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## The Fifth Wave: Turkish Cypriots and Emergence of New ‘Nation-States’ in the Post-9/11 Era<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

The end of the 1980s and the early 1990s brought about dramatic transformations that shook the whole world radically just before we enter the twenty-first century. The emergence of almost two dozen new nation states from the remnants of the former Soviet Union and the Balkans (i.e., former Yugoslavia) together with the sudden eruptions of several ethnic conflicts within these new states and elsewhere in the world, pushed forward the discussion of the troubled concepts, such as *sovereignty* and *self-determination*, as well as other related concepts such as *people*, *nation*, *peace-building*, *state-building*, that are organically linked to the concept of *nation state*.

In an earlier article, Sözen (2002) suggested that there were four waves of emergence of nation states: 1) 1789–1914, 2) 1914–1945, 3) 1945–1989, and 4) 1990s:

- **First Wave** – The time between the French Revolution (1789) and World War I where nation states emerged due to the influence of the ideas of the French Revolution;
- **Second Wave** – The period between World War I and World War II where the history witnessed the disintegration of the defeated European empires into new nation states;
- **Third Wave** – During the Cold War era, more precisely between the end of World War II and the late 1980s. It was the anti-colonial movement that led to the emergence of new nation states;
- **Fourth Wave** – Post-Cold War era witnessed the disintegration of the Socialist bloc and the emergence of new nation states in central Asia and the Balkans.

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The main emphasis of this paper will be on what I term as the *Fifth Wave*. It is the post-9/11 (or consequently the post-Kosovo) era and this wave is still alive. In this paper, I will focus on such concepts as nation state, consociational democracy, federation in order to bring out the main characteristics of the *Fifth Wave*. Here, special emphasis will be put on the current Cyprus issue which entered into a very critical period. How the perception of the Turkish Cypriots on self-determination changed from the one they had in the Annan plan will be critically analyzed based on the poll results conducted in 2009 and 2010 by the Interpeace Cyprus project – known as Cyprus 2015 Initiative.

## The Waves

### FIRST WAVE: From the Era of Liberalism to Realpolitik (1789–1914)

Universalism and individual rights which were the inspirations of the French Revolution were transformed into the absolute sovereignty of the (French) nation state. Moreover, the Napoleonic Wars paved the way to a centralized nation state by the introduction of a “unified system of law, bureaucracy and education”<sup>2</sup>.

Other Europeans were heavily influenced by Napoleon. The idea of nation state was extensively yearned for especially by nationalistic youth of those nations who lacked a political statehood<sup>3</sup>. Mazzini “called upon the youth and the people to sacrifice everything to the attainment of a united, centralized, strong nation state”<sup>4</sup>. So, the years before 1848 saw the emergence of many nationalist movements, such as Ukrainian, Greek, Serbian, Irish, Young Turkish nationalist movements. This phase is what-I-called the “First Wave” of the emergence of nation states.

Most of the time the idea behind those nationalist movements was liberal humanitarianism. The people in those nationalist movements were

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<sup>2</sup> H. Kohn, *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History*, Van Nostrand, New York 1982, p. 28–29.

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem, p. 40–43.

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem, p. 41. Mazzini founded a movement which was called “Giovine Italia” (Young Italy). He inspired similar movements among the German and Polish emigres and tried to constitute them into an association of “Young Europe”.

challenging the oppressive imperial regimes and they were trying to replace such regimes with a *nation state* where they would have individual liberty and constitutional guarantees. However, the “second signal” that came from France is the declaration of the Second French Republic (1848): “The new nationalism stressed collective power and utility above individual liberty. It tended to mean independence from outside rather than freedom within”<sup>5</sup>.

From then on, the new nationalism “entered the age of what has become known ... *Machtpolitik* and *Realpolitik*, a policy based on power and self-interest, and not on humanitarian declaration”<sup>6</sup>. The following decades until 1919 saw the struggle for national independence of many nations of Europe (both the Western and the Central Europe) and the Balkans, who were without a national ‘statehood’.

#### SECOND WAVE: Inter-War Years (1914–1945)

The result of WW I brought about the emergence of 26<sup>7</sup> new states in Europe (Central and Central Eastern Europe). This “Second Wave” of the emergence of nation states had resulted in the enlargement of the nation states formed in the nineteenth century, in terms of population and territory. This was the idea behind Mazzini’s assumption that the evolution of nation states is a healthy historical evolution: individuals, first, form the family, followed by tribe, nation and eventually a global formation – leading to World peace. Wilson’s idealism was very much influenced by Mazzini’s assumption. A collective security of the member states of the League of Nations could be attained by granting the right of *self-determination* to the ‘peoples’ or ‘nations’ without a statehood was the idea behind Wilson’s idealism. However, in practice, the concept of self-determination was never properly and wholly applied to the nations or peoples living in the territories of the dominant powers.

Although, plebiscites were held to decide which *nation* would govern itself, the Western European powers gave only limited support to the principle of self-determination. Instead, the victors of WW I tried to “match

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<sup>5</sup> Ibidem, p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> Ibidem, p. 53.

<sup>7</sup> The number is 27 with the Irish Free State. See E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK 1990, p. 31–32.

the territories with existing nationalities ... [i.e.,] groups that were already exerting control over definite areas. While recognizing certain rights for national minorities, it was only to a recognized national majority that a right to self-determination was extended. The use of the plebiscites determined which nationality was in majority”<sup>8</sup>. Self-determination was, then, based on “nationality” whose components were negotiable during the peace conferences after WW I. For example, the German territories were given to other states by the victors of WW I without consulting the population on the given territories (by means of plebiscites, i.e., using the principle of self-determination).

By and large, “minority treaties dominated state practices”<sup>9</sup> in the peace conferences after WW I. The treaties were imposed on the states which emerged, for example, on the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. Sevres (1920) and Lausanne (1923) treaties also included some provisions that govern minority rights on the former Ottoman Empire. However, due to the lack of an effective international community (or the ineffectiveness of the League of Nations) and the non-binding nature of the international law, most of the minorities were abandoned to the mercy of the ruthless oppressors, as in the case of the Balkans<sup>10</sup>.

In addition, the Versailles peace settlement put together peoples who had been “animated by deep mutual antagonisms”<sup>11</sup> in a single state, such as the Croats and the Serbs in Yugoslavia, and the Czechs and Slovaks in Czechoslovakia.

In short, the idea that dominated the moves of the glorious alliance of the Western powers during the peace settlement after WW I was put forth by Gidon Gotlieb:

“The cold logic of the balance of power prevailed, and geopolitical considerations received priority over the claims of small nation for independence. The synthetic states of Yugoslavia and of Czechoslovakia were created without much regard for the aspirations of the nations that were forced into them”<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> Y. Alexander, R. A. Friedlander, *Self-Determination: National, Regional, and Global Dimensions*, Westview Press, Colorado 1980, p. 87–88.

