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**PELEUS**  
STUDIEN ZUR ARCHÄOLOGIE UND  
GESCHICHTE GRIECHENLANDS UND ZYPERNS  
BAND 14

# Cyprus: 40 Years on from Independence

Proceedings of a Conference in the University of  
North London on 16-17 November 2000

Edited by John Charalambous, Alicia Chrysostomou, Denis Judd,  
Heinz A. Richter, Reinhard Stupperich



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Herausgegeben von Reinhard Stupperich und Heinz A. Richter

Band 14

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## Content

Preface .....	7
Sponsors .....	8
Keith Kyle, Introduction .....	9

Thursday, 16<sup>th</sup> November 2000

Opening session: *From Independence to the present realities*

John Charalambous, Introduction .....	15
Brian Roper, Welcome .....	15
Myrna Kleopas, Response .....	16
Denis Judd, Aphrodite's Island, with a touch of unnecessarily bitter lemons .....	20
Heinz A. Richter, Ankara's Foreign Policy Towards Cyprus .....	26
Discussion .....	36

Friday 17<sup>th</sup> November 2000

Morning Session Part I: *Start in Statehood*

Chair: Robert Holland

Hubert Faustmann, The Transitional Period: February 1959 - August 1960 .....	45
Diana Markides, Sir Arthur Clark and the Thirteen Points: International Diplomacy and the Constitutional Crisis: Cyprus 1960-1963 .....	49
Claude Nicolet, The Turkish Cypriot Failure to Return to Cypriot Government in 1964: A View from the U.S. Archives .....	60
Tim Boatwain, Political Will Versus Political Culture .....	69
Constantine Evangelides, How Greek Cypriot Poets Saw the Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus .....	74
Discussion .....	80

Morning Session Part II: *Achievements Despite Obstacles*

Chair: Filios Grammenopoulos

George Christofides, The Development of the Cyprus Economy since Independence .....	94
Constantine Leventis, The Tangible Cultural Heritage of Cyprus since 1960 .....	98
Haris Sophocliades, The Impact of the Construction Industry on the Development of the Republic, exemplified by the case	

of J&P (UK) Ltd .....	103
William Lawson Ross, Trade Relations between the UK and Cyprus	108
Discussion .....	112
<i>Afternoon Session: Setbacks and Prospects</i>	
Chair: Christopher Brewin	
Farid Mirbagheri, The Cyprus Problem: History and Prospects .....	120
Joseph Joseph, Reuniting Cyprus and its people in the "process of creating an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe" .....	129
Izzet Izcan, What Went Wrong? .....	133
Costa Carras, Failures and Prospects for a Settlement in Cyprus ..	137
Discussion .....	141
<i>Afternoon Session: General Round Table Discussion</i>	
Chair: Keith Kyle	
Discussion .....	153
Pauline Green, What of Cyprus in another 40 Years? .....	190
Biographies of Contributors .....	192
List of Participants .....	197

## PREFACE

The international conference held at the University of North London on 16 and 17 November 2000 had several aims. The major, overriding objective was to provide a formal occasion to mark and celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the achievement of Cyprus's independence from British rule.

The conference was also meant to be a lively, intellectually stimulating forum where a great many issues connected both to the Cyprus struggle for independence as well as to the developments and problems of the post-1960 years could be analysed and discussed in as open and constructive a manner as possible. Furthermore, we hoped that we would gather together not merely a wide range of academics and writers, but also representatives from the business, cultural, political and economic life of the Cypriot community both within the United Kingdom but also from Cyprus itself. We were also very anxious to bring together representatives from both the Greek and Turkish communities in order to promote a creative, rational and friendly dialogue centering on the problems of the post-1974 partition. Finally we hoped that proper attention would be given to the current negotiations to admit Cyprus, perhaps in the near future, to the European Community.

We were gratified beyond measure at the response we received, and at the high quality of discussion and debate that, overall, marked the proceedings of the conference.

Our appreciation is expressed to the University of North London for its generous assistance in the organisation of this conference and the publication of this book.

We wish to thank the Chairs of the conference sessions, the discussants and especially the main speakers. Thanks are also due to our sponsors, listed overleaf, to Soteris Georgallis, Maria Fanti, Ambassador Filios Grammenopoulos and Roger Moon for their advice and support and to Stala Gavrielides for help in preparing the publication.

