

**James Ker-Lindsay**

An Irreparable Breakdown of Trust: Relations between  
The UN Secretary-General and the Greek Cypriots Before  
and After the 2004 Referendum

13 – 30

*For most of the last forty years, the UN Secretary-General has been regarded by the Greek Cypriots as a fair and impartial intermediary in the efforts to solve the Cyprus Problem. However, a poll taken in the middle of 2005 showed that the standing of the UN Secretary-General has fallen to extremely low levels. This was a direct result of the failed effort to reunite the island in 2004 when the Greek Cypriots overwhelmingly rejected a reunification plan drawn up by the Secretary-General. This article shows that at the time of the referendum campaign a deliberate effort was mounted to discredit the UN Secretary-General as a part of a larger effort to ensure that the plan was rejected by the electorate. While this policy was successful in its aim, it also led to an unprecedented climate of mistrust between the Greek Cypriots and the UN Secretary-General. This soured efforts to pursue a settlement for the rest of Kofi Annan's term of office, which came to an end in December 2006.*

**Keywords:** United Nations, Kofi Annan, Annan Plan, Referendum, Peacemaking, Negotiation

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**Evagoras C. Leventis and Andreas Tsokkalides**

Protracted Social Conflict Analysis and Cyprus:  
An Assessment

31 – 56

*The end of the Cold War saw the development of numerous theories of identity-based conflict. One of the first proponents of such an approach was Edward E. Azar, who constructed his theory of Protracted Social Conflict as a typology that could be used to transform and resolve 'protracted' and 'intractable' conflicts through Track Two negotiations. The conflict in Cyprus has been defined as a type of protracted social conflict and although parts of the model have been used to analyse its emergence, development and persistence, it has never been applied in its entirety to ascertain to what degree, if at all, its variables find application to the Cyprus case. It is the purpose of this article to provide a total assessment of the theory of Protracted Social Conflict, thus identifying whether or not and to what extent it remains a useful framework with which to analyse the conflict in Cyprus.*

**Keywords:** conflict analysis, Cyprus, Edward E. Azar, identity, protracted social conflict

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**Emel Akçali**

The 'Other' Cypriots and their Cyprus Questions

57 – 82

*The island of Cyprus has a multicultural population. Today, besides its native Greek, Turkish, Armenian, Maronite, Latin Cypriot and Gypsy population, it is also the home*

*of Anatolians, who have gradually settled on the island from Turkey since 1974; Pontians who came from Georgia via Greece together with various other immigrants since the 1990s; the Jews; and the British. Despite this diversity, a solution to the Cyprus problem is still under the monopoly of Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot aspirations, with a resolution oriented between either a bi-zonal/bi-communal federation or a liberal democratic unitary state. This paper presents the so far little pronounced 'Other Cypriots': the Armenians, the Maronites, the Latins, the Gypsies as well as the newcomers, the Turkish settlers, the Pontians, the immigrants, and their socio-economic and political problems. In so doing, it aims to draw attention to the necessity of multicultural politics in today's governing policies, and in future settlement efforts of the Cyprus conflict.*

**Keywords:** Cyprus Question, Cypriot Maronites, Cypriot Armenians, Cypriot Latins, Pontians, Turkish settlers, the British, the Cypriot Jews, the Cypriot Gypsies

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**Andreas Stergiou**

Soviet Policy toward Cyprus

83 – 106

*Like imperial Russia, the Soviet Union followed a policy of slow but steady penetration into the Eastern Mediterranean countries, especially Turkey, Greece and Cyprus, mainly for geostrategic and economic reasons. However, this penetration was achieved by indirect methods. Rather than make territorial demands and send in their armed forces to annex, the Soviets, or the East Germans as their allies, supported various political groups and governments to weaken ties with the West and to extend Soviet influence southward. They also utilised Western countries' mishandling of the Cyprus problem to encourage the governments, directly or indirectly, to pursue a non-aligned policy. A very effective method of popularising their goals proved the forum of the United Nations.*

**Keywords:** Soviet policy in Mediterranean, AKEL, Cold War, German Democratic Republic, Greek–Turkish relations, Northern Tier, NATO, US–Policy in Middle East, Soviet–Turkish relations, US–Greek relations

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**Marina Vasilara and Gotellenne Piaton**

The Role of Civil Society in Cyprus

107 – 121

*Civil society, as a form of collective action, is a means of getting closer to direct democracy, and a way in which representative democracy, as found in modern societies, can be complemented by giving the space to groups and individuals to work together and express their voice that would otherwise not be heard directly. These issues are non-exhaustive but could include watchdog functions, service provision, research and awareness and in general mobilising citizens to take action about issues that concern them. Civil society action in Cyprus is not a new concept but one that has been quite controversial in the past few years. The reasons for its slow growth may be inherent confusions in society about its role, the role of the state and the role of political parties. Moreover, the institutional framework regarding civil society work is not clear and often proves to be more of a burden than a supporter in terms of*

*promoting an enabling environment for the sector to grow. UNDP-ACT and its predecessor the UNOP's Bicomunal Development Programme have been working with civil society on the island for almost 10 years to empower it to have a voice. In 2005, UNDP-ACT undertook a study of the state of civil society on the island based on the CIVICUS methodology to determine its features and study possible ways to address the structural problems facing it.*

**Keywords:** civil society, Cyprus, democracy, citizen participation, United Nations, civics (or civic education), civic organizations, active citizenship, civil society, organizations, non-governmental organisations

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