<sup>9</sup> G. Gotlieb, *Nation Against State*, Council on Foreign Relations, New York 1993, p. 29.

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem, p. 29–30.

<sup>11</sup> Ibidem, p. 25.

<sup>12</sup> Ibidem, p. 29.

Once again, the principle of self-determination was violated<sup>13</sup> as it had been after the French Revolution. In addition, the absolute sovereignty of nation state prevailed over any known moral law – which led to the oppressive and harsh treatment of the minorities by their own states under the shield of national sovereignty<sup>14</sup>.

### THIRD WAVE: The Cold War Era (1945–1989)

We see that the principle of self-determination was misapplied after WW I and it was misunderstood since then. It gave power and legitimacy, for example, to Hitler who, during the 1930s, used the principle of self-determination to satisfy the expansionist aims and territorial ambitions of Germany.

Until the recognition of the UN Charter and post-1945 UN declarations<sup>15</sup>, the right to self-determination was a political, and to a certain extent, a moral concept – but it had “no legal validity within the law of nations”<sup>16</sup>.

The ‘balance of power’ system of the inter-war years was broken by WW II from which emerged, for a brief period, first a unipolar system where the United States was the only dominant power with nuclear capability. However, soon afterwards, in the 1950s, the power started to polarize between the United States and the USSR (i.e., a bipolar system emerged). Then was the time when the new map of the world could be drawn according to this new power structure.

The Wilsonian idealism of the United States to extend the principle of self-determination to all the “people” – although the word “people” was never defined explicitly – was balanced by the power calculations of the USSR, and to a lesser extent by the United Kingdom. However, the war

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<sup>13</sup> “The Allies themselves accepted self-determination only insofar as it applied to the disintegration and dissolution of the German, Austro-Hungarian, Turkish, and former Russian empires. There was no intention of applying the principle to their own colonies and subject people” (Y. Alexander, R. A. Friedlander, *op. cit.*, p. 307).

<sup>14</sup> Hitler treated Jews harshly and caused the extermination of millions of Jews, and he disguised all those crimes under the right of the “sovereignty” of the German State.

<sup>15</sup> A. Cristescu, *Right to Self-Determination*, United Nations Press, New York 1981.

<sup>16</sup> Y. Alexander, R. A. Friedlander, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

weary United Kingdom, by then, had lost her superpower status in the new bipolar power structure.

“The ‘peoples’ viewed as entitled to exercise self-determination no longer were defined in ethnic and cultural terms [as part of them were in the aftermath of WW I]. Instead, they were geographically determined by their presence within a colonial territory”<sup>17</sup>.

Although the principle “respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples”<sup>18</sup>, as it was stated, was introduced by the Soviet Union at the Big Four consultations in San Francisco, the principle was never applied to the “peoples” within the multi-national Soviet Union. The UN also failed to resolve the claims, for example, of the Qubecers, Sikhs, Palestinians<sup>19</sup>, and so forth, during the Cold War era. Once again, the principle of self-determination was violated by the so called international community (i.e., the UN, just like the League of Nations during the inter-war years).

Alexander and Friedlander observe:

“Art. 1, para. 2, of the UN Charter referred to the relations among states. Therefore, ... the term ‘peoples’, in connection with ‘equal rights’ meant states, since only states have ‘equal rights’ according to general, international law. Self-determination of peoples ... meant the sovereignty of the states. The combined principle of equal rights and the self-determination of people meant the sovereign equality of the states”<sup>20</sup>.

Once again, the idea of sovereign nation state prevailed which led to more fueling of nationalist movements and ethnic conflicts, instead of a new alternative for the peaceful co-existence of different ‘peoples’. Of course, the colonial powers, such as the United Kingdom, were trying to postpone the transfer of power to the native people. In that respect, “divide and rule” principle was once more triggered by the British in former colonies, such as India and Cyprus where, later, the nationalist movements went so far as to divide these countries into two or more ‘national’ territories – or so called ‘nation states’.

However, the substance of ‘sovereign nation state,’ or to be more precise, the criteria of forming a sovereign nation state changed radically with

<sup>17</sup> Y. Alexander, R. A. Friedlander, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 83.

<sup>19</sup> G. Gotlieb, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

<sup>20</sup> Y. Alexander, R. A. Friedlander, *op. cit.*, p. 83–84.

the emergence of the new nation states after WW II and during the Cold War era. In that regard, Jackson (1990) observes:

“What has changed is not the empirical conditions of states but the international rules and institutions concerning those conditions. Briefly, the freedom or positive sovereignty of states expressed by the traditional balance of power system has been interfered with and subjected to new normative regulation: weak, marginal, or insubstantial states are now exempted from the power contest at least in part and treated as international protectorates”<sup>21</sup>.

Jackson argues that there existed after WW II, an international society – unlike pre-WW I era – that “has presided over the birth of numerous marginal entities, ... guarantees their survival, and seeks at least to compensate them for underdevelopment if not to develop them into substantial independent countries”<sup>22</sup>.

This “Third Wave” of the emergence of, what-Jackson-called weak, marginal, or insubstantial, nation states after WW II was distinguished from the earlier emergence of nation states and identified as the emergence of “quasi-states” by Jackson. He identifies the quasi-states as having “negative sovereignty” while the non-quasi-states or the existing states before the emergence of the quasi-states, as having “positive sovereignty”. Therefore, negative sovereignty is only a formal legalistic condition that involves the ‘non-intervention’ of the states into the internal affairs of a sovereign state, in this case the non-intervention into the internal affairs of the quasi-states. “This is the central principle of the classical law of nations: the sphere of exclusive legal jurisdiction of states or international *laissez faire*”<sup>23</sup>.

Positive sovereignty, as Jackson argues, is distinguished from negative sovereignty in that it not only includes the formal legal conditions of sovereignty, but also the “capabilities which enable governments to be their own masters: it is a substantive rather than [merely] a formal condition”<sup>24</sup>. Here, Jackson identifies the states having positive sovereignty with the industrialized developed Western states.

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<sup>21</sup> R. H. Jackson, *Quasi-States*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK 1990, p. 23.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, p. 23.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, p. 27.

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem, p. 29.

FORTH WAVE: Post Cold War Era to 9/11 or is it Kosovo?  
(1989–2001?–2008?)

The “Forth Wave” of the emergence of the nation states were brought about by the disintegration of the former Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia.

