

## **Volume 22:2 Fall 2010**

THE STATE OF CYPRUS: FIFTY YEARS AFTER INDEPENDENCE  
(GUEST EDITED BY COSTAS M. CONSTANTINOU)

### **Introduction:**

**Costas M. Constantinou**

Cypriot In-dependence and the Problem of Sovereignty 17 – 33

### **Articles:**

PART A: THE STATE OF INDEPENDENCE

**Vassos Argyrou**

Independent Cyprus?

Postcoloniality and the Spectre of Europe 39 – 47

*This essay reflects on the postcolonial condition in Cyprus and argues that political independence does not mean the end of colonialism. Power is not merely what prevents people from doing what they wish to do but also, and more importantly, what colonises the mind and predisposes them to think and act in specific ways. The main contention of the essay is that ‘independent’ Cyprus is ruled by the idea of Europe and the desire to be recognised and confirmed as a modern European society. The essay further argues that it is largely because of this idea that Greek and Turkish Cypriots have not managed to live together on this island. They have been trying to reach this phantom destination – modernity – travelling apart.*

**Keywords:** colonialism, postcolonialism, Europe, modernity, European hegemony, ethnic conflict

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**Robert Holland, Hubert Faustmann**

Independence Day through the Colonial Eye:

A View from the British Archive 49 – 60

*The confidential report of the Acting United Kingdom Representative in Cyprus, Ian F. Porter, to the British Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations from September 1960s gives a detailed account of the actual events on Independence Day. Discovered in the British archives and reproduced at the end of this Special Issue, this document is of high historical value for the history and historiography of Cyprus. For a better understanding of the document the account of Independence Day in Cyprus is put into its wider historical setting and located within the context of other independence days within the British Empire.*

**Keywords:** Independence Day, decolonisation, British Colonial Rule

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**Yiannis Papadakis**

Reflections on the 1<sup>st</sup> October Commemoration of the

Independence of Cyprus 61 – 66

*This essay examines the politics of commemoration with reference to the celebration of the independence of Cyprus. The adventures of this ‘historical date’ reveal some of the key changes in the political orientations of the two major communities since 1960. This is a commemoration that was forgotten by all for many years; it was remembered by Greek Cypriots as late as in 1979 when it was first declared a public holiday; Turkish Cypriots now scorn this date, even if they are the ones who demonstrated more enthusiasm at the time.*

**Keywords:** Commemoration, parades, independence, Cyprus

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## **James Ker-Lindsay**

Shifting Alignments:

The External Orientations of Cyprus since Independence

67 – 74

*Just as the domestic political environment in Cyprus has changed dramatically over the past fifty years, so too has its relationship with the wider world. When the island achieved statehood, the European empires were in decline and the Cold War was at its height. In this geo-political climate, the Republic of Cyprus opted to join the Non-Aligned Movement. Today, it is a member of the European Union. This has undoubtedly given it a degree of political security. However, questions remain as to whether the EU can really deliver on expectations. Thus the question of whether Cyprus should pursue closer relations with NATO is increasingly gathering attention. But behind this examination of how Cyprus has aligned itself on the world stage since independence lies a far more significant story of growing autonomy for the people of Cyprus. Having been a colony of one or other of the countless empires that had dominated the Eastern Mediterranean, independence has given Cyprus a degree of freedom to choose its orientation that has never been known before. That the Republic of Cyprus could effectively choose whether to join NATO or the Non-Aligned Movement, and that it has been able to accede to the European Union, highlights the degree to which it has been able to develop its own place in the world over the past fifty years.*

