

The Cyprus Conflict in Shifting Geopolitical Contour

by

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North Cyprus

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Arctic Ocean

Atlantic Ocean

Pacific Ocean

Cyprus

Pacific Ocean

Atlantic Ocean

Indian Ocean

Southern Ocean

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Greece

Turkey

Cyprus





Source: Created by the Congressional Research Service.

A quick chronology of the Cyprus Issue 1

- 1571: Ottoman Turks invaded the island
- 1878: Ottoman Turks rented the island to the British in return for assistance in its war against Russia.
- 1914 (WW 1): UK annexed the island when the Ottoman Turks entered war in alliance with Germany (against the British)
- 1925: Cyprus became a British crown colony.
- 1960: Decolonized, bi-communal Republic of Cyprus
- 1963: Constitutional crises and ethnic violence

A quick chronology of the Cyprus Issue 2

- 1964: UNFICYP in Cyprus by a UNSC Resolution
- 1968: INTER-COMMUNAL negotiations started
- 15 July 1974: Greek coup's attempt for *ENOSIS* (**union**)
- 20 July 1974: Turkish military operation, geographical division of the present time
- 1983: Turkish Cypriot's UDI
- 2004: First comprehensive UN peace plan («Annan Plan») put to referenda – 65% TC vs 24% GC – and failed.
- 2008: Last round of peace negotiations started – on and off, until 2017...
- July 2017 Crans Montana Conference – collapse of the negotiations... (a watershed?)

A “protracted conflict” ...
“Inter-communal
talks/negotiations
which started in 1968 in
pictures...

Let me take you to a time journey of
the Inter-communal negotiations
since 1968...





























1960s



2015

Basis of Inter-Communal Negotiations

Since 1977-1979 High Level Agreements:

Establishment of a FEDERAL state Cyprus

- ***Bi-zonal*** with regard to territorial aspects
- ***Bi-communal*** with regard to the constitutional aspects
- Essentially one central/federal government where the two communities share the power and competences and co-decide on issues such as foreign affairs, defence, citizenship etc.
- Two constituent (federated) states having the residual/remaining powers and competences such as education, cultural and religious affairs etc.

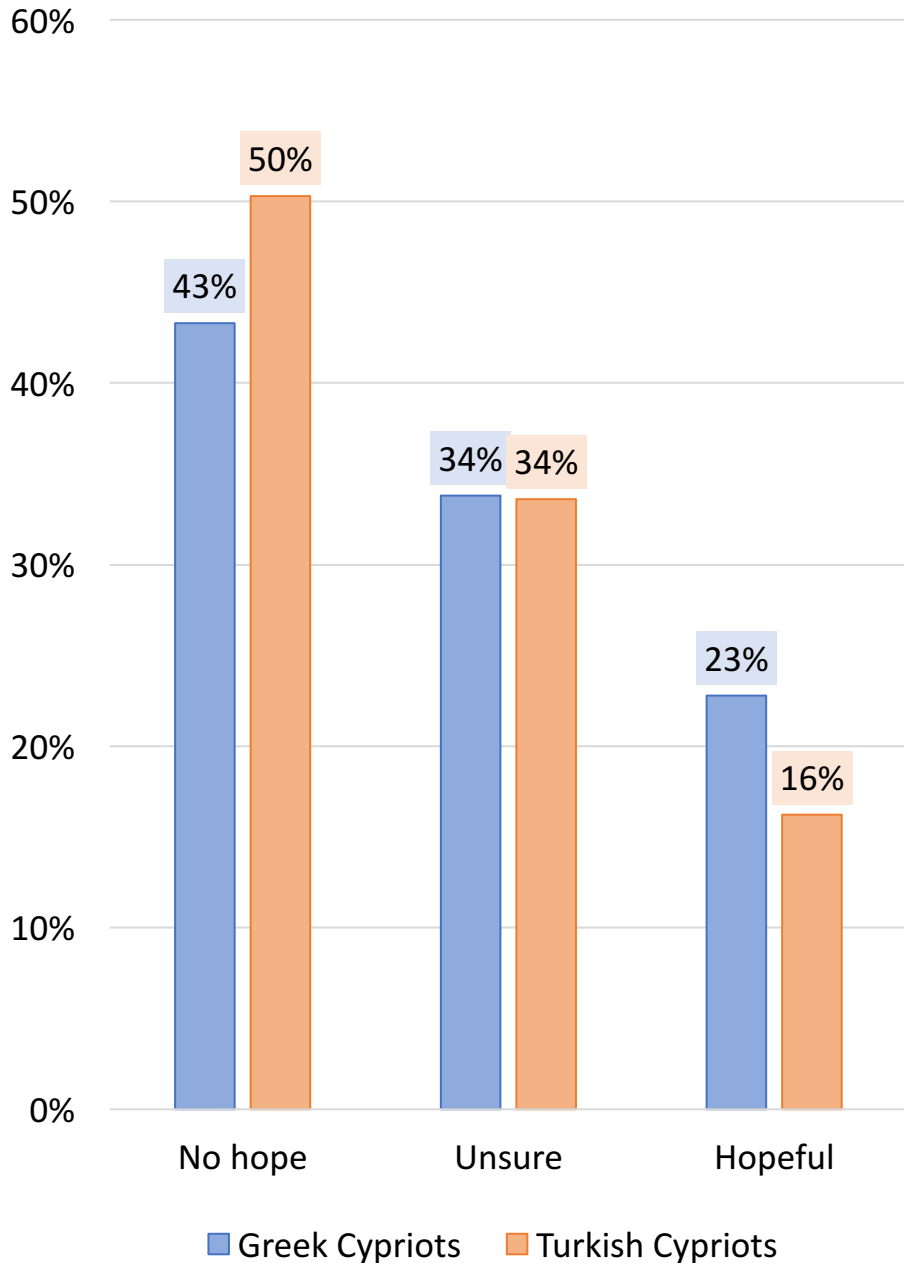
OK...