Diuk and Karatnycky (1993) observe:

“At the center of the collapse of the Soviet Union was the dramatic rise of nationalism. Nationalism and the desire for independence broke the ‘eternal union of fraternal peoples’ into fifteen discrete states. And while there can be no question that many factors contributed to the fall of communism, it was nationalism and its capacity to mobilize broad masses of citizens in behalf of independence that proved the decisive force in the unraveling of totalitarianism”<sup>25</sup>.

The collapse of the Soviet Union began in 1989 by the secession of the Baltic States – Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia<sup>26</sup>, and this was followed in the next few years by the declaration of independence by the other Soviet states. By the end of 1991, there was no Soviet Union anymore, but more than a dozen of sovereign nation states within the territory of the former Soviet Union.

The emergence of the nation states in post Cold War era and in the aftermath of WW I and WW II are quite different. During the aftermath of WW I and WW II, the decisions of who would be a nation state and what territory they would occupy were made by the victors of the two World Wars. However, in the cases of both former Soviet Union and former Yugoslavia, the nationalist movements with their capacity to mobilize huge masses of people played the decisive role. Of course, the policies, such as Glasnost and Perestroika for Soviet nations and the decline of the Soviet sphere of control for Yugoslavia, were important factors that gave different peoples or nations such an opportunity to press for the right of self-determination. The most important point to make here is that the new map of the world in the post Cold War era was not drawn by the superpowers, but predominantly by the indigenous peoples or nations themselves.

The claim for the right of self-determination and the definition of territories of the new nation states in the post Cold War era is similar to the

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<sup>25</sup> N. Diuk, A. Karatnycky, *New Nations Rising*, John Wiley & Sons, New York 1993, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 110.

experiences of the French Revolution period – unlike the intervention of the dominant powers in the aftermath of both WW I and WW II. The really unfortunate issue here, is that the peoples of the new sovereign nation states again fell into the trap just like the French did during the Napoleonic Wars period, and emphasized the absolutism of the sovereignty of the nation state which led to the eruption of many ethnic conflicts within the territories of the new nation states. The ever temptation of homogenizing the people in the territory of the nation states prevailed and the new nation states came to face the same problems just like the previous larger states, such as the empires did during the first half of the twentieth century. This time, smaller ethnic groups such as the Abkhazians in Georgia, Chechens in Russia, Serbs in Bosnia came forth with the same principle of self-determination for a statehood, or more precisely for a sovereign nation state, only this time within the newly formed so called nation states – leading to further fragmentation of the international state system.

Once again, the cold blooded reasoning of nationalism prevailed: i.e., ethnic cleansing by means of extermination (genocide), expulsion (forced migration) from a territory outvoted other alternatives, such as co-existence by means of accommodating humanitarian and identity needs of the different peoples in a state.

#### FIFTH WAVE: Post 9/11 or post-Kosovo Era (2001?–or 2008?–)

The 9/11 and the subsequent US response to it – the Bush Doctrine – through unilateralism and pre-emption, mark a new stage in world politics. The arrogant policies of the most powerful superpower in the world – the US administration, sent shockwaves to the very norms and values of the international system that once the US played the leader role to create. Hence, unilateralism replaced multilateralism where an era of *might makes right* came back to the world state.

The supervised independence and subsequent recognition of Kosovo (so far) by 67 countries is probably the most important development that became a precedent for many unrecognized entities aspiring to become recognized states. In a way, recognition of Kosovo by the US and many European states – precisely 22 out of 27 EU members and 24 out of 28 NATO members, despite the strong opposition from Serbia and Russia, opened up the *Pandora's box*. Russia responded this move by recognizing two highly disputed entities – Abkazia and South Osetia both which broke away from Georgia.

Currently, there are almost a dozen de facto states which operate almost like a normal state but lack international recognition. These non-recognized states are seen by many scholars as a challenge to the existing international system precisely because they operate outside the system's legal framework. Whether a challenge or not, there seem to be two options for these entities:

- 1) Changing their status and including them into the existing international legal system: This can be done in three ways.
  - (i) (The entity is recognized by the international community (probably except the original/parent state and some others who has a strong interest against this);
  - (ii) (The entity enters a consociational (federal/power-sharing) system (or even a formal divorce in return for some concessions – a la Czechoslovakia) with the original/parent state through a negotiated settlement;
  - (iii) (The entity is integrated into the original/parent state by force (even with the help from the international community.
- 2) Maintaining the *status quo*. If the first option is too costly or impossible, then the only option left is to do nothing and let the unrecognized entities exist or rather co-exist with the recognized ones – sort of tolerate them in a constructive ambiguity until the day when their status change somehow or the existing world system transforms to a new paradigm where they are not seen as aberrations.

Where do the Turkish Cypriots or the TRNC (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus) stand in the fifth wave? What are the future scenarios for the TRNC?

### **Secessionist? Do I have a Choice or What?**

The Turkish Cypriot community refused the Greek Cypriot proposed constitutional amendments aimed at reducing it from the founding partner of the Republic of Cyprus (ROC) to a mere minority. As a result, the Turkish Cypriot community was thrown out of the state machinery of the ROC in December 1963 by force. The Greek Cypriot led ROC from then on portrayed the Turkish Cypriot community as rebellious and secessionist. The Greek Cypriots used the *doctrine of necessity* – claiming that the Turkish Cypriots 'left the Republic voluntarily or under pressure from their secessionist leadership' and hence the Greek Cypriots has been ruling the ROC and was seen as the only legitimate and legal authority on the island.

Along the same line thanks to the Greek Cypriot propaganda, Turkey's military operation in 1974 was seen by many as an invasion and occupation of a part of independent state by an aggressor power, rather than a humanitarian intervention to save the Turkish Cypriots – who were thrown away from the state machinery – from total annihilation by the Greek Cypriot militia. Only a very small number of learned observer were aware that Turkey's military operation on 20 July 1974 was a result that was prompted by a coup d'état engineered by the military regime in Greece with the aim of invading the island and uniting it with Greece. There were even less number of observers who knew about the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee and the fact that under the treaty Greece and Turkey, as well as the UK had the right and the responsibility to take any action that would guarantee the security, independence, territorial integrity and the constitutional order of the ROC.

After the 1974 war and the subsequent third party attempts to bring the two sides in Cyprus together, new parameters emerged as the basis for a future solution. According to the 1977 and 1979 High Level Agreements, the two communities agreed at least on paper to negotiate on the basis of a federation that will be bi-zonal with regard to the territorial aspects and bi-communal with regard to the constitutional aspects. Hence, during 1977–2003 the two sides *played the federation game* – that is, the two sides acted like they are negotiating to reach a federal solution. In this game, the Turkish (Cypriot) side by and large was seen in the international community as the intransigent side until 2003: The reality, however, was that neither side was too enthusiastic to compromise. The Greek Cypriot side's first preference was to have a unitary state where the Turkish Cypriots would be a minority, while the Turkish Cypriot leadership preferred to have a two state solution or a confederation of two states. The fact of the matter was that the Greek Cypriot side having the upper hand of being recognized by the international community played a better diplomatic game and camouflaged their true intention behind 'negotiating for a federal solution'.