**Keywords:** Cyprus, decolonisation, foreign policy, Cold War, European Union, geopolitics, Non-Alignment

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## **Vassilis K. Fouskas**

The Realism of Utopia: Towards an Anti-Nationalist

Critique of Imperial Policy in Cyprus, 1960-2010

75 – 85

*Two Marxian categories/imperatives are employed here in order to examine critically the fundamentals of the Cyprus issue over the last fifty years: the imperative of anti-imperialism and that of anti-nationalism. But by not confining itself within Marxian discourses by applying the concept of ‘garrison-prison state’ (Harold Lasswell) to the case of Cyprus, this article advances the thesis that at least since 1960 the Cyprus issue has been ruled by a regime alien to the interests of Cypriot society. This regime refers to the (‘paralegal’/illegal) set of Treaties and agreements, whether in force or not, violated or not, that have been produced from the late 1950s to the present day and which pertain to a ‘garrison-prison state’ of affairs – primacy of hard security interests as against that of human security, of NATO powers as against that of Cypriot political forces. Every negotiation that is taking place within this framework does not lead to a new Cypriot polity freed from nationalist bureaucratisation of the political game and imperial interference in it. Instead, the article proposes, a new approach is necessary by way of launching a new constituent phase on the island, dissolving both political entities, thus disentangling Cypriot society from the evil forces of imperialism and nationalism. This is a tall order for sections of Cypriot society, both Turkish and Greek, which still want to believe in the realism of utopia.*

**Keywords:** nationalism, imperialism, ‘garrison-prison state’, NATO

*This paper evaluates and critiques the current state of knowledge on the theorisation of the Cypriot state formations and the nature of the conflict in the country. It aims to provide a prolegomenon for the re-conceptualisation of the Cyprus state formations as enmeshed in the ‘Cyprus problem’ within its regional and global settings. We examine the two main approaches theorising the Cypriot state formations, namely Weberian and Marxist inspired accounts and locate some of the problems and gaps. We argue that the current conjuncture is marked by significant social transformations both internally and adjacent to the country, which require a fresh perspective on ‘the Cyprus problem’. Such a perspective is based on the premise that we must go beyond analyses that focus exclusively on either of the two competing dimensions of an unintuitive binary, either as global/regional geopolitical, or a local ethno-national identity conflict. These ‘common sense’ readings of the Cyprus problem, which can be referred to as the liberal conflict resolution model and the global/regional geopolitics model are not only limited theoretically but their contestation leads to a political cul-de-sac. Moreover, such perspectives in turn dis-empower the social and political forces within Cyprus to actively engage in bringing about an end to the partitionist divide in a country which is one of the most militarised zones in the world. The shortcomings of these approaches in making sense of the state formation and the dispute itself, underlines the necessity of a multi-faceted theoretical framework that assesses the role of class and other social forces as well as changing regional and global contexts which shape both the nature of the so-called Cyprus problem as well as the peculiar fragmentary state formations.*

**Keywords:** Cyprus problem, state formations global/regional geopolitical conflict, ethno-national identity conflict, state of exception

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PART B: CONFLICTS, INTERVENTIONS, CONTESTATIONS

**Rebecca Bryant**

## The State of Cypriot Silences

113 – 122

*This paper argues that rather than disappearing, Cypriot silences about inconvenient histories have in fact become ‘louder’ since the 2003 opening of the checkpoints. The paper uses Derrida’s analysis of the border as that which can but should not be crossed to explore the new silences that emerged in Cypriots’ encounters with each other and with the past in the wake of the ‘opening’. That opening, the paper attempts to show, not only transformed the unrecognised ‘border’ (Green Line, ceasefire line) into something more closely resembling a border through the problematic act of crossing, but it also made the Cyprus Problem increasingly aporetic, a space that cannot be crossed even when there is no ‘border’. Denial arises in this space where the ‘border’ disappears, making crossing a non-passage even in the era of an open border.*

**Keywords:** denial, silence, border, crossing, Cyprus

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**Diana Markides**The Politics of Honour and the Greek Divide at  
Cypriot Independence

123 – 138

*This paper will look at developments concerning the EOKA leader, George Grivas, right at the end of what the British called ‘The Emergency’. Although his actions at this point*

