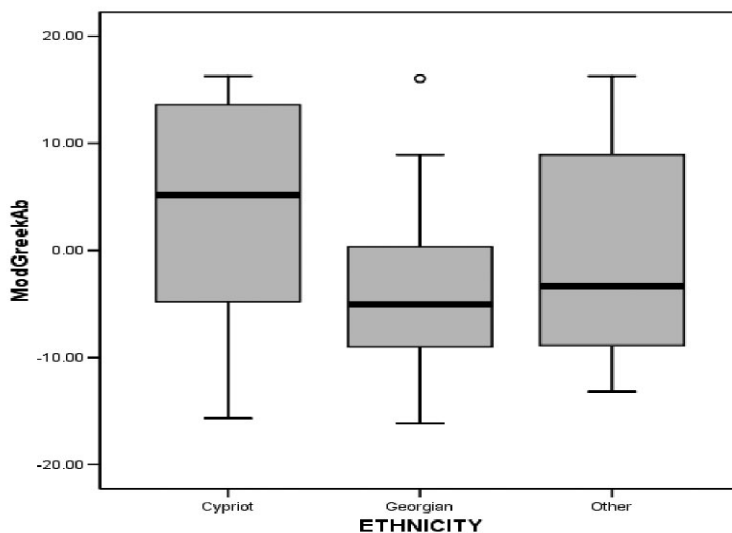
#### *Student Attainment across Ethnic Groups*

As regards student attainment, it appeared that the average score of 'Natives' was much higher than the score of the two minority groups in both subjects (figure 1, for the graphical representation in Modern Greek). The average attainment of 'Georgians' and 'Others' was quite close in both subjects, even though 'Others' appeared to be performing slightly better.

**Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for the Variables Used in the Study by Ethnicity**

	Natives (%)	Georgians (%)	Others (%)
<i>Population sample</i>	776	94	127
<i>Gender</i>			
Male	50.6	54.2	398
Female	494	458	60.2
<i>Generation status</i>			
Natives	100	0.0	0.0
First generation	0.0	100	571
Second generation	0.0	0.0	429
<i>Parental education</i>			
Primary education	4.5	1.4	1.0
Secondary education	61.3	54.2	42.9
Further studies	34.2	44.4	56.1
<i>Parental occupation</i>			
Unskilled workers	6.5	15.3	12.2
Skilled workers	16.2	38.9	21.4
Civil servants and private workers	47.6	37.5	41.8
Teachers and senior civil servants and senior private workers	22.1	8.3	19.4
Professionals and chief managers	7.5	0.0	5.1

**Figure 1: Rasch Scores for Students from Each Ethnicity-related Category Comparing Attainment Levels in Modern Greek**



*Gender-correlated Student Attainment*

Females from all ethnic groups had higher average attainment in Modern Greek than males (figure 2). A similar pattern appeared for Mathematics.

*Generation-correlated Student Attainment*

The average attainment for both first- and second-generation minorities in Modern Greek was much lower than those of 'Natives', with second-generation students achieving slightly higher than first-generation students (figure 3). A similar pattern appeared for Mathematics.

*Parental Education-correlated Student Attainment*

Students' average score rose as parental educational levels increased (figure 4). As a consequence, the average score of children whose parents had received secondary education was higher than those whose parents had primary education alone. The children whose parents had received further studies achieved the highest average of all. This pattern was common to both subjects studied.

**Figure 2: Rasch Scores for Student Attainment in Modern Greek Correlated with Gender**

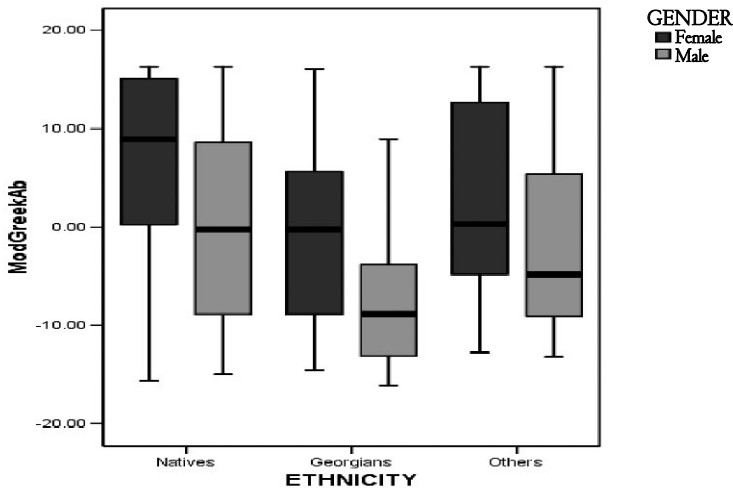


Figure 3: The Rasch Scores for Student Attainment in Modern Greek Correlated with Generation

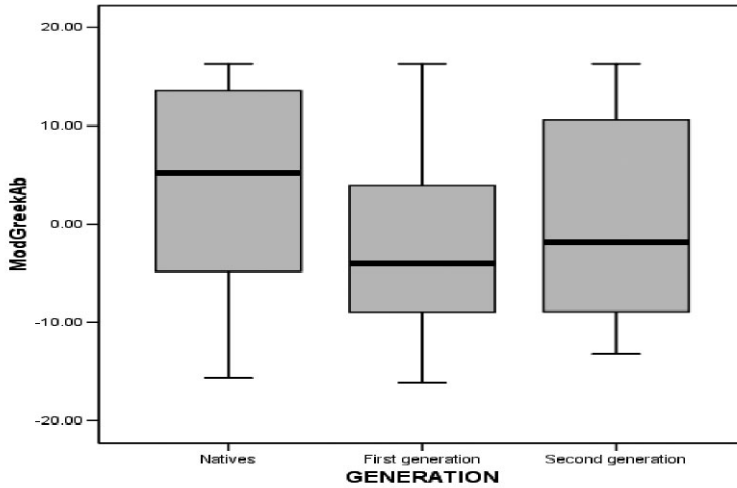
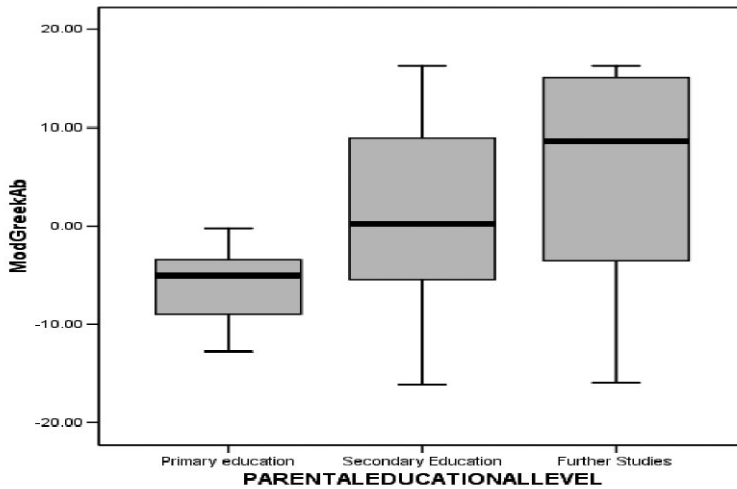


Figure 4: Rasch Scores for Students from Different Parental Educational Categories in Modern Greek



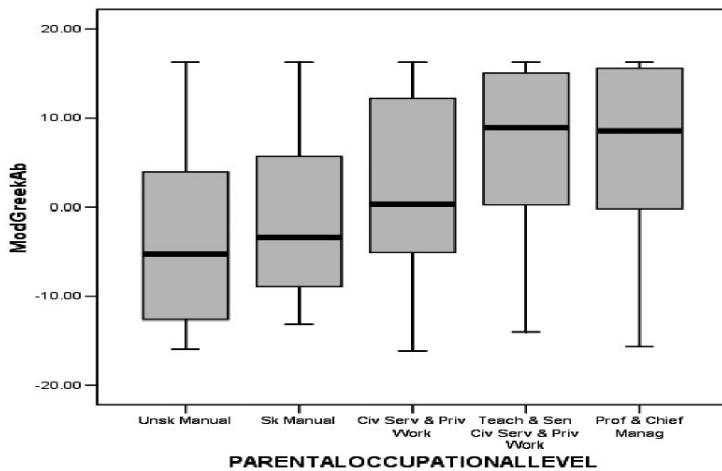
*Parental Occupation-correlated Student Attainment*

Students' average score improved along with increasing parental occupational levels (figure 5). Hence, children whose parents were skilled workers achieved higher scores than children whose parents were unskilled workers. Children whose parents were civil servants and private workers were higher-achievers than children whose parents were grouped in the two lower occupational categories. Finally, children whose parents were teachers or senior civil servants and senior private workers or professionals and chief managers scored the highest of all.

*Absenteeism Rates*

'Natives' had fewer absences in both subjects (an average of 4.69 in Modern Greek and 3.66 in Mathematics) than children from the two minority groups (an average of 10.01 in Modern Greek and 8.58 in Mathematics for 'Georgians' and an average of 8.42 in Modern Greek and 6.53 in Mathematics for 'Others'). 'Georgians', in particular, had the highest average number of absences.

**Figure 5: Rasch Scores for Student Achievement in Modern Greek Correlated with Parental Occupational Categories**



*Linear Regression*

This section presents the results from the multiple regression models for the subjects of Modern Greek and Mathematics (tables 2 and 3 respectively). The tables show which of the examined factors had a significant effect on students' attainment in the two subjects. It appeared that, even after controlling for gender, generation status, parental education and occupation, absences, age, year group and school, the gap between native students and the two ethnic minority groups remained statistically significant in both subjects. 'Others' performed lower than native students in both Modern Greek and Mathematics whilst 'Georgians' performed even lower than 'Others'. The gap was more pronounced for both groups in the subject of Modern Greek.

Gender differences were quite large and statistically significant for both subjects. Specifically, males seemed to be in a disadvantaged position, consistently performing lower than females.

The socioeconomic status of families appeared to affect attainment significantly with an increase in parental education or parental occupation level predicting an increase in student attainment in both subjects. As regards absenteeism, its effect on student attainment was statistically significant in both subjects. The model predicted a decrease in attainment in both subjects as the number of absences increased.

The effect of age on student attainment appeared to be statistically significant only for the subject of Mathematics. Its effect was negative, that is, as the age (in months) increased, student attainment decreased. Also, school variable was statistically significant only for the subject of Mathematics. Students from School B appeared to have lower average attainment than students from School A. The year group appeared to have no significant effect and as such it was excluded from both regression models.

**Table 2: Parameter Estimates of the Regression Analysis in Modern Greek (Rasch Score)**

<i>Factors</i>	<i>Unstandardised Coefficients</i>		<i>Standardised Coefficients</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
	<i>B</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>Beta</i>		
(Constant)	-0.152	1.789		-0.085	0.932
Georgians	-5.760	1.037	-0.173	-5.556	<0.001
Others	-3.074	0.894	-0.105	-3.439	0.001
Gender	-6.190	0.574	-0.318	-10.776	<0.001
Parent educational level secondary	3.420	1.579	0.173	2.166	0.031
Parent educational level further	6.999	1.680	0.349	4.167	<0.001
Parent occupational level 1	2.926	1.202	0.117	2.435	0.015
Parent occupational level 2	4.083	1.103	0.209	3.700	<0.001
Parent occupational level 3	5.803	1.268	0.245	4.577	<0.001
Parent occupational level 4	4.557	1.634	0.108	2.789	0.005
Absences	-0.314	0.034	-0.283	-9.363	<0.001

Model Summary: R: 0.601, R-square: 0.362, Adjusted R-square: 0.353, F: 42.479, Sig: <0.001.