### **2003, 2004 and 2005: Aberrations from the Normal**

The December 2003 and February 2005 general elections, the 2004 referenda on the UN solution plan (the Annan Plan) and the 2005 presidential election mark a new era in the Turkish Cypriot politics. In both

2003 and in 2005 general elections, pro-solution (pro-federation) and pro-EU parties – mostly on the center to left of the political spectrum, got well over their traditional 1/3 of the voters' support – even reached over 50% of the votes in 2005 (see Table 1 below) – and CTP/BG became the senior coalition partner of the government.

Table 1  
2009, 2005 and 2003 General Election Results in the 50-Seat TRNC Parliament

	Overall 2009		Overall 2005		Overall 2003	
	Vote (%)	Seats	Vote (%)	Seats	Vote (%)	Seats
<b>CTP/BG</b>	<b>29.2</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>44.5</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>35.2</b>	<b>19</b>
UBP	44.1	26	31.7	19	32.9	18
DP	10.7	5	13.5	6	12.9	7
<b>TDP</b>	<b>6.9</b>	<b>2</b>				
ÖRP	6.2	2				
<b>BDH</b>			<b>5.8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>13.2</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>TKP</b>			<b>2.4</b>	<b>0</b>		
HİS	0.5					
<b>BKP</b>	<b>2.4</b>					

**Note:** The TKP fought the 2003 election under the banner of the umbrella party BDH. ÖRP was established in 2006, while TDP was established in 2007 which united the TKP and BDH. Pro-solution left-wing parties are shown in bold.

On 23 April 2004 65% of the Turkish Cypriots voted in favor of the UN solution plan, though 76% of the Greek Cypriots voted “NO” and thus sending the plan down the drain. During the 2005 presidential election in the TRNC, pro-federation Mehmet Ali Talat of CTP/BG became the president with 55.6% of the votes. The 2003 and 2005 elections as well as the 2004 referenda took place, in a way, in an extraordinary situation where the hopes and expectations of the Turkish Cypriots to find a solution to the Cyprus problem, becoming a part of the European Union and integrating with the rest of the world jumped to the roof<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> A. Çarkoğlu, A. Sözen, *The Turkish Cypriot General Elections of December 2003: Setting the Stage for Resolving the Cyprus Conflict?*, “South European Society & Politics” 2004, vol. 9, no. 3, p. 122–136; A. Sözen, *Turkish Cypriot Early General Elections of February 2005: The Rise of CTP/BG*, “South European Society & Politics” 2005, vol. 10, no. 3, p. 465–475.

The result of the 2004 referenda had shocked the UN and the EU in particular and the international community in general. The expectation of the international community was that both disputed parties would have shown genuine political will, adopted a visionary attitude, and acknowledged and respected the equality and the distinct identity of each other. Such a solution in Cyprus would have created a very valuable precedent for the other ongoing conflict situations in the world. However, as of 1 May 2004 the Greek Cypriot dominated Republic of Cyprus became a member of the EU, while the cooperative side – the Turkish Cypriot side – was left outside the EU.

The Greek Cypriot leader, Tassos Papadopoulos, who asked from the Greek Cypriots to give a “resounding NO” to the Annan Plan during the referenda, had been a certified ultra-nationalist who had no intention or motivation to accept a solution based on power sharing with the Turkish Cypriots. Papadopoulos’ intention was to buy time and use the EU membership of his country as leverage in order to get concessions from Turkey who has the aspiration to become an EU member. Hence, Papadopoulos was not in a hurry. He was preaching that he wanted a “functional”, “European” solution and that he was opposed to “suffocating deadlines” and “3rd party interventions/arbitration”. When the international pressure built up to re-start the Cyprus peace talks partly due to the pro-solution stance of the Turkish side, Papadopoulos tried to suffocate the process in working groups and technical committees. The UN, in order to be seen as if it was doing something in Cyprus, went along with Papadopoulos and proposed a new process in Cyprus based on the establishment of working groups to deal with the substantive issues of the Cyprus problem and the establishment of technical committees to deal with daily problems in Cyprus. This is also known as the “8 July Process” (2006) or “Gambari Process”, because on 8 July 2006, the UN Secretary General’s Special Adviser Ibrahim Gambari managed to bring Presidents Talat and Papadopoulos together where they, at least on paper, agreed to establish a number of working groups and a number of technical committees in order to prepare the ground before negotiations on the leadership level. Though Talat’s and Papadopoulos’ advisers met more than two dozen times during 2006 and 2007, they could not even reach a consensus on the number and names of the working groups and technical committees. This was precisely what Tassos Papadopoulos had in mind – slowly suffocating the process. However, both domestically as well as in the international community, Papadopoulos and hence, the Greek Cypriot side was losing

ground and credibility. However, meanwhile the Turkish Cypriots were losing hope on the prospects of a settlement in Cyprus.

Tassos Papadopoulos lost the presidential election in February 2008 where the communist party AKEL's chief Dimitris Christofias became the new Greek Cypriot leader. Christofias immediately started a "damage control" policy whereby he tried to mend the damaged image of the Greek Cypriot side in the international platforms due to Papadopoulos' intransigent and uncompromising policies on the Cyprus issue. Christofias accepted his "comrade" Talat's open invitation and the two met on 21 March 2008 where they decided to ask their respective advisers to set up a number of working groups and technical committees together with their agenda and to use their results three months from then to start full-fledged negotiations under the auspices of the UN Secretary General. In late July 2008 the working groups finalized their work and presented their reports on areas of convergence and divergence of the positions of the two sides to the two leaders. On 3 September 2008, the two leaders started full-fledged negotiations on the six substantive issues on which the working groups had prepared the ground<sup>28</sup>.

Since September 2008, the two leaders had more than 70 meetings where they made significant progress on the governance and power sharing, EU affairs and economic affairs, though lacking serious convergence on the remaining important issues of security and guarantees, territory and property. However, the slow pace of the negotiations decreased the already low expectations of the Turkish Cypriots even further. In a way the 2009 general election and the 2010 presidential election in the TRNC marks the changed wind – back to the normal.

