## **Volume 15:2 Fall 2003**

### Giorgos I. Kentas

A Realist Evaluation of Cyprus' Survival Dilemma as a Result of the Annan Plan

13 - 64

This article elaborates on theories of international politics in order to evaluate the provisions of the Annan Plan in relation to Cyprus' survival dilemma in the aftermath of its accession to the EU. The author mainly estimates the survival concerns of Cyprus in the scenario that Cyprus accepts or denies the provisions of the Annan Plan. He assumes that should Cyprus join the EU, without a solution to its political problem on the basis of the Annan Plan, it will need to redefine its national strategy. The accession of Cyprus to the EU constitutes in itself a new framework of interaction between Cyprus, Greece and Turkey and offers an alternative option for the settlement of the Cyprus issue on the basis of the founding principles of the EU, the Union's acquis and human rights. At the same time, Cyprus, as a member state of the EU, has to provide for its defence and ensure its survival in a world of anarchy. The EU is not an organisation of collective security and its preliminary security and defence mechanisms cannot offer military guarantees to its member states. As a member of the EU, Cyprus will remain outside regional security structures. Since international politics are without governance there is nobody to guarantee the survival of Cyprus. Until a solution is reached, Cyprus needs to continue basing its security on national defence and on its alliance with Greece.

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#### **Alexis Heraclides**

The 55 Year Cyprus Debacle: A Bird's Eye View

65 - 80

This article attempts an overview of the 55-year Cyprus problem. Seven reasons are identified and examined as fundamental causes of the ongoing conflict from its inception until today: (1) The detrimental role of nationalism, (2) intractability, (3) mutual suspicion and demonisation, (4) non-acceptance of the other side's collective identity and self-definition, (5) the negative role played by leaders and their constituencies, (6) the normative dimension and (7) the role of external parties. The first six of these causes are regarded as self-standing, with mutual non-acceptance at its apex as probably the most crucial obstacle against reconciliation. As for external parties their role is seen as secondary, particularly from the 1960s onward, in what is above an ethnic conflict.

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## Katerina Yennari

Building Bridges in Cyprus The Role of the European Union in the Reconciliation of the Two Communities 81 - 102

On April 23<sup>rd</sup> 2003 for the first time in twenty-nine years of Turkish

occupation in Cyprus, Greek and Turkish Cypriots were able to cross, the dividing green line and walk towards the opposite, and, until then forbidden, direction.

More than thirty years of myths, stereotypes and negative perceptions about each other had been demolished in only the first couple of days after the partial lifting of the restrictions in free movement. The roads that kept alive the communication between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots remained visible. Cypriots managed to open wide holes in the dividing wall. These developments were only the peak of a course through the thirty years of the Cyprus problem.

There is strong evidence that during this course, the European Union acted as the catalyst for the re-establishment of the communication and redefining the perceptions of each community for each other. The EU offered new points of reference and prospects in the relations of the two communities by projecting a common goal – a feature which was missing for years in the search for a solution of the problem.

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#### Costas M. Constantinou

Cyprus, Europe, Mythography

103 - 120

This article examines the discursive and mythical uses of continental identity. It starts by looking at the Cypriot politics of continental belonging. It then considers early representations of Europe and modern appropriations of the myth of Europa, which empower ideologically specific rationales that project European supremacy. It proposes an alternative reading of the myth, which views the European 'project' as a constant effort to recognise and reunify with the non-European, the Asian, the continent's enabling and legitimating other from where Europe 'mythically' originated.

# Marina Michaelidou and Daniel J. Decker

European Union Policy and Local Perspectives: Nature Conservation and Rural Communities in Cyprus

121 - 145

Many nature conservation policies led by national and international institutions are often based on the assumption that local people found in areas of conservation importance do not have favourable attitudes towards the environment. This assumption not only affects rural communities, but is sometimes prejudicially directed towards countries in the southern hemisphere and the Mediterranean region. This paper describes the findings of qualitative inquiry conducted in 2001 in three mountain communities in the Pafos Forest, Cyprus, aiming to examine how people value the local environment and how they feel about the future of their villages, in light of the implementation of European Union conservation policies. In addition to the qualitative inquiry, a telephone survey was administered to 1,010 individuals in Cyprus to examine the environmental attitudes of the wider public in Cyprus. The inquiry in the

Pafos Forest showed that contrary to prevalent assumptions, rural people have a deep appreciation for the local environment and a strong conservation ethic. At the same time, they are concerned about the future of their communities with respect to the implementation of EU policies, which place a priority on nature conservation, but do not always address the pluralistic needs of local people. The larger public in Cyprus also holds favourable values towards the environment and supports the survival of rural communities in Cyprus, indicating the importance of policy that addresses both environmental and cultural sustainability in Cyprus.

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# **Plus Commentary Article by:**

# **Peter Loizos**

What does it mean to Think Historically?

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# **Book Reviews:**

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Boundaries of Cooperation:
Cyprus, de facto Partition, and the Delimitation of
Transboundary Resource Management,
by Peter R Hocknell
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