

Articles:

Sotos Ktoris

AKEL and the Turkish Cypriots (1941–1955)

15 – 38

The purpose of this paper is to explore the political relations between AKEL and the Turkish Cypriot community during the period 1941–1955. AKEL's post-1974 policies towards the Turkish Cypriots had led to a political misconception concerning its political relations with the Turkish Cypriot community for the period that preceded 1955. Undeniably, AKEL's attitude to the Turkish Cypriots had diachronically been much more liberal and tolerant than the approach expressed by many nationalist – Right-wing politicians. However, AKEL's attempt to employ 'class rhetoric' in order to allure the minority into the 'Greek Cypriot national liberation struggle' had little effect upon the Turkish Cypriot masses. Contrary to the ideological and social divisions that cut across the Greek Cypriot community, the fear of enosis within the Turkish Cypriot community dominated political and ideological discussions. The political elite of the Turkish Cypriot community perceived AKEL not only as a 'national' threat but as an ideological menace as well.

Keywords: AKEL, PEO, KTMBP, KTIBK, communism, enosis, contempt, Turkish Cypriots, nationalism, anti-communism

Yiannos Katsourides

The National Council of Cyprus

39 – 58

In 1975, in the aftermath of the 1974 Turkish invasion in Cyprus, President Makarios established the National Council (NC). This was a body intended to function in an advisory capacity to the President, with regard to negotiations on the Cyprus problem. Throughout most of its 40 years the Council has enjoyed the respect of the media as well as the Cypriot citizenry. However, in recent times the reason for the Council's continued existence has been questioned, with some claiming it has become redundant. Many argue that the Council has lost its legitimacy either directly – or indirectly through its constituent parts – insofar as it has failed to contribute to a solution to the Cyprus problem. This article aims to explain the NC's failure as a result of both internal politics and the overall declining public trust in political institutions in general and the NC in particular. It will examine the Council's interaction with other political institutions in the Republic of Cyprus and critically evaluate the changing context within which the Council operates. The analysis is based on a framework that integrates the recent changes that Cyprus has experienced, including EU accession.

Keywords: Cyprus, National Council (NC), legitimacy, political parties, presidents

Direnc Kanol

To Vote or Not to Vote?

Declining Voter Turnout in the Republic of Cyprus

59 – 72

Both the 2011 parliamentary election and the 2013 presidential election in the Republic of Cyprus produced the lowest levels of voter turnout. This obliges the researchers concerned with democratic legitimacy to dig into the political psychology literature and combine it with empirical analysis to understand who votes in the Republic of Cyprus, who does not, and why. Only then can we expound on the possible explanations for declining voter turnout. The results in this paper show that party identification is an important determinant of voter

turnout. The author argues that the recent decline in party identification might be the main cause of falling voter turnout. Results also suggest that younger people's abstention rates are increasing over time. It is debated here that surveys should be repeated periodically and panel data should be gathered in order to overcome the problem with spurious relationships and explain why voter turnout is dwindling.

Keywords: electoral participation, generational change, party identification, Republic of Cyprus, voter turnout

Joana Amaral

Multiparty Mediation in Cyprus in 1963–1965

73 – 88

A consensus of opinion has emerged in mediation literature which places multiparty mediation as the 'key' to successful mediation. In principle, multiparty mediation combines facilitation strategies as practiced by neutral actors, with the more directive and intrusive strategies played by powerful States capable of exerting pressure on local stakeholders reluctant to reach a peace settlement. This article aims to demonstrate that the mediation initiatives conducted in Cyprus in 1963–1965 by the United States of America and the United Nations had an ideal multiparty potential that was not recognised and was, indeed, rebuffed by these actors. In conclusion, this study infers that multiparty mediation might have substantially benefited the peace process had the United States of America united its capacity to leverage all parties to align with the United Nations' willingness to facilitate a settlement locally.

Keywords: conflict, mediation, *multiparty* mediation, Cyprus, Greece, Turkey, United States of America (USA), United Nations (UN)

Gulay Umaner Duba

Conditions for a Successful Federal Model in Cyprus:

The Evaluation of the Annan Plan and Future Prospects

89 – 110

The purpose of this article is to explore the possible preconditions for successful conflict management and stable federalism for a reunited Cyprus. It deals with the federal system proposed in the latest UN constitutional proposal called the Annan Plan (2002–2004) with a view to suggesting viable alternatives to the ongoing negotiations since 2008. The analysis shows that the federal model envisaged in the Plan and in the ongoing negotiations would have been unlikely to be suitable for Cyprus, because the designed federal institutions have never addressed the social, economic, political and demographic characteristics of the society. A number of changes to the proposed models for the reunification of Cyprus are needed: the normative dimension of and the institutional aspect of asymmetric federalism are needed to be examined carefully.

Keywords: federalism, ethnic conflict, Cyprus, the Annan Plan, normative theory, asymmetry, pluralism

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