

Applying Conflict Transformation in Cyprus: A Neo-Functional Approach

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Abstract

This paper will apply the concept of conflict transformation with respect to the Cyprus dispute. It suggests a model to allow self-realisation for both communities, while at the same time providing a forum for the collaboration and/or unity of both communities. All efforts thus far to reach a settlement to the Cyprus problem have ended in failure. Although the idea of a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation (BBF) is still the primary goal of both communities, this paper will argue that an alternative political settlement should also be considered. A failure in negotiations to reunite Cyprus may lead to the perpetuation of the status quo into the indefinite future. However, there may be a third option to consider and this is explored in the idea of 'unity in sovereignty'.

Keywords: Cyprus, conflict, transformation, peace, neo-functionalism, violence, Cyprus problem

Introduction

For over thirty-six years, the protracted ethno-nationalist conflict (Anastasiou, 2007) of Cyprus has failed to yield positive results. Numerous meetings, international conferences and UN sponsored initiatives have all been unsuccessful. The 1977 and 1979 High Level Agreements have yet to come to fruition and the recent United Nations sponsored comprehensive proposal for the settlement of the Cyprus issue (Annan Plan) foundered in simultaneous referenda in 2004. The direct result of the collapse of the Annan Plan meant that a divided Cyprus was admitted to the European Union. Although academic works mainly focus on the resolution, management and mitigation of the Cyprus conflict, there are very few which focus on the transformation of the Cyprus conflict. This paper will utilise the theory of Conflict Transformation and apply its conclusions to the Cyprus issue.

It will centre on transforming the original contradictions of the Cyprus issue into new realities where both communities can mutually benefit, through a neo-functionalist approach.

Before outlining the details of a neo-functional approach to the Cyprus issue, it must be stated foremost that the author believes the most acceptable course for both Greek and Turkish Cypriots is a bi-zonal, bi-communal, federation (BBF); however, this ideal has not been fulfilled to date. The disappointing results regarding the creation of a BBF is attributable primarily to obstacles posed by nationalistic leaders on both sides. From 1974, until recently, the Turkish Cypriot (TC) leader at the time, Rauf Denktaş, had been the main negotiator for Turkish Cypriot rights and interests.

There is no denying of the hard line stance of Denktash and his nationalistic views and tendencies (Denktash, 1982). There have been numerous UN reports and Security Council resolutions indicating the breakdown of negotiation after negotiation, specifically because of the unyielding position of the Turkish Cypriot leader. Regardless of the fact that the creation of a BBF was agreed upon by both sides in the 1977 and 1979 High Level Agreements it has not been realised, predominantly due to the monopoly of power by nationalistic leaders if not on one side, then on the other.

For example, at a crucial moment during the negotiations of the UN sponsored Annan Plan, the Greek Cypriots went to the polls in 2003 to elect a new president. The outcome was the election of Tassos Papadopoulos, the joint candidate of AKEL, DIKO and EDEK. Papadopoulos was well known as a hardliner, involved in the EOKA campaign of 1955-1959, and a hate figure for many Turkish Cypriots (Ker-Lindsay, 2005). The upshot was a resurgence of nationalist tendencies amongst the Greek Cypriot population which led to a tougher stance at the negotiating table. According to Harry Anastasiou, 'Papadopoulos had reactivated nationalism ...'¹

It was not until the elections of December 2003 that Turkish Cypriot opposition to Denktash reached a peak which culminated in a larger mandate for the two main pro-solution parties in northern Cyprus: the Republican Turkish Party (CTP) and the Peace and Democracy Movement (BDH). This presented a challenge to the traditional nationalists as CTP leader Mehmet Ali Talat then became Prime Minister of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC).² Talat would subsequently replace Denktash as the main negotiator of the Turkish Cypriot side and in 2005 Talat was elected President of the TRNC. These events represent a significant opinion shift in northern Cyprus as the resolute nationalist Turkish Cypriot negotiator, Rauf Denktash, had lost discernable power.

