



ORIGINAL PAPER

Cyprus Dispute

Tudor Urea*

Abstract:

Cyprus is an island state located in the Mediterranean basin at an equal distance of the shores of Europe, Africa and Asia. Due to this economic and geographical location, the country served as the object of the dispute between the great empires of ancient times. Over time, the island of Cyprus came under the control of different peoples; from Egyptians to Byzantines in the Ancient period, from Arabs to Crusaders on the Middle Ages, from the Ottoman Empire to the Great Britain on the Modern period. The process of decolonization started in Cyprus after the Second World War. In this context the Greeks which are majority voiced the wish their union with Greece ("Enosis"), in time what the Turkish minority claimed the split of the island according to the ethnic principle. The Turkish minority aimed to join to Turkey the Turkish side of the Cyprus. The United Nations operated in Cyprus on 1964 to prevent battles between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriots. Following the escalation of the Turkish military aggression on 1974, the Security Council mandated UN's troops to oversee the ceasefire, the buffer zone for humanitarian missions, and support the UN Secretary-General's mission in the area. In 2004 the Republic of Cyprus is accepted by the European Union as a Member State. At the time when it was decided that Cyprus could join the European Union, it was assumed that the new Member State would be considered in its entirety as a confederation. After several Union Nations mediated talks that did not lead to any result, the application for membership in the Republic of Cyprus appeared as an opportunity that should not have been missed. Integration of Cyprus into European Union structures would become the best way to find a solution.

Keywords: *Cyprus, ethnic, minority, confederation, integration*

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Cyprus is an island state located in the Mediterranean basin at an equal distance of the shores of Europe, Africa and Asia. Due to this economic and geographical location, the country served as the object of the dispute between the great empires of ancient times. Over time, the island of Cyprus came under the control of different peoples; from Egyptians to Byzantines in the ancient period, from Arabs to Crusaders on the Middle Ages, from the Ottoman Empire to Great Britain on the modern period. (Drevet, 2011: 137-139).

By the ninth century BC the island was Greek speaking. Since ancient times, the island has been harvested and colonized by the Phoenicians and to a lesser degree by the Phoenicians. These conquests a few centuries later must also have affected to some extent the ethnic make-up of the population. Cyprus came under Roman rule in 58 BC. Later island formed part of the East Roman Empire and the Greek Cypriots were called "Rum" by the Turks. Under the Roman domination, the Cypriots became Christians, and for many centuries the Greek language was spoken in the Church and in the state. The Roman Catholic Lusignan dynasty of French lineage ruled the island for 300 years since 1192. For a short time the island came under the Genoese and then under the Venetians. Apart from the Greeks, which are the majority, there is also a substantial Turkish minority (about 18%). In 1571, Cyprus was conquest by the Ottoman Empire (Acheson, 1965: 350). After the Ottoman victory they established their hold by colonizing the island. Clement Dodd in his book "The History and Politics of the Cyprus Conflict" resumed that: "Turks were sent from Anatolia, care being taken the relevant skills and trades were included. Estimates vary as to their number, but it seems that they were around 20,000. To these must be added those members of the Ottoman soldiery who stayed on in the island. By 1640 the population probably numbered 120 – 140,000, with the Turks constituting about quarter of the island's population" (Dodd, 2010: 1). The Turks are shown to be totally tolerant of the local population, but after the riot of the Eterists they retaliated against the Greeks. In this case, thousands of Cypriots converted in Muslim religion, in an attempt to save them self. To balance the population the Ottoman central authorities sent numerous colonists from Anatolia. These colonists formed small and compact communities which were equally distributed throughout of the island.

The situation remained unchanged until the end of the 19th century, when the Ottoman Empire was already in decline. The first part of the nineteenth century was thus summarized by Clement Dodd, who said: "During the early part of the nineteenth century Ottoman rule was generally corrupt and inefficient. Governors were changed frequently and sought to satisfy their own and the Sultan's financial needs at the often ruinous expense of the populace, Greek and Turkish Cypriot alike" (Dodd, 2010: 2). The presence of Russia on the banks of the Bosphorus after the Crimean War was followed by concerted efforts by Western Europe countries to save the Turkey. For the "unselfish" help Great Britain will take the administration of Cyprus. The Ottomans maintain their formal sovereignty over the island, which they lost on 1914. In this year Cyprus was annexed to the British Empire. The British governance has maintained the inter-ethnic tensions in order to domination Cyprus, because this colony has become for them a geo-strategic point, in the overseen the access routes toward the Suez Canal.