### **2009 and 2010 Elections: The Wind is Changing back to Normal**

Although it is widely accepted that the Cyprus issue had entered a critical year in connection with Turkey's bid to become a member of the European Union, the political parties preferred not to emphasize the Cyprus issue in their campaigns for the 2009 general election, due mostly to the fact that there was nothing tangible in the current peace-negotiations to

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<sup>28</sup> The six working groups were: (1) Governance and Power Sharing; (2) European Union Affairs; (3) Economic Affairs; (4) Territory; (5) Property; and (6) Security and Guarantees.

either champion for or to seriously criticize – unlike the 2003 election where the UN peace plan was the major focus of the election campaign<sup>29</sup>.

2009 marks the sharp drop in the aforementioned hopes and expectations of the Turkish Cypriots, coupled with the poor domestic performance of the CTP/BG coalition governments (2005–2009) that sent the CTP/BG to the opposition and brought the ‘old guard’ UBP to the government – hence, the party politics of the TRNC went back to the ‘normal’.

The question, whether the result of the 2009 election was primarily domestically driven or related to the Cyprus problem, is crucial to understand the politics of the TRNC and hence also to be able to make predictions for the future. Most of the observers are able to see the combination of the two levels here. That is, the Turkish Cypriots who started losing hope on the prospects of finding a solution to the Cyprus problem (and hence losing hope on CTP/BG), found CTP/BG’s domestic performance pretty poor and voted for the UBP, the only strong enough alternative to the CTP/BG.

### **What Does the Voter (Public Opinion) Think?**

According to the “2009 – Cyprus 2015 – Research and Dialogue for a Sustainable Future” survey designed by Cyprus 2015 team (Sözen, Kaymak, Lordos and Christou)<sup>30</sup> it is clear that the Greek Cypriots ideally prefer a unitary state. In case it is not possible, they would accept a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation (see Figure 1). In contrast, Greek Cypriots undeniably reject a two state solution, a confederal solution as well as the continuation of the *status quo* as a solution model. Turkish Cypriots,

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<sup>29</sup> A. Çarkoğlu, A. Sözen, op. cit.

<sup>30</sup> Sample Size: 1,000 Greek Cypriots and 1,000 Turkish Cypriots; Sampling Process: Multi-stage Random Stratified Sampling; Method of Data Collection: Face to Face Interviews with a Structured Questionnaire at Homes of Respondents and in their Native Language; Period of Data Collection: 06th October – 06th November 2009; Field Work: Symmetron Market Research for Greek Cypriots and KADEM Cyprus Social Research for Turkish Cypriots. Ahmet Sözen, Erol Kaymak, Alexandros Lordos and Spyros Christou, “Investigating the Future: An In-depth Study of Public Opinion in Cyprus,” Cyprus 2015: Research and Dialogue for A Sustainable Future (December 2009). For the survey results, [http://www.cyprus2015.org/index.php?option=com\\_phocadownload&view=category&id=1%3Apublic-opinion-poll&Itemid=34&lang=en](http://www.cyprus2015.org/index.php?option=com_phocadownload&view=category&id=1%3Apublic-opinion-poll&Itemid=34&lang=en) (accessed 24 April 2010).

on the other hand, ideally prefer a two state solution (see Figure 2). However, in case it is not possible, they would be prepared to agree on a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation. Other solution models, such as two states or confederation, receive lower levels of support among Turkish Cypriots without being completely rejected.

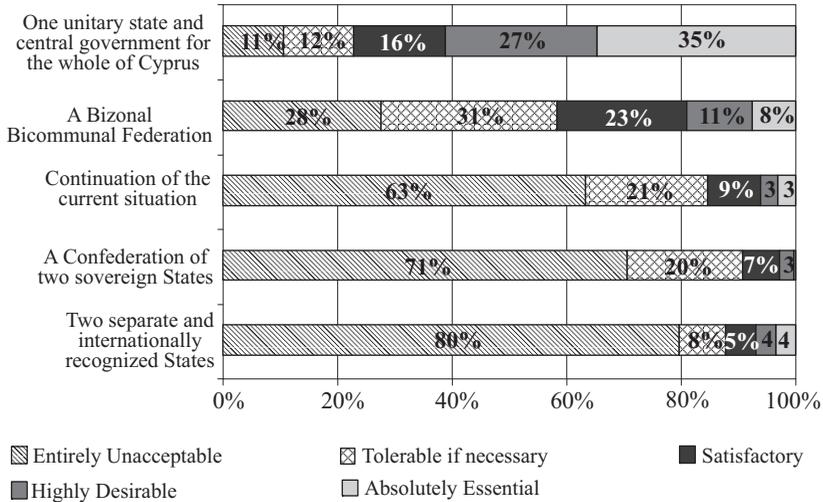


Figure 1. Regarding the overall framework of a Comprehensive Settlement, and considering each of the alternative settlement models presented below, how acceptable or unacceptable, in principle, do you consider each of these models? (Greek Cypriots)

Regarding the agreed upon parameters of a solution by the two leaders – namely that the settlement should constitute a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation with political equality, as agreed in UN Security Council resolutions, with two constituent states of equal status and a single international personality, sovereignty and citizenship – both communities express ambivalence without being outright negative about them (see Figure 3).

When one looks closer on the acceptability of each of the components of the future solution model agreed upon by the two leaders, the Greek Cypriots are most positive over the principles of single sovereignty, single citizenship and single international personality. However, they are unsure over federalism, political equality and bi-communality. Furthermore, they are very skeptical on bi-zonality and on the notion that there would be

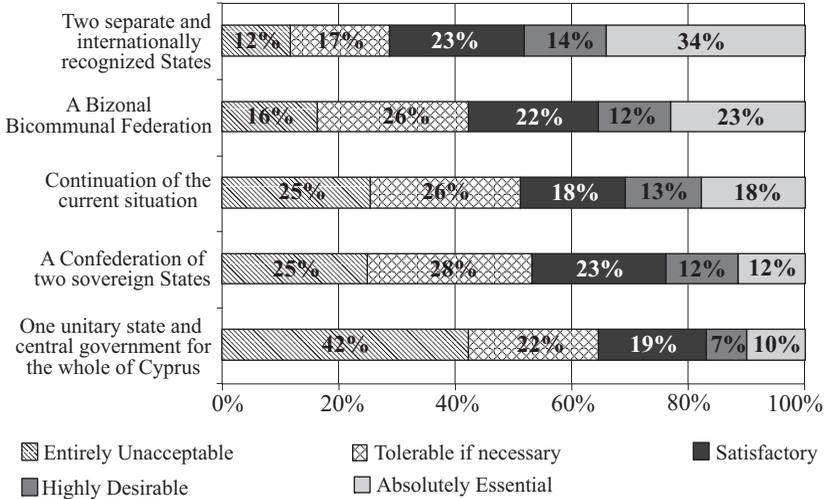


Figure 2. Regarding the overall framework of a Comprehensive Settlement, and considering each of the alternative settlement models presented below, how acceptable or unacceptable, in principle, do you consider each of these models? (Turkish Cypriots)