How hopeful shall we
be?

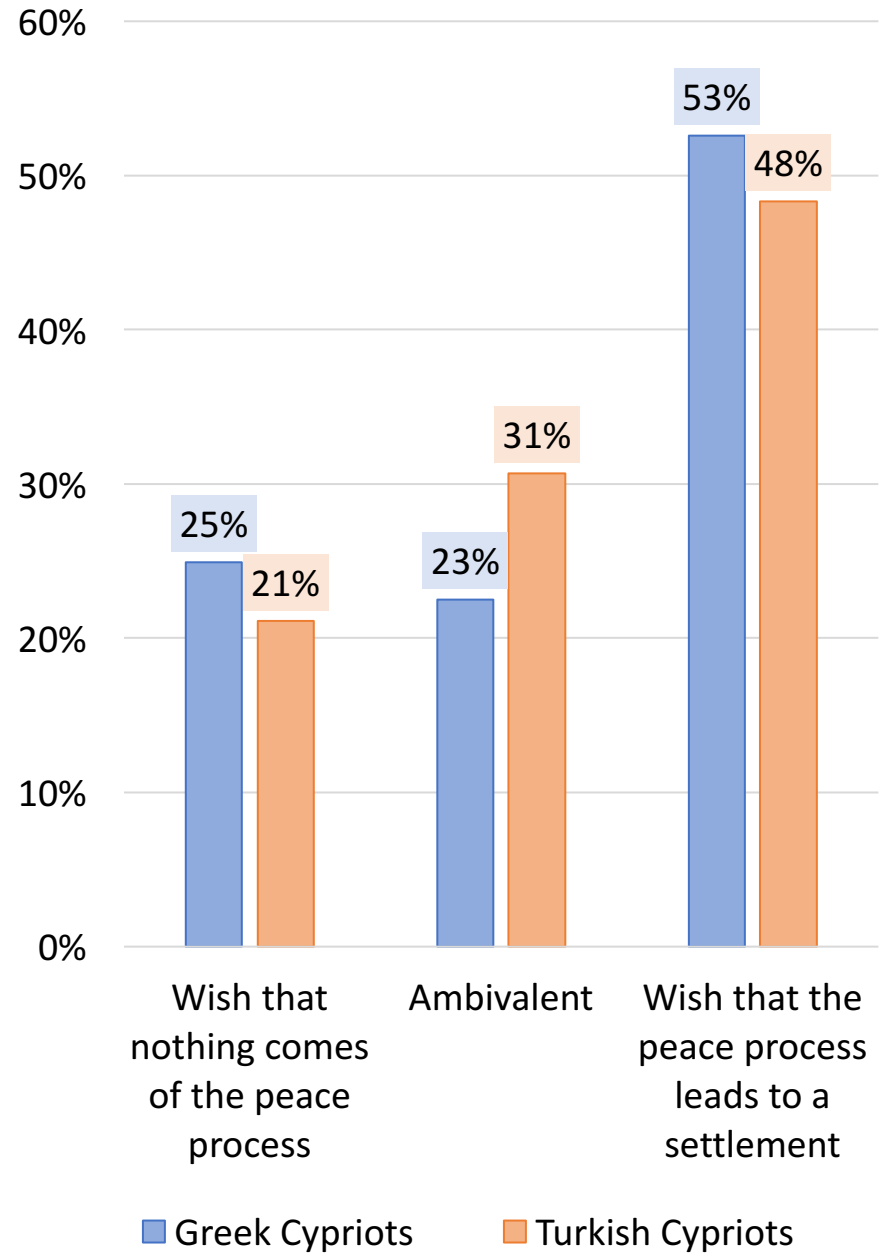
What do people on both sides of the UN divide think and want?

This is very important given the fact that both sides agreed that in principle a solution plan reached in TRACK 1 will be put to simultaneous, separate referenda similar to 2004.

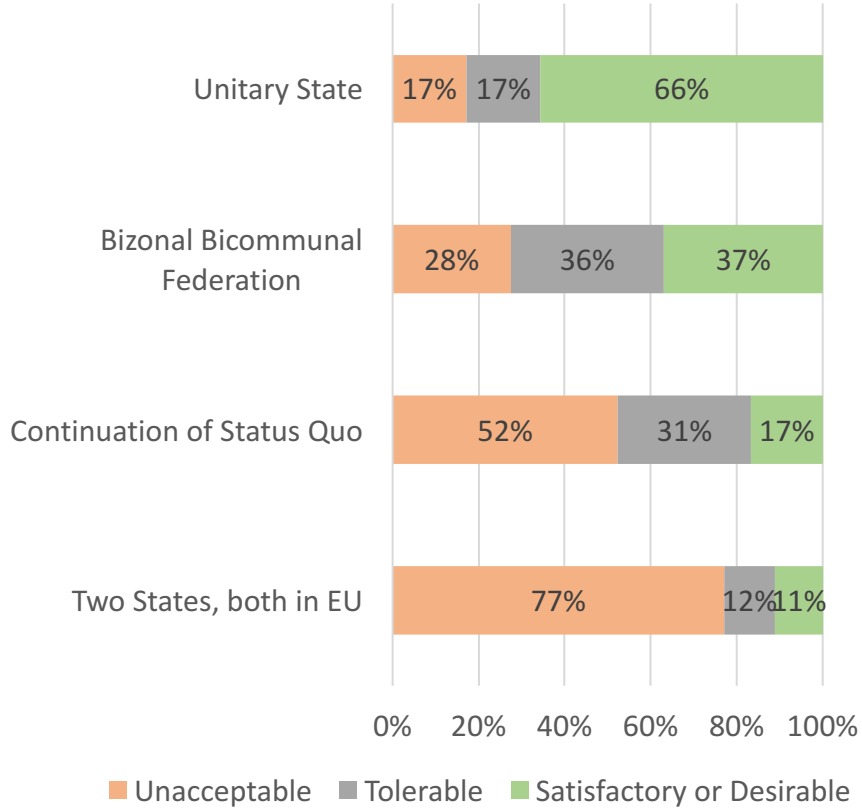
Hope that the Peace Process will produce results



