

# Small States Conflict Resolution (CR)

Cyprus

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# Maps of Cyprus



Economist.com



# Images of Cyprus war



# The first President and Vice President of Cyprus

Archbishop Makarios

Dr Fazıl Küçük



# Just to remember the scale

- Cyprus is the 3<sup>rd</sup> largest EU island in size
- Area: 9,250 km<sup>2</sup> (3,571 mi<sup>2</sup>)
- Population is over 1 million reported to be 1,2 million
- Fairly sparsely populated: Population density is 129.5 people per square kilometre (335.3/mi<sup>2</sup>) (November 2018).
- Marked by a sharp rise in
  - The number of inhabitants
  - The proportion of migrants

# Small States & Conflict Resolution - Historical Background of major conflicts

- Cyprus part of the of the Ottoman empire (1571-1878), British empire (1871-1960), anticolonial struggle and independence in 1960.
- The 'Cyprus problem' falsely depicted as part of an 'ancient historic enmity' between Greeks and Turks. However, there are different 'conflicts', phases, low and high conflict periods in an ever changing landscape over time.
- 'Double-minority syndrome': G/C 78%, T/Cs 18%, Turkey 80m, Greece 10m
- 1960–1974: Independence, constitutional breakdown intercommunal talks

# Historical Background II: Chronology of a modern conflict

- The Zürich-London agreements: Guaranteed Independence and constitution
  - Neither *enosis* nor *taksim*; Cyprus constitution of 1960 three treaties – the Treaty of Establishment, the Treaty of Guarantee, and the Treaty of Alliance; British sovereign bases, military and monitoring
- 1960–1974: Independence, constitutional breakdown intercommunal talks
  - Consociation power-sharing between G/Cs & T/C
- Crisis of 1963–1964; Peace-making efforts, 1964–1974
- 1974 Greek coup d'état and Turkish invasion
- De facto divided island 1974–2019

# Historical Background III: Chronology of Conflict Resolution

- UN mediator Galo Plaza 1965: no geographical conditions for federation
- After the war 1974 de facto division of the country.
- High level agreements Makarios-Denktash 1977 & Kyprianou-Denktash 1979: framework for bi-zonal, bi-communal federation; reiterated ever since.
- 1983 Turkish Cypriots' declaration of independence
- 1992 Gali set of ideas: political equality & Bizonality
- 2003: Opening of checkpoints
- Failed referendum of UN plan 2004 & EU accession and the settlement process  
After 1996 incidents & Missile crisis
- 2008–2012 negotiations, tripartite meetings, convergence
- Failed Conference at Grans Montana, EEZ and Gas extraction contest



# Small States & Conflict Resolution - Historical Background III

- The Cyprus problem: constant replay of scale issues, limited resources, vulnerability and dependence on 'kin' states as 'mother countries' and former colonist as guarantors in the conflicts and its resolution/management/transformation.
- Cyprus can claim expertise, traditions or role in conflict resolution: not successful in overcoming it but 'living comfortably with it'???
- 'No hearting stalemate' or 'de luxe partition' when compared to Palestinian or Kurdish issues, but no 'frozen conflict'
- After 2003: Today  $\frac{1}{4}$  Cypriots have friends on the other side of barbed wire
- No peace-making model; but question of prolonged peace-keeping?

# Small States & Conflict Resolution: Major current conflict & issues

- Which are the main current issues of conflict in your country?
  - Cyprus problem
  - EEZ/gas Extraction
  - Migration and asylum as dissensus (imported from EU/ played with Cyprus problem)
- UN 'good offices': The only recognized institution by both parties. The G/Cs & Greece want the EU to play active role; Not the T/Cs and Turkey. The 'guarantors' implicated in both the conflict and the resolution (i.e. 'mother countries' and the former colonist power)
- Also other 'internal' conflicts: gender, social class, ethnicity etc. dimensions but these are often subsumed within the Cyprus problem