*had no bearing on the substance of the settlement, they could affect its successful implementation. An examination of accounts and discussions surrounding these developments provides an eye-opener into the damage limitation exercise the handling of events was for all participants. The purpose of this paper is not to assess the accuracy of the conflicting accounts, but to examine the circumstances and discussions surrounding the manner of the departure of the EOKA leader from Cyprus in the aftermath of the Zurich and London Agreements and their connection with the delicate balance required by the key players to maintain as positive an atmosphere as possible towards the Cyprus settlement and the forthcoming independence. The importance of honour and prestige in the process, and its relation to the political future of the parties involved, resulted in attempts to manipulate events in a way that would satisfy all parties. Such manipulation proved impossible. While the Grivas legend became a central part of Greek Cypriot collective memory, his differences with Makarios created the most potent divide in Greek Cypriot politics for years to come.*

**Keywords:** Grivas, EOKA, Makarios, Averoff, Macmillan, Zorlu, honour, AKEL, *enosis*, Greece, Turkey

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### **Tozun Bahcheli, Sid Noel**

The Political Evolution of Northern Cyprus and its Effect  
on Turkish-Cypriot Relations with Turkey

139 – 148

*While ethnic kinship and perceived commonality of interests have ensured close relations between Turkish Cypriots and Turkey, the political ties between them have changed significantly over time. From a community that once dutifully followed Turkey's lead in all matters of political significance – their relationship with Turkey being essentially one of client and patron – Turkish Cypriots have evolved into a community with a distinct political identity, its own democratic institutions, a well-developed sense of its own interests, and leaders who represent and articulate a Turkish-Cypriot point of view. Though heavily reliant on Turkish financial assistance and other forms of government-to-government support, those leaders nevertheless display considerable confidence regarding their capacity to manage their own affairs. In consequence, Turkish-Cypriot relations with Turkey have grown progressively more complex and nuanced, and in certain respects more distant.*

**Keywords:** Northern Cyprus, TRNC, Turkish Cypriots, Turkey, identity, democratic consolidation, political parties, elections

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### **Farid Mirbagheri**

The United Nations and the Cyprus Problem

149 – 158

*Both communities in the Cyprus dispute have at different times objected to the intervention of the United Nations when in their view mediatory function was somewhat replaced by more forceful methods resembling arbitration. In 1965, the UN Mediator, Galo Plaza, issued a Report that met outright opposition from Turkey and Turkish Cypriots on the grounds that the mediator had acted as an arbiter. In 2004, the Annan Plan was rejected by the Greek Cypriots feeling that the kind of settlement proposed was an imposition by the outsiders.*

*This short paper aims to assess the intervening role of the UN in Cyprus in respect of peacemaking and peacekeeping from 1964 to the present day. Both the traditional nature of the UN peacekeeping force in Cyprus UNFICYP as well as the oscillating diplomatic*

*efforts of the organisation to bring about a settlement have been discussed. The attitude of the belligerent parties to the UN involvement, their concerns and expectation as well as the influence of the major powers through the organisation to tailor a solution has accordingly been analysed.*

**Keywords:** United Nations, peacemaking, peacekeeping, mediation, Turkey, outside influence, internal orientation, Cyprus

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**Michael Attalides**

The Accession of Cyprus to the EU and the ‘Acquis’  
of the Intercommunal Negotiations

159 – 174

*The complex interrelations between Cyprus membership of the EU and processes connected with the ongoing attempts to reach a solution of the Cyprus problem are central issues in the contemporary Cyprus political scene and have become issues for the European Union. In this paper it is argued that the main parameters of these issues were set by developments between 1999, with the decisions on Cyprus and Turkey of the Helsinki European Council, and 2004, with the referenda in Cyprus on the Annan Plan. It is argued that accession to the EU was made possible by the processes which were set in train by the Conclusions of the European Council of Helsinki in December, 1999, and that despite the fears and criticisms expressed from many sides, the complex of events and processes form an instance of a degree of Europeanization of a conflict situation. Despite this, accession did not result in a solution of the Cyprus problem. The reasons for this include difficulties connected with the frequently overlooked factors that Turkey only agreed to effective negotiations after the Cyprus accession treaty was signed, and also because of the ongoing survival of the ‘acquis’ of the intercommunal negotiations since 1974, which seems to have been specifically exempted from Europeanization.*