Generation status was also excluded from the final regression models of both subjects, as it assumed non-significant values when other variables were taken into account. In fact, it caused multicollinearity<sup>4</sup> problems with the ethnicity variable. This would suggest that both variables

4 This is a situation where an explanatory variable in a model is related to one or more of the other explanatory variables (see Hutcheson and Sofroniou, 1999).



(generation status and ethnicity) offer similar information. However, as both factors were important for a study of this nature, the regression models of both subjects were run again after replacing the variable ethnicity with generation, in order to examine its effect on student attainment. The results indicated that even after controlling for different factors, the first-generation minorities achieved significantly lower scores than native students in both subjects. The difference for second-generation minorities was significant in Mathematics but not in Modern Greek. The gap for first-generation students was almost twice as large as that of second-generation students. The values of the other variables were similar to the regression models run with the ethnicity variable.

**Table 3: Parameter Estimates of the Regression Analysis in Mathematics (Rasch Score)**

<i>Factors</i>	<i>Unstandardised Coefficients</i>		<i>Standardised Coefficients</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
	<i>B</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>Beta</i>		
(Constant)	9.782	3.345		2.925	0.004
Georgians	-4.076	0.707	-0.187	-5.765	<0.001
Others	-1.931	0.603	-0.101	-3.200	0.001
Gender	-2.901	0.388	-0.228	-7.481	<0.001
Parent educational level further	2.822	0.481	0.215	5.865	<0.001
Parent occupational level 1	2.162	0.810	0.133	2.668	0.008
Parent occupational level 2	2.413	0.741	0.189	3.257	0.001
Parent occupational level 3	3.254	0.852	0.210	3.821	<0.001
Parent occupational level 4	3.148	1.107	0.114	2.844	0.005
Absences	-0.224	0.027	-0.262	-8.224	<0.001
Age	-0.468	0.225	-0.065	-2.081	0.038
School	-0.897	0.432	-0.065	-2.077	0.038

Model Summary: R: 0.565, R-square: 0.320, Adjusted R-square: 0.310, F: 31.977, Sig.: <0.001.

## Discussion

We have shown that ethnic minority groups in Cyprus perform significantly lower than native students. Low attendance rate, low parental education, low parental occupation, low generation status, together with being a male student, has a significantly negative effect on school attainment.

Despite controlling for gender, generation status, parental education and occupation, absences, age, year group and school, ethnic-minority, secondary-school students in Cyprus have been shown to achieve significantly worse than their native counterparts. That minority students underachieve has been reported previously in other countries (e.g. Glick and White, 2003; Zvoch

and Stevens, 2006). From the three groups studied, 'Georgians' achieved the lowest average score, followed by 'Others', whereas 'Natives' scored the highest. The same pattern was followed in both subjects examined, with the gap in Modern Greek being greater. This is possibly because Modern Greek is a subject of theoretical context and more language-dependent. Other studies that examined Reading and Mathematics have found larger gaps in Reading (e.g. Cook and Evans, 2000), but there are also studies with opposite results (e.g. Hoxby, 2002; Ream, 2005).

Gender appeared to be a significant predictor of student attainment in both subjects. Females from all ethnic groups seemed to be in a more advantageous position academically than males. Gender differences found in this study are consistent with those of earlier studies which show females outperforming males in Language or Reading (e.g. Fryer and Levitt, 2004; Hao and Bonstead-Bruns, 1998; Hoxby, 2002) and Mathematics (e.g., Bempechat *et al.*, 1999; Lee and Smith, 1995; Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999). The fact that 'Others' performed better than 'Georgians' might also be partly explained by the fact that females formed the majority of the sample in the group of 'Others'.

First-generation minorities had significantly lower attainment than native and second-generation students. Actually, the gap for first-generation minorities in Mathematics was twice as large as that of second-generation minorities, although compared to native students second-generation minorities had no significant differences in Modern Greek when other factors were taken into account. These findings are consistent with a number of studies that showed second-generation students performing better than first-generation students (e.g. Ream, 2005; Rong and Grant, 1992; Wojtkiewicz and Donato, 1995).

First-generation students are those that were born abroad, moved to Cyprus and entered gymnasiums at any stage and at any year group. Children with experience in the national education system of the country are expected to be more familiar with the local language, while children who migrated recently are likely to have more language problems, leading to lower academic achievement. Many researchers have argued that the lack of skills in the dominant language is one of the most important factors for the underachievement of minority students (Demie, 2001; May, 1994). Panayiotopoulos and Nicolaidou (2007) showed that the teachers who participated in their study perceived language difficulties of ethnic minority students in Cyprus to be a major factor in underperformance. In addition, the fact that all 'Georgians' in our dataset were of first generation status might go some way in explaining their lower attainment when compared to 'Others' – about one-half of which were of second-generation status. It should be mentioned that the effect of generation status was not detectable when the variable ethnicity was added to the regression models, as it pushed generation status into non-significance due to multicollinearity problems.

The effect of family socioeconomic status was significant for academic attainment. The findings are in agreement with those reported elsewhere (e.g. Connolly, 2006; Cook and Evans, 2000; Fejgin, 1995). The socio-economic make-up of each ethnic group might be an important reason for the differential attainment observed. Poor socio-economic status could affect attainment

in a number of direct (e.g. able to afford private tuition or other educational resources) and indirect ways (e.g. children being forced to get jobs to supplement family income thus minimising time for study).

As regards the relationship between absenteeism and attainment, findings are in agreement with those studies showing that low attendance rates are associated with lower performance (e.g. Caldas, 1993; Smyth, 1999). The fact that minority students have a higher number of absences compared to 'Natives' might, in part, explain the lower performance of minorities. Being absent from the classroom has a significantly negative influence on school achievement, as it might lead to missing out important concepts and information from the lesson.

Findings regarding age, in terms of their attainment in Mathematics, are in line with previous studies showing a negative correlation between age and school performance (e.g. Driessen, 1995; Lee and Loeb, 2000; Ma, 2005). An explanation for this might be that higher age applied to those students with poor attainment who had to repeat one or more academic years. It might also reflect the situation whereby older ethnic minority students who were judged by the school as very deficient in the local language were placed in a class with younger students. The language deficiencies would probably lead these students to academic failure thus making the association between increasing age and lower attainment even stronger.

One of the participant schools appeared to have a significant negative effect on the attainment of students in Mathematics. This cannot be explained from the findings of this study and additional studies, sampling many more schools, would be needed to clarify this further. The international literature examined many factors relevant to school that might have a potential influence on student achievement. For example, the contextual effects, that is to say, the 'differences in the racial and social class composition of the school ... can affect achievement over and above the effects associated with students' individual characteristics and family background' (Rumberger and Willms, 1992, p. 379). Also, the influence of peers, which, based on their high or low achievement and motivation levels, can create a "culture of success" in school or the opposite (Jencks and Mayer, 1990).

The differences in attainment between native and ethnic minority students appeared to be partly explained by the above-mentioned factors, which are basically related to the children themselves. Be that as it may, many other factors, which have not been examined in this study, might also be responsible for the attainment patterns identified. Some examples are the monocultural character of Cypriot schools (Angelides *et al.*, 2003), the assimilationist character of the current educational system (Angelides *et al.*, 2004), the lack of academic and psychological support for minority students (Panayiotopoulos and Nicolaidou, 2007), and the absence of multicultural training of teachers (Angelides *et al.*, 2007; Martidou-Forsier, 2003; Panayiotopoulos and Nicolaidou, 2007). The nationalistic element of the Cypriot educational system (Philippou, 2007), which largely reflects the Greek system as criticised for its ethnocentrism by Fragoudaki and Dragona (1997), and the racism in the wider society (ECRI, 2006a; ECRI, 2006b; Trimikliniotis, 2007; Trimikliniotis and Pantelides, 2003) might also be related. Furthermore, the negative feelings

of Cypriots for particular ethnic groups, such as Turks (Loizos, 1998; Spyrou, 2002; Spyrou, 2006), the racist attitude on the part of native students towards minority students, Georgians and Russians in particular (Theodosiou-Zipiti *et al.*, 2010), the biased and xenophobic attitudes on the part of teachers and students (Afantiti-Lamprianou *et al.*, 2008; Papamichael, 2008), as well as racism in school policies (Theodosiou-Zipiti *et al.*, 2010) might have an impact on the school life of ethnic minority students.

### **Conclusion and Recommendations for Policy and Further Research**

In general, schools should be sensitive to, and inclusive of, students' cultural and linguistic needs, promote equal opportunities, and effectively deal with racism. The curriculum, teaching methods, teacher and student behaviour, school policies, and the whole school environment should be permeated by a multicultural ethos. Improving the conditions under which ethnic minority students are educated in Cypriot schools is fundamental in raising their attainment levels. This, in turn, should help the future work prospects of ethnic minority students and lift them, at least, out of relative poverty. The cumulative effect of this could potentially help the state, by raising the level of revenue from taxed income; subsequently enabling savings on benefits paid out, and may also assist in curbing criminal activity.

Findings from the present study point to deficiencies in the educational system leading to an inability to meet the educational needs of students from ethnic minority backgrounds. The Ministry of Education and Culture has already implemented some changes (focusing on language teaching) and is working on a comprehensive educational reform. As regards the education of ethnic minority students, the policy of the Ministry is to implement 'educational measures and policies that will facilitate the smooth integration of groups from different cultural identities in a creative environment, regardless of background' (Annual Report, 2009, p. 304). Within the framework of multicultural education, a number of measures have been promoted, including the creation of classes for fast acquisition of the Greek language through intensive instruction; preparation of the new curriculum and the school textbooks with the addition of intercultural elements; production and creation of appropriate educational and pedagogical material; in-service training seminars for the teachers teaching Greek as a second and/or a foreign language organised by the Pedagogical Institute. At the primary level, extra teaching periods for language support of foreign-language students as well as educational material, which include books for the teaching of the Greek language, have been provided. Also, afternoon classes have been organised by the Adult Education Centres for students and parents who are interested in learning Greek as a second language.

Furthermore, in its aim to help students from economically and socially deprived areas, the Ministry has created Zones of Educational Priority, which were brought into existence around the time the study was carried out. These zones include nurseries, primary, and secondary schools in a number of neighbourhoods in different cities. As reported in the Ministry's 2009 Annual Report,

in an attempt to 'ensure prevention of school failure and functional illiteracy' (p. 286) as well as the prevention of school exclusion, school leaving, and violence among other things, (p. 306), a series of extra measures have been implemented in these schools, including lowering the number of pupils per class, the provision of extra educational support, and free breakfast for all students.

As there is no previous research on this topic in Cyprus, this study offers a picture of the new reality of the local educational system. Also, the findings provide important information to educators, policymakers and politicians alike as it is by tackling the aforementioned factors that attainment levels can be raised. Moreover, the above results add further evidence to the international literature which show that ethnic minorities are underachieving. This paper offers possible reasons why this is so by examining a unique combination of possible contributing factors. In addition, the attainment patterns of the particular ethnic groups observed in this study (e.g. native Cypriots and Georgians) have not previously been recorded. Furthermore, the focus of the study on year-long data (regarding school performance and absenteeism) adds to insights gained by single-measurement analyses. Student absences were, in fact, examined in particular subjects in relation to student attainment in these areas. Similarly, the employment of more than one socio-economic status indicators offers a more robust measurement compared to single-indicator studies.