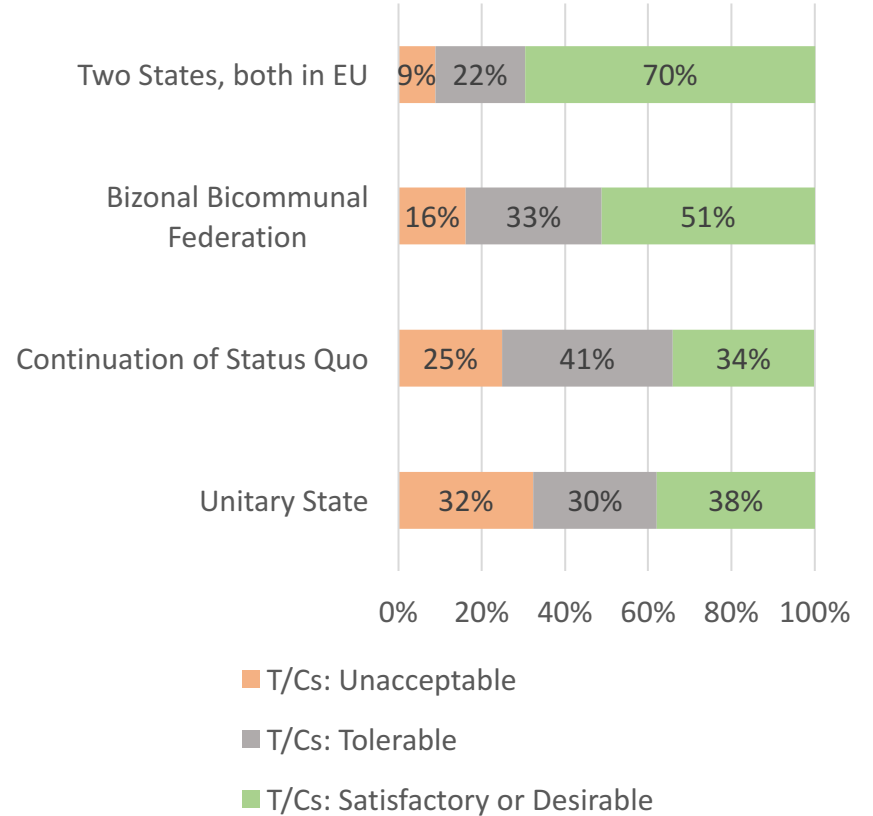
Desire that the Peace Process should succeed