**Keywords:** Cyprus, Turkey, negotiations, European Union, accession, Europeanization, conditionality, *acquis*

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**Thomas Diez, Nathalie Tocci**

The Cyprus Conflict and the Ambiguous Effects of  
Europeanization

175 – 186

*The traditional literature on Europeanization conceptualised the phenomenon as a one-sided socialisation process in which EU rules, norms and policies trickled down to member states. This was especially true for new member states. In the case of Cyprus, this interpretation has been particularly obvious, and not only among academics. Among politicians as well there was a view, even after the Annan Plan had failed, that Cyprus could be socialised into a particular mode of ‘European thinking’, much like Greece had experienced over the decades of its membership, which would allow for a solution to the conflict in the medium- to long-term. While it is empirically too early to say whether this view was right or wrong, the present signs are far from encouraging, and may even point in the direction of a reverse socialisation effect, whereby several member states appear to have internalised the logic of the Republic of Cyprus in its approach towards Turkey’s accession negotiations. Indeed the fact that almost half of the substantive chapters in Turkey’s accession negotiations have been blocked due to the Cyprus impasse cannot be viewed as being the responsibility of the Republic of Cyprus alone, but rather of other – often Turkey-sceptic – member states that have been willingly socialised into accepting the Republic’s discourse over the link between the conflict and Turkey’s accession. At the same time, the one-sided, top-down version of Europeanization has come under intense*

*theoretical debate, and authors increasingly stress the ambiguous nature of Europeanization. In this article we will review this debate in order to demonstrate that the integration process did have an impact on Cyprus, but that this impact changed the political terms of the debate without imposing a particular way forward towards conflict transformation. It has enabled political actors to alter and strengthen their arguments both in favour and against a solution and allowed the Republic of Cyprus to influence the EU's stance towards the conflict. This makes the Cyprus conflict a prime example to warn against unidirectional conceptualisations of Europeanization, whether in academia or politics.*

**Keywords:** Europeanization, EU-ization, Cyprus conflict, Cypriotization, Turkey, accession negotiations, conflict transformation, socialisation

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#### PART C: THE ROLE OF LOCAL ACTORS AND INSTITUTIONS

##### **Marios Sarris**

Organisation and Divisions in the Orthodox Church in Cyprus:

Post-Independence Events and Changes in Context

189 – 204

*This paper provides an analytic framework through which one can make sense of events and changes that took place in the Orthodox Church in Cyprus after 1960. It deals, primarily, with events in the post 1973 period and, more specifically, the twenty first century. The paper addresses the historical context of these developments in order to illuminate the logic of Orthodox Church organisation. Moreover, it delineates the boundaries of groups involved in shifting alliances both within and outside the enlarged Synod and identifies the causes of internal division. The paper seeks to strike a balance between the standard ethnographic strategy of maintaining the anonymity of actors and the need to make the text meaningful to an otherwise informed readership.*

**Keywords:** Orthodox, Church, Cyprus, nationalism, history, organisation, synod, cleavage, factionalism, politics

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##### **Andrekos Varnava**

The State of Cypriot Minorities: Cultural Diversity,

Internal-Exclusion and the Cyprus 'Problem'