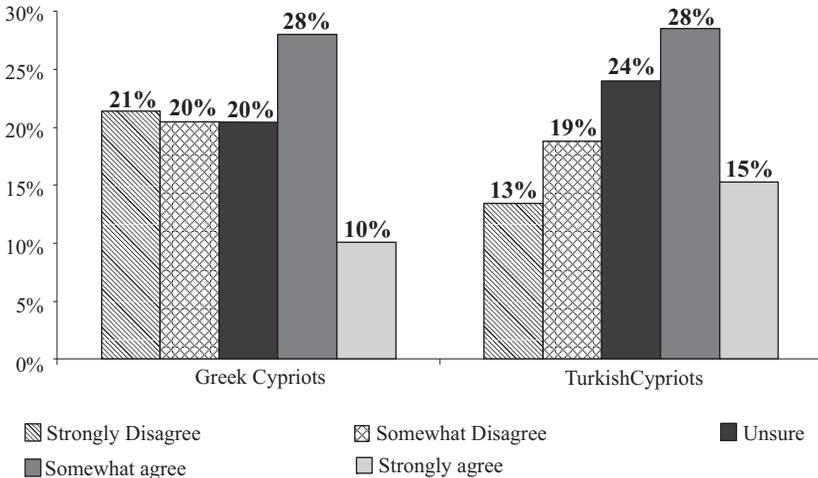


Figure 3. Degree of acceptance of the principles agreed by the two Leaders for the Comprehensive Settlement of the Cyprus problem (i.e., “a Bizonal Bicomunal Federation with Political Equality, as agreed in UN Security Council Resolutions, with two constituent states of equal status and a single international personality, sovereignty and citizenship”)

Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot constituent states of equal status (see Figure 4).

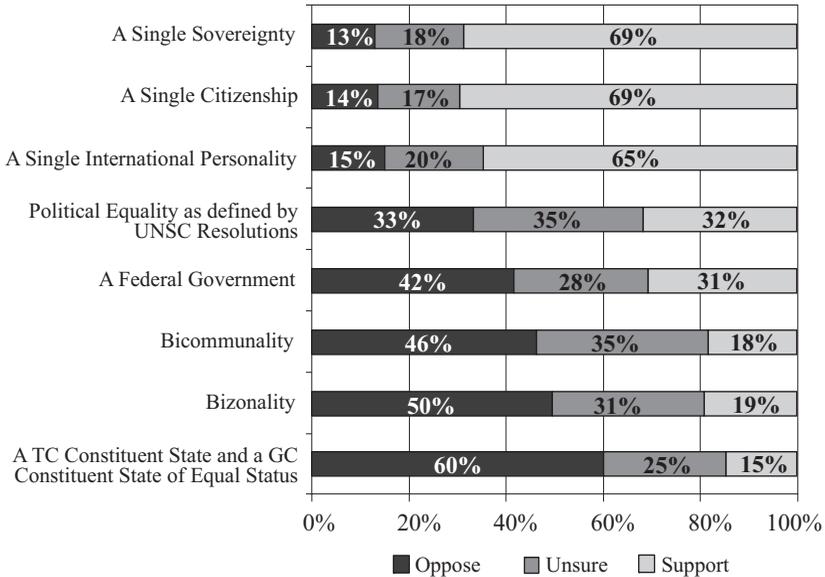


Figure 4. How acceptable or unacceptable do you consider each of the following elements of these agreements? (Greek Cypriots)

Turkish Cypriots, on the other hand, strongly support the principles of bi-zonality, bi-communality, political equality, and the notion that there would be Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot constituent states of equal status. In addition, the Turkish Cypriots are ambivalent over federalism and the principle of a single international personality. They are, however, somewhat negative over the principles of a single citizenship and a single sovereignty (see Figure 5).

To the question of what they would vote in a future referendum, in case the two leaders reach a settlement plan, the two communities show somewhat similar responses. 18% of Greek Cypriots and 16% of Turkish Cypriots are seen as committed 'Yes' voters, 23% of Greek Cypriots and 31% of Turkish Cypriots are seen as committed 'No' voters. However, the rest – 59% of Greek Cypriots and 53% of Turkish Cypriots – are swing voters who probably want to see the content of the settlement and/or the positioning of the opinion leaders.

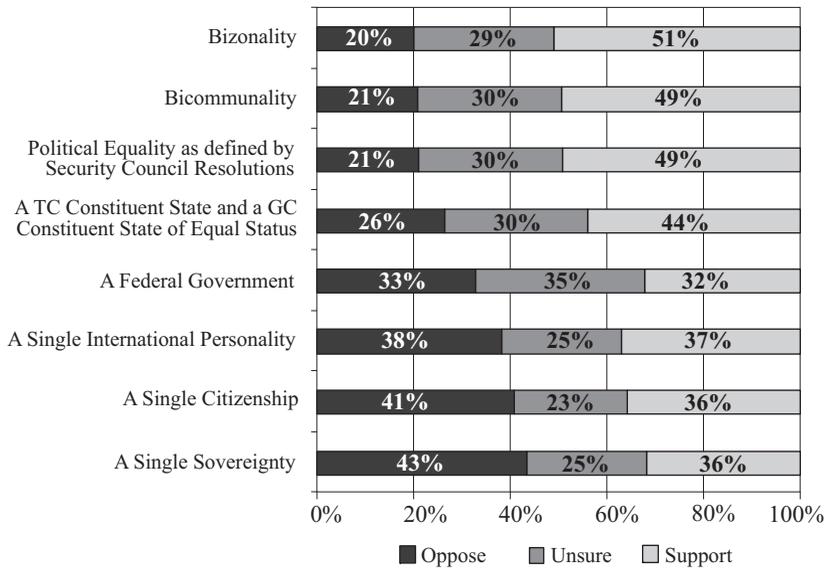


Figure 5. How acceptable or unacceptable do you consider each of the following elements of these agreements? (Greek Cypriots)

Finally, a large majority of Greek Cypriots (69%) as well as a big chunk of the Turkish Cypriots (42%) wish that the peace process would lead to a final settlement, whereas 17% of the Greek Cypriots and 34% of the Turkish Cypriots prefer that nothing comes of the peace process. However, it is also notable that majority of people on both sides lost hope on the possibility of the current peace process leading to a comprehensive solution: 61% of the Greek Cypriots and 58% of the Turkish Cypriots have no hope at all, despite their high desire for a solution to the Cyprus problem.

