

Index

- Acheson, Dean 100, 102
 plan 102
acquis communautaire 156, 162, 164,
 165–6, 181, 188, 197, 198
Adamides, Constantinos 14–15, 145
Aegean 50, 67, 105
 and Cyprus 51, 68
 dispute 105, 109
 islands 56
Ağar, Mehmet 51
Akansoy, Asım 215
AKEL (*Anorthotiko Komma*
 Ergazomenou Laou [Progressive
 Party of Working People]) 26,
 159, 188–9, 199, 236–8
 and Annan plan 4, 31, 105, 159
 bicomunal bizonal federation
 (BBF) 111, 188, 222
 positions 191, 194–5, 197–8, 229
 and Turkish Cypriots 85, 236–8
 see also Christofias
Akıncı, Mustafa 4–5, 55–6, 125, 163,
 179, 209–12
 and Anastasiades 5, 107, 125, 163,
 252
 during Cyprus talks 125, 139, 179,
 221
 and Greek Cypriots 209
 positions 204, 206, 210–12
 and Turkey 50, 55–6, 94
AKP (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*
 [Justice and Development Party])
 51, 53, 64, 68–9, 72–3, 91, 107
 and geopolitics 68–9, 72–3
 government 72, 74, 78, 94, 107
 and Greek Cypriots 209, 251
 ideology 68, 72, 75
 and North Cyprus 71, 128
Akritas Plan 106
Akter, Aysu Basri 16, 248
Alata, Syed Hussein 24, 40
Albayrak, Berat 52
Anastasiades, Nicos 4–5, 32, 88–91,
 93, 97, 125, 161, 163–5, 198, 202,
 233–4
 and Akıncı 4, 5, 107–8, 125, 139,
 163, 179, 252
 on BBF 188
 during Cyprus talks 107–8, 122, 163,
 179, 190
 election 18, 161, 199, 225
 and *enosis* 233
 and Eroğlu 189, 240
 father 17–18
 and Turkish Cypriots 52, 92
 see also DISY
Anatolia 49, 56, 57, 67
 geography 72
 settlers 126, 128
ANEL (*Anexartitoi Ellines*
 [Independent Greeks]) 108,
 115
Ankara 67, 70–74, 88–9, 91–2, 95, 102,
 104–7, 109, 193
 and Athens 102, 107
 and Greek Cypriots 5, 95, 110
 Protocol (2005) 159, 170, 178
 and Turkish Cypriots 14, 55, 65,
 70–71, 79 *passim* 88–9, 94
 and TRNC 91–2, 95
 see also Turkey
Annan plan 53, 100, 123–4, 126, 130,
 137, 142, 149, 158, 175, 226, 230,
 235, 241, 252
 and AKEL 237
 and Anastasiades 161
 and Clerides 226
 and EU 158, 167, 177
 and Greece 14, 109
 and Greek Cypriots 38, 53, 104, 153,
 155, 158–9, 169–70, 175–6
 and Papadopoulos, T. 31, 226

- post 4
- Talat on 230
- and Turkey 107, 124, 128
- and Turkish Cypriots 96, 153, 178–9, 196, 206, 210–11
- Annan, Kofi 3, 149
 - map 201, 212, 223, 230, 236, 241
 - see also* Annan plan
- Antagonism, Resonance, Invention
 - Action (ARIA) 23, 39
- Anthias, Floya 25, 40
- Anthropology 23–4, 40
- Arab 72, 77, 126
- Armenians 67, 77
- Asad, Talal 24
- Association for Historical Dialogue and Research 32
- Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal 54, 101
 - see also* Kemalism
- Athens 48, 95, 102–4, 105, 107, 111
 - and Anastasiades 4, 107
 - as ‘national centre’ 102–3, 104
 - and Nicosia 105, 108
 - see also* Greece
- Attalides, Michael A. 40
- ‘Attila Line’ 32
- Atun, Hakkı 125, 133
- Austria 161
- Averoff, Evangelos 101
- Aydinlik* 125
- Azerbaijan 55
- Azgın, Fatma 41, 70