205 – 218

*This essay argues that Cypriot national minorities suffer from 'internal-exclusion' because the clash of foreign nationalisms (Greek and Turkish) and imperialisms (British, American, Greek and Turkish) in Cyprus has resulted in the domination of the 'Greeks' and 'Turks' despite the historical presence of other communities. This has also resulted in the failure to develop an indigenous Cypriot identity, one that crosses religious difference and has as its base the idea of Cyprus as a secular homeland that includes all its disparate national groups who call themselves 'Cypriots'. Not only have both Greek and Turkish Cypriot elite, by focusing on their inter-communal problem, practised assimilation into the majority of the minority since the independence of the island from British rule in 1960, but the institutional structures from which assimilation could be implemented were imbedded into the Constitution. In the Constitution the national minorities were termed 'religious groups' and forced to become members of either dominant community. Thus, by being denied their place as 'national' minorities and regarded as religious sub-groups of one of the two dominant communities, they have suffered 'internal-exclusion'. This has had adverse effects on their rights as well as their position in Cypriot society.*

**Keywords:** Cyprus, historical diversity, national minorities, Cyprus Problem, multiculturalism, identity

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**Stavroula Philippou, Eleftherios Klerides**

On Continuity and Change in National Identity Construction:

An Initial Note on Greek-Cypriot Education, 1960-2010

219 – 233

*In this paper, and in the context of this special issue on fifty years since the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, we present an initial historicisation of Greek-Cypriot education since 1960 using, as a narrative and intellectual device, constructs of national identity. We argue here that four different historical moments in terms of national identity construction may be extracted from the available body of scholarship – the first years of Independence (1960-1974), the early post-74 period (1974-1994), the period between 1994-2003, and, the period between 2004-2010. In these different historical moments, education appears to have been given a major role in either restructuring or reaffirming and maintaining identities, and, as a result, ethnonational identities were in flux, veering between discourses of Hellenocentric, Cypriocentric and Hellenocypriocentric identity.*

**Keywords:** curriculum, Cyprus, education policy, Greek-Cypriot education, national identity, textbooks

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**Christophoros Christophorou**

Greek Cypriot Media Development and Politics

235 – 245

*The article examines the factors and conditions that influenced the development of the Greek Cypriot media in Cyprus. On the one hand it traces the link between changes in the media landscape and on the other it pursues the relationship between politics, technology and economy. It appears that the course of political life contributed to either the increase or decrease of the number of newspapers in connection with their political and ideological positions. Information from power holders or elite groups about conspiracies was often uncritically published and while pluralism does exist, extreme polarisation is observed on critical issues, which limits public debate.*

**Keywords:** Press, media development, politics, Cyprus

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**Maria Hadjipavlou, Biran Mertan**

Cypriot Feminism: An Opportunity to Challenge Gender

Inequalities and Promote Women's Rights and a Different Voice

247 – 268

*The 1960s and the 1970s in Western Europe, America, Canada and elsewhere gave rise to women's liberation movements, peace movements and discussions on environmental issues. Feminists started questioning established norms and 'essentialisation' of women and men; they demanded changes in gender roles, the elimination of the separation of private and public spaces; questioned patriarchy and sexism, classism and racism as conditions leading to discrimination. In the 1980s and the 1990s to this day the feminist discussion has moved to issues of gender in international politics, sexualities (queer studies) post colonialism and post modernist questions about multiple subjectivities and women's experiences in conflict societies, third world feminisms, and trafficking of women in a global neo-liberal economy. In 1960 Cyprus was semi-decolonised (still 99 square miles are sovereign British territory) and gained a 'qualified' independence and its people – Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Maronites and Latins – had to adapt to a new nationality, the Cypriot (as opposed to being British subjects) and to new ways of*