In short, the Turkish Cypriots who voted in support of the UN plan in 2004 have been disappointed by firstly the ‘resounding NO’ vote from the Greek Cypriots and secondly by the fact that the international community failed to deliver its promises of lifting the isolations on them. Hence, they became less supportive of the federal solution and instead move towards two state solution. Furthermore, the Greek Cypriots are not ready – that is, they are probably not prepared by their political elite – for the established UN parameters, such as bi-zonality, bi-communality and political equality, in the future federal solution where they would be required to share power with the Turkish Cypriots.

Hence, frustrated from the irresolution of the Cyprus issue and particularly losing hope on the Talat-Christofias peace negotiations that started in 2008, the Turkish Cypriots voted for the UBP leader Derviş Eroğlu in the 18 April 2010 presidential election.

The return of the old guard, the UBP was not at all surprising. In fact, this can be seen as the ‘normalization’ of politics in the TRNC. In other words, the right wing party came to the government while the left wing found its place in the opposition just like how it has generally been since 1976, with the exception of the extraordinary period from 2003–2009 where the traditional right wing (UBP) voters unorthodoxly voted for the CTP/BG (see table 2 below).

Table 2

**Percentage of Votes Major Turkish Cypriot Parties Obtained in the Elections since 1976**

Election	CTP (CTP/BG as of 2003)	UBP	DP*	BDH†	TKP	TDP♣	ÖRP♦	DMP‡
1976	12.9	53.7			20.2			
1981	15.1	42.5			28.5			
1985	21.4	36.7			15.8			
1990‡		54.7						44.5
1993	24.2	29.8	29.2		13.3			
1998	13.4	40.4	22.6		15.4			
2003	35.2	32.9	12.9	13.2				
2005	44.5	31.7	13.5	5.8	2.4			
2009	29.2	44.1	10.7			6.9	6.2	

\* DP was established in 1992 by a group of pro-President-Denktaş MPs who left UBP due to conflict between President Denktaş and the UBP chief, Eroğlu.

† BDH was established as an umbrella party for the 2003 election, when it included TKP and small left-wing parties and NGOs. However, due to lack of consensus among the TKP and the BDH top officials, its constituent parties failed to cooperate in the 2005 election.

♣ In 2008 TKP and BDH united under a new party, TDP.

♦ ÖRP was established in 2006 by MPs who left UBP and DP.

‡ During the 1990 election CTP and TKP together with other small parties joined forces against UBP and entered the election under the umbrella party DMP.

On a representational level, the CTP/BG symbolizes ‘federal solution’ and ‘European Union’ norms and values, since the party has been one of the staunchest champions of these ideas in since the 2003 election. Hence, the departure of the 15% of the votes from the CTP/BG in the 2009 elec-

tion as well as the election of Derviş Eroğlu president in 2010 could be perceived as a message to two actors. Message one is sent to the European Union which is seen in the eyes of many Turkish Cypriots as having failed to deliver its promises that it took in the 2004 Council decision right after the 2004 referenda on the UN peace plan, such as direct trade with and unhindered financial aid to the Turkish Cypriots. Instead, the EU is seen by many Turkish Cypriots as leverage that the EU lets the Greek Cypriot side use in order to get concessions from Turkey and advance its position on the Cyprus negotiations, thus erasing the symmetry and balance between the two sides, and gaining the upper hand on the negotiation table. Thus, the Turkish Cypriot voter punished the EU through the CTP/BG. Related to that, the second message was sent to the Greek Cypriot leadership for its unwillingness to reach a solution with the CTP/BG which is supposed to be the 'ideological' sister of the Greek Cypriot ruling AKEL party. The majority of Turkish Cypriots believe that the Greek Cypriot community, including the ruling AKEL elite, do not want to have a solution to the Cyprus problem based on sharing power with the Turkish Cypriot community, as it was demonstrated in the 2004 referenda where the Greek Cypriot community rejected the plan by a margin of three to one. For that reason, a large majority of the Turkish Cypriots do not see any hope on the current peace negotiations between the two community leaders, who happened to be the former chiefs of the CTP/BG and the AKEL, Mehmet Ali Talat and Demetris Christofias – the two 'comrades.' So, the majority of the Turkish Cypriots voted for parties who have a tougher stance in comparison to the CTP/BG on the Cyprus problem. The message to the Greek Cypriot ruling elite is clear and loud: 'since you don't want a federal solution based on power sharing of the two communities, then deal with the new actors who champion 'two-state-solution'.

On the surface, the UBP's coming to power with its historical baggage of declaration of the TRNC, its support of a 'two-state solution' and its NO campaign during the 2004 referendum on the UN peace plan (the Annan Plan), sent red alarms to all those who have been trying to render the current peace negotiations a success. This group ranges from the ex-President Talat and the UN diplomats to the pro-Turkey EU officials and the pro-solution Greek Cypriot political elites. However, when one looks at the UBP's election campaigns and the post-election press statements by its leader more carefully, one realizes a change in the rhetoric. The leader of the UBP, the current President Derviş Eroğlu, and the Foreign Minister from the UBP, Hüseyin Özgürün, openly stated on several occasions that

the current negotiations would continue. It is clear that the UBP has been trying to align itself with the official statements from the AKP government in Turkey who have been very openly supporting the peace negotiations. Therefore, it seems like that this is a 'tactical' change and not a fundamental one from the UBP's long entrenched views.

Hence, given the dependency of the TRNC on economic and political support from Turkey, no TRNC government can afford to have a head-on conflict with the Turkish government. That is why the UBP government as well as President Derviş Eroğlu have to design their policies in compatibility with the AKP government's in Turkey. It seems like that the support of the AKP on the current peace negotiations in Cyprus will continue, at least until the end of 2010 or the beginning of 2011 when Turkey itself enters into the election season after which no government would chose to have a radical foreign policy move.

### **Conclusion and Scenarios**

It is very clear that the 2003–2005 was an extraordinary period when the Turkish Cypriots made an unorthodox move and signaled willingness for a compromise solution to the Cyprus problem. In a way they temporarily gave up on their first preference – i.e., two state solution, and endorsed their second preference – i.e., federal solution. However, this move by the Turkish Cypriots was not reciprocated. On the contrary, the resounding NO vote to the UN comprehensive solution plan by the Greek Cypriots in the 2004 referenda coupled with Tassos Papadopoulos' refusal to any compromise dramatically disappointed Turkish Cypriots. The failure of the international community – more specifically the EU – to lift the unnecessary isolations on the Turkish Cypriots made the matters even worse. Finally, Demetris Christofias' dragging his feet in the most recent negotiations inevitably led to the loss of hopes of the Turkish Cypriots to a federal solution in Cyprus. As a result the Turkish Cypriots brought the old guard, two-state solution advocate UBP back to power in the 2008 general election as well as in the 2010 presidential election.