During British rule (1878–1960), the government and education were administered along ethnic lines, accentuating the linguistic, religious, cultural, and ethnic differences and ignored traditional ties between the two Cypriot communities. Iliia Xypolia in the paper "Cypriot Muslims among Ottomans, Turks and Two World Wars"

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she thinks that: “Cyprus experienced imperialism under British colonial rule which started in 1878 and ended in 1960. Greek and Turkish nationalism developed at different historical periods and at different paces. Greek nationalism started at the beginning of the 19th century before the advent of British Colonialism while Turkish nationalism started to develop in the Ottoman Empire at the end of 19th century and was made fully real with the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. Relations between Turkish Cypriots and the British on the one hand, and Greek Cypriots and the British on the other, were asymmetrical. During the colonial era in Cyprus, the Muslim community had undergone an enormous change in terms of national/ethnic identity and class characteristics. Turkish Cypriot nationalism developed belatedly as a militant nationalist and anti-Enosis movement in the 1950s” (Xypolia, 2011: 110-111). More, the two communities - the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots were encouraged to view themselves as extensions of their motherlands, and that developed two distinct nationalities with antagonistic loyalties.

With the independence of Greece in 1821 the unification of the island with the “motherland”, Greece became more and more important for the Greek Cypriot scholars. This concept, called “enosis”, will play a dominant role during the Cyprus dispute in the twentieth century.

Following its defeat in World War I, the Ottoman Empire was faced with the Greco-Turkish War (1919–1922). Turkish forces were under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, in 1923, proclaimed the new Republic of Turkey and renounced irredentist claims to former Ottoman territories beyond the Anatolian heartland. In this situation Muslims in Cyprus were thus excluded from the nation-building project. The reports of atrocities committed by the Greeks against the Turkish populations in Anatolia, and the Greek Occupation of Smyrna had result approximately 30,000 the Turkish Cypriots who migrated to Turkey. The Muslim Cypriots who remained on the island gradually embraced the ideology of Turkish nationalism due to the impact of the Kemalist Revolution. Mete Hatay in his paper “Politics, Society and the Decline of Islam in Cyprus: From the Ottoman Era to the Twenty-First Century” thinks that many of those Cypriots who until then had still identified themselves primarily as Muslims began now to see themselves principally as Turks in Cyprus (Hatay, Altay, 2009: 911-933).

In 1925 Cyprus became a crown colony, and the high commissioner, became governor. The new status had got Greek Cypriots to agitate for “enosis”. During the Second World War, Britain made no move to restore the constitution that it was revoked in 1931, to provide a new one, or to guarantee any civil liberties. In 1941 the governor guarantee the permission for the formation of political parties and political meetings were accepted. Cypriot communists founded the Progressive Party of Working People (Anorthotikon Komma Ergazomenou Laou - AKEL) as the successor of a communist party prior established in 1920 and banned in 1930. Some Orthodox clergy and middle class traders were alarmed by the apparition of the Progressive Party of Workers (Anorthotikon Komma Ergazomenou Laou - AKEL). Thus, the Panagrarian Union of Cyprus (Panagrotiki Enosis Kyprou - PEK) opposed of the Progressive Party of Workers (Anorthotikon Komma Ergazomenou Laou - AKEL). The Panagrarian Union of Cyprus (Panagrotiki Enosis Kyprou - PEK) was a federation of nationalists supported by the Orthodox Church and by the “enosis” adepts. In the municipal elections of 1943, the Progressive Party of Workers (Anorthotikon Komma Ergazomenou Laou – AKEL) gained control of the important cities of Famagusta and Limassol. Both communists and

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conservative groups advocated enosis. In 1946, a coalition of the Progressive Party of Workers (Anorthotikon Komma Ergazomenou Laou – AKEL) and the Pan - Cyprian Federation of Labor (Pankypria Ergatiki Omospondia - PEO) was victorious in the municipal elections, adding Nicosia to the list of cities having communist mayors.

