



# In Depth

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## AFTER THE ACCESSION TO THE EU AND BEYOND THE CYPRUS PROBLEM

By *Andreas Theophanous\**

We will undoubtedly not cease working on the Cyprus question soon. Even in case of a solution, efforts will still be required for dealing with issues that might arise as well as for the success of the solution. The more cautious observers among us might point out that we will go from conflict resolution efforts to conflict management. However, Cyprus can no longer avoid paying adequate attention to all the other serious problems and issues it faces.

Radical changes need to be made in a wide spectrum of issues: the domain of public finances, the need to broaden the base of the economy, tertiary education

and research, the upgrading of the efficiency of public sector, the policy for young people, health and the social welfare, fighting drug abuse and so on. Already, these challenges and problems create



**“Dealing with the Cyprus issue cannot any more constitute a collective alibi – or the alibi of those who reach decisions on other issues as well”**

strong pressures. If inaction continues, or if issues are dealt with in the familiar slow pace, the toll will be heavy.

Dealing with the Cyprus issue can no longer constitute a collective alibi – or the alibi of those who make decisions on other issues as well. The accession to the

EU has already raised the yardstick of our obligations. As a society we will continue to deal with the Cyprus problem (even when it is solved). At the same time, however, we will have to deal with all the other issues we are facing. Let us try to transform the Republic of Cyprus into a model state for the benefit of all Cypriots, the EU and the broader region.■

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## IN THE AFTERMATH OF CYPRUS' ACCESSION TO THE EU

By Ahmet Djavit An\*

***“The EU must support the demand of the majority of the Cypriots for a real federal solution which will guarantee the basic human freedoms on the whole territory of the island, especially the freedoms of movement, settlement and property”***



Cyprus became a member of the EU on 1 May 2004; however, the Cyprus problem remains unresolved. This East Mediterranean island is one of the 25 member states of the EU, but the *acquis communautaire* is not valid in the Turkish occupied northern part of the island.

Unless there is a solution to the Cyprus problem, the Turkish Cypriots will not be able to participate in the state apparatus of

the Republic of Cyprus whose Constitution is expected to be restructured on a federal basis. The bi-communal and bi-regional character of the new setup has been agreed upon by the two main communities of the island during the ongoing intercommunal negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations since 1974.

Now that Cyprus is also a member of the European Union, together with Great

Britain and Greece, two of its three guarantor powers, will she be in a position to adjust her constitution according to the principles of the *acquis*? The divisive character of the existing Constitution of 1960 conflicts with the ideals and the spirit of the European Union. The main articles of the Cyprus Constitution related to the intercommunal power-sharing can only be changed with the consent of the

three guarantor powers, who guaranteed the independence, sovereignty and the territorial integrity of Cyprus. Will Turkey, the third guarantor, who waits to get a date for the beginning of accession negotiations to the EU, give its consent for such a change?

The 30-year-old Turkish military occupation of Cyprus still continues and, what's more, Turkey has changed the

demographic character of the island by transferring more than 100,000 mainland Turkish settlers to the occupied northern part, which is contrary to the provisions of the 1949 Geneva Convention.

Will the EU actively support the reunification of Cyprus or will it follow a policy of “wait and see”? The USA has been very active lately regarding the imple-

mentation of a kind of confederal structure which is envisaged in the Annan Plan of the UN by establishing two ethnic states.

The EU must support the demand of the majority of the Cypriots for a real federal solution which will guarantee the basic human freedoms on the whole territory of the island, especially the freedoms of movement, settlement and property. Otherwise, the existing par-

tition of Cyprus will not help the interests of the main communities living in Cyprus and the wound inflicted by the use of force will keep on bleeding. The withdrawal of all foreign troops and Turkish settlers from the territory of Cyprus and the final demilitarization of the island will be the guarantee of a lasting peace between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.■

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# THE ACCESSION OF CYPRUS TO THE EU AND THE DAY AFTER

By Michalis Attalides\*

The projection of the pre-referendum polarisation of “no” and “yes” views into the future currently expresses itself as a situation where many of those who said “yes” see everything as being black and as many of those who said “no” see no problems at all. This polarisation is inaccurate by omission, unproductive for dealing with the current situation, and only serves the retroactive justification of positions

## The Day After Should not Consist of an Argument about the Day Before

previously taken. In any event a case can be made that there is a whole dimension left out of this debate, which is that of how the international and European environment was

handled during the run-up to the referendum and what should be done now.

