

## **CFSP Watch 2004 – Republic of Cyprus - by Costas Melakopides<sup>1</sup>**

### **1. What are the priorities for your government in CFSP in 2004? What are the key issues for your country in 2004 (after EU enlargement, after the Iraq conflict)?**

The Government of the Republic of Cyprus seems to have identified the following three CFSP priorities in 2004: first, the need for a more energetic EU participation in the efforts to normalize the situation in the Middle East. This should involve a more assertive role of the Union in the Quartet. Second, closer cooperation between the EU and the countries of the Mediterranean basin should be achieved through the revitalisation and improvement of the Barcelona Process. And third, there is a manifest need to work towards a more coherent EU foreign policy, so as to avoid the repetition of traumatic divisive experiences, the Iraq War being a paradigm case.

For Cyprus, a key issue remained the evolution of the Union along community lines, safeguarding the equality of member states and avoiding the surfacing of a hierarchical structure that would be detrimental to the interests of smaller states. And, needless to say, the Republic of Cyprus has been overwhelmingly preoccupied with solving its notorious political problem. This is causally (legally and politically) related to the issue of reunification, since 37% of its territory remains illegally occupied by Turkey. Following the rejection of the “Annan Plan” by 76% of the Greek Cypriots, and in view of the European Council of 17 December 2004 -when the historic decisions on Turkey will be taken- the legitimate Government of Cyprus, in tandem with the majority of its political elites, political analysts and opinion makers, are all perceiving that date as entailing a unique chance for the construction of conditions for the fair and viable solution of the Cyprus Problem in a manner that will conform to the *acquis communautaire*.

### **2. National Perceptions and Positions with regard to CFSP/ESDP Issues in 2004**

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*Please describe key positions and perceptions in your country with regard to EU foreign policy, taking into account:*

**a) The perceived success and/or failure of CFSP/ESDP (e.g. taking into account current developments like the Iraq conflict)**

The Cyprus Government, an ardent supporter of CFSP/ ESDP, strongly believes that both policies can, and ought to, be developed further, especially after the enlargement of the Union and in view of the adoption of a European Security Strategy. For only this way can the Union expand its influence worldwide and achieve important results as a global player. Cypriot analysts and opinion makers regret that, to date, the two policies have been marked by the preference for national policy-making over the formulation of common positions in crucial matters of international significance. They have, therefore, welcomed both the undertaking of the missions in Bosnia-Herzegovina, FYROM, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo as well as Cyprus' own symbolic participation in all of them.

**b) The position of your country towards NATO after enlargement (in relationship with the ESDP), as well as NATO's role in Afghanistan and in Iraq**

There is strong support in Cyprus for a healthy transatlantic relationship. Both Cypriot political elites and analysts expect that this relationship should be based on parity. As regards EU-NATO relations, Cyprus holds that no member state of either organization should be excluded from participating in the common ventures. The Berlin Plus arrangements for cooperation between the Union and NATO when the former undertakes operations using NATO assets should not be allowed to be exploited for political purposes by one member state of the Alliance (Turkey) to exclude two EU member states (Cyprus and Malta). As regards Afghanistan, there is general support for NATO's involvement. But as regards a possible NATO involvement in Iraq, the Republic of Cyprus, as a non-member of NATO, has not expressed any position.

**c) The role of the EU in crisis management e.g. in Europe and Africa**

Cyprus seems satisfied with the general role of the EU in crisis management in both Europe and Africa. The further development of EU capabilities for crisis management

and post-conflict peace-building in the Balkans and in Africa should be encouraged. For, beyond assisting the countries and areas involved to achieve normalization and socio-economic development, it would help decisively to enhance further the EU's global profile and prestige.

**d) The perceived impact of EU enlargement on CFSP/ESDP (old versus new Europe?)**

Cyprus hopes that the EU enlargement and the entry into NATO of many new member states will not have a negative impact on the development of an autonomous capability of the European Union. Political analysts and opinion makers seem on the whole to resist the notion of an "old versus new" dichotomy about EU member states, suspecting that it only serves to cultivate disunity and ineffectiveness.

**e) The view of the European Security Strategy (ESS) as an instrument for enhancing coherence in the EU's security policy; how does your country view the ESS and which issues are of particular importance?**

Cyprus fully subscribes to the aims of the European Security Strategy. For obvious reasons (of both principle and national interest), it welcomes particularly its emphasis on the promotion of effective multilateralism and respect for international law. Therefore, it also welcomes the emphasis on the importance of cooperation with the United Nations and other international organizations and strategic partners. As can well be expected, Cyprus notes with special satisfaction the recognition of the importance of the Security Council. Finally, there is general agreement on the threats delineated in the ESS and on the ways to tackle them.

**3) The Results of the Intergovernmental Conference 2003/2004 on the Constitutional Treaty**

*Have there been any official contributions or proposals brought to the IGC by your country's representatives with regard to External relations, CFSP and ESDP?*

Numerous interventions took place by the Cypriot representatives on most issues addressed below. The final positions of the Government of Cyprus can be located in the Cyprus Foreign Ministry website ([www.mfa.cy](http://www.mfa.cy)). Nine statements (in Greek) by

Cypriot President, Tassos Papadopoulos, and Foreign Minister, George Iakovou, suffice to convey Cyprus' sensitivities and overall support for the Constitutional Treaty.