Further research is needed to confirm findings, including the expansion of the number of schools and students examined in order to allow the use of a multi-level approach. By investigating both individual-level factors and school-level factors, students' attainment can then be examined in greater detail. Additionally, the impact of the policies introduced by the Ministry can be scrutinised in studies looking at the common, end-of-school exams used for admission to Higher Education (introduced approximately two years ago and beyond the scope of this particular study). Qualitative methodologies could integrate these and further results to clarify factors impacting on the achievement gap.

In the meantime, the need for immediate policy implementation from central government is urgent. The educational system should provide effective language programmes in all schools with ethnic minority students. Until students have increased their competency in the Greek language, perhaps the use of minority students' home languages could be an interim medium of instruction, especially in schools with large groups of students from a particular ethnic background. This could be best achieved by employing bilingual teachers and teachers from minority groups. The educational system ought to be able to offer a multicultural curriculum and a multicultural and antiracist school environment to students, as well as multicultural in-service training to teachers. Moreover, ethnic minority students should be encouraged to limit their absenteeism rates and be more engaged in school life and learning. Monitoring the achievement of students from ethnic minority groups would also help to assess the effectiveness of the educational practices employed. Furthermore, welfare schemes might be used to support those with serious socioeconomic problems. And finally, families with low socioeconomic status could benefit from the Zones of Educational Priority being extended into more economically- and socially-deprived areas.

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ESSAY AND  
RESEARCH  
NOTES

VOLUME 23  

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NUMBER 1





# Why the Latest Initiative to Reunify Cyprus will Fail: The Six Pillars of the Cyprus 'Problem' and the Impregnable Roof

ANDREKOS VARNAVA

In 2008 three developments created the fire of hope in me that Cyprus would not only be reunified in my lifetime, but that it may happen within two or three years. Nearly three years later only a few embers remain, awaiting the moment when they too will be extinguished.

In February 2008 I participated in my first Cypriot (Greek) presidential elections and despite many reservations I voted in both rounds for Demetris Christofias, the leftist leader. I believed that he was the best hope to reunify the island, by bringing the centre-right party, Democratic Rally, which has about equal electoral support as his own, behind him over the new negotiations he would initiate with the leftist Turkish Cypriot leader, Mehmet Ali Talat. The other reason I voted for him was because he was the only candidate promising educational reform, specifically to the primary and secondary school humanities and social science text books, which would replace the ethno-nationalist narratives with an inclusive discourse that recognised Cyprus' historical cultural and religious diversity and Greek Cypriot responsibility – along with the other players – for the division of the island and its people.<sup>1</sup>

The fire of hope was fanned when within months Christofias and Talat managed to open the historical Ledra Street that divides Old Nicosia and which has been closed since 1964. I was there. It was a surreal experience. I wanted to get to the other side as soon as possible, stopping only to speak to my friend, Tabitha Morgan, the resident BBC correspondent, before walking aimlessly for hours on the Turkish side of Nicosia. According to her article – for I was too emotional recall what I had told her – I said: 'I am crossing because it is an historical moment ... Sixty yards used to separate us and now there is nothing.'<sup>2</sup> I was of course right and wrong: 60 yards separated us physically, but light years separated us in other aspects. On the other side I made a purchase – a small souvenir broom with numerous evil eyes on it; it symbolised for me that with the opening of Ledra Street all the evil of the past would now be swept away. I still have this broom, but the evil is still with us.

The third event was Alexander Downer's appointment as UN Special Envoy to Cyprus. At the time I was serving my mandatory three month military service in the Cyprus National Guard.

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1 A. Varnava, 'Moving forward after the presidential elections', *Cyprus Mail*, 2 March 2008, [<http://www.cyprus-mail.com/cyprus/moving-forward-after-presidential-elections>], accessed 18 November 2010.

2 T. Morgan and D. McElroy, 'Cyprus barrier: an open and shut case', *The Telegraph*, 4 April 2008, [<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1583934/Cyprus-barrier-an-open-and-shut-case.html>], accessed 18 November 2010.

Before his appointment – when his appointment was only a rumour – I received a call from a local journalist while at ‘boot camp’ (although I got out of wearing boots because of my bad foot, bad back and age) while sitting under the eucalyptus trees out of the blazing Cyprus sun. I then received a further call when Downer had been appointed. I was asked what I knew about Downer and whether I thought he would be the right person for the job. I remember answering that he was a tough and parochial conservative politician, who would not be afraid of warning all the players involved, but especially the Greek and Turkish Cypriot elites, of what failure to reunify Cyprus would mean. The local journalist published the following based on her interview with me, views which I still firmly believe in.

‘Dr Andrekos Varnava, Assistant Professor in History at the European University Cyprus, who grew up in Australia said Downer had mixed results as a Foreign Minister. He referred to the unwavering support for Washington.

“He was also, very controversially, instrumental in maligning refugees who were fleeing Afghanistan and trying to make their way to Australia, accusing them of not being refugees because they had paid their way [and thus had money to survive] from a third country, where, as the argument went, they should have stayed,” said Varnava.

He described Downer as very passionate but parochial. “I have called him a hawk. He is also particularly stubborn. All these traits are fine, indeed they are to be expected of a politician,” he said. “Being a diplomat is totally different but I do not see why he cannot be a diplomat.”

Varnava thought Downer could be good for Cyprus in that both sides could do worse than be reminded that this was the last chance for a solution, by someone charming as well as humorous “but also quite waspish”, who would not mince his words.

“He will tell it how it is and I think he will be good at getting both leaders to remain seated at the table when either or both would be tempted to get up and leave,” said Varnava.<sup>3</sup>

I believed and still believe that Downer’s political career placed him in a unique position compared to other UN Special Envoys for Cyprus. As a politician he was tenacious, stubborn and parochial, but as a minister dealing with counterparts and foreign diplomats he could also be diplomatic and tactful, and his father had been a successful diplomat. As foreign minister he was instrumental in the successful peace agreement in Bougainville, Papua New Guinea, which ended a long running civil conflict, and in 1999, after successive Australian governments had neglected the plight of the East Timorese under Indonesian occupation, Downer assisted the UN to hold a referendum in East Timor and in negotiating the entry of the INTERFET peace keeping force which helped pave the way to independence.

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3 J. Christou, ‘Could Downer be a mixed blessing for Cyprus?’ *Cyprus Mail*, 5 July 2008, [<http://www.cyprus-mail.com/features/could-downer-be-mixed-blessing-cyprus>], accessed 18 November 2008; For other stories with my views see *The National*, 1 July 2008, [<http://www.the-national.ac/news/worldwide/europe/cyprus-settlement-back-on-track>], accessed 18 November 2010; M. Droushioti, ‘Will Downer be the trick?’, *Politis*, 20 July, 2008, p. 6; A. Michaelides, ‘On Downer’, *Politis*, 2 November 2008, p. 20.

The election of pro-reunification candidate Demetris Christofias, the opening of Ledra Street, and the appointment of Alexander Downer were not enough, however, to bring about fundamental progress towards the reunification of the island. These three developments created the fire of hope for the reunification of the island, while the clouds of failure and division hovered over the fire, waiting to extinguish it.

The problem that Downer and all concerned with trying to reunify Cyprus have is that there are structural problems that are not easily surmountable and for which little has been done over the decades and the last three years to overcome. I call them the 'six pillars of the Cyprus problem'. They are by no means the only problems, but they are the most important – going right to the heart of the long running and continued stalemate. They are the clouds that hover over the flames of hope. In no particular order they are:

### **Turkish Deep State and Confederation**

For the last decade there has been a battle between the moderate Islamists who have been in power and the traditional secularist elite, most of whom have been close to what is referred to as 'the Turkish deep state' – military and political establishment – that has been involved militarily and politically in Cyprus since the late 1950s. The moderate Islamists have been winning most of the important battles, but the war has not been won, and the Turkish deep state, which would only accept a confederation on Cyprus or partition, could be a cause for concern. Their views in Cyprus are represented by the former Turkish Cypriot leader and arch-bogey man regarding reunification, Rauf Denktaş, whose ethno-nationalist party is now the largest in the legislature and its leader, Dervis Eroglu, is the Turkish Cypriot leader and chief negotiator since April 2010. As an elected leader, Eroglu cannot be sidelined, nor should he be marginalised, but it is certainly difficult to see reunification on the horizon when one of the partners has fundamentally opposed a federal reunification all his life. The question that arises is to what extent can the moderate Islamists, who desire Turkey's entry into the EU, and Downer, convince Eroglu that the Turkish deep state and the notion of a confederation do not represent the best interests of Turkish Cypriots and Turkey, but that reunification of the island under a federal bi-zonal constitution does.

### **Political Equality and Power Sharing**

Then there are Greek Cypriot elite divisions over the nature of a bi-zonal federal state. According to the 1960 Constitution the Greek and Turkish communities of Cyprus were equal communities. This safeguarded Turkish Cypriot concerns of marginalisation, but strongly dissatisfied Greek Cypriot elites, who believed that as the demographic majority they should be the dominant community. By and large these feelings still exist, although within different contexts. The right-wing ethno-nationalist Greek Cypriot parties closely affiliated to the Church, the Democratic Party (DIKO) and the European Party (EVROKO), along with the ethno-nationalist and

moderately socialist (along Baathist lines) Movement of Social Democrats (EDEK), lead the elite voices opposed to political equality and power sharing. During the most recent negotiations on the governance chapter, Christofias and Talat agreed on a model that incorporated both direct presidential elections on a separate communal vote and a rotational presidency between a Greek and a Turkish Cypriot. Christofias then suggested a weighted cross-voting system that would require candidates to appeal to all communities to which Talat did not seem opposed. In any event, both models were opposed by the extreme right-wing elites in both communities. Although much progress was made on this chapter it has not been closed.<sup>4</sup>

### **Territory and Property**

An even greater stumbling block is how much and which territory each constituent state should contain and what is to happen to the properties of those who fall into the constituent state of the other community. Since the 1963-1964 clashes the Turkish Cypriot elites have encouraged the geographic separation of the two communities, which the war of 1974 made a reality. Meanwhile, since the 1974 war the Greek Cypriot leadership has encouraged displaced Greek Cypriots to believe that they would return to their homes and receive all their properties back. The fact that the leaders of both communities agreed in 1977 to a bi-zonal federation did not seem to alter this discourse. Annan V, the plan put to two simultaneous referendums in 2004, which was supported by Turkish Cypriots but not Greek Cypriots, stipulated that about ten per cent of the territory currently held by the Turkish Cypriots would be given over to the Greek Cypriot constituent state, while Greek Cypriots owning properties falling in the Turkish Cypriot constituent state could reclaim one dwelling, one third of their property, with the rest being compensated. On territory, it appears that the Turks were willing to give more (namely parts of the Karpass Peninsula), but the Greek Cypriot leader at the time, Tassos Papadopoulos, was not interested because he opposed the plan, but this remains to be seen in any future negotiations, especially because the Turks oppose giving up coastal areas. On the issue of returning properties there are major divisions across the Greek and Turkish divide, but also within each community, across the ideological spectrum. It is true that Greek Cypriot elites generally want the right of displaced persons to return or their properties recognised and the Turkish Cypriots, referring to the principles of bi-zonality, do not, but the main cleavages appear within the two communities themselves. Turkish Cypriot ethno-nationalist elites do not want any Greek Cypriots living in the Turkish Cypriot constituent state; while Greek Cypriot ethno-nationalist elites want all displaced Greek Cypriots to return. Nobody has stopped to think about what the displaced people themselves want.

