

## **Volume 21:2 Fall 2009**

(INCLUDING GUEST EDITED SECTION ON **SOME REFLECTIONS ON 5 YEARS OF EU MEMBERSHIP** BY HEINZ-JUERGEN AXT)

### **Articles:**

#### **Andreas Constandinos**

Britain, America and the Sovereign Base Areas  
from 1960-1978

13 – 36

*Government documents from the British National Archives, currently within the public domain, have revealed that Britain's preferred policy in 1974 was the total withdrawal from its two Sovereign Base Areas in Cyprus. However, the United States – in particular controversial US Secretary of State Dr Henry Kissinger – attached such importance to Britain's continued military presence in Cyprus, that British Foreign Secretary James Callaghan opted not to pursue Britain's preferred policy, exemplifying the extent to which Whitehall, despite Britain's growing financial difficulties, would allow British defence policy to be dictated and subjected to pressures from across the Atlantic.*

*This article looks at the history of the British Sovereign Base Areas from 1960 until 1978, their significance to the respective British governments and how American foreign and defence policy affected British decision-making vis-à-vis its geopolitically vital military presence in the Eastern Mediterranean.*

**Keywords:** Sovereign Base Areas, Britain, America, Cyprus, Kissinger

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#### **Gianfabrizio Ladini**

Peacebuilding, United Nations and Civil Society:  
The Case of Cyprus

37 – 61

*Peacebuilding is the political action which aims to promote the development of peaceful structures of social interaction after wars and conflicts. As such it deals with long-term processes and involves complex dynamics and a wide range of agencies, each of them with its own specific strengths and shortcomings. The paper begins by examining briefly the way peacebuilding ideas have emerged in the international system and especially in the United Nations, intended both as an international organisation and as the international institutional framework where the problems of war and conflict are tackled. An historical account of the changing nature of warfare, the emergence of the UN Peacebuilding Commission and the related involvement of civil society agencies in international peace efforts is provided, along with a relevant theoretical framework developed by the World Bank. Cyprus is then cited as a case in point for the traditional form of UN peace operations and the role played by civil society peacebuilding. UNFICYP is examined and Cypriot civil society peacebuilding introduced. Finally, the 'Home for Cooperation' project is presented as a noteworthy development which deserves local and international monitoring, support and involvement.*

**Keywords:** Conflict analysis, Peacebuilding, International affairs, Civil society, Cyprus conflict, UNFICYP, Peacebuilding in Cyprus, Cypriot civil society, 'Home for Cooperation'

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**SOME REFLECTIONS ON 5 YEARS OF EU MEMBERSHIP**  
**GUEST EDITED BY HEINZ-JUERGEN AXT**

**Heinz-Juergen Axt**

Introduction

65 – 68

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**Heinz-Juergen Axt**

Cyprus: Conflict Resolution through Europeanisation?  
Most Recent Experiences and Perspectives

69 – 89

*Since September 2008 the leaders of both ethnic groups in Cyprus have been looking for a solution for the island's long-standing conflict. Anyone wishing to evaluate the chances of this new initiative must recall the experience of the failed unification and reconciliation plan of Kofi Annan. As this plan connected the goal of conflict resolution with the perspective of accession to the European Union (EU) this article pursues the question of the extent to which Europeanisation promotes a solution of the Cyprus problem. For this purpose the theoretical concept of the "Hexagon of Conflict Settlement" is introduced. The prospects of success of the current process of negotiation – according to this concept – are dependent on two factors set against a backdrop of experiences with the Annan plan: firstly, President Christofias must succeed in changing the attitude of his compatriots and the Greek Cypriot media against compromises and concessions from a negative one to positive by means of a massive publicity campaign. Secondly, in Turkey not only the government but also the military and the diplomats must support the results of the negotiations.*

**Keywords:** Cyprus conflict, conflict resolution, mediation, European integration, Europeanisation

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**Costas Melakopides**

The EU's Role in the Cyprus Question

91 – 113

*In contrast to erstwhile arguments to the effect that the EU has no, or only limited, role to play in the settlement of the convoluted Cyprus Question, this essay will try to show, first, that, not only has the EU been actively involved in the concomitant issues for years, but this involvement has been perforce enhanced since the Republic of Cyprus joined the EU on 1 May 2004. Second, the profound legal, political and ethical anomaly caused by the continuing Turkish occupation of 37% of Cyprus should mobilise the EU even further, since the illegal occupation of Cypriot territory entails today the military occupation of EU territory. Third, the EU's self-proclaimed principles and values should be applied fully to the Republic of Cyprus on pain of a striking normative self-contradiction. Finally, while the EU's obligation to facilitate the settlement of the Cyprus Question is demonstrable, its satisfaction will bring about enormous benefits, beyond the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, to Turkey, Greece, and the EU itself.*

**Keywords:** "Normative power Europe", Cyprus Question, EU principles and values, Turkey's EU candidacy, Cyprus' "ethical acquis"

**Christina Ioannou, Giorgos Kentas**

The Mediating Impact of Corporatism on the Europeanisation  
of the Cypriot Labour Sector

115 – 135

*In this article a domain-specific analysis of Cyprus' Europeanisation process is advocated. It is argued that the overall process of Europeanisation was governed by an instrumental logic that furnished a consciously promoted national strategy of EU accession. It is suggested also that this logic had a cross-sector impact. The Europeanisation of the labour sector is the crux of this discussion. The article concludes that the pre-existence of a deeply-rooted corporatist tradition in the field of industrial relations acted as the mediating mechanism that facilitated a smooth and speedy adjustment process.*

**Keywords:** Europeanisation, industrial relations, corporatism, national mission, instrumental logic, mediating mechanism, norm-guided behaviour

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**Essay and Research Notes:**

**Erol Kaymak**

Cyprus and the European Union

139 – 143

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**Book Reviews:**

*Crisis and Conciliation: A Year of Rapprochement between  
Greece and Turkey*

By James Ker-Lindsay

(I.B. Tauris: London/New York, 2007) 168 pp.

(Bahar Rumelili)

147 – 148

*Cyprus at War: Diplomacy and Conflict during the 1974 Crisis*

By Jan Asmussen

(I.B. Tauris: London, 2008) 364 pp.

(Alexis Heraclides)

149 – 151

*Labour Migration from Turkey to Western Europe, 1960-1974.*

*A Multidisciplinary Analysis*

By Ahmet Akgunduz (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2008), 234 pp.

(Heidi Armbruster)

153 – 155

*The Government and Politics of Cyprus*

Edited by James Ker-Lindsay and Hubert Faustmann

(Peter Lang: Bern, 2008), 293 pp.

(Andrekos Varnava)

157 – 161

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