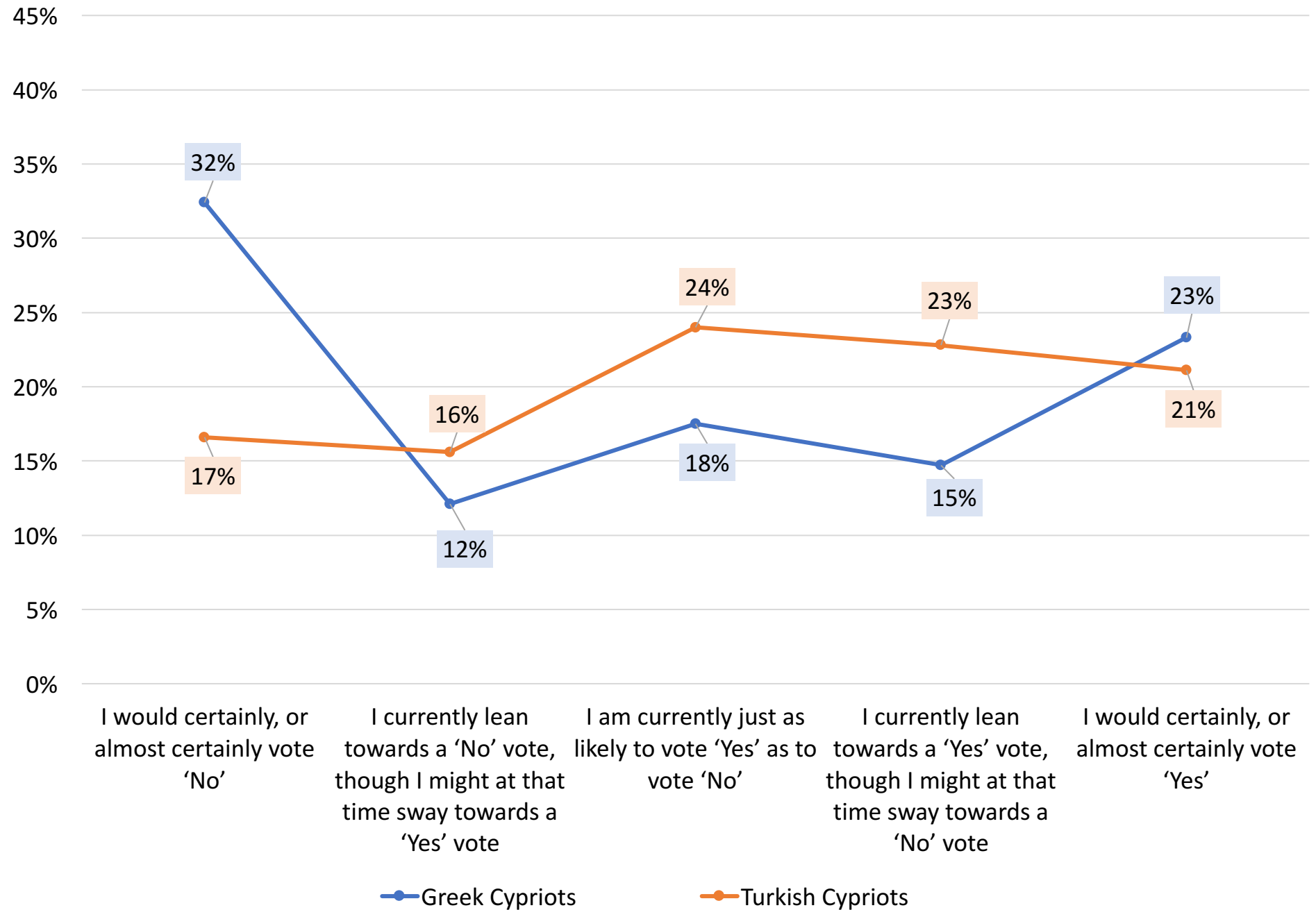
Greek Cypriots

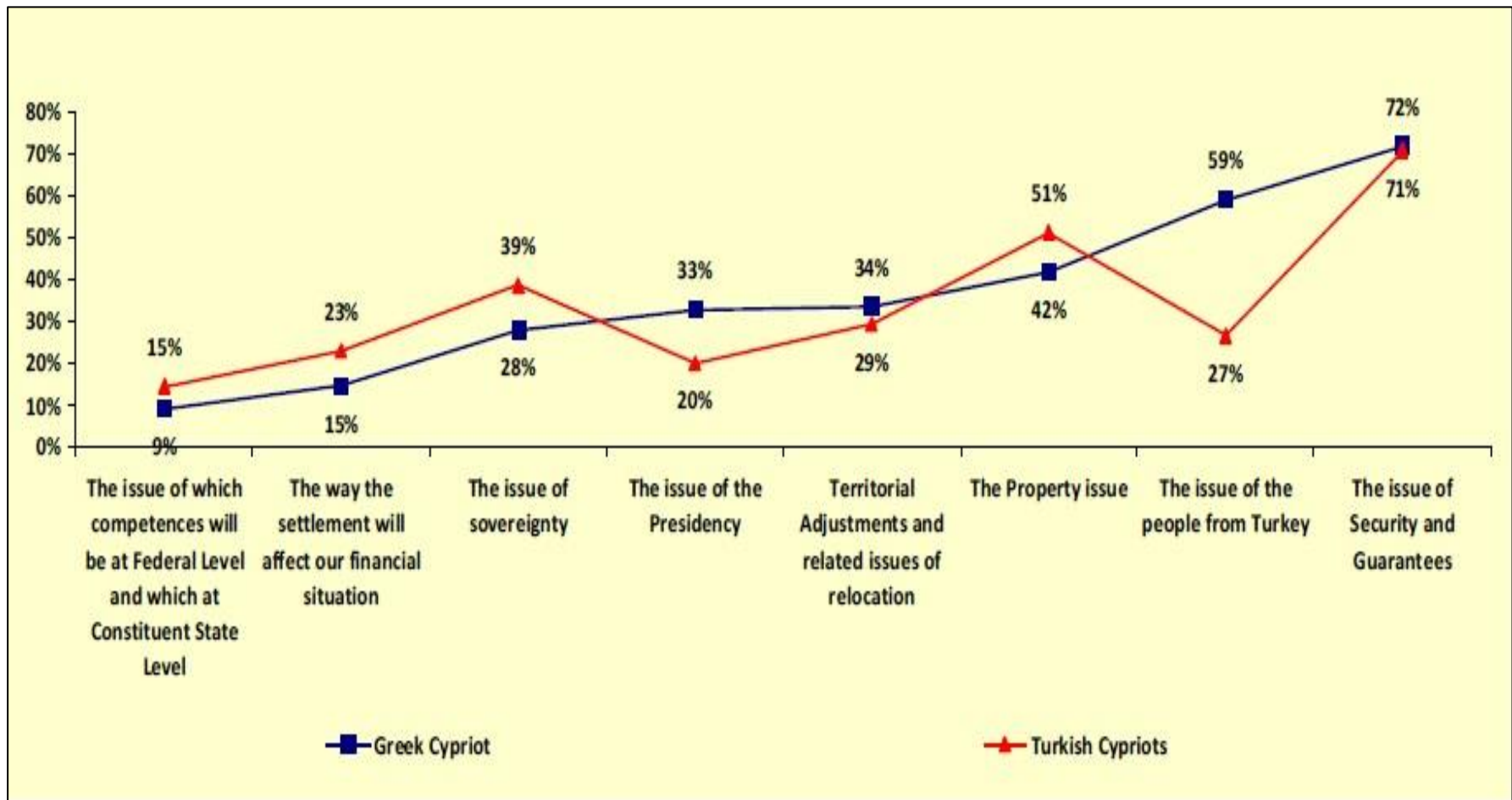


Turkish Cypriots



Intended Vote in a Future Referendum





Negotiating priorities of the wider public

Cyprus 2015 (2009) "Investigating the Future: An in-depth study of Public Opinion in Cyprus"

The Accustomed Track 1 Negotiations





What's wrong with this process?

- Track I – totally cut off from the rest of the society...
- Lack of «cooperation» culture and experience...
- Big gap of trust... (no meaningful CBMs)...

- **2015 TC Presidential Election – Pro-Peace Leader MUSTAFA AKINCI – together with the pro-peace GC leader NICOS ANASTASIADES**



- **A very good start in MAY 2015 – At the beginning, something DIFFERENT → Goodwill gestures, CBMs (intentions for more) ...**







The two leaders had met more than 100 times (since September 2008) ...