- Bağış, Egemen 56
- Balkan/s 51
 - Pact (1934) 65
- Batu, Inal 89
- Bayar, Mahmut Celâl 101, 105
- Belgium 52, 77
- Beşerler, Aytaç 133
- Best Alternative to a Negotiated Agreement (BATNA) 148, 149
- BEY (*Bayraktar Elçi Yönetim*) 89
- Bey, Ziver 49
- bicommunal 7, 10, 26, 28–9, 32, 33–6
 - dialogue 35
 - groups 29, 31
 - movement 28–9, 32, 26, 41
 - police 250
 - project 34
 - technical committees 33
 - Women’s Group 30
 - see also* bicomunal bizonal federation; bicomunalism
- Bicommunal Bizonal Federation (BBF) 35, 94, 111, 188, 203, 221–2, 238
 - evolution 188
 - and Greek Cypriots 221–2
 - opposition 200, 221–2
 - support 94, 148, 203
 - and Turkish Cypriots 203, 224, 238
 - see also* bizonality; settlement; solution
- bicomunalism 26, 31–4, 37
- Biden, Joe 177
- Bilgin, Pinar 66
- binary 11, 15, 35
 - dualism 38, 92
 - conflicts 11, 22, 93
- bizonality 188, 194, 209, 232, 235
- BKP (*Birleşik Kıbrıs Partisi* [United Cyprus Party]) 205, 214
- Bölükbaşı, Osman 49
- Bosnia 140, 207, 208
- boundary/ies 15, 48, 65, 246
 - role conflict 13, 19
 - state 65, 213, 230
- Boutros-Ghali, Boutros 3, 31, 41, 137, 143
 - CBMs 137, 142
 - map 223, 225
 - Set of Ideas 137, 225
- Brexit 129, 179
- British 88, 122
 - bases 122, 132, 190, 207
 - colonial rule 81–2, 85–6, 88–9, 101, 111, 120, 170
 - courts 127
 - Friends of Cyprus 27
 - functionalism 24
 - see also* Brexit
- Broom, Benjamin 30, 42
- Bulgaria 51, 104
- Bulut, Yiğit 92
- Bürgenstock (2004) 136, 137
- Bursa 69
- Burton, John W. 20–23, 26

- Çağlayangil, İhsan Sabri 102, 106
- Cairo 48

- Camilleri, Joseph 9
- Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security 29
- Çavuşoğlu, Mevlüt 73, 154
- Centre for Dialogue 39
- Centre for the Analysis of Conflict 23
- Centre Unity (*Enosi Kentrou*) 4
- Çevikel, Nuri 133
- Ceyhan 69
- change 7, 18, 21–2, 26–7, 34–5, 37–8, 68, 100, 108, 144, 238
- demographic 82–3, 229, 251
 - ex- 21, 23, 32, 41, 73, 101, 162, 212
 - and Greek Cypriots 31, 206
 - theory 12
 - Turkey 69–72, 74, 91, 109
 - amongst Turkish Cypriots 31, 81, 208, 238
- see also* continuity; exchange
- checkpoints 7, 31, 84, 86
- CHP (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* [Republican People's Party]) 48–9
- Christofias, Dimitris 16, 18, 41, 138, 159–60, 188, 233 *passim* 238
- AKEL 105, 159
- Annan plan 105, 236–7
- BBF 188, 238
- four freedoms 236
- negotiations 160, 195
- rapprochement 32, 238
- rotating presidency 198, 210, 234–5
- security and guarantees 233–4
- and Talat 41, 124, 138, 160, 210, 237
- territory and property 194, 229, 235–6
- and Turkish Cypriots 236–8
- see also* AKEL
- Christou, George 15, 155
- Chrysostomos II 149
- Citizens Joint Movement for a Federal and Democratic Cyprus 28
- citizenship 7, 15, 119, 124–6, 130, 252
- Cypriot 124, 129
 - EU 125, 126
 - federal 15, 124–5, 132, 163, 201
 - Republic of Cyprus 86, 96
 - rights 128, 130
 - single 198
 - TRNC 56, 125–6, 192
 - Turkish 124–5, 229, 241
- Civil Resistance Platform 83
- civil society 6–7, 16, 29, 33, 93, 161, 180
- bicommunal 36
 - EU support 161, 177
 - Greek 109
 - organisations 30, 181
 - Turkish Cypriot 205, 207–8, 210, 212
- class 128, 238, 245
- middle 33, 70
 - ruling 24, 33
- Clerides, Glafkos 4, 31, 41, 103–5, 121, 157–8, 161, 226
- Clerides, Katie 41
- CMP (*Cumhuriyetçi Millet Partisi* [Republican National Party]) 49
- Cold War 92, 205, 227
- post- 29, 65, 92
- colonialism 24, 55, 100, 128
- colonisation 124, 126–7, 192–3
- Committee for Turkish Affairs 88
- communal 11, 13, 14, 27, 37, 81–2
- Greek Cypriot 121
 - intra- 10, 13, 37
 - quota 231
 - representation 81, 247
 - rights 121
 - security 80, 241
 - Turkish Cypriot 85–6, 90, 96, 241
- see also* bicommunal; intercommunal
- communication 10, 12, 16, 21–2, 25–6, 64
- tele- 92
- confidence building measures (CBMs) 29, 137, 139–41, 144, 207, 209
- UN 1992–94 29, 135, 137, 142
 - UN 2015 139, 163
- conflict 3 *passim* 17, 20 *passim* 39, 147–8
- adversarial 22
 - boundary role 13, 19
 - definition 26
 - diaspora 25, 128–30
 - dormant/frozen 3, 17, 79
 - framing 22–4
 - interest-based 39
 - identity-based 39
 - Kurdish 78, 126
 - monitoring 19, 141, 145, 156
 - narrative 119

