

Craig Webster and Alexandros Lordos

Who Supported the Annan Plan? An Exploratory
Statistical Analysis of the Demographic, Political and
Attitudinal Correlates

13 – 35

In April 2004, the Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot communities voted on the Annan Plan in simultaneously held referenda. The Annan Plan was a UN-sponsored plan to reunite the divided island of Cyprus under one federal government. The majority of the Greek-Cypriot electorate did not vote in support of the Plan while the majority of the Turkish-Cypriot electorate did. While the Annan Plan was not put into action, many of the factors which influenced voting patterns on both sides of the Green Line will most likely remain relevant in defining public attitudes towards future plans to re-unite Cyprus. In this work, the authors delve into the demographic, political, and attitudinal factors linked with support for the Annan Plan, using public opinion surveys of large numbers of residents in Cyprus.

Nicos Trimikliniotis

A Communist's Post-Modern Power Dilemma:
One Step Back, Two Steps Forward, "Soft No" and
Hard Choices ...

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This paper considers the challenges ahead after having assessed what determined the outcome of the referendum in April 2004 and the balance of forces as they emerge in the Parliamentary elections of 2006. In spite of the generally sound claims that globalisation shifts decision-making away from nation-states, particularly weak and small states to networks beyond the nation-state, in the case of Cyprus what we have for the first time paradoxically is the "fate" of Cyprus primarily in the hands of Cypriots themselves. Although semi-occupied the two communities can make their decision as to the future of their country and state, providing they agree to share power in a federal state. This would mean addressing the obstacles they are facing, including the current polarisation of Greek-Cypriot opinion, which is divided amongst those who want to live together with the Turkish Cypriots and those who want to live apart. The Parliamentary elections of 2006 have not resolved matters. The key to the future of Cyprus is the contestation between the "hard no" and the "soft no", which at the same time is the contestation between the "Right" and the "Left": the paradox is that they are coalition partners in Government.

Stelios Stavridis

Towards a 'European Solution' of the Cyprus Problem:
False Promise or Real Opportunity?

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The existing academic literature argues that the EU's enlargement policy provides for peace and democracy among applicant states. Central and Eastern European countries are cited as recent examples of such a process following the historic events

of 1989-1991. Previous examples include Greece and the Iberian countries in the 1970s. Now that the Republic of Cyprus has joined the EU and that Turkey has begun its accession negotiations, this article argues that in both cases (Cyprus and Turkey), the EU has not acted in such a positive way, especially in failing to bring the Turkish occupation of the north of Cyprus to an end. This study then moves on to the new context of a possible future 'European solution' to the Cyprus Problem. It deals with this question both from a general perspective and from a specific angle: the views of Cypriot MEPs. As for the time being there are only Greek-Cypriot MEPs because of the ongoing division of the Island, this article only addresses their concerns, ideas and suggestions. The article concludes that when taken within its diachronic evolution, the EU's record has not been that positive. Therefore, it seems at this stage at least, that a 'European solution' to the Cyprus Problem is more a 'false promise' rather than a 'real opportunity'. This piece does not discuss what a European solution would look like all the same. Another conclusion of this study is that the EU as a whole, but also the European Parliament, may be using the Cyprus situation as a means to block, or at least delay, Turkey's accession, but without having any real interest in finding a solution to the ongoing Turkish occupation of nearly 40 per cent of Cyprus' territory. The wider implications are important not only for the credibility of the EU as an international actor but also for the impact of its enlargement policy in the future.

Alexis Rappas

The Cypriot Colonial Civil Servant:

Practical Agency through Uncertain Identities

121 - 136

The colonial government of Cyprus was composed by an overwhelming majority of "indigenous" civil servants, headed by a handful of British administrators. Challenging the widely accepted representation of the Cypriot colonial civil servant as a mere performer of the British policy in Cyprus, this paper proposes a microanalysis of two cases taken from 1928: alternatively the recruitment of a higher, and the dismissal of a subaltern, Cypriot civil servant. Contrasting these two cases, the paper suggests that the split identity of the Cypriot civil servant, both a "Cypriot" and a "colonial official", constituted a political stake both for the British authorities and the local press. It further suggests that the lower his position, the more the Cypriot colonial servant could actively participate in the elaboration of an identity which would safeguard certain of his rights, sometimes forcing his employer, the colonial government, to respect them.

John Ungerleider

The Impact of Youth Peacebuilding Camps:

Connectedness, Coping and Collaboration

137 - 147

Young people from Cyprus who attended bicomunal youth camps in the United States developed new competencies for leadership and peacebuilding. These capacities were measured in terms of 1) deeper connection to peers from the opposite community in Cyprus, either Greek or Turkish Cypriot, 2) increased capacity for coping, when the political situation became or remained difficult in Cyprus, and 3) collaboration in follow-up activities and projects with peers from the other community. The impact of these two-week intensive, summer peacebuilding camps

conducted at the School for International Training in Vermont was measured with a survey administered at a follow up reunion of programme graduates held in the UN administered buffer zone in Cyprus. Former participants attested to significant development of inter-communal connections, sustained hopefulness and ability to cope with a negative and divisive political climate, and ongoing commitment to collaborate with peers across the island to maintain bicomunal relationships and work for a peaceful future.

Plus Commentary Article by:

Peter Loizos

In Memoriam: Prokopis Papaloizou, 1907-2002 151 - 159

Book Reviews:

*'Step-mother Tongue' From Nationalism to Multiculturalism:
Literatures of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey*
Edited by Mehmet Yaşin
(Middlesex University Press: London, 2000) 207 pp.
(Andrekos Varnavas) 163 - 167

Cyprus and the EU: The Road to Accession
Edited by Constantin Stefanou
(Ashgate: Aldershot, Hampshire, 2003) 294 pp.
(Phedon Nicolaidis) 169 - 170

Cyprus: A Modern History
By William Mallinson
(IB Tauris: London, 2005) 264 pp.
(Emilios Solomou) 171 - 173

Cyprus 1900-2000: Footprints on the Sands of Time
Edited by John A. Koumoulides
(PELLA: New York, 2002) 259 pp.
(Emilios Solomou) 175 - 177