As a consequence the overall result was the weakening of hard-line nationalist views in the Turkish Cypriot leadership (largely spurred by Cyprus' impending entry to the EU) and a renewal of rigid nationalist views amongst the Greek Cypriot political elite – also possibly propelled by Cyprus' impending accession to the EU (Anastasiou, 2007). 'Even in the face of favourable conditions and historically opportune moments for a settlement, nationalism proved to be the central obstacle to success.'³

In this regard it is the opinion of this author that if nationalistic tendencies in the political elite can be curbed for long enough, an agreement based on a BBF can be realised. However, if the renewal of nationalism amongst the Greek Cypriot elite has impacted the civilian population,

1 Harry Anastasiou (2007) 'Nationalism as a Deterrent to Peace and Interethnic Democracy: The Failure of Nationalist Leadership from The Hague talks to the Cyprus Referendum', *International Studies Perspectives*, Vol. 8, p. 199. MA, USA: Blackwell Publishing.

2 Although the northern part of the island is referred to as TRNC in this essay, it is acknowledged that the TRNC is not recognised by the international community except Turkey.

3 Harry Anastasiou (2007), *op. cit.*, p. 191.

which some studies might suggest, (Anastasiou, 2007 and Webster, 2005) or there is a resurgence in Turkish Cypriot nationalism or divisionism, it might then be necessary to examine other possibilities. Evidence of the revival of TC nationalism can already be seen with the increase in popularity of the National Unity Party (UBP) in the April 2009 'parliamentary' elections in the TRNC and the choice of hardliner, Derviş Eroğlu, in the 2010 'Presidential elections'. These recent events highlight the need to examine alternative processes, such as conflict transformation.

Since the events of 1974, the Greek Cypriots have focused their attention and energy on the attainment of re-unification of lost Cypriot lands and homes. Furthermore, they have been committed to the re-unification of the entire island under one governmental roof. Unity is the real motivation here. From the Turkish Cypriot perspective the issue of sovereignty has become the focal point of the negotiations. They are committed to maintaining a degree of sovereignty from the Greek Cypriots in order to safeguard their rights as a minority and prevent their subjugation from a more populous and wealthier Greek Cypriot neighbour. It is based on these fundamental positions of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots that a neo-functional approach to the Cyprus issue can be examined. The main principle here is that both communities can retain their sovereignty but also be united. Numerous works exist already which have suggested that re-integration or evolutionary approaches are best suited for Cyprus (Hadjipavlou and Trigeorgis, 1993; Prodromou, 1998; Nicolaidis, 1998; Olgun, 1998 and Bahcheli, 2000).

Why a Neo-Functional Approach?

After the most destructive and devastating war in modern history, European leaders and visionaries dreamed of a Europe devoid of violence and bloodshed. Their answer was to intertwine and integrate the European economies to such an extent that even traditional realist leaders would find that war would be contrary to national interest; and to this end, they have succeeded. Although the European Union is not without its own issues, it remains evident that nationalist divisions have successfully been transformed into a situation where all involved parties equally benefit. Thus the same approach can be envisaged for Cyprus.

Just as in conflict transformation, which presupposes that peace is more a way of life than a tangible result (Lederach, 2003) so too is a neo-functional approach more concerned with the process rather than the outcome (Haas, 1958). While a discussion on the similarities and differences between neo-functionalism and conflict transformation is best reserved for another article, it will serve as a pretext for this discussion.

Cyprus Problem - Overview

In order to diagnose and successfully transform the Cyprus problem it is imperative to come to an understanding of the root causes of the conflict, and in order to achieve this it is necessary to examine the events and ideologies of the pre-1950s period in Cyprus. For the Greek Cypriot

community the main ideology at this time was the idea of *Enosis* or union of Cyprus with Greece. *Enosis* stemmed from the belief that Christian Cypriots were ethnically Greek and linked to Greece linguistically, religiously and, of course, culturally. Claiming to be descendents of ancient Greeks and pointing to the long Greek history in Cyprus, the Christian Cypriots began to identify themselves as being ethnically Greek.