Areas of Significant Progress

- Governance and Power Sharing
- Economic Matters
- European Union Matters

Areas with SOME Progress

- Property
- Territory

Areas with Little Progress

- Security and Guarantees

Should we be hopeful from post-Crans-Montana ?



Should we be hopeful from post-Crans-Montana ?

- 1- Will there be a grand bargaining – sort of «give and take» among the dossiers?
- 2- Can a mutually agreed formula on the external guarantees be designed? Will Turkey and Greece be flexible and creative? etc. etc.
- 3- Mr. Anastasiades, «President» of the United Cyprus or RoC?

«LEAP of FAITH»...

3 Obstacles

- 1- Designing a settlement by the leaders... (and the guarantors)...
- 2- Passing from two simultaneous, separate referenda...
- 3- Make it work...

The Role of Third Parties in Shifting Geopolitical Contour

- * **The three Guarantors** (Greece, Turkey, the UK)
- * **The United Nations** (UNFICYP and Good Offices)
- * **The European Union**
- * **The US**

- * **Russia**

- * **Israel**
- * **Egypt**

- * **Lebanon**

*** The three Guarantors** (Greece, Turkey, the UK)

- 1960 Treaty of Guarantee

1. Security

2. Independence

3. Territorial Integrity

4. State of affairs (constitutional order of RoC).

*** The United Nations** (UNFICYP and Good Offices)

- 1964 (UNSC Res 186) – UNFICYP**
- 1964-1965 UN Mediator**
- 1965 - ... UN Good Offices**

*** The European Union**

- Application for full membership (1990)

**- 1997 Luxembourg EU Summit ->
Negotiations started in 1998.**

- 1 May 2004 full membership

*** Protocol 10 to Accession Treaty**

*** The European Union (cont'd)**

*** Protocol 10 to Accession Treaty**

“those areas of the Republic of Cyprus in which the Government of the Republic of Cyprus does not exercise effective control”

* The European Union (cont'd)

Cyprus joined the EU on 1 May 2004 as a de facto divided island. The EU fully supports the current negotiations between the leaders of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities which aim to reach a comprehensive settlement leading to the reunification of the island and establish a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation in which the communities would enjoy political equality.

The policy of the EU with regard to the Turkish Cypriot community was set out by the General Affairs Council on 26 April 2004, just before Cyprus joined the EU:

"The Turkish Cypriot community have expressed their clear desire for a future within the European Union. The Council is determined to put an end to the isolation of the Turkish Cypriot community and to facilitate the reunification of Cyprus by encouraging the economic development of the Turkish Cypriot community. The Council invited the Commission to bring forward comprehensive proposals to this end with particular emphasis on the economic integration of the island and on improving contact between the two communities and with the EU."

(https://ec.europa.eu/cyprus/about-us/turkish-cypriots_en).

*** The European Union (cont'd)**

- Direct Trade Regulation (???)**

- Financial Aid Regulation (2006) – 259 mil. Euros for 5 years; so far 449 mil Euros.**

*** The US**

- Mainly very supportive for a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation.**

*** Russia**

- For a very long time no objection for a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation – as long as United Cyprus remains non-aligned...**
- Recently some changes in its foreign policy towards the Cyprus issue ...**

(a potential spoiler???)