After the Second World War, the process of decolonization is triggered, and Cyprus was also touching by this process. In late 1946, the British government announced plans to liberalize the colonial administration of Cyprus and to invite Cypriots to form a Consultative Assembly for the purpose of discussing a new constitution. Instead of rejoicing, as expected by the British, the Greek Cypriots reacted bad, because there had been no mention of enosis. In 1947 the fiery bishop of Kyrenia was elected archbishop. As Makarios II, the new archbishop continued to oppose British policy in general, and any policy in particular that did not actively promote “enosis”. In the political climate of the immediate post Second World War era, the proposals of the British did not come near the idea of “enosis” of the Greek Cypriots. Having observed this upsurge in popularity of the enosis idea, the Progressive Party of Workers (Anorthotikon Komma Ergazomenou Laou – AKEL) became a supporter of “enosis”. The Church of Cyprus solidified its control over the Greek Cypriots, intensified its activities for “enosis” and, after the rise of the Progressive Party of Workers (Anorthotikon Komma Ergazomenou Laou – AKEL), opposed communism. In June Archbishop Makarios II died, and in October the bishop of Kition was elected to succeed him. He took office as Makarios III and, at his inauguration, he pledged not to rest until union with “Mother Greece” had been achieved.

The majority of Greeks voiced their union with Greece ("Enosis"), and the Turkish minority demanded the division of the island according to the ethnic principle, so that the Turkish side would then be joined to Turkey (Acheson, 1965: 357).

By the political scene rise the Colonel George Grivas but, he is support an armed struggle to achieve enosis. Grivas was devoted to enosis cause. Grivas toured Cyprus in July 1951. He discussed his ideas with Makarios III but was disappointed by the archbishop's reservations about the effectiveness of a guerrilla uprising. Makarios III preferred to continue diplomatic efforts, particularly efforts to get the United Nations involved.

In August 1954, Greece formally called for self-determination for the people of Cyprus to be included on the agenda of the next United Nations session. The British position continued to be that the subject was an internal problem. Turkey rejected the idea of uniting Cyprus and Greece. The Turkish Cypriot community has consistently opposed Greek Cypriot movement, but has generally abstained from direct action since under the British leadership the status and identity of Turkish minorities have been protected. The Cyprus Turkish Minority Association believe that with the British withdrawal, control over Cyprus should simply return to Turkey, even than Turkey renounced all the rights and claims of the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne. After 1954 the Turkish government had become increasingly involved as the Cyprus problem became an international issue. On the island, an underground political organization known as Volkan (volcano) was formed. The Turkish Resistance Organization (Türk Mukavemet Teskilâti - TMT), a guerrilla group that fought for Turkish Cypriot interests was established in 1957 by Volkan. In Greece, pro-enosis demonstrations became common place in Athens.

The Greeks launched a guerrilla movement in 1954, under Colonel Grivas, directed against British colonists and Turkish separatists. At the end of 1954 the United

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Nations General Assembly, after consideration of the Cyprus item placed on the agenda by Greece, adopted a New Zealand proposal that announced the decision "not to consider the problem further for the time being, because it does not appear appropriate to adopt any solution on the question of Cyprus." Greek Cypriot leaders called a general strike to demonstrate in the streets. Makarios III and Grivas agreed that their group needed a name and suggested that it be called the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston - EOKA). In 1955, the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston – EOKA) opened a campaign of violence against British rule. In Nicosia the radio station was blown up. The four year revolutionary struggle was launched.

In December 1958 led to discussions of the Cyprus problem between representatives of Greece and Turkey. For the first time the both country discussed the concept of an independent Cyprus, i.e., neither enosis nor partition. This new approach was stimulated by the understanding that Makarios III was willing to discuss independence. In Zurich in February 1959 the talks between the foreign ministers of Greece and Turkey yielded a compromise agreement supporting independence. Thus were laid the foundations of the Republic of Cyprus. The Zurich-London agreements which were ratified at the London Conference became the basis for the Cyprus constitution of 1960. These documents were: the Treaty of Establishment, the Treaty of Guarantee, and the Treaty of Alliance. "The general tone of the agreements was one of compromise. Greek Cypriots, especially members of organizations such as EOKA, expressed disappointment because enosis had not been attained. Turkish Cypriots, however, welcomed the agreements and set aside their earlier defensive demand for partition" (Solsten, 1991: 31)

In 1959, the London Agreement, which puts under British sovereignty the military bases of Akrotiri and Dhekelia (about 3% of the country's territory), Turkey, Greece and Great Britain, became the guaranteed powers of the Cypriot state that proclaimed its independence year.