The rise of the *Enosis* movement itself, in its earliest form can be traced back to the independence of Greece from the Ottomans in 1821. For probably the first time in history, the Greek Cypriots began to associate themselves with the general principles of Hellenism. By 1821 the 'Great Idea' had been born in Greece, which essentially advocated the incorporation of all historical Greek territories into a greater Greek Republic (Pollis, 1973; Markides, 1974). Even though Cyprus was never part of modern Greece, the large number of Greeks who had settled on the island provided enough argument for supporters of the 'Great Idea' that Cyprus should also be incorporated into a greater Greek Republic. This also included most of the islands in the Aegean, but even advocated the incorporation of parts of western Turkey, including Constantinople which had fallen to the Ottoman Turks in the fifteenth century. Constantinople itself held an important significance for Greeks as a whole because it was the centre of the Eastern Orthodox Byzantine culture and today still remains the location of the head of the Greek Orthodox Church. When the 'Great Idea' incited a war between Greece and Turkey in 1919 the effect on the Greeks of Cyprus was tremendous as Greek Cypriots began to feel more connected with Greece and saw their inclusion within Greece as natural and legitimate. Markides highlights this growing cultural connection between the Greek Cypriots and the 'Great Idea': 'Because the Greeks of Cyprus have been considering themselves historically and culturally as Greeks, the "Great Idea" in the form of *Enosis* has had an intense appeal. Thus, when the Church fathers called on the Cypriots to fight for union with Greece, it did not require excessive efforts to heat up emotions'.⁴ Highlighting these cultural links is imperative to the analysis here and clarifies that the pre-1950 ideologies and root causes of the conflict are directly related to the awakening of the Greek Cypriot identity.

A consequence of the Greek Cypriot awakening was an increase in Turkish Cypriot nationalism as well. The Turkish Cypriots were largely concerned that under *Enosis* their cultural and ethnic associations would be enveloped by the larger Greek Cypriot population. Fears were also abound that they may even be expelled to Anatolia, as occurred in Crete in 1923 after Ottoman control had ended and Crete unified with Greece. Opposing cultural associations quickly developed into full-blown armed ethnic nationalism with the development of the Greek Cypriot guerrilla organisation, EOKA, and its Turkish Cypriot counterpart the TMT. The violence of the 1950s erupted again in 1963 and culminated in 1974 with the Greek-backed coup

4 K.C. Markides (1974) 'Social Change and the Rise and Decline of Social Movements: The Case of Cyprus', *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 1, No. 2. (May), p. 315 American Anthropological Association.

and the Turkish military invasion. Whilst these events have created additional contradictions in the Cyprus conflict, it is important that the root causes be addressed and transformed so that a process of sustainable peace in Cyprus can begin to take place. Much work has been done on the ethno-nationalist origins of the Cyprus conflict, specifically by Anastasiou, 2007; Bryant, 2004; Morag, 2004 and Richmond, 2002.

Evidence of the nationalist origins of the Cyprus conflict can also be seen in early British policy in Cyprus, which was used in a bid to diffuse opposing ethno-nationalist ideologies and maintain British colonial rule. In the late 1920s and 1930s British Imperialist archaeologists emphasised the importance of the eteocypriots, which were perceived as the indigenous population of Cyprus, dating back to the Iron Age. By examining scriptures, building designs, antiquities, monuments and other archaeological evidence, it was argued by colonial authorities that the true ethno-cultural origins of the Cypriot people lay with the eteocypriots and not with Greece and Turkey (Given, 1998). These attempts by colonial Britain to diffuse opposing ethno-national beliefs illustrate that identity and ethno-nationalist associations were key to the development of the Cyprus issue and that the *Enosis* movement was beginning to challenge traditional British colonial authority.