A more realistic approach to analysis of the current situation

would have to take stock of the following:

Turkey has had much pressure lifted, by being released from the condition of a Cyprus solution before getting a date for EU accession negotiations, even as far as Greece is concerned. If Cyprus were to block the decision on Turkey getting a date because the Cyprus problem is unsolved, it would have to carry all the weight on its own.

The Turkish Cypriots,

superpower and its prestige and effectiveness internationally mainly stem from the persuasiveness and constructiveness of its positions and policies and the rationality of its arguments. These are the means which we deployed and which together with the highly successful foreign policy of Greece, overcame the initially heavy odds against our becoming a member of the European Union

If we succeed in most of this, we will be in a position to engage creatively with the positive elements in the new situation:

Mr. Denktash seems to have been moved to

whose mobilisations against the status quo and the Denktash regime, carry much credit for lending hopefulness to a frozen situation are now disappointed and many of them feel that the Greek Cypriots have rejected reunification.

The Cyprus Government and the Greek Cypriots have lost the moral high ground and the capital of good will accumulated with the international community from repeatedly being the side that had showed political will for

solving the Cyprus problem. It would be extremely regretful and highly unjust if European and transatlantic decision makers, having for years tolerated absolutely negative and disruptive behaviour by Mr. Denktash and Ankara, would now go overboard with the “measures to bring Turkish Cypriots out of isolation” and go into actions that would actually jeopardise the future chances of reunification. But on the current evidence, this cannot unfortunately be excluded.

These are not pleasant facts to contemplate. Nor is the prospect that we might enter into a situation of confrontation with our European partners, the Turkish Cypriots, and others, over

measures that are being considered. Diplomatically effective and politically persuasive means to convince the international community and the Turkish Cypriots about what is constructive and what is destructive of future prospects must be deployed. We also have to become an active, knowledgeable and constructive member of the EU, contributing to issues of European interest at the same time as safeguarding our own national interests. And we must once more begin to convincingly explain to our European partners not just about why we voted “no”, but also about our current and future aims and how we plan to achieve them. After all, Cyprus is neither a military nor an economic

the sidelines, and the Turkish Cypriot leaders seem not to embrace, for the time being, at least, his aim of a separate state as this would take them further from the major aim of joining the EU.

I do not know what our Government’s or the United Nations’ or Turkey’s thinking is on possible efforts before the next signpost, which is December. And I cannot make predictions about what our Government will do if, as now seems likely, we reach December without a solution. But I would say that if Turkey gets the date by the end of the year, and that has never only depend on Cyprus, or the Cyprus problem, but also on the thinking in other European capitals - we would, after that date, be in a more predictable environment.

The biggest risk that we ran from a possible “yes” vote would have been from a conceivable subsequent refusal of the EU to fix a date for negotiations with Turkey. In general we shall, after the fixing of a date for the beginning of accession negotiations, be in a more predictable situation. With the EU measures, the standard of living of the Turkish Cypriots will rise. We may

see the development of a more transparent and democratic political process within the Turkish Cypriot community, and perhaps more open intercommunal discussion involving more of civil society. These and other developments could make the prospect of the solution transition less daunting and involving less threatening

discontinuity.

In the process of negotiation with the EU presumably Turkey and the Europeans would bear in mind the continued presence of troops and settlers in Cyprus, and the unresolved territorial, refugee, property and constitutional issues, as well as the continuing need to eliminate military influence in Turkish



politics. These issues have not disappeared because there was a “no” result in the Greek Cypriot referendum.■

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With the admission of Romania and Bulgaria the European Union will reach what geo-strategists call its natural size. This is critical. Any expansion beyond this natural size will constitute an over-extension and will ultimately create unnecessary strain internally and put the cohesion and further

rent state has been a gradual and step-by-step process. One wave of expansion would be followed by a period of time necessary to allow for settling in politically and economically. Then there would be a political advance and then a new wave of expansion. Thus came the European Monetary



Stagnation on the economic front makes things harder and managing external relations will prove particularly challenging if foreign policy will remain as fragmented as ever. The growth and deepening of the European Union

takes place gradually through negotiation and consensus, and peace, not freedom or liberty, is the prevalent idea. Europe brings a unique blend of vision and method into the realm of international relations, which can prove of ex-

treme value as the world relapses to its historically more ordinary state of clash and conflict. Through a web of economic and cultural ties, Europe is able to foster the development of institutions where these are lacking and

with them champion world peace. At a time when the European idea looks mature for exporting, one must not lose sight of it internally as Europe prepares for another political advance.■