- parties 16, 147–8, 175
- post- 14, 119, 122–3
- protracted 10, 147–8
- studies 20–21
- Syrian 72
- transformation 7, 180
- violent 82, 208
- and women 30
- see also* conflict resolution
- conflict resolution 9–10, 12, 21–6, 28–9, 33–4, 151
- discourse 12, 21–6
- diaspora 128 *passim*
- and EU 173
- interventions 25
- process 34, 110
- scholars 10
- training 29–30, 34
- transferability 33
- workshops 29, 31, 34, 47
- and UN 151
- see also* conflict
- consociational 110
- continuity 7, 12
- of RoC 246
- Cot, Jean-Pierre 20
- Council of Europe 127, 242
- coup d'état 102
- (1974) 48, 89, 103, 106, 228
- (1980) 67
- (2016) 71, 72–3, 109
- Crans-Montana 108, 136
- collapse 5, 37, 93, 108, 139, 142, 168, 221, 236
- conference 108, 164, 209, 234, 251–2
- negotiations 139, 150
- talks 5, 37, 93, 221
- Turkey at 154, 166, 209, 234, 249–50
- crossing 138, 163
- Dherynia 163
- Green Line 142, 180
- Ledra Street/Lokmacı 138
- Lefka and Dherynia 163
- Limnitis/Yeşilirmak 138
- CTP (*Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi* [Republican Turkish Party]) 53, 82, 99, 127, 205–13
- Cuellar, Perez de 3
- Cypriot character 82–3
- 'Cypriot state'
- Greek 104
- solution 15, 155
- Turkish 162–3, 194–6, 227
- unitary 110
- 'Cypriot-led, Cypriot-owned' 5, 6, 176
- Cypriotism 25, 28
- Cypriotness 86
- Cyprus
- North 51, 73, 94, 177, 242, 249, 251
- South 52, 73, 99
- see also* Greek Cypriot; Turkish Cypriot
- Cyprus 2015 50, 122, 132, 141
- Cyprus Academic Dialogue (CAD) 5
- Cyprus conquest (1571) 49
- Cyprus Consortium 29
- Cyprus Convention 81
- 'Cyprus is Turkish' 48
- Party (*Kıbrıs Türkütür Partisi*) 88
- Cyprus News Agency (CNA) 150, 221
- Cyprus Orthodox Church 82, 99, 149, 206
- Cyprus Peace Centre 5
- Cyprus Talks
- 2008–12 124, 139, 187
- 2015–17 9, 115, 120, 125, 139, 187, 248, 252
- Cyprus, Republic of (RoC) 8, 48, 73, 84, 100, 137, 158–9, 190, 196, 240
- areas 183
- Constitution (1960) 96, 240, 247
- continuation 189, 226, 246, 248
- EEZ 3
- establishment of 48, 90, 136, 211
- and EU 52, 127, 155–7, 167, 170, 175, 180, 188
- evolution of 211, 245–6, 248
- first 85, 100
- Greek Cypriot-led 4, 15, 27, 87, 89, 111, 121, 174–5, 180
- President of 32, 159
- sovereignty 162
- territory 196, 244, 246
- transformation of 234, 240, 246
- and Turkey 159–60, 166, 170, 190
- and Turkish Cypriots 31, 79, 84, 86, 93, 95–6, 174
- Cyprus workshop (1966) 26