In a way, the Turkish Cypriots who lost most of their hope on the federal solution (re)started to follow their first preference – i.e., two-state solution. However, it is clear that Turkey is in favor of the continuation of the UN sponsored peace negotiations which aim to lead to a federal solution on the established UN parameters: a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation

based on the political equality of the two communities. Hence given the position of Turkey, it is unrealistic to think that the Turkish Cypriot leadership will leave the UN sponsored negotiations by claiming “two-state solution” – i.e., escaping from the established UN parameters. So, given this situation as well as the critical turning point in the Cyprus peace negotiations in relation to Turkey’s uneasy EU vocation due to the irresolution of the very Cyprus conflict, what are the prospects of finding a comprehensive settlement to the Cyprus conflict and what are the probable future scenarios?

Many observers, including the UN itself who sponsor the current peace negotiations, admit that the current status quo in Cyprus would not be sustainable for a long time. Currently, the irresolution of the Cyprus conflict has taken the Turkey-EU relations hostage and shut them into an extremely slow pace destined to be doomed any time in the foreseeable future. Hence, there is a feeling that the Cyprus problem is reaching to its finality. This finality can be captured in three possible scenarios:

**Scenario 1:** This is the scenario where the two sides in Cyprus genuinely or due to tactical reasons do not leave the negotiation table and finally reach a comprehensive solution based on the established UN parameters and that the plan passes from the simultaneous, separate referenda in both North and the South parts of Cyprus. This scenario can lead to two potential results: Belgium-ization or Czechoslovakia(n) – ization of Cyprus.

If the two communities are ready for power sharing, that they got their lessons from the history and do not want to experience past mistakes in the future, then they can co-exist on the same island in a civilized manner under the EU umbrella – similar to the arrangement between the Walloons and the Flemish in Belgium. Just like in Belgium, the two communities in Cyprus do not mix up much but maintain a civilized level of cooperation and run the federal state in a power-sharing manner.

The other possible result of a negotiated solution in Cyprus is the velvet separation of the future federal state of Cyprus just like former Czechoslovakia. This is the case where some time after the establishment of the federal state in Cyprus, the two communities decide on a civilized manner that it is not efficient or possible for the two communities to share the common state, or rather not desirable by the two communities to have a common state.

**Scenario 2:** This is the scenario where the Turkish side maintains its pro-solution stance and forces the Greek/Cypriot side to walk out of the negotiation table or where a future referenda end with a result similar to

the one in 2004 where the Greek Cypriots votes down a federal solution plan again. In this case, it is natural to expect that the TRNC will increase its ties and relations – sort of normalize – with the rest of the world. Under this circumstance there will be three dynamics at work simultaneously:

- (i) Taiwan-ization of the TRNC: means intensification of the links of the TRNC with the rest of the world, including unhindered trade and direct flights to the TRNC from different cities in the world without the TRNC being formally recognized – similar to Taiwan.
- (ii) Kosovo-ization of the TRNC: represents a special case where similar to Kosovo some countries finally recognize the TRNC as an independent state, but it never becomes a member of the UN since some countries, such as Russia and/or France, refuse to ever recognize it.
- (iii) Hatay-ization of the TRNC: implies that due to more immigration from Turkey to the TRNC, the demography of the TRNC will be more Anatolian-ized where the TRNC will become more and more like Turkey and its ties with and dependence on Turkey will increase. Hence, maybe never formally (officially) but at least in *de facto* terms, the TRNC will be a province of Turkey, just like Hatay.

**Scenario 3:** This can be regarded as the ‘dark scenario’ where Turkey-EU relations – more specifically Turkey’s accession negotiations – come to a stop due to Turkish side’s walking out of the Cyprus peace talks or Turkey’s decision to unilaterally end the EU accession negotiations. Although this is a highly unlikely scenario, nonetheless it is theoretically possible. In such a scenario one can expect that Turkey becomes more Middle Eastern-ized where Islamist-ization and nationalist-ization of Turkey and deterioration of the democratic reforms in the areas of human rights and fundamental freedoms taken in the past several years become probable trends. In such a case where Turkey ‘stops talking to the EU,’ it loses its chance to become a global actor a la Davutoğlu’s strategic depth doctrine, let alone an influential regional power. Needless to say, in this scenario, isolations on the TRNC continue, as well as pressures on Turkey from such international organizations like the European Court of Human Rights regarding the pending court cases against Turkey due to its “occupying” position in Cyprus.

**Scenario 3** is the least likely one while the other two scenarios look more realistic to take place. However, one thing is clear: There is a small window of opportunity still open in Cyprus until the end of 2010 or beginning of 2011 when Turkey itself enters into the election atmosphere for its general election. When the election atmosphere starts no government can

afford to look like it is making concessions on an important foreign policy issue, such as the Cyprus conflict. Hence, it is likely that the pro-solution stance of the AKP government might disappear during the election atmosphere in 2011 in which case one would need to wait to see the election result to be able to make future projections on the Turkey-EU relations, as well as the Cyprus peace process – if it still continues.

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### **Piąta fala: Cypryjczycy tureccy i powstanie nowych państw narodowych w erze po 11 września 2001**

#### **Streszczenie**

Zakończenie zimnej wojny zaowocowało dużymi zmianami na arenie międzynarodowej. Pojawiło się ponad dwadzieścia nowych podmiotów, a szczególnego znaczenia znowu nabrały takie pojęcia jak suwerenność, naród czy prawo do samostanowienia.

W jednym z wcześniejszych artykułów z 2002 roku Ahmet Sözen sugerował, iż dotychczas można było zaobserwować cztery fale kształtowania się państw narodowych: pierwsza – 1789–1914; druga – 1914–1945; trzecia – 1945–1989; czwarta – lata dwudzieste XX wieku. Początek XXI wieku wiąże się z kolej z pojawieniem się tak zwanej piątej fali, w okresie po zamachach z 11 września, która mogła objąć także społeczność Tureckich Cypryjczyków. W artykule przedstawionych został szereg argumentów, które dowodzą, iż pomimo woli współtworzenia państwa cypryjskiego z Greckimi Cypryjczykami, wyrażonymi podczas referendum z 2004 roku, Tureccy Cypryjczycy nie mają obecnie możliwości ani go współtworzyć, ani także liczyć na możliwość usankcjonowania istnienia własnego, odrębnego państwa narodowego, czyli Tureckiej Republiki Północnego Cypru, utworzonej na podstawie jednostronnej deklaracji w 1983 roku.