### Editors

**John Charalambous**

**Alicia Chrysostomou**

**Denis Judd**

**Heinz Richter**

**Reinhard Stupperich**

**November 2001**

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## **Introduction**

**Keith Kyle**

Forty years of independence, celebrated by Cyprus in 2000, showed, in the southern two-third of the island, the remarkable record of achievement in the face of adversity that has placed Cyprus in the forefront of the applicants for accession to the European Union. At the same time Greek Cypriots still has to live with the bitterness and frustration of the ever-present Cyprus problem while Turkish Cypriots suffer serious economic difficulties and in the isolation of non-recognition. The scale of the setback of 1974 is the measure of how much has been accomplished since then. As Ambassador Grammenopoulos and George Christofides emphasize in this book, whereas a third of the Greek Cypriot population was displaced as the result of that year's Turkish military action which removed nearly 37% of the land from Government control, the loss of productive capacity amounted to no less than 70%.

Greek Cypriots picked themselves up after 1974 with real determination, many of them combining two or even three occupations in the process. Cyprus' s economy has shifted from reliance on agriculture and now depends overwhelmingly on its reputation as an international tourist and regional services centre. Productivity growth rate has been high, though Dr Memet Ugur warns that it has recently fallen below European average. The average income in the South is about \$1,000, which contrasts with the situation in the previously dominant North, where the income of the Turkish Cypriots now amounts to only \$4,000. For the latter, the chance of bridging this huge gap is the most powerful practical argument for advancing the cause of reunification; against which must be counted fears for security and the weight of the Turkish presence, both military and in the form of settlers from the mainland. The Spokesman of the Cyprus Government, Michalis Papapetrou, considers that equalising the two economies would be straightforward once defence expenditure is slashed after a settlement and once EU regional funds become available but as against that Dr Mehmet Ugur cautions that the disparity will prove very difficult to reverse after the solution.

Three of the book's contributors - Drs. Hubert Faustmann, Diana Markides and Claude Nicolet - add to our understanding of what happened just before independence and during the three and a half years during which the 1960 constitution functioned biocommunitally. A consociational type of constitution

requires intimate co-operation between the leaders of the communities involved, reliance for the most part on informal channels of accommodation, and consequently the reduction to a bare minimum of those issues to be fought out abrasively. Faustmann illuminates with great lucidity two of the main abrasive issues—the application of the 70/30 ratio in the civil service and the problem of separate municipalities. Markides examines the lethal effect of Britain retaining two separate departments, the Commonwealth Relations Office and the Foreign Office, to handle Cypriot, Greek and Turkish affairs, which resulted in Sir Arthur Clark, The British High Commissioner, being able to advise Archbishop Makarios, quite contrary to the Foreign Office's judgment, that his constitutional proposals in 1963 were "reasonable". Nicolet, using primarily American documents, goes carefully through the steps in early 1964 by which actions first by one side, then the other shut off the chances of putting the biocomunal institutions together again. These three careful scholarly studies, and especially the last are relevant to the very frank appraisal of Michalis Papapetrou in the last session of the symposium that, "there were no angels in Cyprus in the past", they [Turkish Cypriots] made mistakes, we made mistakes. They committed crimes, we committed crimes. I even dare say that my community, being numerically the bigger and stronger - (has) the biggest responsibility.

Any tendency to over-optimism about the prospects of an early settlement of the Cyprus problem, especially with regard to the EU accession timetable, would need to take account of Dr. Farid Mirbagheri's analysis of negotiation styles to date. He holds that they show incompatible mindsets as between the parties, that their visions of the problem and the nature of a solution do not coincide. He states bleakly the dilemma that will confront the EU if accession negotiations for Cyprus are completed before an internal settlement. Accepting a divided Cyprus as a full member would automatically put the organisation at loggerheads with Turkey since Turkey would then be in occupation of the territory of a member state. Refusing Cyprus, on the other hand, would risk a Greek veto on the application of other candidate countries such as Poland and Hungary. Theresa Villiers, a British member of the European Parliament, points out that each enlargement not only requires a unanimous vote in the council of Ministers but also a majority vote in each of the members's legislatures. "The Dutch are obviously a source of concern because their legislature passed a resolution suggesting that a [n internal] solution was a precondition".

Mirbagheri warns that in some circumstances even Greece might see it as nevertheless in her national interest to admit new members without Cyprus but on this Dr. Nicos Papdakis is categorical: "There is no way that a Greek Parliament - any Greek parliament - would ever ratify the enlargement of the European Union with Cyprus being left out."