Neo-Functional Conflict Transformation

By definition, such an approach involves: a) a slow integration in Cypriot low politics; b) the creation of supranational institutions; c) shifting of loyalties to these supranational institutions, and d) the creation of a mutually beneficial future. A neo-functionalist approach to the Cyprus problem would observe first and foremost the recognition of two separate and distinct political units in Cyprus, each with their own sovereignty and independence in decision-making. Although the idea of a politically sovereign Turkish Cypriot political unit is generally considered anathema, there may be recent evidence to suggest that with the passage of time, local opinion is actually more in favour of division or a negotiated partition. Jakobsson-Hatay, 2004; Webster, 2005 and Georgiades, 2007, have all researched Greek Cypriot inclinations toward a Cyprus settlement and found that younger generations are more inclined to support division over unification. Webster, in his face-to-face surveys of over one-thousand individuals found that 41% of respondents between the ages of 18 and 24 favoured division over unification, and a further 35% of respondents between the ages of 25 and 34 favoured division as well. While the motivation for the high level of divisionism among Greek Cypriot youth is not further researched and is beyond the scope of this paper, there appears to be sufficient evidence to suggest that partition is becoming a more viable option for the Greek Cypriots. Thus, the idea of maintaining two sovereign political units in Cyprus may indeed be achievable and even desirable. Moreover, this first step is crucial in order to create a neo-functionalist approach to the Cyprus issue because both political units must be on the same footing before integration can begin.

Stage 1 - Prerequisites

As described above, the first stage of such a neo-functionalist approach would involve the maintenance of two political units in Cyprus. This, however, must be met with certain pre-conditions such as: a) agreed territorial readjustment; b) demilitarization (with respect to previous agreements); c) compensation for refugees and re-instatement where possible; d) treaty of friendship and reconciliation between the two political units, and e) a mutually acceptable vision statement for Cyprus.

Just as the European Union has progressed in incremental stages, in specific areas subsequently spilling over into other socio-economic areas, something similar should be applied in Cyprus. In parallel, the aim should be a Cypriot Union, retaining the importance that a final objective should not be emphasised. Areas, such as tourism, that would be of mutual benefit to both communities should be pursued as the first instance of low politics integration. A high authority, akin to the administrative body of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), might maintain administrative functions over this specific area of integration and exist as a supranational body. As per the experience of the EU, civil society organisations and other concerned groups in the respective integrated area would then be able to begin to develop at the supranational level. Additionally, the creation of such supranational bodies might inevitably lead to elite socialisation, again as witnessed in the EU. The development of EU political parties, federated Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and other supranational bodies exist as evidence of this elite socialisation.

Stage 2 - Integration

Whether as a result of neo-functionalist impetus or intergovernmental bargaining it is palpable that spill over is a likely and plausible result of integration. Evidence of spill over within the ECSC can be verified by its development into the European Economic Area and subsequent institutions such as the European Parliament, the European Union itself, the Eurozone, the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), the Rapid Reaction Force (RRF), the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, Schengen, and more recently the President and Foreign Minister of the EU. With the likely possibility of spill over, it can be expected that something comparable would indeed occur within Cyprus. The direction or context of this may be difficult to foresee, but further integration is quite credible.

Consequently, such a neo-functionalist approach might also serve as an instrument of conflict transformation. Where conflict transformation requires the transformation of existing contradictions into mutually beneficial outcomes (Lederach, 2003), a neo-functionalist approach may well serve as an instrument to transfer loyalties to the supranational institutions and generate a new level of bi-communal socialisation.

Benefits

In this section some of the benefits in undertaking a neo-functionalist approach in Cyprus are outlined. The main benefit of this process is that the autonomy of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots is maintained and protected. Greek Cypriots would not need to worry about Turkish Cypriot obstructionism in a united government and Turkish Cypriots would not need to be concerned about Greek Cypriot economic, political or cultural domination. Furthermore, both political units would be free to determine when, where and how fast the integration process should occur.