# Small States & CR: Defining the nature and resolution of conflict

- The UN is the key actor who defines *what the conflict is*; however within societies, political leadership (differing ideological views), the media incl. social media, schooling and education, NGOs.
- Key actors: Elected leaders, opposition, Turkey, Greece, UK, USA and USSR (and other UN SC members)
- New Actors: EU, ECtHR, CJEU, Russia. Possible in the future China?
- Differing views about the nature of the conflict(s): invasion and occupation (geopolitics) versus ethnic conflict; why not both?
- Resolution: BBF (agreed) v. 'maximalist views' (partition, unitary state) which maintain status quo
- Debates and lessons: if BBF, peace & reconciliation momentum for region

# Small States & Conflict Resolution – institutional mechanisms within your country

- No state institutions/ actors dealing with the CR as such; Universities are studying this, but no state-funded CR centers or courses; no federal studies courses, no reconciliation centers
- Only NGOs – increasingly working at the Home for Cooperation – which is hub for activities as well as other private bodies and NGOs e.g. Fulbright, Goethe Centre, PRIO Cyprus, some professional organizations, small groups and non-institutionalized actors

# Small States & Conflict Resolution– Institutions/Agencies

- International institutional and arbitration mechanisms: UN, EU mechanisms, Council of Europe, International Courts
- Other external institutional mechanisms and actors involved: Swiss embassy, Slovak Embassy, Australian, Irish and Canadian embassy.
- Role of diaspora important in both directions: pro-peace/reconciliation as well as those who maintain strong ethnonationalist/chauvinist views

# Small States & CR – Bilateral & multilateral relations

- For Cyprus, bilateral and multilateral relations were crucial: Attempts to 'internationalise' the problem to seek allies and support abroad.
- Cyprus was a non-aligned country but abandoned this to join the EU. However, it retains an approach of 'neutrality' vis-à-vis multilateral and transnational organizations such as NATO.
- This is a divisive subject between Left and Right, but Cyprus geopolitical position is such that neutrality appears as a means that would assist affect conflict resolution.

# Small States & CR- Societal beliefs & public opinion

- Divided public opinion of Cyprus problem and resolution? In both communities: no success so far but not over yet
- Public opinion is extremely important understanding of the conflicts and points to the direction of their resolution: But who defines what the public wants?
- Issues relating to scale, limited resources, dependence on larger 'keen' state (mother countries) are constantly replayed
- Major step forward opening of checkpoints in 2003 allowing contact at mass scale: not fully utilized this great potential.

The scale & dependence issue:  
Mr Akinci (T/C leader) dared to  
criticize the invasion of Syria



- “Our struggle in the 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation which was carried out with the aim of bringing peace and prosperity to the region and the struggle for Operation Peace Spring in Syria today are being carried out with the same spirit,” he added on a second Tweet.
- In a lengthy post on his Facebook account on Saturday evening, Akinci wrote among others “despite the fact that we call the operation Peace Spring, it is blood spilled, not water.”
- Akinci - leader who transcends the divide: enjoys strong from both pro-resolution T/Cs and G/C - attacked by ethno-nationalists on both sides



Erdogan of 'mother Turkey' slams 'unappreciative' Akinci (T/C leader) who criticized invasion of Syria



- Erdogan, during a news conference on the Syria offensive on Sunday, publicly called out Akinci, saying the Turkish Cypriot leader had gone beyond his limits and needed to know what these were.
- He wondered if there was any other country in the world besides Turkey that had fought for the “TRNC state” as Turkey had done.
- “No. He must know his limits. The seat he sits on is not something he acquired. It was won by the intervention of the Turkish Republic,” said Erdogan. “I believe that the people of the TRNC will give him the lesson he needs.”

# Small States & CR: Challenges & Learning

- Main challenges for conflict resolution:
  - Geopolitical factors: regional powers, Turkey vs Greece, role of USA, UK and Russia, Israel etc. in their own interest in region. Middle East oil & gas factors
  - Internal barriers: political and economic forces benefiting from partition, ideologies of hate, ethno-nationalisms, armies, arm-dealers and smugglers
- Cyprus, as a small country divided country useful for CR:
  - Imperial, colonial and post-colonial & local politicians of a 'small state' manipulating larger powers
  - No 'frozen conflict': Regional & global power-games re-played locally learned
  - Potential for peace and reconciliation via contact & perseverance