

**Articles:**

**Phoebus Athanassiou**

- The Status of the ‘TRNC’ through the Prism of Recent Legal  
Developments: Towards Furtive Recognition? 15 – 38

*Using the Cyprus-specific jurisprudence of the Court of Justice, the European Court of Human Rights and the English courts as a starting point, we examine selected legal developments over the last six years that point to or may result in a change in the approach of the international community to the self-proclaimed ‘Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus’. These developments highlight the risks of the perpetuation of Cyprus’s de facto partition for the chances of an eventual re-unification of the island. They also suggest that, unless the prospects of achieving a negotiated settlement to the Cyprus dispute were to improve considerably in the near future, a resetting of the objectives of the side to the negotiations that stands to lose the most from an eventual partition of the island would be advisable so that the consequences of a possible recognition by the international community of the status quo in the areas outside the effective control of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus can be mitigated.*

**Keywords:** Cyprus dispute, ‘TRNC’, recognition, Court of Justice, Orams litigation, European Court of Human Rights, Demopoulos ruling

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**Michalinos Zembylas**

- Critical Discourse Analysis of Multiculturalism and Intercultural  
Education Policies in the Republic of Cyprus 39 – 59

*This paper engages in critical discourse analysis (CDA) to examine the underlying philosophical and ideological assumptions about multiculturalism and intercultural education in some recent manifestations of educational policy in the Republic of Cyprus. It begins with an overview of CDA and its usefulness in educational policy analysis followed by a brief history of intercultural education in the Greek-Cypriot educational system. Sociopolitical and textual aspects of the chosen policy documents are then analysed which focus on the following questions: (1) What ideological assumptions are made about multiculturalism and intercultural education by Greek-Cypriot educational authorities, and what are the implications of those assumptions for the education of non-indigenous children; (2) How do the chosen policy documents construct culture and diversity and in what ways do those constructions establish and sustain certain power asymmetries? The paper concludes with a discussion of the implications of this analysis for policymaking on intercultural education in the Republic of Cyprus and other multicultural settings.*

**Keywords:** multiculturalism, intercultural education, educational policy, critical discourse analysis

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**Maria Georgiou, Elizabeth Meins**

- Relations between Peer Attachment, Self-Esteem, and Perceived  
Parental Bonding in Greek Cypriot and British Young Adults 61 – 77

*Greek Cypriot (N=272) and British (N=170) students completed assessments of (a) perceptions of childhood relationships with parents, (b) peer attachment, and (c) self-esteem. In comparison with British students, Greek Cypriot students were more likely to classify their relationships with peers as insecure, and perceived both of their parents to be more overprotective. In both the Greek Cypriot and British samples, individuals who classified relationships with peers as secure perceived their mothers to have been more caring and less overprotective, and had higher self-esteem compared to individuals who classified relationships with peers as preoccupied or fearful. Regardless of nationality, higher self-esteem was related to higher perceived parental care and lower perceived parental overprotection. The results are discussed with reference to differences in family structure in Cyprus and the UK.*

**Keywords:** parental bonding, peer attachment, culture, self-esteem

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### **Andrekos Varnava**

Interpreting Macmillan's Cyprus Policy, 1957-1960

79 – 106

*Commentators universally accept that successive British Governments wanted sovereignty over Cyprus until Harold Macmillan became Prime Minister in January 1957 who then decided to relinquish Cyprus. This assertion is made because the Macmillan Government had determined that the whole of Cyprus was not needed as a base and that bases in Cyprus were sufficient for British military purposes. The Macmillan Government's plans for a solution, however, never included the complete withdrawal of British sovereignty over the island. Ultimately, Britain was not involved in terminating its colonial rule over Cyprus and was indeed reluctant to accept independence as a solution. By tracing the development of the concept of sovereign enclaves, a gap in the published historiography will be filled, while also answering what it was that made sovereignty over Cyprus so vital to British defence policy. The establishment of Sovereign Base Areas on the island questions the view that Cyprus was "relinquished", let alone "decolonised". The delay between the signing of the Zurich-London Accords and Cypriot independence, blamed on Makarios' uncompromising attitude towards British military needs, will be reviewed. This article is a reinterpretation of the Macmillan Government's Cyprus policy.*

**Keywords:** Cyprus, Harold Macmillan, Sovereignty, Decolonisation, Sovereign Bases Areas

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### **Hans Ruediger Kaufmann, Marios Christou, Christophoros Christophorou**