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4 E. Kaymak and H. Faustmann (2010) 'Cyprus', *European Journal of Political Research*, XLIX, pp. 923-938.



### Virgin Birth Issue

This is a 'non-issue' which is made into an issue by the ethno-nationalist 'rejectionist' camp. During the years of the Annan Plan, 2002-2004, the ethno-nationalist Greek Cypriot elites clamoured to damn the Annan Plan because, they claimed, it would create a new state. In fact the plan would have instituted a new constitution, but not a new state; much like how France went from first, second, third, fourth and finally now to fifth republic, the new federal republic of Cyprus would have been the second republic. Conveniently, however, it appeals to the ethno-nationalist rejectionist camp to put this claim forward because they wish to appeal to the legitimacy of the Republic of Cyprus as the recognised government in the island, despite the fact that the first republic collapsed in 1963-1964 and the island has been governed through various 'states of exception', including the exclusion of the Turkish Cypriots.<sup>5</sup> If ever the two leaders came close to an agreement, all should be prepared to expect this non-issue to reappear again.

### Victims and Perpetrators

The majority of Greek and Turkish Cypriot elites and the majority of both polities accept that they are victims, but refuse to accept that they are or their ancestors were also perpetrators. Many from both sides blame 'the other side', 'the motherlands', or 'the foreign powers', but very rarely do you see any politician blaming their own community. Recently, while on a short visit to Cyprus, I attended a fascinating seminar by Howard Varney, the Chief Investigator of the Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission, who was also closely involved in the East Timor Commission for Reception, Truth, and Reconciliation, and the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission.<sup>6</sup> Varney listed three essential pre-requisites for any truth and reconciliation process to succeed: 1) a break with the horrors of the past; 2) the past must be confronted in order to move forward; and 3) for 2) to happen the root causes of the conflict must be understood, not only so all can move forward, but also so they do not happen again. In order to understand the root causes, Varney spoke about 'dependable facts'. Unfortunately for Cyprus, the majority of the elites in both communities, and the majority of both polities, are unwilling to accept responsibility for past actions (and inactions) and therefore they are unwilling to recognise that they are both victims and perpetrators. The fact that a truth and reconciliation commission is not on the political agenda and figures on the agenda only if the island is reunified – thus as a constitutional requirement – makes sense only if you are not serious about reunification. There is no reason why reconciliation should come after reunification and indeed it would aid in bringing

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5 C. Constantinou (2008) 'On the Cypriot States of Exception', *International Political Sociology*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 145-164.

6 Organised by Dr Christalla Yakinthou, The International Center for Transitional Justice – Cyprus, in conjunction with the Glafkos Clerides Institute for Eurodemocracy, 3 November 2010.

about reunification. But in a conflict, even a cold conflict, the two sides are always looking to blame and undermine the other side, so they can never accept responsibility, unless they decide to end the cold war.

### Commentators and Academics

When Varney spoke about 'dependable facts' it made me think: well who is going to find and indeed analyse these 'dependable facts'? The Cyprus conflict, unlike the other cases discussed – Sierra Leone, South Africa, East Timor and others – originates at least as far back as 50 years ago when the republic collapsed during the civil war of 1963-1964. Soon there will be few victims and perpetrators alive to speak about their suffering and their acts of violence. Most of the leaders, at least those who were 'ringleaders', are dead. Much of the reconstruction of what happened in the past and 'dependable facts' needed would have to be done through archival evidence. I then stopped to think, despairingly, that there were very few historians of Cypriot history who could be depended upon to do this; indeed most historians and political scientists (although less so) belong to the ethno-nationalist elite political circles that deny any responsibility for what happened and have been instrumental in perpetuating the conflict itself. The same can be said of many academics that are not Greek, Turkish, or Greek or Turkish Cypriot – they inevitably favour one side over the other, failing to provide a balanced account.<sup>7</sup> Not only are these persons not professional, but they also unite to undermine and marginalise the serious historians in such ways as book publishing purported to be scholarly, book reviews, conference tours, and so forth. How can the Greek and Turkish Cypriot elites, who would no doubt want to have a say on who is on any truth and reconciliation commission and on any historical commission, ever be trusted to choose or agree to persons who are professional or not affiliated to any political party or ethnic group?

Finally, what connects these six pillars – the roof that holds them in place – are the attitudes and the power of Greek and Turkish Cypriot ethno-nationalist elites. Once the roof is lifted, the pillars will still be there, but they will be exposed to the elements – to the new reality that is reconciliation and reunification. Better yet, if the roof is crushed, then some of the pillars will also crumble. Unfortunately, some of them will always remain and will always be a constant danger to any reunified Cyprus.

The Greek and Turkish Cypriot ethno-nationalist political parties that champion the most extreme positions for the 'solution to the Cyprus problem' are quite powerful; in the Greek Cypriot case they form the four smaller parties (if we add the Greens) represented in the parliament, and the larger two of them, DIKO and EDEK, are usually part of a coalition government; in the Turkish Cypriot case, the ethno-nationalist parties, with the exception of Talat's period in office

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7 See for instance A. Varnava, review of William Mallinson (2009) *Cyprus: A Modern History*, (2nd edition), London: I.B. Tauris, *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, forthcoming, 2011.

(2005-2010), have always been in power. The dynamics of Turkish Cypriot politics are more straightforward than those of Greek Cypriot politics: you have the left-wing pro-reunification party and you have the extreme right-wing party that supports partition or a loose confederation, with a third party that is closer to the right than the left. In the Greek Cypriot case the ethno-nationalist elites who desire a solution on their maximalist terms do not simply belong to certain parties, but they also exist within the moderate and pro-reunification parties. In both cases they are amongst the economic, religious and intellectual elites; they dominate the media; and generally are present in all walks of life. They monopolise discussions on the Cyprus conflict, on the identity of the island and its people (either Greek or Turkish – not recognising Cypriot diversity, including national/historical minorities, nor Cypriot identity),<sup>8</sup> and on what type of future Cyprus and its people should have. Divergent views are ridiculed, damned as treacherous and marginalised. Even something so important as a visit by someone so experienced and knowledgeable as Varney failed to attract much attention and little attendance – around 20 people. Meanwhile, at the same time, the media was focusing on a sensationalist book titled *Simademeni Trapoula* [Marked Cards], written by Achilleas Aimilianides (lawyer), Michalis Kontos (academic) and Giorgios Kentas (academic), all prominent supporters of a ‘no’ vote in the 2004 referendum, that criticises Alexander Downer and contains private email correspondence between members of the UN negotiating team and Downer’s views on leading Cypriot politicians. This book prompted three members of parliament – all notorious ethno-nationalists – DIKO’s Andreas Angelides, EVROKO’s Rikkos Erotokritou and EDEK’s Marinos Sizopoulos – to push through parliament a motion that the House Institutions Committee scrutinise Downer’s role. Despite the opposition from the ruling AKEL, its coalition partner DIKO, former coalition partner EDEK, and the most extremist right-wing party EVROKO, have now instituted a farcical official inquiry into how Downer does his job, reflecting the power of ethno-nationalist elites who want the negotiations halted and Downer out.<sup>9</sup>

Special envoys, like Alexander Downer, can only achieve so much. They can keep the parties at the table, share their expertise and that of other experts at the disposal of the UN, offer their guidance and observations, but ultimately it is the elites of the people in question that must take the hard decisions, make those tough realisations and create the space from which reconciliation

8 See A. Varnava, N. Coureas and M. Elia (eds.) (April 2009) *The Minorities of Cyprus: Development Patterns and the Identity of the Internal-Exclusion*, Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

9 See S. Evripidou, ‘AKEL: Downer Grilling Akin to “Public Tribunal”’, *Cyprus Mail*, 21 October 2010 [http://www.cyprus-mail.com/un/akel-downer-grilling-akin-public-tribunal/20101021], accessed 19 November; J. Agathocleous, “Downer Inquisition” to go ahead’, *Cyprus Mail*, 22 October 2010 [http://www.cyprus-mail.com/alexander-downer/downer-inquisition-go-ahead/20101022], accessed 19 November 2010; S. Evripidou, “Downer Debate” postponed as Deputies Complain of Gaggling’, *Cyprus Mail*, 5 November 2010 [http://www.cyprus-mail.com/cyprus/downer-debate-postponed-deputies-complain-gagging/20101105], accessed 19 November 2010.

and reunification may be achieved. The Cypriot people cannot wait for the international community to reunify their island, even though the international community does have the theoretical knowledge and some practical experience that the Cypriots do not have. Christofias and Talat started to make some small inroads towards creating the space that could have led to reconciliation and eventually reunification, but these were small inroads and they were interrupted by the traditional dominant discourses of the ethno-nationalist elites that criticised their every success, exaggerated their every failure and questioned the compromises both were willing to make.

Alexander Downer (and any other special envoy) could only but fail in reunifying Cyprus because the structural causes of the Cyprus conflict and the continued division of the island have not been addressed, and because the ethno-nationalist elites from both sides are unable or unwilling to recognise that reconciliation and reunification can only be achieved with an end to the Cyprus 'cold war conflict' and the recognition of the mutual responsibility for the Cyprus 'hot war conflict' of the 1960s and 1970s. Whether the initiative comes from both sides or one side, whether it comes from the top, or is propelled from below, at some point, both sides must understand the root causes for the conflict before they can put the conflict behind them in the future that is reunification – a future that unfortunately seems very distant.

# Foreign Policy Issues of a Part-Occupied EU State

WILLIAM MALLINSON

## Introduction

This essay sets out to identify, analyse and evaluate the Republic of Cyprus' foreign policy issues, and then to suggest ways of handling them. Before doing that, it is necessary to point out that the government of the republic does not have the usual attributes and institutional trappings of a typical European state, such as France, Spain or Britain, which have developed their sovereignty over hundreds of years. In contrast, the modern state of Cyprus was constrained to sign externally imposed treaties with third parties to come into existence, treaties that determined the foreign policy of the new state. Thus the foreign policy objectives of the Republic of Cyprus are very different to those of older European states, whose foreign policy objectives have developed in tandem with their independence, rather than as a result of a treaty package resulting from an international conference in which the Cypriots played only a residual part. For example, the United Netherlands was able to pursue an independent foreign policy, and even build up an empire, from 1587. Once the Royal Houses of Aragon and Seville had united, Spain had complete independence to crush the last of the Moslem invaders and build up an empire. More recently, Italy was able to develop its own foreign policy after 1861, while Germany did the same from 1871. Where there have been external constraints to total independence, then these have been shaken off later. For example, Malta, which gained independence from Britain in 1964, was able to prise the last British fingers from the island in 1979, when the British armed forces had to leave. This last case can perhaps be juxtaposed poignantly with that of Cyprus which, although it gained apparent independence from Britain four years before Malta, has never been able to exercise unconstrained sovereignty, mainly because of the restraints imposed on it by Anglo-Saxon strategic objectives, in the shape of the Sovereign Base Territories, and the tip of the allegedly strategic iceberg that they represent. Indeed, Cyprus' version of independence is inextricably bound up with British and American objectives, which sit oddly with Cyprus' membership of the EU. Particularly poignantly, and pertinent to the concept of sovereignty, is the fact that part of Cyprus is illegally occupied.