*Describe (briefly) the position of your country in the following key issues:*

- a) External Representation: What is the final position of your country on the European foreign minister and the President of the European Council? Is your country in favour of double hatting?**

The Republic of Cyprus has supported the creation of the post of European Foreign Minister with double hatting and the President of the European Council. In addition, Nicosia has supported the creation of an external service to support the Foreign Minister.

- b) Decision-making: Does your country opt for an extension of qualified majority voting in the field of CFSP? Did your country support the Italian Presidency proposal for qualified majority voting to be applied when a proposal is submitted in CFSP by the Foreign Minister?**

Cyprus was among the member states that had reservations on extending QMV in the field of CFSP.

- c) Crisis management: What is the official position on expanding the Petersberg tasks and making reference to tasks that involve military resources? Which regions does your country consider as particularly promising for EU crisis management (e.g. Africa, Southern Caucasus)?**

The Republic of Cyprus supports the expansion of the Petersberg tasks and the further development of civilian and military assets and structures as means towards a more coherent and effective implementation of autonomous EU action. Africa, the Balkans and the Caucasus are considered by Cyprus as prime areas for crisis management operations.

**d) Defence: What is your country's position towards the establishment of the civilian-military cell at the EUMS? Was your government in favour of creating a full-fledged operational EU headquarters?**

Nicosia supports the civilian-military cell at the EUMS, believing that it will promote better coordination within the EU on planning and implementing crisis management initiatives. There is also general support for an EU Headquarters, in the belief that it will strengthen the EU's ability to implement operations while promoting closer cooperation among the member states and a common European Strategic Culture.

**e) What is the official position of your country on the new provisions for permanent structured cooperation, the final wording of the mutual defence clause, and the role and tasks of the defence agency? Should the agency become the institutional nucleus for European procurement and a single budget for defence?**

The Nicosia Government has extended its support for permanent structured cooperation. It believes that the mutual defence clause could be stronger. There is also general support for the establishment of a defence agency, whose tasks should be decided in due course by the member states. In due course and in line with ESDP's further development, the agency could indeed become the institutional nucleus for European procurement and a single budget for defence.

#### **4. Mapping of Activities in CFSP-related Research**

**a) Please indicate major experts, universities and research institutions working in the CFSP field in your country.**

- Dr. Michael Attalides, Dean, Intercollege, Nicosia
- Cyprus Institute of Strategic Studies-Intercollege (Chairman: Dr Aristos Aristotelous), Nicosia
- KIMEDE (Cyprus Institute for Mediterranean, European and International Studies), (President: Dr. Costas Melakopides, Professor of IR, University of Cyprus), Nicosia
- Dr. Costas Gouliamos, Professor of Communication, Cyprus College, Nicosia

- Mr Giorgos Kentas (MA, Kent, and Ph.D. Candidate, ULB, Belgium), Board Member of KIMEDE

**b) Please feel free to add specific remarks on your country (e.g. on the relation between national foreign and security policy and CFSP, on costs/benefits of one country's membership in the EU with regard to CFSP/ESDP)**

By the end of 2004, a number of forward-looking debates were being pursued in the Republic of Cyprus on its various roles in CFSP/ESDP-related issues. Among other things, a debate concerns a recent proposal by Yiannakis Omirou, President of Social-democratic EDEK, that Cyprus should apply for membership in the Partnership for Peace. At the time of this writing, the debate was on-going, educative, and undecided, given the strong arguments produced by both sides of the issue. AKEL, the popular left-wing party, headed the opposition to Cyprus' PfP membership, while conservative and centrist political forces were supplying valid theses in opposition to AKEL's "traditionalist" stance.

During the November 2004 Council of Defence Ministers in Brussels, Cypriot Minister, Koulis Mavronikolas, formally offered the Union a number of Cypriot assets for use by CFSP/ESDP. Among other things, the Republic of Cyprus is committed to submitting for EU use the airfield, "Andreas Papandreou" (near Paphos) and a naval base at Zygi. In addition, the Defence Minister made available to the Union two Cypriot National Guard Units -one Engineering and one Medical- for EU service in Petersberg tasks.

A suggestion circulating and discussed for some time -especially after the rejection of the "Annan Plan" (since 76% of the Greek Cypriots considered that plan, *inter alia*, "unfair, anti-European, and certainly unworkable"- relates to the desirability of deploying a (UN-mandated) European Union peacekeeping/peacebuilding force in Cyprus.

Finally, an important discussion is flourishing among some Cypriot experts and political analysts concerning the increasing geostrategic potential of Cyprus in the

Eastern Mediterranean. Thus, Nicosia is capable of assisting the EU in an honest broker role in the Middle East, given its excellent traditional relations with both Arabs and Israelis. In addition, in the event of beginning to resolve the Palestinian Question with EU's help, Cyprus is ideally located to provide the facilities for a European peacekeeping-and-peacebuilding force. In fact, Cyprus could well become the EU's relevant HQs.