Territorial Adjustment and Compensation

The establishment of two sovereign political units (the basis for such a neo-functionalist approach) as described earlier, requires a degree of territorial readjustment and the re-instatement of refugees. The loss of property and homes is still a contentious issue for both communities and one that must be successfully resolved in order to move forward with wider reconciliation and trust building. In a recent analysis of Greek Cypriot attitudes toward peace some 58% of respondents viewed the repatriation of refugees as a reward to reunification (Georgiades, 2007). It is clear that the property issue and the repatriation of refugees is of prime concern, at least to the Greek Cypriot community, and while the number of Greek Cypriot refugees is significantly higher than Turkish Cypriot refugees, territorial readjustment and repatriation would serve the majority of all Cypriot refugees. A similar structure to that detailed in the 2004 UN sponsored Annan Plan would suffice in redistributing territory between the two political units and dispensing compensation.

Continuity of the Republic of Cyprus

Another key benefit of such an approach is the continued existence, sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Cyprus. During his televised address to the Cypriot people in 2004, then President, Tassos Papadopoulos, urged the Greek Cypriots to vote 'no' to the UN sponsored proposal for a comprehensive solution to the Cyprus problem. In his address, President Papadopoulos stated that he could not agree to a proposal that would result in him giving-up an internationally recognised sovereign state and acquiring in return a mere community in a United Cyprus. The continued legal existence of the Republic of Cyprus was in question and furthermore, Papadopoulos was equally concerned that should the new federation dissolve, the status of the Republic of Cyprus would be unclear and the Greek Cypriots would have lost their state for nothing. In their analysis of the Annan Plan and its implications on the continuity or succession of the Republic of Cyprus, Ahmet Sözen and Kudret Özersay conclude that the Annan Plan displayed a mix of both succession and continuity, with more features confirming the continuity of the Republic of Cyprus (Sözen and Özersay, 2007). It is clear that fears of the possible dissolution of the Republic of Cyprus run deep in the Greek Cypriot community and again, a neo-functional approach could alleviate such uncertainties. The Republic of Cyprus would be

maintained as a sovereign, legal and independent political unit and would only transfer sovereignty to the supranational institutions by its own decree. Functional spill over and elite socialisation would pressure both political units to transfer more sovereignty to the supranational bodies, but the ultimate and final decision would rest with the political leaders. As stated above, both political units would maintain control over the scope and timing of further integration and thus assist in alleviating specific Greek Cypriot fears.

Economic Benefits

A neo-functional approach may, by default, boast large economic benefits for both communities. Apart from the remuneration associated with greater economic cooperation between the two communities, a neo-functional approach would also bring to an end the economic isolation of the Turkish Cypriots. As a separate political unit, the Turkish Cypriots would have greater freedom in international commerce and their economic development would be allowed to flourish. Furthermore, a neo-functional approach would permit a more competitive, modern and stronger economy for all Cypriots. Many EU member states have benefited tremendously from their involvement in the EU and Eurozone, not only from the Common Agricultural Policy or Social Cohesion Fund but from being a part of one of the largest markets in the world. The same benefits, naturally on a smaller scale, can be envisaged for Cyprus. Nonetheless, unifying the two economies, whether it is in tourism, agriculture or the service industry, should bring about a high degree of economic development and prosperity.

The issue of the costs associated with integrating two unequal economies is, of course, raised here. A neo-functional approach to the Cyprus issue might also help to address this concern. By creating two sovereign political units, the Turkish Cypriots would be able to explore new avenues of economic development, previously not allowed, thus permitting the reduction of economic disparities between the two political units to take place. The harmonisation of economic policies between the two political units must be of high priority as the neo-functional approach calls primarily for integration in low politics. The harmonisation of tourism, for example, would empower both political units to further develop the industry and provide mutual economic benefits. Due to the slow integration process between the two political units, any costs incurred by unification that the Greek Cypriot community may be hesitant to pay, would become a non-issue. The neo-functional approach does not provide for a quick overnight reunification, and its slow pace of integration ensures that major subsidies will not be required for one community or the other. As an example we can take the ECSC – while France and Germany both suffered devastating economic effects due to the Second World War, Germany was indeed in a worse economic condition. Over the course of time the economy of Germany was restored and France was not forced to bring the German economy up-to-par before beginning some aspects of integration.