One can, then, see that precise comparison of the foreign policy objectives of different states is difficult. Better, therefore, to seek some very basic tenets. For example, one foreign policy factor which should be common to all states, whether these states have developed over the centuries or been fashioned out of more recent strategic circumstances, is that of security, insofar as every state claiming to be sovereign should be responsible for its own security, at least in the final analysis. Responsibility for one's own safety is the most basic ingredient of sovereignty. Even when a state becomes a member of an alliance, it is of its own sovereign volition. In this essay, we shall look at

the Republic of Cyprus' putative foreign policy objectives, putative, because we have not tried to base our evaluation simply on official papers and announcements to the media, to determine those objectives, but have, rather, used common sense and history. We shall deal with defence, the 1960 treaties and constitution, the EU, and bilateral relations. Finally, we shall look at specific foreign policy issues, short- and long-term.

## **Defence**

Although it might sound childish and churlish to suggest that Britain gave up Cyprus reluctantly, the whole process was without doubt extremely procrastinatory. When Britain finally relinquished her tutelage, she kept some fingers, even a hand, in the pie (unlike in the case of most other former British colonies), through the Sovereign Base Areas, comprising almost 3% of the island's territory. The three treaties that were inextricably intertwined with the creation of the Republic, all of which have been considered a package by the legal advisers of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, determined, and still do, the nature of Cyprus' defence. Clearly, Cyprus was not completely sovereign in its defence, since the Treaty of Guarantee gave Greece, Britain and Turkey crucial responsibilities, responsibilities which, it has to be said, have not been met. Cyprus' defence policy is, then, essentially constrained by the interests and involvement of third parties. This creates a curious dichotomy between the responsibilities of the guarantor powers, on the one hand, and those of the government of Cyprus, on the other. For well-known reasons which we do not need to deal with here, a smooth-running defence system for Cyprus never got off the ground: there was almost immediate disagreement about the formation of a unified Cypriot army, which never took place, and which was then overtaken by the 1963-1964 troubles. The result was the breakdown of the constitution and the creation of the essentially Greek-speaking National Guard, which later itself became embroiled in external politics, to the extent that President Makarios tended to rely on the police to a considerable extent. Perhaps paradoxically for a guarantor power, Turkey was seen as the main threat to Cyprus' integrity from at least 1963. Events were to prove this correct. The upshot is that, since Cyprus is now partly occupied, its defence policy, as a natural part of its foreign policy, can only be considered an ideal of a unified state, without external interference. As this has not yet proven possible, the reality is that the legal government is forced to ensure some kind of security through combating the threat posed by Turkey. This it has done through its joint defence doctrine with Greece, an obvious riposte to the thousands of Turkish troops on the island. Thus, Cyprus' defence policy is shaped by outside factors to a far greater extent than, for example, France, where no foreign country has a legal (however discredited) role in its affairs. In short, Cyprus' defence and, by extension, foreign policy is not independent. When Cyprus has tried to pursue a particularly independent line, as in the case of the purchase of Russian S-300 missiles, the results have proven dangerous, and the government has had to back down.

### The 1960 Treaties

Obviously connected to the above is the influence of the 1960 treaty package. Although those treaties are largely discredited, the Treaty of Establishment, battered though it is, is the central *raison d'être* of the constitution, imposing *ab initio* restrictions on sovereignty. For example, Article 8 states:

- (1) All international obligations and responsibilities of the Government of the United Kingdom shall henceforth insofar as they may be held to have application to the Republic of Cyprus, be assumed by the Government of the Republic of Cyprus.
- (2) The international rights and benefits therefore enjoyed by the Government of the United Kingdom in virtue of their application to the territory of the Republic of Cyprus, shall henceforth be enjoyed by the Government of the Republic of Cyprus.

The constitution was born with a nervous breakdown, and then seriously damaged in 1963, suffering a particularly heavy wound with the Turkish invasion of 1974. It now only operates, albeit in a truncated form, in the free part of Cyprus. Paradoxically, the Treaties of Guarantee and of Alliance, which have been proven to have failed, are accorded constitutional status by Article 181 of the 1960 constitution. Clearly, although the simple resourcefulness of the Greek Cypriot authorities has kept the rule of law intact, the whole area of the treaties and their inextricable connexion with the constitution is legally convoluted at best, and dangerously incoherent at worst. Various documents show that the British government has itself been confused about the viability of the treaties, admitting, for example, that the Treaty of Guarantee is incompatible with the UN Charter, and stating that the treaties are interdependent. Thus Britain is constrained to treat the treaties of Guarantee and Alliance as still valid, even though they have been shown to be but paper tigers. In addition, the UK has been unable to divest itself of its responsibilities *vis-à-vis* the Treaty of Guarantee, which it has considered doing, since this would affect the whole package. The fact that the UK was unable to guarantee Cyprus' integrity in 1974 is an embarrassment. As with defence, and the connexion of the British territories to the Treaty of Establishment and to the constitution, Cyprus' foreign policy is not independent.

### The European Union

All the above has been thrown into strong relief by Cyprus' accession to the European Union. The timing of the abortive Annan Plan speaks volumes in this connexion: one of its main aims was to ensure that Cyprus would not be able to go its own European way with membership, since it was clear that the *acquis communautaire* was incompatible with the 1960 treaties. The plan's resounding rejection has rendered the incompatibility of the treaties with international legal norms even more obvious than before. The fact that the EU was itself prepared to countenance a huge swathe of derogations in order to support the plan betrays considerable weakness on the part

of the EU. The longer it takes to establish a just and viable settlement for Cyprus, the more obvious and outdated certain aspects of the treaties become, and the more obvious it becomes that in certain respects, Cyprus is a second class EU member, at least in terms of its sovereignty in foreign policy. Yet this also reflects the weakness of the EU, particularly the fact that there is still, despite Maastricht, no common foreign or defence policy. In this sense, Cyprus is a gauge of the EU's own sovereignty. Cyprus' position within the EU also reflects disagreements within the EU itself, particularly over common defence and foreign policy: Britain strongly resists the latter, while the traditional Franco-German axis, battered though it may be, still tends towards real integration. The EU now represents the best hope for a solution to a dispute that has been with us for well nigh on sixty years. Here we have a clash between legality and reality, and the realisation that only the inhabitants of the island, minus the illegal ones, should forge their own destiny. Yet, despite the lip-service to self-determination, the constraints are plain for all to see: only a solution that reflects outside interests will be allowed. Thus, again, only the EU can break the mould. Currently, EU-sanctioned law exists only in unoccupied Cyprus, and then only in most internal matters. In defence, there are constraints. It has to be said at this point that the constitution has only proven to be an abject failure for the occupied part of Cyprus. The free part, it must be said, has actually done rather well. It is at this point that a solution based on a mixture of the 1960 constitution, the Treaty of Rome and the *acquis communautaire* becomes more attractive. More of that later.

### **Bilateral Relations**

These can be cleverly exploited to achieve something more concrete than the dangerous *modus vivendi* which seems to be the recent expedient norm. In the case of Greece, Cyprus is a particularly sensitive area, since there has always been a trend in some quarters in Greece to detach Athens from Cyprus' problems. This trend is perhaps faintly hypocritical, since Greece has been a co-guarantor of Cyprus' integrity since the birth of the republic. It is also now an established fact that Cyprus is used by Turkey, and, more subtly, by Britain (on the US' behalf), as a poker chip for Turkish claims in the Aegean. Although Britain, on legal grounds, does not support these claims, she keeps quiet about her views. Because of Greece's legal and historical involvement in Cyprus, and the dormant but nevertheless extant, joint defence doctrine, the Cyprus government has to be extremely careful in involving Greece in its problems, since Turkey appears to up the ante in the Aegean whenever Greece wishes to distract attention from its own internal problems. Turkey's objective is to use Cyprus to involve Greece in bilateral discussions on the Aegean, while the Greek government wishes to separate the two issues. Currently, Cyprus needs to be particularly understanding of Greek sensitivities, given that Greece currently has its back against the wall economically, and therefore socially and politically. In addition, there is the possibility that external forces are exploiting the situation in Greece to gain advantage, for example over oil exploration rights.



In the case of Britain, the situation is particularly complex. British involvement in Cyprus has become increasingly embarrassing to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, ever since 1963. The situation is complicated not only by the fact that Britain considers the Treaty of Guarantee to be an embarrassing burden, but that she has had to toe the American line: when she wished to give up her bases in the wake of the Turkish invasion, she succumbed to US pressure not to. In addition, she considers that any tampering with the Treaty of Guarantee would affect the whole convoluted 1960 package. The Turkish government is of course aware of this, and could threaten military action if it saw the possibility of Britain giving its bases to the republic. It is worth remembering that if Britain were to give up the bases, she is legally bound to give them to the republic. Cypriot diplomacy therefore needs to focus on co-operation with Britain to try and get the EU to involve itself in Cyprus' security in an arrangement that would somehow not frighten the US. Current Turkish policy on Palestine, Israel, Iran and Iraq, if it is genuine, could be exploited, in the form of convincing the US that a stable and united Cyprus, together with Greece, represent greater security for the US than does the current potential tinderbox. It goes without saying that whatever policy options it decided on, the US would need to be involved, even though it has no legal *locus standi vis-à-vis* Cyprus. Given the need for some form of institutional continuity, the essential objective would be (see conclusions) to use the 1960 treaties as a starting point, then amending them to conform to EU and UN law.

Russia, often considered as the joker in the pack, is increasingly important, even though, like the US, she has no formal role in Cyprus. It can be argued that fear of the Soviet Union lay behind the whole 1960 legal house of cards that established the republic. Russia has been slowly but surely increasing its influence in the Eastern Mediterranean, and it is quite possible that she will, in the not too distant future, be able to exercise as much, if not more, influence on Turkish policy on Cyprus than the US. If Greece shows more reliability on Russia's strategic oil pipeline concerns, and is supported by Cyprus, then Russia could turn out to be more active in its policy on Cyprus, particularly if it were to believe that its own security concerns were to be met. This would of course mean an agreement that Cyprus would never join NATO.

## Conclusions

What then are the essential foreign policy issues for Cyprus? Simply put, they are security and integrity. At present, neither is satisfactory. Reunification is required, since the more separation, the more the potential for future conflict. Present safeguards have proven to be unsatisfactory. The two main developments that could contribute to Cyprus' integrity and security are Cyprus' EU membership and increasing Russian influence. To complicate this, we have Turkey's use of Cyprus' problems to improve its chances of EU membership. One of the main obstacles to this is of course Turkey's refusal to allow Cyprus commercial access to its sea- and airports, let alone the question of recognition. The idea has been mooted that in return for Cypriot access to Turkey, the 'TRNC' must be granted some form of international trade recognition. This, however, goes against the grain

of a united Cyprus. Moreover, it is difficult to see the UN ever agreeing that the 'TRNC' could have 'third country' status, since this would be contrary to UN resolutions and to the EU arrangement that only when the *acquis communautaire* is operating in the currently unrecognised part of the island, will the 'TRNC' join the fold. Logically, this means that the 'TRNC' would cease to exist, the occupation troops would have to leave, the illegal immigrants would have to return to Turkey, and refugees' property would have to be returned, just as a start. Going back to square one is however probably impossible, bar some bizarre transmogrification in Turkey's stance. Perhaps a chink in the armour of festering macho-political pride could be Britain's membership of the EU. But this would be contingent on the EU having the gumption to become more active in supporting one of its own members, instead of putting its head in the sand. The EU could even offer to replace Britain, Greece and Turkey, as the sole guarantor of Cyprus' security.