*** Israel (another potential spoiler?)**

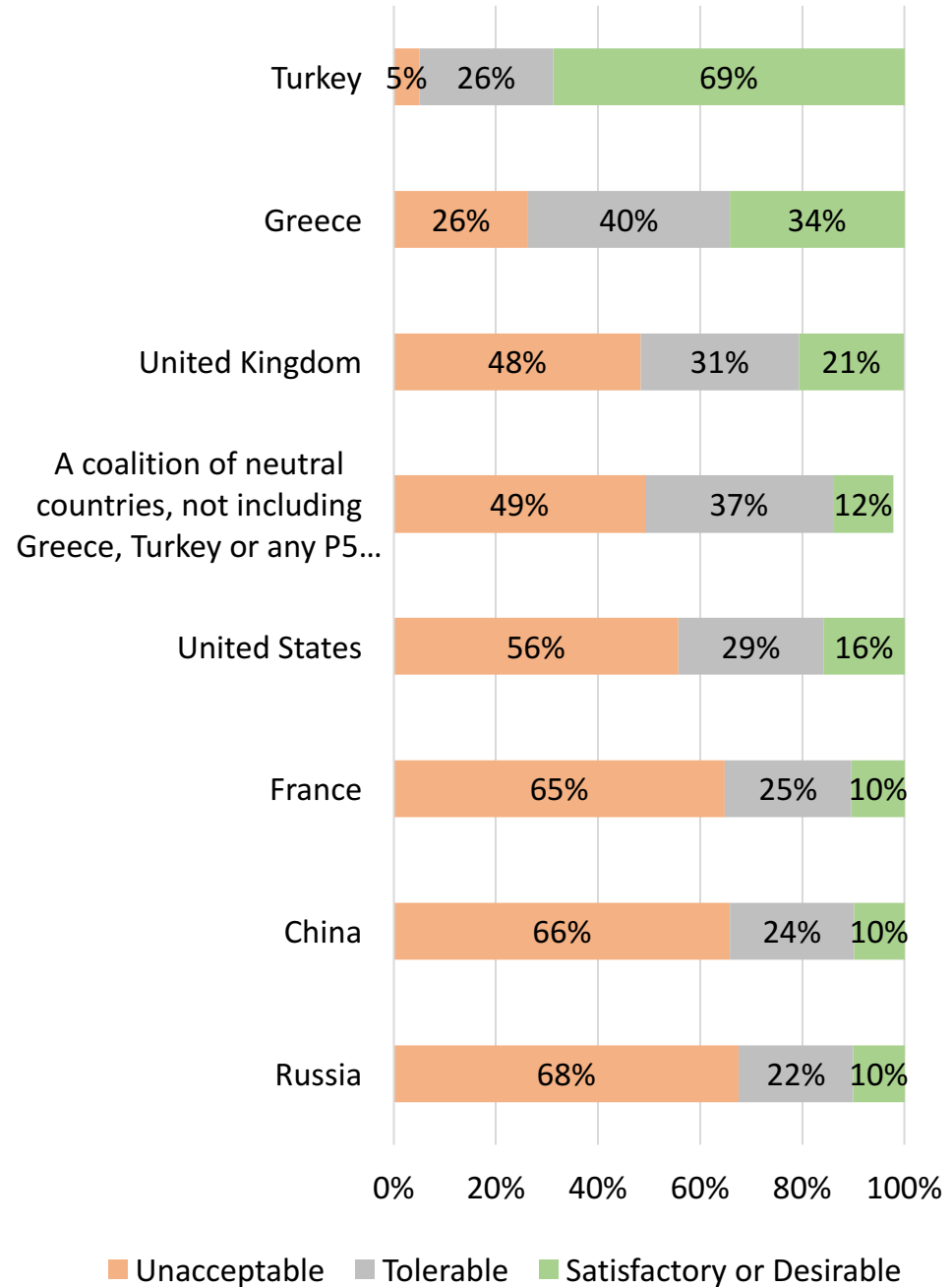
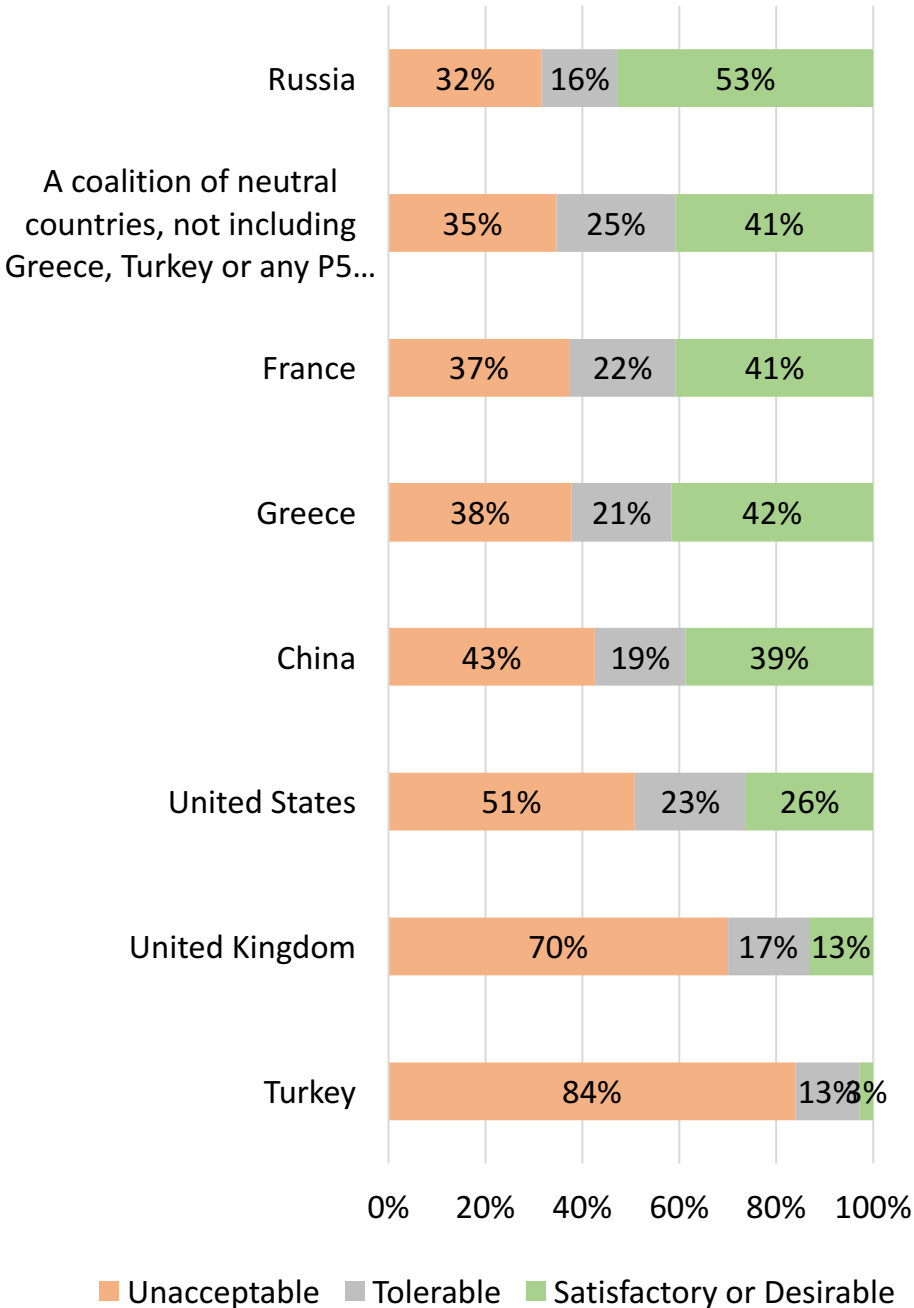
*** Egypt**