- Dağlı, Okan 216
- Davos 5
- Davutoğlu, Ahmet 49, 51, 69–70
- deadlock 250
 - Cyprus problem 74, 250, 252
 - negotiations 150–51, 154
 - resolution 141, 232
- demilitarisation 179, 189, 200, 207
- Demirel, Süleyman 51, 58
- democracy 7, 84–5, 109, 197, 144, 204
 - anti-189
 - Cyprus 28
 - discourse 7, 84
 - principles 204, 245
 - and Turkey 109, 249
 - and Turkish Cypriots 42, 80
 - demography 119–21, 129–30, 191–2, 251
 - balance 57, 124, 130, 191, 197
 - change 82–3, 127, 229
 - North 83 131–2, 229, 251
 - post-1974 119–20
 - ‘question’ 191–2, 251
 - ratio 197, 201
 - realities 120, 124
 - security 121
 - settlers 124, 126, 191–2, 228–9
 - space 33
 - of Turkey 251
 - Turkish Cypriot 82, 119–20, 129, 229
- Denktaş, Rauf R. 18, 28, 31, 41, 49, 53–4, 86, 90, 96, 107, 121, 160, 212, 226, 248
 - on Annan plan, 226
 - dogma 31, 86
 - and EU 53, 158
 - as ‘spoiler’ 110
 - and Turkey 53, 64, 104, 107
- Denktaş, Serdar 99, 210
- dependency 24, 25
 - Turkish Cypriot 54, 80, 82, 84, 87, 89–91, 99, 179
- DHP (*Halkların Demokratik Partisi* [Democratic People’s Party]) 78
- dialogue 4, 8, 12–13, 16, 73, 131
 - agonistic 11, 13, 16
 - Ankara-Lefkosia 95, 99
 - elite 16
 - intercommunal 13, 28, 34–5
 - intra-communal 37
 - intercultural 36
 - sustainable 8, 12
- Diamond, Lousie 29
- diaspora 34, 119 *passim* 131
- Cypriot 119, 128–9
 - Greek Cypriot 121
 - Turkish Cypriot 129, 130
- DIKO (*Dimokratiko Komma* [Democratic Party]) 159, 162, 199
 - on BBF 188, 222
 - leader 192, 196, 222
 - positions 191–2, 194, 196, 198, 228
 - vote 159, 199
- dilemma 9–10, 13, 24–5, 80, 151
 - Cyprus 22, 37, 92
 - Greek Cypriot 38, 92
 - knowledge 24–5
 - leaders 13
 - Prisoner’s 22
 - security 79, 95
 - Turkish Cypriot 14, 79 *passim* 95
- diplomacy 29, 141
 - citizens 25
 - first-track 33
 - multi track 29
 - second-track 20, 26–7, 29, 38
 - shuttle 102
 - UN 8
- Direct Trade Regulation (DTR) 155–6, 158–60, 167, 171
- disagreement
 - EU 180
 - Greek Cypriot 85, 194, 232, 235
 - radical 12, 16
- displacement 14, 119–23, 130
- dissent 25, 37, 38
- DISY [*Dimokratikos Sinagermos* – Democratic Rally] 4, 111, 159, 199–200
 - and AKEL 111, 170, 189–91, 194–5, 197–8, 229
 - on BBF 188, 222
 - on refugees 194–5
 - on security 190–91
 - on settlers 191, 229
 - and ‘Yes’ vote 31
 - see also* Anastasiades
- division 6, 12, 27–8, 89, 124
 - of 1974 89, 121