Some, however, have argued that economic integration in Cyprus – as in post-war Europe –

would not succeed and the main costs associated with reunification would be payable by the Greek Cypriot community (Georgiou, 2009). Citing problems relating to economies of scale and the long-standing political problem, Georgiou argues that, "There will ultimately be a "tax dividend" levied on the Greek Cypriots to pay for the much touted "peace dividend" that will accrue primarily to the Turkish Cypriots".⁵ While most of Georgiou's claims may indeed be true in that under a re-unified Cyprus, the Greek Cypriot community would take the brunt of the costs associated with reunification he fails to take into account any funding that would be received from international donors, i.e. in the 2004 referenda on the UN sponsored Annan Plan, an international donor's conference pledged assistance for a reunified Cyprus. Under a neo-functional approach, however, such issues can be avoided. As mentioned above the creation of two sovereign political units should allow the time and space for the unequal economies to reduce their disparities and subsequently move closer to parity. That having been said, a neo-functional approach would not necessarily result in reunification in the traditional sense. As previously discussed, neo-functionalism is primarily concerned with the process of integration and does not argue for a specific end result (Haas, 1958). Hence, under a neo-functionalist approach, reunification may indeed not occur. As highlighted earlier, the pace and context of integration may be decided by the two political units and if further integration is perceived as too costly, it can therefore be slowed down or halted for a period of time.

Conflict Transformation

To reiterate, a neo-functional approach to the Cyprus issue also embodies aspects and elements of conflict transformation. Conflict transformation seeks the transformation of earlier contradictory positions into positions of mutual prosperity and benefit. Transformation through non-violent means and creativity are the hallmarks of the conflict transformation agenda via analysis of a neo-functional approach. As outlined, these elements are indeed embodied in this integration process. Conflict transformation also seeks to transcend the contradictions of the past and reach a situation where all parties involved achieve their maximum desires and goals (Galtung, 1996 and Lederach, 2003). If we take our previous understanding of the root cause of the Cyprus conflict as being a clash of perceived incompatible identities, applying conflict transformation would therefore require either: a) the creation and maintenance of a new identity for all of Cyprus or b) the creation of a situation where both identities can co-exist whilst contributing to the fashioning of a new *status quo*. It is this second option that a neo-functional approach to the Cyprus issue may achieve. A neo-functional approach, as discussed, would provide for the sovereignty of two political units, and as a consequence maintain the superiority of each community in their respective political unit whilst at the same time bringing them together to construct a mutually beneficial future. The

5 G. Georgiou (2009) 'Cyprus: Economic Consequences of Reunification', *Mediterranean Quarterly*, (Summer), p.62

preceding section highlights some of the avenues in which a mutually beneficial future may be created together with the 'peace dividend' that might result from such an approach.

Preservation of Identity

One of the central themes of conflict transformation considered in this paper is the non-violence transformation of conflict. By design, a neo-functional approach to the Cyprus problem is non-violent: no unpopular proposal would be forced upon either community; perceptions of foreign involvement would be non-existent, and tough decisions associated with national interest would be minimised. This is crucial because any proposal forced on the Cypriot people or one in which one side or another is pressured into accepting may contain unpopular aspects which may cause further tension in the future. To all intents and purposes the violent imposition of a proposal on either community should be avoided so that each community can move towards making the national decisions necessary for further integration when ready and desired. Essentially, a situation viewed by both communities as zero-sum can be transformed into one of positive-sum.

Regarding the fundamental issue of identity, a neo-functional approach could maintain the sovereignty of both identities within their respective political units. The Turkish Cypriots, for instance, would not need to be fearful of Greek Cypriot domination and the Greek Cypriots would not need to be fearful of perceived Turkish Cypriot obstructionism in a unified state. In essence, both would be culturally, religiously and politically free, independent and secure. During the first stages of a neo-functional approach, small areas of low politics could be integrated which, if successful, would provide a modicum of trust and reconciliation. The ramifications of a flourishing cooperation without fears between Greek and Turkish Cypriots could provide further impetus for continued integration.