**- Tense relations with Turkey;
bilateral(/trilateral w/ Greece) agreements
with RoC...**

*** Lebanon (more balanced/cautious relations)**

Potential Guarantor States: Greek Cypriots

Potential Guarantor States: Turkish Cypriots

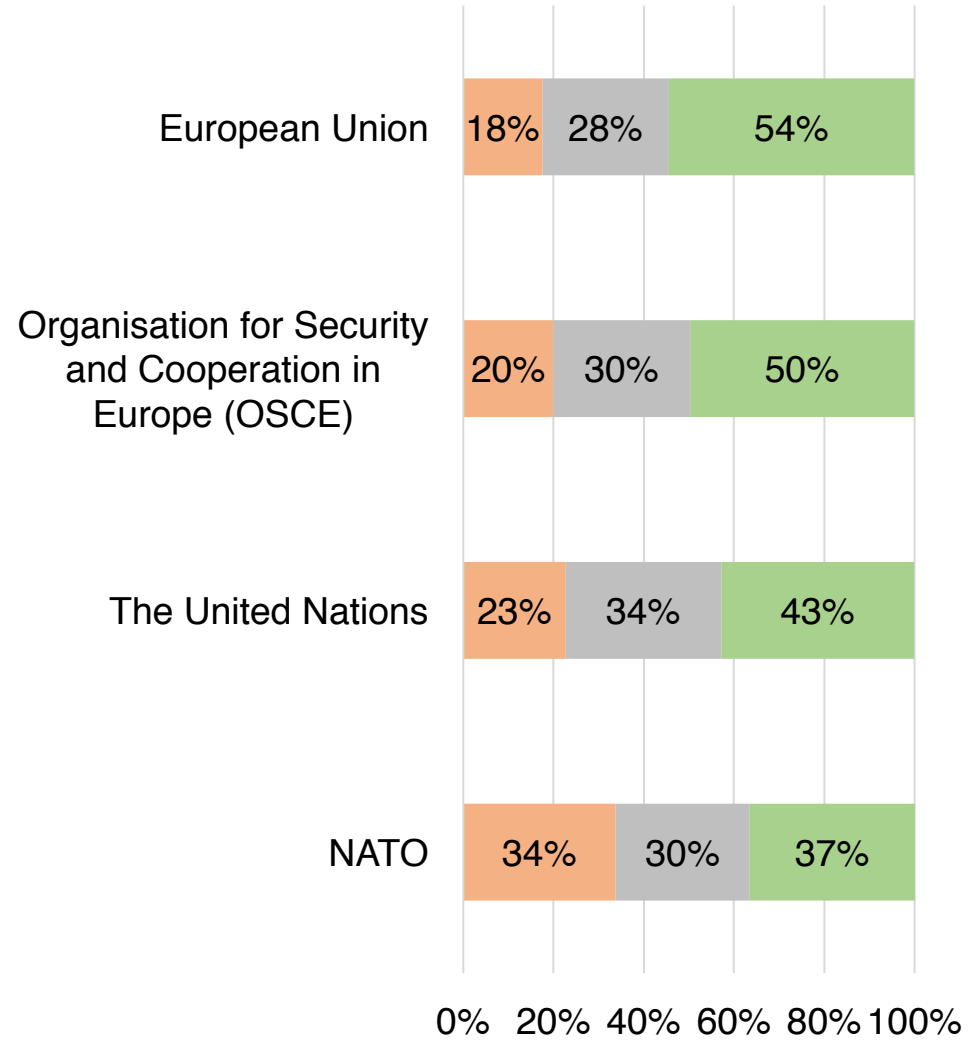
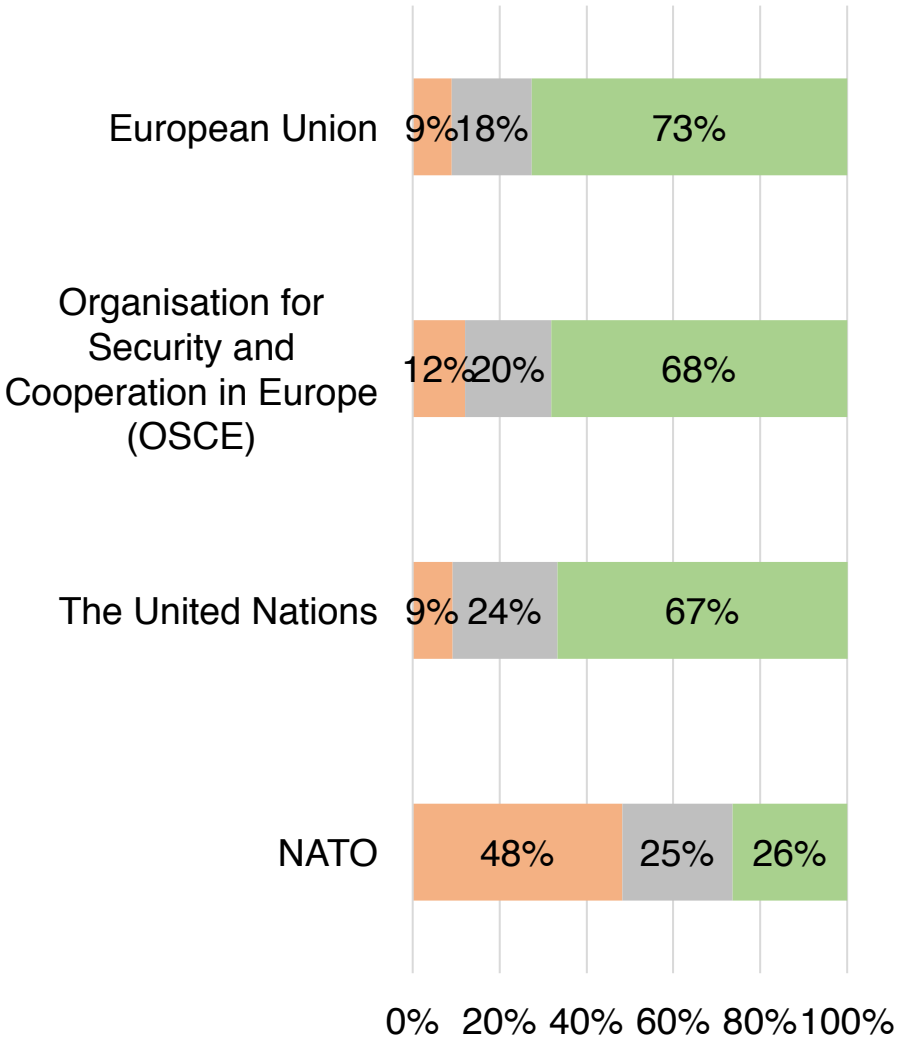