- de facto 203
 geographical 89, 192
 resolving 173, 179
 territorial 84, 89, 111
see also partition; reunification;
 status quo; *taksim*
- Doob, Leonard 21–2, 26–7, 38, 41
- double minority dilemma/complex 95
- Downer, Alexander 149–50, 187, 235
 converges 2008–12 187, 235
see also convergences
- DP (*Demokrat Parti* [Democrat Party])
 127, 214
 positions 203, 205, 207 *passim* 213,
 229
- Druckman, Daniel 19, 187
- DSP (*Demokratik Sol Parti*
 [Democratic Left Party]) 49
- dualism 92, 38
- Ecevit, Bülent 49, 56–8, 68, 182
- economy 4, 55, 90, 109, 251
 common 34, 144, 230, 253
 crisis 109, 160
 EU 155, 157, 178–80, 197, 249
 federal 160, 230, 111, 144, 160, 236
 Greek Cypriot 252–3
 obstacles 42, 58
 Mediterranean 68–71
 RoC 3, 108, 121, 149, 161
 socio- 36, 121, 130, 242
 structures 71, 74
 TRNC 54, 56, 70, 87, 91, 126, 249
 Turkey's 58–9, 72, 78, 192, 238, 249
 Turkish Cypriot 14, 55–7, 79, 84,
 90–2, 128, 177, 251
- EDEK (*Eniea Demokratiki Enosi*
Kentrou [United Democratic
 Union of Cyprus]) 31, 131, 159,
 193, 199
 positions 189, 191, 194, 197, 198–9,
 228
- EDI (*Enomenoi Dimokrates* [United
 Democrats]) 49
- education 27–8, 30, 35, 42, 78, 85, 96,
 180
 cooperation 27–8, 35
 and EU 249
 Greek Cypriot 82, 96
 peace 27, 41, 142, 180, 206, 238
 systems 27–8, 85, 96
 Turkish Cypriot 81–2, 96
- Efstathiou, Kostis 193
- Eide, Espen Barth 5, 108, 150, 221
- Ekenoğlu, Başak 14, 119
- ELAM (*Ethniko Laiko Metopo*
 [National Popular Front]) 87, 97,
 193, 199
 positions 189, 191, 193–4, 228–9
- ELDYK (*Elliniki Dynami Kyprou*
 [Hellenic Force of Cyprus]) 103
- Elekdağ, Şükrü 75
- elites 23, 27, 29, 66, 169
 English-speaking 30, 42
 Greek Cypriot 156–7, 158, 162, 171
 political 67, 137, 165
- embargo 29, 53, 187
- 'enemy' 11, 109, 111, 148
- Eni oil 149, 224
- enosis* 22, 81, 86, 88–9, 101–4, 233
 'coup' 102
 'double' 102
 EOKA campaign 54, 88
 Makarios 103, 106
 referendum 93, 99, 233
-taksim 22, 88, 101–2
 and Turkish Cypriots 56, 81–2, 87–8
- EOKA (*Ethniki Organosis Kypriou*
Agoniston [National Organization
 of Cypriot Fighters]) 82, 86, 88,
 101, 169, 240–41
 -B' 4, 89, 103, 106, 121
- equality 85, 146, 180, 210, 231–2
- gender 30
 numerical 81, 198, 231
 political 6, 123, 170, 174, 188, 198,
 209, 229, 231–2, 238
 segmental 85–6, 93
 sovereign 146, 152
 Turkish Cypriot 163, 209
- Ercan (Tymbou) airport 92
- Erdoğan, Recep Tayyip 50, 53, 55–6,
 64, 73, 77
 adviser 68, 92
 Cyprus policy 53, 68, 110, 128
 on geostrategy 166–7
 and troop withdrawal 50
 and Turkish Cypriots 55–6
see also Turkey
- Erenköy (Kothcina) 212

- Eroğlu, Derviş 4, 16, 32, 61, 160, 235, 240
 and Anastasiades 162, 189
 and Christofias 32, 235
 leadership 160, 162
 positions 240 *passim* 243
- Ertuğruloğlu, Tahsin 203
- EU (European Union) 3, 8, 11, 15, 53, 104, 139, 148, 155 *passim* 169, 173
passim 181, 197, 227
acquis 188, 197, 227
 as catalyst 15, 104
 citizenship 125–7, 129, 197
 and Cyprus 15, 52–3, 104, 155
passim 181, 208, 223, 228, 231
 and Greek Cypriots 156 *passim* 170, 181, 249
 limitations 155 *passim* 169, 176–81
 Regulations 155–6
 RoC 156, 174, 180, 187
 and Turkey 52–3, 56, 73, 108–10, 169, 174–9, 249
 and Turkish Cypriots 4, 53, 174–9, 180–81
see also Europe; European Commission; European Community; European Council; ECHR; ‘European Solution’
- Eurobarometer 145
- Eurocentric 33
- Europe 52, 91, 129, 157, 167–8, 180, 227, 249
 and Cyprus 173, 176, 223
 and Turkey 4, 116
- European Commission 155, 158, 177
 Presidents 164, 176, 182
- European Community 157
- European Council 174, 182
- European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) 213, 214, 242
 Demopoulos case 242
Loizidou vs Turkey 53, 126–7
- European Court of Justice (ECJ) 89–90
Apostolides vs Orams 127
- European Parliament 155
- European Population Committee 127
- ‘European Solution’ 159, 187–9, 197, 227, 249
- Europeanisation 15, 174–5, 177–8, 180
- Evdokas, Takis 25, 40
- everyday 5, 7, 33–6, 79, 148, 160, 238
 ‘security’ 165, 169
- Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) 149, 150, 161, 163
- Famagusta 32, 123
 -Nicosia Road 212
 Port 162
see also Varosha
- ‘Farewell to the Last Cypriot’ 71
- federal government 129, 170, 198–9, 209–11, 231–2, 253
- Federal Republic of Cyprus 188, 198, 236
- federalism 28, 94, 211, 226–7, 247, 253
 transition 187–9, 211, 226–7
see also BBF
- Financial Aid Regulation (FAR) 158, 161, 167
- financial crisis 160–61
- Fisher, Ron 26, 29
- framing 22–4, 31, 130, 146
- France 77, 113, 129, 161
- freedom/s 178, 195, 197, 204, 231, 252
 as chapter 178, 183
 four 129, 164, 197, 236, 252
 Fundamental (1952) 247
 of movement 166, 183, 197, 246
 of residence 236
 of settlement 246
 three 246
- ‘from Turk to Turk’ (*Türk’ten Türk’e*) 88, 90
- Fulbright Commission 29, 34, 39
- Füle, Stefan 176
- Galtung, Johan 22, 39
- gas exploration 3, 17, 52, 116, 161, 179–80
- Gender Advisory Team (GAT) 30
- Geneva 72–3, 102
 Conference (1974) 103
 Convention 127
 talks (2016–17) 5, 72–3, 99, 136, 163–4, 166, 190
- geography 69, 66
 of ‘Anatolia’ 72
 of Cyprus 70