Maintaining Basic Needs

Apart from acting as an avenue to safeguard the preservation of both identities in Cyprus, a neo-functional approach would additionally ensure that the basic needs of both communities are met. The basic needs of life, liberty, freedom and security would be guaranteed under such an approach and following Maslow's hierarchy of needs, once these basic physiological and safety concerns have been fulfilled, then the needs of love, belonging, esteem and self-actualisation can be realised (Maslow, 1954). Apart from meeting basic needs, this approach can also contribute to the development of a stronger Cypriot economy and consequently to a higher quality of life for both communities. Some of these fundamental needs are discussed in additional detail below.

Freedom

Freedom, be it cultural, political, linguistic or religious, is a fundamental necessity for any community, and as observed, is a vital requirement for both communities in Cyprus. A neo-

functional approach may provide the maintenance for all forms of freedom for all Cypriots and through a slow integration process, these freedoms would never be lost, but rather transferred to supranational institutions that both communities have pledged to create. Furthermore, if such a neo-functional approach should break down, both communities would be able to 'fall-back' to their previous positions as sovereign political units without fear of losing their freedom (Hadjipavlou and Trigeorgis, 1993). While Hadjipavlou and Trigeorgis do not discuss the creation of two sovereign political units, they do highlight the creation of specific zones which would share and slowly cede power to a federal structure before moving to complete federalism. In their discussion, however, they highlight the need for both communities to retain a 'fall-back' position as well, should their approach fail.

Economic Prosperity and High Quality of Life

As deliberated in this paper, a neo-functional approach, with integration beginning in low politics, can assist economic prosperity and subsequently forge a high quality of life for both communities. Economic prosperity and a high quality of life essentially form the core of this neo-functional approach. Apart from supplementing the construction of good living conditions, accomplishing success in economic integration would lead to spill over in other areas such as political, foreign affairs, and defence/security as in the case of the European Union.

Security

Comparable to the need for freedom and independence in Cyprus, security is also of prime concern. The violent events of the 1950s and from 1963 to 1974 have left both communities with traumatic experiences (Anastasiou, 2007). The Greek Cypriots constantly fear further aggression from Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots are subsequently always fearful of subjugation by the Greek Cypriots. A neo-functional approach with the creation of two sovereign political units would help to alleviate these fears. What is more, a demilitarization of all forces in Cyprus would be a prerequisite to such an approach. Demilitarization may be secured among the Turkish Cypriots in compliance for the recognition of their political unit. As a consequence of no permanently stationed Turkish army in Cyprus the Greek Cypriots might find their confidence to reciprocate the demilitarization. UN peacekeeping forces might further extend the scope of their mission in Cyprus to facilitate this and, as envisaged in the Annan Plan, to oversee the territorial readjustment and re-installment of refugees. Much like the Annan Plan, a slow and gradual demilitarization could occur, with respect to previous agreements, resulting in a complete withdrawal of all foreign forces from Cyprus. Additional treaties of friendship, reconciliation and solidarity may be agreed upon by the parties involved which would serve to: a) provide necessary security guarantees, and b) begin a process of reconciliation and sociological peace building between the two communities. A new supranational body could also be established to facilitate the coordination of island-wide

reconciliation efforts including: a) erasing symbols of division and creating symbols of unity; b) instituting peace education programmes; c) enacting trust building measures, and d) creating a culture of peace more generally.