According to constitutional arrangements, Cyprus was to become an independent republic with a Greek Cypriot president and a Turkish Cypriot vice-president. The Treaty of Alliance gave Greece and Turkey the rights to station military forces on the island. These forces were to be separate from Cypriot national forces. Makarios III was elected president, despite opposition from right-wing elements who claimed that he had betrayed enosis and from AKEL members who objected to the British bases and the stationing of Greek and Turkish troops on the island. On the same day, Fazil Küçük, leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, was elected vice president without opposition. The first general election for the House of Representatives took place on July 31, 1960. The constitution became effective August 16, 1960, on the day Cyprus formally became a republic. The new republic became a member of the United Nations, and in 1961 it was admitted to membership in the Commonwealth. In December 1961, Cyprus became a member of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

Unfortunately independence did not ensure peace. Serious problems concerning the working and interpretation of the constitutional system appeared immediately. Underground organizations of both communities revived during 1961 and 1962. The National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston – EOKA) and the Turkish Resistance Organization (Türk Mukavemet Teskilâti - TMT) began training again for fight.

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Bloody inter-ethnic conflicts took place between 1963 and 1964. Turkey and Greece immediately intervened in the conflict, and the United Nations sent peacekeeping forces to Cyprus. During this period, in Greece, the dictatorial regime of “black colonels” was established, which, in order to maintain power, decided to use the Cypriot stake. In 1974, a part of the Greek-Cypriot national guard, with the declared support of Athens, committed a coup d'état, removing the constitutional president Makarios from power, and proclaimed the Enosis.

Turkey answers fast and sent forty thousand troops to the north of the island. Over two thousand ethnic Greeks come to southern Cyprus. It is the first ethnic purification in Europe after the Second World War. The country and its capital, Nicosia, were divided into two parts. Turkish Cypriots self-proclaimed a federal state in northern Cyprus, and in 1983 they declared independent, under the leadership of Rauf Denkta.

The self-proclaimed Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) is not recognized in the international arena only by Ankara, which has decided on this occasion to solve certain social problems. In order to escape the agricultural overpopulation inside Anatolia, Turkey repeated the sultans' practice and directed thousands of poor people from this region in Northern Cyprus. The Greek part of the island recovered very quickly after the shock of the civil war. The rhythms of the growth of the national economy surpass any expectations. The country has become a true touristy and investment hub for Western Europe, with the Greek Cypriot government adopting the strategic line of accession to the European Union with the support of Greece that was already part of this organization. The Republic of Cyprus has repeatedly attempted to resolve the dispute with the Turkish Cyprus part by negotiation, but all the attempts have failed. With the Turkish side not accepting any proposal outside the island's confederation, as the maximum that the Greek community agreed to go to was the federation.

The United Nations operated in Cyprus (Operation UNFICYP) on 1964 to prevent battles between Greek Cypriot communities and Turkish Cypriots. Following the escalation of the Turkish military aggression on 1974, the Security Council mandated United Nation's troops to oversee the ceasefire, the buffer zone for humanitarian missions, and support the United Nations Secretary-General's mission in the area. The mission now has about 1,000 people.

“The events of 1974 dramatically altered the internal balance of power between the two Cypriot communities and coupled their prevailing political and institutional separation with stark physical and geographical separation. In a grim historical echo of the widely praised 1930 Greek-Turkish exchange-of-population agreements, roughly a third of each community, displaced by the war, was transferred to the side of the island that its community controlled. As a consequence, in 1990 nearly a third of the people of Cyprus lived outside their birth places or places of residence in 1974”(Solsten, 1991: 171).