The only viable path to pursue is the long one of emphasising Cypriot foreign policy in an EU context, but at the same time making allowances for the fact that in some respects, the 1960 arrangement was not all bad, and that only the divisive aspects of the constitution need to be removed, so that the constitution can be aligned with EU law. It should be remembered that, however ingeniously ingenuous or otherwise Britain's encouragement in drawing up the 1963 (abortive) amendments to the constitution may have been, a similar initiative could be undertaken by the EU, with British help. The EU could itself organise a constitutional conference, to which not only Cyprus, but the UN Security Council members, as well as Greece and Turkey, would participate, on the strict understanding that the people of Cyprus would have the last word. In the background horse-trading that would undoubtedly precede the putative conference, France could perhaps be accorded the primary role within the EU, given President Sarkozy's much vaunted Mediterranean initiative. Clearly, a formula for the 'TRNC' representatives would have to be found, such as a written undertaking that the *acquis communautaire* would be respected. At the moment, the lack of a viable solution exposes the EU's weakness in ensuring that the *acquis* is respected. This is the message that Cyprus' diplomacy needs to drive home. Crudely put, the EU should be put on the spot.

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## Colonial Cyprus 1878 - 1960 Selected Readings

edited by  
Emilios Solomou  
and Hubert Faustmann

## Independent Cyprus 1960 - 2010 Selected Readings

edited by  
Hubert Faustmann  
and Emilios Solomou



These books contain a selection of historical articles which have been published in the academic journal *The Cyprus Review*. The first book deals with the British Colonial Period (1878-1960) while the second deals with the years from independence to the present (1960-2010.) The collection represents an almost exhaustive compilation of the historical or predominantly historical contributions about this period published in the journal since its establishment. Only those articles, which are still relevant in their findings were included. Additionally, contributions which cover the adaptation of national identities and the growth of nationalism in the two main communities of Cyprus were also selected. There are very few books in English which provide such a broad coverage of this period.



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## *Military Intelligence in Cyprus: From the Great War to Middle East Crises*

PANAGIOTIS DIMITRAKIS

I.B. Tauris (London and New York, 2010), xvi + 223 pp.

ISBN: 978-1-84885-130-6

The author introduces us to his text by highlighting the 'key strategic location' of Cyprus, a concept that for him stayed unchanged from the time of the goddess to the modern post-9/11 'war on terror'. He then moves on to provide a brief history of Cyprus under different rules ending with the British arrival in 1878, having declared wrongly in the process that the British arrival was perceived by the then head of the Orthodox Church, Sofronios 'as the last phase of an occupation which would lead to eventual self determination and union with Greece' (p. 7), something which reportedly expressed the aspirations of the majority of the Greek-Cypriot population of the nineteenth century (p. 5). In fact we know (Katsiaounis, 1996; Varnava, 2009; Erdal, 2011) that neither the nineteenth century Greek-Cypriots (Orthodox Ottomans) nor their leader Sofronios at the point of British arrival were aspiring for *enosis*, a nationalistic concept that became a mass phenomenon only in the twentieth century and particularly after the first fifty years of British rule.

In chapter one, within the space of ten pages, Dimitrakis takes us through the first sixty years of British rule in Cyprus until the beginning of WWII, providing scattered and out of context accounts of some selective intelligence reports or incidents. The following two chapters focus primarily on the WWII period and are weaved around the perception of Cyprus as the land of desire by the contesting powers (including the British, who tried to maintain their sovereignty on it). Useful data regarding AKEL, labour strikes, the Cyprus Regiment and the efforts of the British colonisers to initiate various forms of military, intelligence and economic organisations which concerned and involved the locals are also highlighted. In chapter 4, the author points out how AKEL in the late 1940s was perceived as the enemy and how as a counter force the *enosis* and right-wing political movements were supported by the colonial administration. In a post-WWII international environment of self-determination and liberation movements, the *enosis* and right-wing Greek Cypriot consciousness-raising would eventually turn against the colonisers leading to the internationalisation of the 'Cyprus question' by the beginning of 1950s.

Chapter 5, titled 'The Insurgency', deals with the decade of the 1950s that ultimately led to the engineering of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960. By the mid-1950s, the student protests of the Greek-Cypriots were becoming more and more militarised and with the establishment of EOKA as an underground guerrilla organisation, the colonial state's monopoly over violence was being

challenged. With the financial support and the guidance of the Greek-Orthodox Church of Cyprus together with the blessing of the then ruling circles of Greece, EOKA, under the leadership of Grivas, who had made a career in Greece as 'a staunch anti-communist, the leader of an ultra-rightist armed group CHI ('X')' (p. 73), started to challenge the British colonial rule. To this the British responded with violence and the implementation of their 'divide and rule' policy through the involvement of Turkish-Cypriots and Turkey in the game of ownership of the sovereignty of Cyprus. In the end, all parties concerned, Greece, Turkey, Turkish- and Greek-Cypriots and the UK found themselves tied up in an arrangement in 1960 that came to be known as the Republic of Cyprus.

Chapter 6 begins with the iteration of the importance of the British Sovereign Bases in Cyprus for the British and their allies in the post-1960 environment. It then moves on to talk about the events of 1963 leading to the Turkish 'invasion' of 1974, in depth analysis of which forms the bases of the next chapter. Finally, Chapter 8 provides the reader with the selective coverage of events and issues up to 2008 when the Republic of Cyprus entered the euro zone. Throughout its recent history, therefore, Cyprus is celebrated as the land that 'would always enjoy strategic value' (p. 172).

The notion pointedly given emphasis by the author at the end of his book, that Cyprus is the desire of regional and global powers, is in fact a prevailing theme throughout the whole book which I find worrisome as the desired (i.e. Cyprus and Cypriots) seem to have almost no say in this contestation for its control. This is arguably an andro-centric and top-down analysis of the drama of the island and its peoples through the eyes of selective intelligence information through the archives, particularly British. The information provided does furnish the reader with the knowledge of important events and issues, but does so without in-depth analysis of the socio-economic and political environment of the locals, the region as well as the world which may have influenced the evolution of what came to be known as the 'Cyprus problem'. There is a particular silence about the actual geographic division of the island into Turkish-Cypriot north and the Greek-Cypriot south after 1974 and the subsequent ethnic cleansing of each side from the 'enemy other' formalised by the population transfer agreement of 1975. Turkish-Cypriots in this history are either the agents of the British against the Greek-Cypriot *enosis* supporters or the agents of Turkey and largely unaccounted for.

Comparing the 'Turkish invasion of Cyprus' to 'Pearl Harbour' (p. 133), Grivas to Mao (p. 103) and using over-loaded terms such as 'post-9/11 war on terror', the author tries to ignite interest and reach a wider group of readers. However, these comparisons remain rather hollow as the differences in time and space are not properly contextualised. Coupled with the essentialisation of 'the strategic value of the island', it could be said that the lack of contextual specificity is an under-riding weakness of the analysis.

Overall, this is a useful book which presents important archival data. As the author himself suggests, it is best suitable for those who can clearly see the 'strategic value' of Cyprus, namely 'a general, a spy and a diplomat' (p. 172). It is also informative for the general public and can easily be



read by undergraduate students of Cyprus history and politics. What the book fails to deliver on is in enhancing our understanding of 'military intelligence in Cyprus' from what we already know, thus regretfully ending up as another selective historic account of the Cyprus problem read through the lens of archival intelligence reports.

MURAT ERDAL İLCAN

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## *Reunifying Cyprus: The Annan Plan and Beyond*

Edited by ANDREKOS VARNAVA AND HUBERT FAUSTMANN

I.B. Tauris (London and New York, 2009), xii + 282 pp.

ISBN: 978-1-84511-657-6

This interdisciplinary volume, with its optimistic title, deals exclusively with developments in the 'Cyprus Problem' between 2002 and 2009. Co-edited by historians Andrekos Varnava and Hubert Faustmann, the book focuses primarily on the Annan Plan, the 'comprehensive proposal' by the United Nations for the solution of the Cyprus Problem, which, after five revisions, became the basis for two simultaneous referendums in north and south Cyprus. In April 2004, Turkish Cypriots voted 64.9% in favour of the plan while 75.8% of Greek Cypriots rejected it.

The contributors to this volume come from a range of disciplines: political science, international relations, law and psychology. A small number of authors are activists and policy researchers. Although by now much has been written on the failed Annan Plan, this book is a welcome contribution to the study of divided Cyprus.

Organised into four parts, the first section, by James Ker-Lindsay, is an excellent historical overview that covers the different attempts to solve the 'Cyprus Problem' between 1960 and 1990.

The second section of the book comprises ten analyses of the Annan Plan from different perspectives. Christalla Yakinthou discusses 'consociational' democracy, a type of institutional engineering based on the idea of resolving ethnic and inter-group tensions democratically by creating a multi-group coalition government with an emphasis on 'pillarisation'. In her discussion Yakinthou argues that the constitutional engineers of the Annan Plan 'showed a nuanced understanding of the way history and memory must be addressed' in creating the political structures for the post-conflict state. This is followed by Tim Potier's comparative legal analysis of the five versions of the Annan Plan. Costa Carras investigates the international relations aspect of the Plan and takes a clear stance by concluding that 'the Greek Cypriots stood up for the principles of justice and international law, thus again opening the way to a genuine and lasting peace for Cyprus'. This chapter paves the way for three contributions in favour of the plan and three anti-Annan Plan chapters. Kyriakides (contra) and Loizides (pro) focus on the political viability of the Plan; the difficult constitutional issues is addressed by Emilianides (contra) and Trimikliniotis (pro) and in the last pair Pophaides (pro) and Dinos Lordos (contra) analyse the economic viability of Annan V. Nikos Trimikliniotis' pro Annan chapter stands out in his analysis of the constitutional issues in the Plan, which he treats 'neither as "hell", nor "heaven"'. This large section ends with Erol Kaymak's presentation of Turkish Cypriot views on the fifth version of the Annan Plan.

The six chapters of the third part deal with the negotiation processes, factors that influenced the voting patterns and the referendum results. Alexandros Lordos scrutinises the process of the negotiations and both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot voting patterns during the referendum. The role of the mass media (Taki), the Greek Cypriot state education (Philippou and Varnava) and security issues (Faustmann) are also explored. Panicos Stavrinides provides an interesting psychological analysis of the strong Greek Cypriot 'no' vote. He compares the psychological processes between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot community and states that 'Turkish Cypriots are significantly less fearful than Greek Cypriots'. According to Stavrinides, the Greek Cypriot fears are more deeply engrained and intense than those of the Turkish Cypriots. This leads the author to state that the emotional responses of the Greek Cypriots could be labelled as 'collective phobia'. The last chapter in part three, by Tozun Bahcheli and Sid Noel, is an analysis of the role of Ankara and the rise of the AK party in the Turkish Cypriot 'yes' vote.

The book concludes with an afterword by Robert Rotberg, who argues that the main obstruction to a negotiated settlement is the fact that the *status quo* has worked for so long on Cyprus. Rotberg makes a distinction however, between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot perspectives. Those living south of the Green Line, with 'their continued growth as citizens of a thriving little nation-state, geo-strategically (...) hardly require the reunification of the island'. Turkish Cypriots, on the other hand, are in favour of reunifying the island. He cites a number of reasons:

'Their annual per capita GDPs would improve, possibly as much as five-fold (over time) through inclusion in the European Union (EU), greatly expanded trade, freedom of movement and access to employment opportunities within Cyprus and the EU, the considerable benefits of the Euro versus the long inflated Turkish Lira, greater tourism revenues, and becoming part of a globally recognized polity.'