Turkey's position, which is recognised as being crucial to the solution of the Cyprus problem, will be, in the opinion of Costa Carras, The Greek Convenor of the Greek-Turkish Forum, largely determined by the outcome of the domestic struggle which he sees in the fairly immediate future between two rival legacies of Kemal Ataturk – strong military guidance through the National Security Council on the one hand and assimilation with the prevailing European model on the other. Given the close relationship between Denktash and the present Turkish political and military leadership, Carras thinks that there will be no chance of a settlement prior to accession unless this Turkish political battle is decided favourably by the autumn of 2002. The Cyprus Government Spokesman points out the change in Greek policy which no longer stands in the way of Turkey being considered a candidate was precisely designed to encourage pro-European elements in Turkey. That, Costa Carras remarks, has stopped a great many people from saying, "The Greek will ...stop the Turks, so we don't have to think about Turkey." On the other hand it has to be observed that there are many items besides Cyprus on the list of conditions of eligibility which Turkey does not presently meet. If it were otherwise it might be feasible to work out a simple bargain by which Turkey would be admitted with the others in return for her agreeing to a Cyprus settlement. But while people are speaking of two to three years after which Cyprus could be admitted the comparable figure for Turkey is often thought to be fifteen or twenty. Optimists about changes in Turkish policy also have bear in mind Professor Heinz Richter's opinion that, "Turkish and Vatican foreign policy have one thing in common, their long-term planning ....." Aims of their foreign policy are pursued over decades and never given up, no matter which party rules. "Richter thinks that the Turkish side prefers to keep the Cyprus problem in abeyance until they have solved all their other problems. They might be ready to make a bargain in fifteen years's time.

While Mrs Pauline Green, whom formerly headed the Socialist Group in the European Parliament, rightly says that it could be an enormously powerful bridgehead for Turkey to have the Turkish Cypriot community inside the European Union, it is worth remarking that this would only be so if as part of

a settlement the Turkish Cypriots could be guaranteed a really significant role in the handling of Cyprus's relations with the EU institutions. This is also important because North Cyprus would be the major, probably the only, recipient of regional funds on the island.

The chances of a pre-accession Cyprus settlement have been set back by the decisions of the unrecognised in North Cyprus to abandon the formula of a bizonal, bicomunal federation, which remains at the heart of successive resolutions of the UN Security Council and was itself a compromise accepted with misgivings by the Greek Cypriots, in favour of the concept of confederation. This carries the argument outside the umbrella of the UN and explains the total deadlock of recent attempts by the UN to move the debate forward. That not all Turkish Cypriots agree with this new policy is made forcefully clear by Izzet Izcan, a Turkish Cypriot opposition spokesman (for the patriotic Unity Movement.) A further, very valid point that Izcan addresses equally to the Greek Cypriot community as to his own is the need to switch off the chauvinistic propaganda against the other that had from the inception of independence been conducted by both sides. Both Izcan and Costa Carras speak of the deeply prejudicial effect of the history textbook in use on both sides of the Green line.

Carras also outlines his proposals for a system of cross-voting in a Federal Cyprus in which each community would have proportionately equal say in each other's election, with the aim of eliminating extreme candidates and promoting political dialogue between the communities. Since Mr Denktash does not encourage participation in the type of symposium that forms the basis of this book, the Turkish Cypriot voices that are represented come necessarily from opposition circles. Hassan Raif insists that most Turkish Cypriots, properly so called as opposed to Turkish settlers in the North, are in favour of a federal solution within the EU. He as well as Mustafa Denize and Izzet Izcan express worries that if accession arrives before settlement it will the existence of the Turkish Cypriot community which will in peril, because, being entitled to EU passports and freedom to settle within the Union, more and more Turkish Cypriots would abandon the struggle to stay on the island, thus giving way to mainland Turks. Their urgent wish is that a "red card" as one of them puts it, should be presented urgently to Turkey by the international community, rather than community be resigned to letting the partition of Cyprus be further entrenched by divided entry.

Readers will notice that very little attention is given in the book to the third element on the island, the British sovereign base areas and additional sites and facilities. This is largely because, apart from the occasional incident swiftly contained, these do not normally figure in discussions about Cyprus - making a striking contrast, forty years on, with the sharp bargaining that immediately preceded independence. This was all the more remarkable in that Britain was permitted, through electronic interception, to consolidate in Cyprus her special intelligence relationship with the United States all the time that Archbishop Makarios was practising the diplomacy of non-alignment. However, in a concluding note, Bernard O'Malley, who has done much to uncover the secrets of international involvement in Cyprus's unhappy start to statehood, warns that if Cyprus does ever become reunited on the basis of its complete demilitarisation there will be a massive exposure of the British bases as an anomaly.

This symposium and still more this book come at a moment when the lengthy approach march to a likely confrontation between the EU and Turkey seems to be entering its final phase. Unanticipated - or insufficiently anticipated - events may alter this, either in Turkish politics, or in EU resolve or in internal developments in Cyprus. There is a lot to be thankful for as well as a lot to mourn during forty years of independence and all friends of Cyprus must hope that if the whole island is given a second chance the lessons of those forty years will have been truly absorbed.