Five serious attempts to bring the conflict to an end took place between 1978 and 2004. These attempts were mainly sponsored by the United Nations, which invested much time and effort in trying to bridge the diverging positions of the two communities on a wide array of issues. The first plan was the 1978 “ABC plan”, named after the three countries – America, Britain and Canada – that formulated the 12-point plan. This was the first comprehensive attempt after 1974 to set a general framework for a solution, and provided for the creation of a federal state within which every community would administer its own constituent region. The next attempt was made by the then United

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Nations Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, who submitted a Draft Framework Agreement in 1986. It contained arrangements similar to the 'ABC' plan for the structure of the federal state and afforded a separate veto power to the president and vice-president on all matters. This initiative was rejected by the Republic of Cyprus Government, but was accepted by the Turkish Cypriot side. De Cuellar then submitted a new plan in 1989, this time named 'Set of Ideas'. Much of the 1986 attempt was repeated, with some amendment. The two regions were solely referred to as 'states'; in the northern part of the island, Turkish Cypriots would constitute the majority of the population and most land would be owned by Turkish Cypriots, and in the south, Greek Cypriots would constitute the majority of the population and own most land. Veto power was granted only for matters of defense, security, foreign affairs, taxation, citizenship and budget. This time, the proposal was accepted by the government of the Republic of Cyprus as a basis for negotiations, but rejected by the Turkish Cypriot side. The successor United Nations Secretary-General, Boutros-Boutros Ghali, submitted his own "Set of Ideas" for an overall framework agreement in 1992. Political equality of the two communities remained a key component. Along with the set of ideas came a map which included specific territorial adjustments through concessions made to the Greek Cypriot side. The talks were initiated, but soon came to an end, especially owed to the Turkish Cypriot side, but voices of refusal were also within the Greek Cypriot political membership.

"Between 1974 and 2002, there were numerous, unsuccessful rounds of U.N.-sponsored direct and indirect negotiations to achieve a settlement. Negotiations focused on reconciling the two sides' interests and reestablishing a central government. They foundered on definitions of goals and ways to implement a federal solution. Turkish Cypriots emphasized bi-zonal and the political equality of the two communities, preferring two nearly autonomous societies with limited contact. Greek Cypriots emphasized the freedoms of movement, property, and settlement throughout the island. The two parties also differed on the means of achieving a federation: Greek Cypriots wanted their internationally recognized national government to devolve power to the Turkish Cypriots, who would then rejoin a Cypriot republic. For the Turkish Cypriots, two entities would join, for the first time, in a new federation. These differences in views also affected the resolution of issues such as property claims, citizenship of mainland Turks who had settled on the island, and other legal issues. These differences in views continue to plague the negotiations today" (Congressional Research Service, 2019: 2).

In 2002, the first of five versions of the Annan Plan was submitted to the two sides. From November 2002 until April 2004, negotiations on the plan were held and resulted in the fifth and final version, which was submitted to separate referenda to the two sides. In the meantime, restrictions on freedom of movement within the island were partially lifted in April 2003, meaning that people from both geographical areas could cross over to the other side. The Annan Plan was the only instance where the populations of Cyprus were given the opportunity to express an opinion on a proposed solution. The Plan was rejected by 76 per cent on the Greek Cypriot side, whereas the Turkish Cypriot side voted "Yes" by 65 per cent. In contrast to previous plans, the Annan Plan included very detailed arrangements as to how the settlement would work. A federal state would be set up, with a single sovereignty and international personality, while the constituent states would enjoy considerable autonomy on a wide range of matters. The resolution of the property issue was based on a complex and multi-layered system, and assumed that a number of Turkish migrants would remain on the island. Turkish troops would steadily

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leave, while the majority of Greek Cypriot displaced persons would return to their homes under territory that would be returned to Greek Cypriot administration. The current round of negotiations was initiated on 3 September 2008. The first thematic area of the negotiations was governance and power-sharing (presidency and vice-presidency, structure of the federal government, legislature and other institutions). At the beginning of 2009, the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General in Cyprus stated that the two sides had reached “full agreement on the issue of harmonization and cooperation between the federal government and the constituent states or federal units (Kyriakou and Kaya, 2011: 21).