I cite this quote about Turkish Cypriots for a particular reason. The editors claim, in their very brief introduction, that the idea of their volume is 'to provide the reader with a complete picture of the various arguments used by supporters and opponents of the plan, (...) from equally qualified experts'. It is unclear why they chose to include only one voice from the Turkish Cypriot academic community, which boasts plenty of experts, from a range of disciplines, whose analyses of the debate around the Annan Plan in the Turkish Cypriot community could have been included. With the exception of Kaymak's short chapter, the Turkish Cypriot point of view is absent from the book even though the mainly Greek Cypriot contributors do try to present the Turkish Cypriot perspective.

Although the volume is multi-disciplinary, it presumes prior knowledge of recent Cypriot history. It provides valuable technical information on the Annan Plan and the referendums but there is little by way of the perspective of people in everyday life. An anthropological analysis, with some fine-grained ethnography to illustrate how Greek and Turkish Cypriots think, could have been an added asset for the book.

Some chapters present a thorough analysis of the failed reunification of Cyprus, but the overall strength of this volume lies in the provision of data. There is no unifying argument that links the chapters together and this may be the reason why the introduction to the volume is short and only refers to each chapter individually.

The book, published in hardback, has a beautiful dust jacket and the editing is very thorough. The separate chapters do not have their own bibliography; references are found only in each chapter's endnotes and the book only has a selected bibliography, which makes it hard to track back specific references.

These are small complaints about a book that is a first-rate contribution to Cyprus Problem scholarship. In sum, *Reunifying Cyprus* will appeal to both novice and more advanced scholars and policy makers specialising in Cyprus, as well as to academics working on divided societies and ethnic conflicts elsewhere.

LISA DIKOMITIS



*Mussolini's Greek Island:  
Fascism and the Italian Occupation of Syros in  
World War II*

SHEILA LECOEUR

I.B. Tauris (London, 2009), x + 260pp.

ISBN: 978-1-84511-670-5

Sheila LecoEUR's book explores the social and economic impact of the Italian occupation on the Greek island of Syros during the Second World War. The book constitutes an important contribution to the existing literature of wartime Greece since the bulk of secondary literature has so far focused on the German Nazi – rather than on the Italian fascist – mechanisms of occupation.

Italians found themselves responsible for the majority of Greek territory, including Cyclades, after Greece was overrun by the Axis powers in spring 1941. Indeed, on 5 May 1941 the Italian military occupation of Syros began. The author examines the mechanisms of the Italian administration in Syros connecting these with Mussolini's long-standing vision of a 'New Roman Empire' in the Mediterranean. It is in this context that the policy of *distacco* (detachment) is examined. As LecoEUR explains, the idea of *distacco* was based on the detachment of the Aegean islands from mainland Greece with the purpose of creating a *de facto* state of separation from the government in Athens. It was the Italian administered Dodecanese that was supposed to form the central connection with the Aegean islands – not Athens. Such policy, however, proved to be unrealistic and disastrous in its consequences. Any prospect of the detachment of the Aegean islands from the mainland was unthinkable for the Greeks. This was most notably reflected by a moving appeal sent by twenty-three notables from the island of Samos to the Italian authorities, against the disintegration of Greece. The *distacco* policy in the end proved to be a failure that led Syros in the midst of crisis.

Indeed, the severe famine experienced in Syros is seen by the author as one of *distacco's* catastrophic consequences. Syros – a relatively prosperous island before the occupation – was reduced to starvation in a period of just a few months. LecoEUR offers a detailed analysis of this terrible phenomenon which was particularly intense during the winter of 1941-1942. Memories of this acute experience are still vivid within the contemporary society of Syros. In 1984, the municipality of Ermoupoli erected a monument which commemorated the death of 8,000 famine victims. In reality, as the author shows, the actual figure of the victims was much lower – still the fact that Syros experienced a particularly intense period of famine remains undisputable.

Special emphasis is also given to the psychological impact of the famine on the society of Syros. Family bonds, social customs and human relationships in general were highly tested by the fight for survival. An interesting observation is that in Syros women showed higher rates of survival than men and such a phenomenon may have been influenced by certain cultural factors. As the author explains, in a traditional society where women's powers were vested solely on the domestic sphere, their lives were eventually entirely transformed when they had to become the primary decision makers and food producers for their households. Similarly, Lecoecur argues that the loss of status many men faced during the famine weakened their psychological resistance to starvation. A possible explanation for the higher survival rate of women in Syros, Lecoecur goes on to explain, may be traced in their active role during the famine which made their determination to survive more intense.

The existence of a significant Catholic community (dating its presence since the Venetian occupation of the island) makes the case of Syros even more interesting. As the author demonstrates, the relations between the Catholic and the Orthodox communities were considerably aggravated during the Italian occupation. The Catholics were often confronted with suspicion by the Orthodox people who believed that the former were recipients of a more favourable treatment from the Italian occupiers. Such suspicion was particularly evident in crucial matters such as in food distribution. Italians themselves were quick to grasp the mutual tension between Orthodox and Catholics, especially during the Greco-Italian war. The author also explores in depth the works of the public assistance service (*Assistenza Civile*) especially as far as the management of the food supply and the helping with medical assistance was concerned. Further important issues such as propaganda and control of information are also examined in detail. Lecoecur, therefore, makes sure her study examines the question of Italian occupation in Syros from a variety of angles including, when possible, the view of both the occupiers and the occupied.

Any parallels of the Syros experience with the case of Cyprus during the Second World War must be treated with caution. Cyprus was under British occupation during the war and – despite fears – the island was never invaded by the Axis powers. While the war came as a shock to all branches of Cypriot society the island did not experience the degree of economic catastrophe Syros did. What might be broadly observed is that – as in other parts of the globe – the war altered relations between the different religious communities in both islands. However, such observation should not be overemphasised as conditions surrounding Syros and Cyprus before, during and after the war differed.

Sheila Lecoecur makes apt use of a wide range of sources – both primary and secondary. Archival research was conducted in Greece, France and Britain. The primary material cited at the archive of Syros concerning the Italian occupation of the island is extremely important as it sheds light into the local dynamics of powers and reveals details of the occupiers' relations with the occupied society. The considerable number of interviews and personal accounts with local people



reveal the different views on the occupation experience making the study even more interesting.

All in all, 'Mussolini's Greek Island: Fascism and the Italian Occupation of Syros in World War II' is an important contribution to the existing bibliography and certainly adds to our knowledge on the Greek experience under Italian occupation at a local level. Lecoeur's study – an original 'history from below' analysis – will certainly appeal to anyone interested in modern Greek history, fascism and the Second World War in general.

ANASTASIA YIANGOU



## *From the President's Office: A Journey towards Reconciliation in a Divided Cyprus*

GEORGE VASSILIOU

I.B. Tauris (London and New York, 2010), x + 422 pp.

ISBN: 978-1-84885-411-6

*From the President's Office* is a remarkably candid and comprehensive exploration of George Vassiliou's attempts to reunify the island of Cyprus through a federal solution during his presidency from 1988 to 1993. Vassiliou primarily deals with his professional journey of reconciling a divided Cyprus, but in doing so he also sheds much needed light on the political machinations at both the EU and UN levels. As former President of the Republic of Cyprus – notably the first post-nationalist president – he is evidently well placed to provide the reader with a uniquely intimate insight into the complexities of reunification attempts. Moreover, the fact that his efforts are contextualised within the interplay of domestic and international forces makes this book a very valuable addition to the historiography of modern Cyprus. As such, it will be of immense value to a wide spectrum of students, not limited to those studying International Relations, Diplomatic History or Conflict Resolution. Given that it is written in a laudably accessible style, it will also appeal to the interested citizen.

The book is divided into five main sections, demarcated by what Vassiliou experienced as five distinct periods during his presidency. The first period deals with his initial time in office, from February to August 1988, in which he vigorously instigated an end to the international stagnation that had debilitated progress on the Cyprus issue since the signing of the Kyprianou-Denktaş agreement in May 1979. As Vassiliou elaborates, the lack of constructive developments at the UN level had been hampered by President Kyprianou's intransigent policy of 'preconditions'. The antagonistic climate was further compounded by his rejection of the 1986 proposals by the UN Secretary-General, Mr Pérez de Cuéllar. Vassiliou's attempts to mobilise the international community are marked by a sincere willingness to transcend narrow nationalist approaches as his rejection of the principle of preconditions clearly illustrates. Following meetings with the key international political figures of the day – Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and President Ronald Regan to name but two – enough momentum was harnessed to reactivate the international community's interest. Significantly, this period ends with the formal removal of the preconditions, an outcome of the Geneva meeting on 24 August 1988 between President Vassiliou and the Turkish-Cypriot leader Mr Raouf Denktaş, enabling intercommunal dialogue to begin.

The second period, from September 1988 to August 1989, opens with a resumption of negotiations between Vassiliou and Denktaş, only made feasible by the pressure placed on an

evidently stubborn Denktash by President Kenan Evren of Turkey and Prime Minister Turgut Özal. Equally unsupportive of the rapprochement were the EDEK and DIKO political parties. Indeed, Vassiliou persistently shows throughout how he had to temper DIKO-EDEK-EK and AKEL-DISY opinion. Testament to Vassiliou's conciliatory spirit was the unanimous adoption by the National Council, on 27 January 1989, of the proposals for a mutually beneficial solution to the Cyprus Question. The aftermath of Denktash's rejectionist tactic sets the context for the third period between August 1989 and December 1990 and the subsequent breakdown of the talks. Consequently, we see Vassiliou intensifying his efforts to internationalise the issue but also striving to locate it within the context of the Europeanisation of Turkey amidst the successful acceptance of the Cypriot application for membership to the EEC. A long term Europe enthusiast, Vassiliou's belief in the democratising potential of EEC membership is clear and its consequent potential to help resolve the Cyprus problem. Yet this cautioned optimism is more muted in the penultimate period, from March 1991 to May 1992, as any possible developments are stymied by Turkish and Turkish-Cypriot intransigence despite the increasing involvement of the US administration and its consideration by the newly inaugurated President George H.W. Bush as 'a matter of priority' for the USA (p. 123).

While Vassiliou did not shy away from accusing clerical leaders from frustrating reconciliatory efforts, it is judicious of him to commend others such as DISY leader, Glafcos Clerides, in his opposition to Archbishop Chrysostomos' misleading claims that Archbishop Makarios had not accepted the principle of a bi-zonal federation. An account of the unprecedented involvement of the Security Council in the Cyprus issue marks the fifth and final period between January 1992 and February 1993. While this chapter appears to open with cautious optimism with de Cuéllar's successor, Boutros Boutros-Gali securing the support of the Security Council, Vassiliou makes clear the tensions that were increasing within Cyprus with the 'constant rejection of every UN proposal by DIKO, EDEK, the Archbishop [Chrysostomos] and others' (p. 156). The culminative effect of these forces, compounded by Denktash's unwillingness to discuss issues of substance and the change of policy by DISY, left the reunification of the island vulnerable and Vassiliou's chance of re-election considerably reduced. Clerides' *volte face* evidently paid off with his election as president in March 1993. It was the reconciliation process which paid the highest price however with the resumption of the predictably adversarial politics.