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## SYMPOSIUM ON CYPRUS' ACCESSION TO THE EU AND THE DAY AFTER

An international symposium on **"Cyprus Accession to the EU and the Day After"**, organized in collaboration with the European Movement – Cyprus Council, took place on Thursday and Friday, 20-21 May in Nicosia. Significant presentations



were by from top academics, researchers and diplomats including Britain's High Commissioner in Cyprus Mr. Lynn Parker, the Russian Ambassador to Cyprus Mr. Andrey A. Nesterenko, Dr. Fiona Hill, Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies Program at The Brookings Institution, USA, Mr. Ozdemir Ozgür, President of the Ihsan Ali Foundation, the Rector of Intercollege,

Professor Van Coufoudakis, Mr. Costas Ifantis, Associate Professor of International Relations at Athens University, Mr. Farid Mirbagheri, Associate Professor of International Relations, Intercollege, and Professor Andreas Theophanous, Director General of the Research and Development Center – Intercollege.■



# EUROPEAN PROGRAM FOR THE TRAINING OF YOUNG FARMERS

Coordinated by the Research and Development Center – Intercollege

Work has started in the framework of the European research program “Educational Tool for Young Farmers in Candidate Countries” (YOUTH-FARM). The Contract of Agreement for the implementation of the program was signed on November 14<sup>th</sup> 2003 between the Research and Development Center – Intercollege and the Cyprus Productivity Center, the Cyprus Administrator for the European Program Leonardo Da Vinci. On behalf of the Research and Development Center – Intercollege, the Contract was signed by the Director General, Professor Andreas Theophanous, and on behalf of the Productivity Center by Mrs. Maria Pieridou. The duration of the research program is 2 years and the network that will implement it consists of 10 partners from 7 countries, coordi-

nated by the Unit for Environmental Studies of the Research and Development Center – Intercollege.

The program aims at promoting competitiveness in the agricultural field and of the business spirit of young farmers in the countries under accession to the EU. In this way, the strengthening of the economic activity is anticipated as well as the increase of occupation in the agricultural areas of these countries. The aforementioned aims will be achieved through setting up an educational package providing knowledge and information to young farmers in issues that, in spite of the important role they play in the survival and the modernization of agriculture, have not been studied in the past under such a holistic spectrum. These issues are: a) The European Union and the Common Agricultural Policy, b) the En-

vironment and Agriculture, c) Professional Security and Health in Agriculture, d) Quality and Safety in Food Production, and e) Supplementary Financial Activities in the Agricultural Area.

The educational package, that will include material for each of the 5 subjects that are mentioned above in the form of textbooks, leaflets and posters, as well as of a CD-ROM and will be translated in 6 languages (Greek, English, Italian, Czech, Polish and Slovenian). The terminology will be simple and understandable, while visual aids will also be used so as to make the information of the package more easily assimilated.

Apart from the Research and Development Center – Intercollege, the rest of the partners comprising the research network are:

1. Agricultural Federa-

tion of Ammochostos, Cyprus.

2. Czech University of Agriculture in Prague, Department of Education, the Czech Republic.
3. Italian Agricultural Confederation, Italy.
4. Biopolitics International Organization, Greece.
5. University of the Aegean, Environmental Department, Greece.
6. Technological Educational Institute of Kalamata, School of Agricultural Technology.
7. Institute for Buildings, mechanization and Electrification of Agriculture – Poznan Branch, Poland.
8. Institute for Sustainable Development, Slovenia.
9. UMIST – Advanced Research Partnership, Great Britain.

The overall budget for the implementation of the program amounts to the sum of 470.000 Euros with a 70% financing by the EU ■

## RESEARCH IN THE FIELDS OF ECONOMY AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Two Contracts for Project Implementation were signed on 15 June 2004 between the Research and Development Center – Intercollege and the Research Promotion Foundation in Cyprus, for two new research programs, which the Center is undertaking.

The Scientific Director of the first program entitled “Accession to the Euro-zone and the Reunification of the Cyprus Economy” is Professor Andreas Theophanous. This program has two basic aims: (a) to promote the incorporation of the Cypriot economy in the broader European economic activities and (b) to advance the reduction in the inequality of income as well as other forms of distortions in

Cyprus within the framework of achieving a solution to the Cyprus problem.

The second project entitled “Promotion of Principles of Industrial Ecology through Research, Development and Pilot Application of Industrial Coexistence Models in Cyprus”. Dr. Costas Papastavros is the Scientific Director of the second program. This project aims at introducing and promoting the principles of industrial ecology in Cypriot environmental policies and industry.

Each of these new projects, whose implementation begins in June 2004, has an 18-month duration. ■