The first round of talks was concluded on 6 August 2009. During these discussions other thematic areas included the property issue, European matters and the economy. The next round, begun on 10 September 2009, went on to cover procedural matters of the negotiations and issues of citizenship, immigration and asylum the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot leaders intensified negotiations. The intense discussions took place in January 2010. On January 31, 2010, the United Nations leader visited Cyprus to manifest his support for the process of negotiation.

In April 2010, Mehmet Ali Talat was voted out and Derviş Eroğlu, a right-wing politician, came to power in the northern part of Cyprus. Talks resumed in May 2010 and meetings were held in June and July. In the last of those meetings, President Christofias submitted a package of proposals which included the linkage of the discussion of the property issue with the chapter on territorial adjustments and the chapter on immigration, nationality, aliens and asylum; the return of the fenced city of Famagusta to the United Nations; and, upon reaching agreement on a range of internal issues, an international summit, to be organized by the United Nations (Kyriakou, Kaya, 2011: 21).

The Turkish Cypriot side rejected this package, but talks continued throughout August. During September, further full-day talks were held between the two leaders. The UN Secretary-General met the two leaders in New York on 18 November 2010 and in Geneva on 26 January 2011 (Kyriakou, Kaya, 2011: 21). As the political situation currently stands, it is impossible to make any prediction for the final outcome of the process of negotiations.

The Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders resumed negotiations in Geneva in early 2017 under the aegis of the United Nations as a historic chance to reunify the Mediterranean island, divided over 40 years, but the outcome remains uncertain. Although discussions have continued to be debated, both sides still display deep divergences on the fundamental issues that need to be resolved to put an end to one of the world's oldest conflicts: territorial and security, property restitution. “At the close of 2018, unification talks intended to end the division of Cyprus after 54 years as a politically separated nation and 44 years as a physically divided country remain suspended. The stalemate began in July 2017, when talks held at Crans Montana, Switzerland, between Republic of Cyprus President Nicos Anastasiades and Turkish Cypriot leader Mustafa Akinci collapsed. The talks again felled victim to the harsh realities of five decades of separation and both sides’ inability to make the necessary concessions to reach a final settlement. As a result, the long-sought bi-zonal, bi-communal, federal solution for the island remains elusive” (Congressional Research Service, 2018: i). Resumption of talks between the leaders of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot have been disturb by controversies over a new set of provocations, the exploitation of hydrocarbons near Cyprus’s territorial waters being one of them.

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In 2004 the Republic of Cyprus is accepted by the European Union as a Member State. At the time when it was decided that Cyprus could join the European Union, it was assumed that the new Member State would be considered in its entirety as a confederation. This is because, at the same time, a referendum on the possible reunification of the Cypriot state took place on the island the solution proposed by the European Forces envisaged the creation of a Greek-Turkish confederation. After several Union Nations-mediated talks that did not lead to any result, the application for membership in the Republic of Cyprus appeared as an opportunity that should not have been missed. Integration of Cyprus into European Union structures would become the best way to find a solution. The idea was not formulated by the European Union's intention to engage in mediating the conflict, because the European Union has never had such an action. Two types of arguments have been put to this idea. Firstly, the accession process of the Republic of Cyprus would exert pressure on Turkey and Turkish Cypriots to take a more constructive stance in European Union -mediated negotiations. This time, however, the Greeks voted against. The authorities in the southern part of the island, under the administration of the Greek Cypriots, refusing the reunification plan proposed by the European Union, will later use the right veto to postpone or even block the start of Turkey's accession talks. The northern part of Cyprus has a peculiar status with regard to the European Union. Even as it de facto comes closer to Turkey, it remains de jure part of the EU.

The Cyprus conflict dates back more than sixty years. The Republic of Cyprus only existed for a few years as a functioning state shared by two communities after it achieved independence from Great Britain in 1960. Greece's and Turkey's involvement in Cyprus will continue. Even than the both countries battle several internal issues. Greece has passed by an economic crisis for several years, and Turkey has involved in the Syrian conflict and also the internal politics have drawn a lot of negative attention from the international community. Surely the two Cypriot communities will be alone capable of deciding their destiny. Far from the geostrategic interests of the two mother countries - Greece and Turkey - may be under the umbrella of the European Union.

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Article Info

Received: April 10 2019

Accepted: December 08 2019