The narrative is peppered with reportage from a multifarious selection of Turkish, Greek and Cypriot newspapers which not only help capture the wider public mood but allows the reader to gauge the interplay between political developments in divided societies and the mass media's perception, and at times distortion, of these events. These articles – the publication of some only made possible by Vassiliou's liberalisation of the mass media – are used sparingly but effectively to show the destructiveness of the nationalist shibboleths on both sides of the island. Indeed, the level of vitriol Vassiliou received from extreme nationalists in both communities, most effectively illustrated through this newspaper commentary, is perhaps the real litmus test of his ability and

willingness to operate outside the traditionally retrogressive and adversarial paradigm by his adoption of a 'peace and goodwill offensive' (p. 51). The extensive notes and appendices are to be congratulated, providing much important official commentary and documentation without stultifying the main text. Admittedly, there is the occasional grammatical and spelling error but in no way does either subtract from the value of this very important book.

HELEN O'SHEA



## *Deconstructing Sexuality in the Middle East*

Edited by PINAR ILKKARACAN

Ashgate (Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT, 2008), 230 pp.

ISBN: 978-0-7546-7235-7

*Deconstructing Sexuality in the Middle East* is a unique and welcome contribution to feminist studies and its lucid engagement of the concrete sexual and bodily contestations in the region of the Middle East offers us epistemological insights otherwise marginalised in feminist theorisations. The edited volume explores the 'contemporary dynamics of sexuality in the Middle East/North Africa', paying particular attention to the methods states and societies use to retrench the rights of women and other sexual marginalised populations.

This volume begins with the assumption that sexuality is at the forefront of the contestations of power and struggles in the formation of subjects. In the introduction Ilkcaracan argues lucidly that sexuality is a crucial, politically contested site that decides the future of women's reproductive rights, queers' rights and, above all, their existence. The authors in the volume point to the disjuncture that exists between moralistic and legal discourses on sexuality and gender (the declarations made by state officials about women's reproductive rights) that ends up affecting women's lives not just *tenderly but violently* (Wexler, 2000).

The volume comprises nine chapters that engage different sexual struggles in the constantly changing contexts of Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Pakistan, Palestine and Turkey. Each chapter illuminates how discourses and debates by different actors complicate gender and sexual relations. For instance, Ilkcaracan argues that, despite modernisation changes and transformations of legal regimes, many countries in the Middle East are still not securing women's rights with regards to reproduction, choice, and sexual expression. She complicates the regional sexual and gender contestations with other mediating axes of power (religion, imperial colonisations and technological innovations) that shape and are shaped by the political and socio-economic context of the Middle East. She proceeds to argue that there are reductive (I would call them *Orientalist*) moves by the 'west [and feminists] to view Islam and so-called Muslim culture as the sole parameters that determine sexual politics in Muslim societies' (p. 3). Narrowly punctuated epistemological insights about this region's complex and nuanced emergence and shifts of power relations and contestations that reduce everything to 'religion, culture, or a simple binary opposition between the religious right and advocates of feminism or secularism' (p. 11) are problematic as they end up colluding with 'promot[ing] rigid notions of masculinity and femininity and perpetuate a culture of aggression and intolerance' (as stated by the Coalition for Sexual and Bodily Rights in Muslim Societies, p. 5).

The book centralises sexuality and gender as 'sites of contestation' of power and in each chapter, authors unfold different aspects of sexual and gender struggles that highlight power dynamics. The chapter by Zuhur engages with the 'amalgamation of tribal, religious, colonial laws and their impact on the existing criminal/penal codes' (p. 11). It is a nuanced genealogical tracing of the formation of criminal/penal codes and shows how such codes cannot be reduced to just one worldview as they are an amalgamation of colonial Ottoman, British and French codes. By engaging comparatively the sexual, criminal, reproductive effects of the criminal/penal codes on women, gays, and other marginalised peoples, Zuhur shows eloquently that law legitimises sexual rights' violations in the region. In chapter 3, Ilkcaracan details the women's movement in Ankara and their struggles against political violence in 2004 when Turkey was in the process of applying for EU membership. She argues that their major slogan 'Our bodies and sexuality belong to ourselves' challenged the Turkish political officials to reform the Turkish Penal Code in Turkey with regards to adultery law. Drawing on Erdoğan's comment that 'there were those who marched to Ankara, carrying placards that do not suit the Turkish woman ... A marginal group cannot represent the Turkish woman' (p. 42), she shows how sexual relations are directly linked to questions of national identity within a regional context. The campaign by activists challenging these new articulations contributed to the reforms of the Penal Code from a gender perspective but, as Ilkcaracan tells us, this campaign is a starting point to other constitutional and civil reforms.

In chapter 4, Nanes engages the Jordanian women's campaign to eliminate crimes of honour by cancelling Article 340, which supports adultery killings. Nanes ends up arguing that even when 'the palace in Jordan subtly co-opted their independent associational activity to engage with a very sensitive social issue' (p. 81), the women's campaign points to alternative civil society models of politics that can challenge and reform laws that uphold any kind of sexual and gender violence. Chapters 5 and 6 explore the contested nature of sexuality by engaging with discourses produced by 'modernists', 'traditionalists', 'Islamists', 'feminists', religious authorities, and professional health practitioners. Both chapters show that social, demographic, and other socio-economic and political transformations affect these discourses especially on issues of sex and sexuality. Shahidian shows a convergence between Islamist and scientific discourses around sexuality as these regimes work simultaneously to categorise and regulate sexual behaviour. However, feminists who contest dominant understandings of sexuality, he argues, challenge these practices.

Chapters 7, 8, and 9 engage the ways the militarization of societies and the public discourses depend on the erection of discursive regimes of sexuality and gender. Rodhe analyses the controversial debates that appeared in the Iraqi newspapers on female sexuality and shows how the Ba'ath regime shifted its 1974 understanding of women's liberation in the mid-1980s. Instead of continuing to focus on 'gender equality' it began to 'propagate ... gendered and sexualized images with extremely polarized notions of masculinity and femininity to support the massive militarization of Iraqi society' (p. 14). Saigol presents an excellent analysis of how the 'sexual



becomes a terrain of contestation and/or 'construction of nationalist or militarist ideology' thus making possible particular sexual and gender ideas for incorporation in the everyday life of people. She analyses the imagery of desire, eroticism, and the male gaze in poetry, songs, plays, and popular films in Pakistan. Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian examines predominant attitudes toward rape in contemporary Palestinian society and argues that in the Middle East context militarization is not just creating a nationalist ideology in which women's bodies become carriers of the nation but also generates sexual violence with long-term effects on women's resiliency and health. The concluding chapter by Gülçür and Ilkkaracan addresses how the global market depends on discursive regimes of sex and gender. They examine how women from Eastern European and the former Soviet Union undertake sex work in Turkey. They discuss how workers are constructed as 'Natasha', a 'generic term' used interchangeably with the word prostitute in order to make possible and justify their sexual domination and exploitation in the sex industries. For them, thus, the focus of policies and sex debates requires a shift from the idea of whether sex workers have a choice in their line of work to debates on how to change the working and living conditions of women by 'addressing restrictive and abusive immigration policies, and decriminalizing sex work' (p. 15).

Though difficult to admit, in the process of writing our social relations, feminist scholars may still have to recognise that the project of modernity has succeeded in effecting in us a forgetfulness of a very different past about regionality and its sexual economies. This edited volume paves the way for more scholarship on questions such as: how are, for instance, complex social conceptualisations, distilled into bounded concepts (the Middle East)? What is, the presumed understanding of *Middle East and/or Asia* in the tracing of sexual and gender contestations? All that said, this volume contributes immensely to the theoretical debates on sex, sexuality, and gender relations. More so, the scholars in the volume disrupt the dominant and *orientalist* idea that feminists of the Global South and/or regions like the Middle East should just be empirical contributors to such debates. The very carefully and nuanced tracing of the epistemological/political tensions as embodied by different movements, campaigns and practices are revolutionary – that, as women's rights activists, lesbian, gay, transgender, transsexual, working class and all colonised peoples in 'Eurasia' know best, will, if organised collectively, disrupt those power relations that are vehemently (re) creating the conditions that would co-opt, incorporate, and with impunity kill anybody and/or *anything* that threatens the formations of (neo) colonial, patriarchal, heterosexual and imperial orders.

This book is a useful text for scholars in Cyprus to consider how gender and sexuality inform and shape questions about the militarization of the society itself, the youth's understanding of subject political formation, sovereign and territorial issues, racial and national identity questions, and above all, the articulation of alternative community formations. How, for instance, does being part of a military training inform and shape the way men and women understand their femininity or masculinity? What kind of a sexual subject does Turkish, Greek, Armenian, Arab, etc., embody and how does that inform and shape teaching in our schools sexuality and gender?

If sexuality and gender are neither uniform, nor homogeneous as the authors in this volume articulate, how would we contemplate the structures of sexuality and gender in colonial and postcolonial conditions in Cyprus? I want to suggest along with the authors in the text that if these structures of sexuality and gender are thoroughly entangled with the vicissitudes of the affective, the subjective play of sexual, racial, and class then desire and uncertainty are not mere rhetorical figures. On the one hand, gender and sexuality, desire and affect may be seen by some as subtle and gradual shifting relations, almost imperceptible, segregated, on the other hand, from the 'political' and always urgent issues that we face (i.e. militarization of the island, migration conflicts, crime, militarization of youth, neoliberal market changes, privatisation of social services, etc.), presuming that these phenomena are not themselves political and worthy of our urgent attention. Still, what this volume has exposed is that sex and gender, and I want to argue affect and desire are themselves entangled with the phenomena we have come to centralise as politics (i.e. conflict, war, military relations) and consequently, the task of scholars as social critics is therefore to help us think philosophically about the various ways in which sex and gender, desire and affect co-exist with sovereignty and territory, property and crime, military and the erection of hero-hetero-statues. Along with this volume scholars in Cyprus also have to consider how the tracing of 'regionality', either through a European or Middle Eastern orientation of political discourse on sex and gender exposes the limits of our understandings of Cyprus. The interrogation on gender and sexuality as it is entangled with racial, class, and ability is very much related to an interrogation on our contemporary life-world in Cyprus – a world of global infrastructures such as the market, mass media, and technologies which shape in a variety of ways and forms the social relations and power structures of Cyprus. Hence, thinking with this volume about Cyprus and its diverse subjects pushes us to consider how much of our social energies and personal creativity is devoted to producing a sense of a racial (i.e. sanitised form of ethnic) permanence through a production of a hetero-masculine militant soldier ready to either fight against or invade an enemy, or consumers ready to consume anything anywhere by any means possible including 'crime', market gambling or trafficking for satiating one's desires for more sex or money (Agathangelou and Killian, 2011).

ANNA M. AGATHANGELOU

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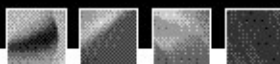
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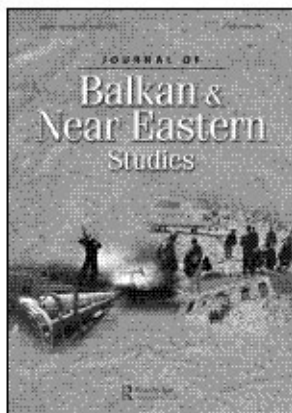


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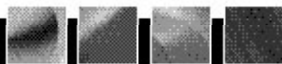
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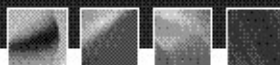
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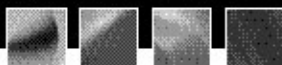
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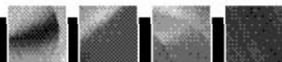
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