Cyprus as EU-Location for Asset-Protection

107 – 128

*The purpose of this paper is to provide a framework to develop a competitive advantage of the financial market of Cyprus interrelating political, historical, legal and economic aspects. As the current era of globalisation implies intense international competition for attracting financial resources, the discussion has been positioned in the context of competitive advantage. The research intends to provide authorities and all stakeholders involved with a comprehensive pool of internal and external competitive elements reflected in a holistic framework synthesising country, industry and company perspectives. Whereas current literature refers more to individual and scattered elements of competitive advantage a coherent view is very*

*seldom applied. No such study on comprehensive factors of competitive advantage of the Financial Centre of Cyprus has been provided so far. The paper qualitatively validates a model applied for another successful financial market, Liechtenstein, to analyse its applicability to the Cyprus case. Against the background of the global financial crisis and the still existing Cyprus problem, the paper pays special attention to the security aspect penetrating all factors of the model. The paper intends to provide a holistic view on the factors of competitive advantage of the Financial Centre of Cyprus.*

**Keywords:** Private Banking, Competitive Advantage, Financial Centres, Cyprus

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### **Lambros Philippou**

The Cypriot Paradox:

The Communist Way towards Political Liberalism

129 – 149

*AKEL, the communist party of Cyprus, displays a divergent pattern of social and political activity within the Cypriot socio-political spectrum and manifests a specific mode of reaction towards political events. This article, through the use of a recurring paradox, aims to analyse the ontological and the political meaning underlying the historical importance of AKEL's activity within the Cypriot world. It is argued that AKEL is an authentic formation of the Cypriot environment. As such, it condenses a collective historical and synthetic response to the accumulation of mental and social places within a specific historical era. Despite its own declared intentions, in the long-term it works, among many other social and political forces, as an institutional bridge towards applying upon the Cypriot land basic values of social and political liberalism. Of course, this assumption creates a paradox as far as both the way AKEL understands itself and the way outsiders have conceptualised it. And it is this paradox that contributes to the blocking of nomadic liberalism which throughout history is inherent in the structures of the political party itself and in divergent political movements within the Greek Cypriot society as well. Yet, a paradox accumulates distortions, it spells out its own solution and it therefore calls for a deconstructive process. Such distortions have appeared in the modern history of the island, creating "zones of lost time". These are the zones whereby historicity as a progressive rupture with the reified and the ontological world, and the institutional infrastructures as well, is cancelled or is kept at a slow pace.*

**Keywords:** AKEL, Cypriot moral system, closure, nomadic rationalism, liberal dialectic, rhythm analysis

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### **Essay and Research Notes:**

**Birol Yesilada, Craig Webster,**

**Nicos Peristianis, Harry Anastasiou**

World Values Survey in Cyprus 2006:

A Research Note

153 – 167

*This paper provides an overview of the authors' recent extension of Ronald Inglehart's World Values Survey (WVS) in Cyprus. Whereas the WVS is in its fifth wave of study (Inglehart et al., 1981, 1990, 1995, 2000, and 2006-2007), Cyprus is*

*included for the first time. Currently, the WVS comprises 99 countries around the world and is designed to enable the most comprehensive cross-national comparison of values and norms on a wide range of topics and to monitor changes in values and attitudes across the globe. The comprehensive survey of Greek and Turkish Cypriots' attitudes, values, and beliefs will certainly enrich the WVS collection and contribute to valuable comparison between the two ethnic communities on the island as well as comparison with their ethnic kin in Greece and Turkey.*

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**Bibliography:**

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<i>British Imperialism in Cyprus 1878-1915: The Inconsequential Possession</i> By Andrekos Varnava (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2009) xiv + 321 pp. (Murat Erdal Ilcan)	195 – 196
<i>Democratisation and the Prevention of Violent Conflict: Lessons Learned from Bulgaria and Macedonia</i> By Jenny Engstrom (Ashgate: Surrey, UK, 2009), 190 pp. (Isabelle Ioannides)	197 – 198
<i>Mediterranean Crossings: The Politics of an Interrupted Modernity</i> By Iain Chambers (Duke University Press: Durham, NC, 2008), xi + 181 pp. (Rebecca Bryant)	199 – 201
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<i>The Europeanization of Cyprus Polity, Policies and Politics</i> By Angelos Sepos (Palgrave Macmillan: Houndmills, Basingstoke, 2008) 211 pp. From Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics (Hubert Faustmann)	207 – 210