Obstacles to a Neo-Functional Approach

Transfer of Loyalties

As debated, it is necessary to transform the existing root causes of the Cyprus problem. This may be addressed by creating a situation whereby both identities can co-exist whilst contributing to the construction of a new *status quo*. For such an approach to be successful it is vital that one of the main and yet unproven elements of neo-functionalism is realised. This relates to the transfer of loyalties to the supranational institutions (Risse, 2005). This perhaps presents the single most important obstacle to this neo-functional approach. Taking examples from the general success of the European Union, it is this one element that has not yet been accomplished in the EU itself and it thus remains inconclusive as to whether such a transfer of loyalties can actually occur. It is suggested in this paper that a possible reason for the failure of this aspect of neo-functionalism in the European context, is its size. Operating amongst 27 member states which span an entire continent and function through a highly bureaucratic structure, the EU is largely disengaged and separate from the civil population. EU political parties, for example, do not campaign and engage voters across the continent and EU Parliamentary elections remain rather a matter of national politics. During EU elections, voters only have the option of selecting local representatives from local parties and, therefore, select candidates based on local issues. The EU political parties are not present on the ballot for their own elections and for this reason they contribute to the level of disengagement in EU affairs (Habermas, 1995; Hix, 1999; Marks *et al.*, 2002).

In Cyprus, however, its size may prove to be advantageous. Its small population and client-based political culture (Ker-Lindsay and Faustmann, 2009, pp. 17-45) may in fact assist in overcoming one of the main obstacles of the EU and provide for a workable neo-functional approach. Securing the transfer of loyalties to new supranational institutions is imperative to the successful transformation of the Cyprus conflict. The two communities would be able to move beyond ethno-nationalist associations and find common causes in the new structures and institutions whilst not interfering in the delicate and unpredictable identities within Cyprus. Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots would retain their cultural and ethnic associations to the highest degree and at the same time work together to better their quality of life and their future.

Obsolescence of Neo-Functionalism

Another fundamental obstacle to this approach is the fact that neo-functional theory was actually declared obsolescent by Haas himself (Haas, 1975, 1976). Nonetheless, it must be remembered that the original aim of neo-functional theory was to explain and understand the phenomenon of EU

integration. This paper has presented how neo-functionalism can instead operate as an instrument of conflict transformation. As indicated earlier, the details of a relationship between conflict transformation and neo-functionalism is beyond the scope of this paper, but it is certainly an area where further research is needed. Apart from its failure to explain EU integration, one aspect of the original motivations of functionalism has indeed succeeded (Mitrany, 1966). In his original work, David Mitrany outlined the functional approach in his book, *A Working Peace System* (emphasis added). From further investigation into his work, it is clear that his motivation was to create a system of peace. Moreover, the European leaders who began the process of integration, including Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman, envisaged the creation of a situation whereby war could never occur between Germany and France (and across Europe in general), and in this regard they have evidently succeeded. Today it is inconceivable for war, which has plagued the continent for many centuries, to break out between the nations of the EU. The use and threat of war has been largely removed from the continent and it is this key development that must be replicated in Cyprus. As both conflict transformation and neo-functionalism are concerned with the process of peace and integration, a neo-functional approach could provide this guiding force. The only objective that must be pursued is to establish a situation whereby the use or even threat of war is removed from Cypriot consciousness. Additionally, the integration of the EU without a clear final objective is also synonymous with the ideals of peace as a lifestyle, outlined within the context of conflict transformation.

Conclusion

In conclusion a neo-functional approach to the Cyprus issue may certainly serve as a successful process of conflict transformation. The emphasis must also shift from existing desired outcomes, such as creating a federation, confederation or two independent states, and focus rather simply on the process. As outlined in this article, peace is a way of life and an ongoing process, and in order to successfully transform the Cyprus conflict it is vital that the process becomes the desired objective, with both communities continuously working together with no specific goal in mind. To quote the work of Ergün Olgun (1998):

‘Change and resolution occur best in an evolutionary manner. Such an evolution is usually accompanied by a clear sense of direction based on a vision of cooperation, common good and equal partnership.’⁶

6 E. Olgun (1998) ‘Recognising Two States in Cyprus Would Facilitate Co-existence and Stability’. Response to H.E. Prodromou, (1998) ‘Reintegrating Cyprus: The Need for a New Approach’, *Survival*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (Autumn), p. 38. International Institute for Strategic Studies.

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