

Reunifying Cyprus: The Annan Plan and Beyond

Edited by ANDREKOS VARNAVA AND HUBERT FAUSTMANN

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This interdisciplinary volume, with its optimistic title, deals exclusively with developments in the 'Cyprus Problem' between 2002 and 2009. Co-edited by historians Andrekos Varnava and Hubert Faustmann, the book focuses primarily on the Annan Plan, the 'comprehensive proposal' by the United Nations for the solution of the Cyprus Problem, which, after five revisions, became the basis for two simultaneous referendums in north and south Cyprus. In April 2004, Turkish Cypriots voted 64.9% in favour of the plan while 75.8% of Greek Cypriots rejected it.

The contributors to this volume come from a range of disciplines: political science, international relations, law and psychology. A small number of authors are activists and policy researchers. Although by now much has been written on the failed Annan Plan, this book is a welcome contribution to the study of divided Cyprus.

Organised into four parts, the first section, by James Ker-Lindsay, is an excellent historical overview that covers the different attempts to solve the 'Cyprus Problem' between 1960 and 1990.

The second section of the book comprises ten analyses of the Annan Plan from different perspectives. Christalla Yakinthou discusses 'consociational' democracy, a type of institutional engineering based on the idea of resolving ethnic and inter-group tensions democratically by creating a multi-group coalition government with an emphasis on 'pillarisation'. In her discussion Yakinthou argues that the constitutional engineers of the Annan Plan 'showed a nuanced understanding of the way history and memory must be addressed' in creating the political structures for the post-conflict state. This is followed by Tim Potier's comparative legal analysis of the five versions of the Annan Plan. Costa Carras investigates the international relations aspect of the Plan and takes a clear stance by concluding that 'the Greek Cypriots stood up for the principles of justice and international law, thus again opening the way to a genuine and lasting peace for Cyprus'. This chapter paves the way for three contributions in favour of the plan and three anti-Annan Plan chapters. Kyriakides (contra) and Loizides (pro) focus on the political viability of the Plan; the difficult constitutional issues is addressed by Emilianides (contra) and Trimikliniotis (pro) and in the last pair Pophaides (pro) and Dinos Lordos (contra) analyse the economic viability of Annan V. Nikos Trimikliniotis' pro Annan chapter stands out in his analysis of the constitutional issues in the Plan, which he treats 'neither as "hell", nor "heaven"'. This large section ends with Erol Kaymak's presentation of Turkish Cypriot views on the fifth version of the Annan Plan.

The six chapters of the third part deal with the negotiation processes, factors that influenced the voting patterns and the referendum results. Alexandros Lordos scrutinises the process of the negotiations and both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot voting patterns during the referendum. The role of the mass media (Taki), the Greek Cypriot state education (Philippou and Varnava) and security issues (Faustmann) are also explored. Panicos Stavrinides provides an interesting psychological analysis of the strong Greek Cypriot 'no' vote. He compares the psychological processes between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot community and states that 'Turkish Cypriots are significantly less fearful than Greek Cypriots'. According to Stavrinides, the Greek Cypriot fears are more deeply engrained and intense than those of the Turkish Cypriots. This leads the author to state that the emotional responses of the Greek Cypriots could be labelled as 'collective phobia'. The last chapter in part three, by Tozun Bahcheli and Sid Noel, is an analysis of the role of Ankara and the rise of the AK party in the Turkish Cypriot 'yes' vote.

The book concludes with an afterword by Robert Rotberg, who argues that the main obstruction to a negotiated settlement is the fact that the *status quo* has worked for so long on Cyprus. Rotberg makes a distinction however, between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot perspectives. Those living south of the Green Line, with 'their continued growth as citizens of a thriving little nation-state, geo-strategically (...) hardly require the reunification of the island'. Turkish Cypriots, on the other hand, are in favour of reunifying the island. He cites a number of reasons:

'Their annual per capita GDPs would improve, possibly as much as five-fold (over time) through inclusion in the European Union (EU), greatly expanded trade, freedom of movement and access to employment opportunities within Cyprus and the EU, the considerable benefits of the Euro versus the long inflated Turkish Lira, greater tourism revenues, and becoming part of a globally recognized polity.'

I cite this quote about Turkish Cypriots for a particular reason. The editors claim, in their very brief introduction, that the idea of their volume is 'to provide the reader with a complete picture of the various arguments used by supporters and opponents of the plan, (...) from equally qualified experts'. It is unclear why they chose to include only one voice from the Turkish Cypriot academic community, which boasts plenty of experts, from a range of disciplines, whose analyses of the debate around the Annan Plan in the Turkish Cypriot community could have been included. With the exception of Kaymak's short chapter, the Turkish Cypriot point of view is absent from the book even though the mainly Greek Cypriot contributors do try to present the Turkish Cypriot perspective.

Although the volume is multi-disciplinary, it presumes prior knowledge of recent Cypriot history. It provides valuable technical information on the Annan Plan and the referendums but there is little by way of the perspective of people in everyday life. An anthropological analysis, with some fine-grained ethnography to illustrate how Greek and Turkish Cypriots think, could have been an added asset for the book.

Some chapters present a thorough analysis of the failed reunification of Cyprus, but the overall strength of this volume lies in the provision of data. There is no unifying argument that links the chapters together and this may be the reason why the introduction to the volume is short and only refers to each chapter individually.

The book, published in hardback, has a beautiful dust jacket and the editing is very thorough. The separate chapters do not have their own bibliography; references are found only in each chapter's endnotes and the book only has a selected bibliography, which makes it hard to track back specific references.

These are small complaints about a book that is a first-rate contribution to Cyprus Problem scholarship. In sum, *Reunifying Cyprus* will appeal to both novice and more advanced scholars and policy makers specialising in Cyprus, as well as to academics working on divided societies and ethnic conflicts elsewhere.

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