*relating. The women of Cyprus did not participate in the global women's movements of the 1960s onwards but instead experienced ethnic nationalism, militarism and sexism both prior and after independence. Cypriot women had to deal with the consequences of the armed struggle in the mid-1950s despite the fact that they were excluded from the centres where these decisions were taken or when the independence agreement was signed. Half a century later women of Cyprus have moved ahead especially in the education and employment sectors though they are still struggling to raise their voices on social and 'national issues'. In this paper we argue, among other things, that both patriarchy and the 'national problem', i.e. the Cyprus conflict, have dominated public debates and that one sustains the other to such an extent that social issues including women's issues and needs have been marginalised. The majority of Cypriot women's organisations have traditionally been part of the mainstream male-dominated political parties and did not have the opportunity to develop a different women's voice on women's rights. No independent feminist movement has been established, but now at the beginning of the twenty first century some attempts promote such a need. Women today are more empowered to challenge patriarchal structures, and draw connections between Cypriot women's oppression and nationalism, militarism and sexism which kept certain agendas marginalised while making others visible.*

**Keywords:** patriarchy, militarism, Cyprus conflict, nationalism, gender roles, peace, feminism

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### **Hubert Faustmann**

*Rusfeti* and Political Patronage in the Republic of Cyprus

269 – 289

*This article analyses the roots, transformations and current workings of political patronage in the Republic of Cyprus during the fifty years since the country's independence. It attempts to assess how politicians and political parties during the various presidencies have managed to establish their far reaching control over many aspects of Cypriot society through a highly sophisticated system of favours (rusfeti). The establishment of clientelistic relationships between the citizen on the one side and politicians and political parties on the other is at the centre of the analysis. The primary but by far not only areas where clientelistic relationships are formed through rusfeti are the public sector and the semi-governmental organisations where parties and politicians are most capable of exercising influence. It will be argued that a Cyprus Consensus has been established between the political parties but also between individual politicians and a large number of the citizens that sustains and perpetuates the firmly entrenched structures and widespread clientelistic practices as a mutually beneficial arrangement for all sides involved. Political patronage undermines the principle of meritocracy and has led to the establishment of oversized and privileged public and semi-governmental sectors at the expense of the wider Cypriot public, which is footing an increasing bill that the Republic of Cyprus might soon be unable to afford.*

**Keywords:** Rusfeti, Clientelism, Political Patronage, Party Patronage, Political Parties, Public Service, Semi-Governmental Sector, Cyprus Consensus

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### **Julie Scott**

Escaping the Polarising Gaze – Gambling Spaces in Cyprus

291 – 300

*Fifty years of Cypriot independence have been marked by the progressive spatial segregation of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. In public discourse, the island's spaces are discussed largely in terms of the legitimisation of claims to ethno-*



*national territory, whilst the discursive and non-discursive spaces opened up for officially sanctioned encounter, collaboration and co-existence, remain subject to the polarising scrutiny of the public sphere. In this paper I briefly discuss another kind of space to which I was alerted in the course of carrying out research on gambling in the north over the past 15 years. Gambling in coffee shops and at cockfights has traditionally been both semi-clandestine and tolerated, forming a kind of 'third space' in which people recalled Greek and Turkish Cypriots gambling together. The paper considers the range of gambling spaces and their potential as zones of indeterminacy and agency to counter the polarising tendencies of the Cypriot public sphere.*

**Keywords:** gambling; indeterminacy; stereotypes; reciprocity; cultural intimacy; gender; class

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## **Appendix**

Cyprus: Inauguration of the Republic 303 – 306

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## **Book Reviews:**

*Resolving the Cyprus Conflict: Negotiating History*

By Michalis Stavrou Michael

(Palgrave Macmillan: London, 2009), xii + 292 pp.

(Chrysostomos Pericleous)

309 – 311

*Zypern und der Vordere Orient im 19. Jahrhundert. Die Levant  
Im Fokus von Politik und Wissenschaft der europäischen Staaten*

[Cyprus in the Near East in the 19th Century. The Levante in the  
Focus of Politics and Science of European States]

Sabine Rogge, editor

(Waxmann: Münster, Berlin 2009) [in German], 293 pp.

(Heinz A. Richter)

313 – 315