Unacceptable Tolerable Satisfactory or Desirable

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Potential Supporting Organizations: Greek Cypriots

Potential Supporting Organizations: Turkish Cypriots



■ Unacceptable
 ■ Tolerable
 ■ Satisfactory or Desirable
 ■ Unacceptable
 ■ Tolerable
 ■ Satisfactory or Desirable

*** Concluding remarks:**

- Jane Holl Lute's "terms of reference"

- Relevant linkage politics?:

*** Turkey-Greece**

*** Eastern Mediterranean hydrocarbons**

*** Turkey-US**

*** Turkey-EU**

*** A new proposal:**

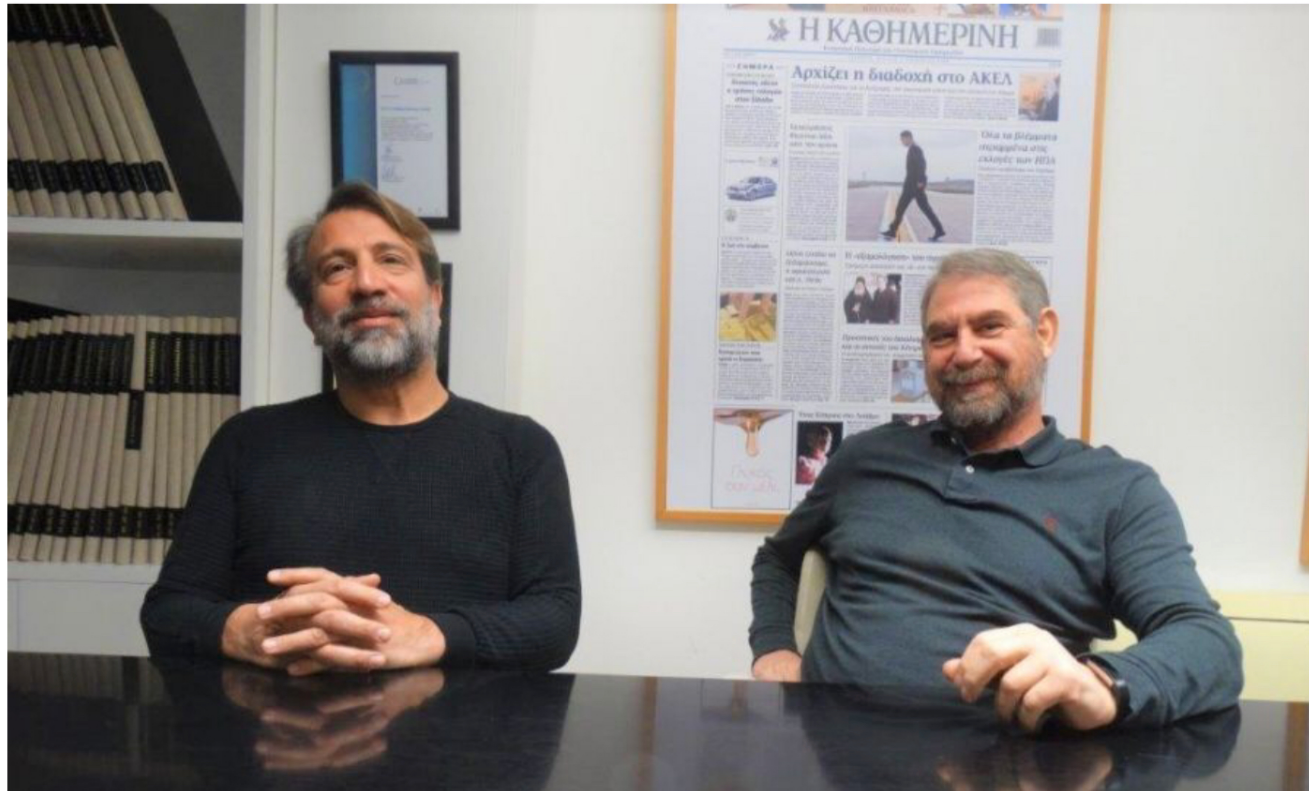
PLAN C

by Sözen and Pantelides

<https://knews.kathimerini.com.cy/en/news/pantelides-sozen%E2%80%8F-swiss-governance-model-instead-of-bizonal-federation>

Pantelides - Sözen: Swiss governance model instead of bizonal federation

Interview with Leonidas Pantelides and Ahmet Sözen



A roadmap of 9 years is proposed, multiparty participation of communities in executive bodies and direct democracy

News Room

Three women busted on prostitution charges | 09:40 (/en/news/three-women-busted-on-prostitution-charges)

Bus strike in Limassol ends for now | (/en/news/bus-strike-in-limassol-ends-for-now)

Training of Turkish pilots on jets to continue, Pentagon says | 20:00 (/en/news/training-of-turkish-pilots-on-jets-to-continue-pentagon-says)

Motive still unclear in Cypriot woman's murder | 16:51 (/en/news/motive-still-unclear-in-cypriot-woman-s-murder)

Bomb scare calls keep coming | (/en/news/bomb-scare-calls-keep-coming)

Thank you!

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