- Turkey's 64, 66, 68–9, 203
see also geopolitics
 geopolitics 48, 66
 German Institute for Democracy
 and the Preservation of the
 Environment 28
 Giorgallas, Michalis 193
 Gomes, Alberto 39–40
 Gough, Kathlenn 24
 governance 15, 18, 29, 148, 163, 173,
 195, 198, 234–4
 Greece 8, 14, 49, 51, 67, 100 *passim*
 112, 174, 230
 Aegean 50, 67
 and Alliance 190
 and coup (1974) 227
 -Cyprus-Israel alliance 3
 on *enosis* 86, 102, 104, 240
 and EU 174, 176
 'Friendship Pact' 167
 as Guarantor 47, 137, 147, 172, 205
 as 'mother country' 100
 as 'National Centre' 100, 103–4
 and Turkey 10–11, 49, 50, 54, 73, 88,
 102, 163, 166, 190, 228, 245
see also Athens; Greek
 Greek 8, 13, 100 *passim* 116
 'Cyprus is ...' 106, 110
 dialogue 12
 foreign ministers 101, 102, 103, 107,
 150, 190
 government/s 5, 100, 102–4, 108,
 190, 205
 irrendetism 104
 junta 48, 83, 89, 102–3, 106, 115
 -'lovers' (*Rumcu*) 56, 59
 mainland 105, 106
 military 48, 60, 101, 102, 200
 nationalism 88, 106
 nationals 124–5, 130
 Orthodox 36, 82
 public 107, 110
 premier/s 58, 101, 103
 -Turkish relations 8, 11, 42, 49, 51,
 56, 65, 73, 102, 104–5, 109–11,
 113, 158, 174–5
see also Greece; Greek Cypriots
 Greek Cypriot/s 14–15, 31–3, 50,
 79–81, 84–7, 93–5, 107, 110–15,
 120–24, 126–7, 129–32, 137–8, 145
passim 153, 155 *passim* 172, 175–8,
 187 *passim* 201, 204–6, 208–9,
 222–5, 226–32, 233–8, 240–43,
 244–7, 248–53
 and Annan plan 38, 53, 104, 155,
 158–9, 169–70, 175–6
 anxiety 191
 on BBF 221–2
 change 31, 206
 diaspora 119, 121, 129
 dilemma 4, 92
 disagreement 85, 194, 232, 235
 economy 252–3
 education 27, 82, 96
 elites 156–7, 158, 162, 171
 and *enosis* 22, 81, 82, 86, 89, 93, 99,
 102–3, 106, 233
 Eroğlu on 240–43
 and EU 155 *passim* 171, 181, 249
 and Greece 100 *passim* 115
 and guarantees 189–91, 208–9, 222,
 227
 leadership 31–2, 93, 104, 115, 120,
 157, 165, 205–6, 210, 229
 as majority 79, 81, 85, 93, 149, 229,
 231, 253
 narrative 85, 106
 National Council 188, 192–3, 195,
 199, 245
 nationalism 4, 25, 28, 31, 48, 79, 82,
 87–9, 101, 106, 121, 154, 228
 opinion polls 148, 153, 222
 as Orthodox Christians 81–2
 positions 145, 161, 187 *passim* 201,
 221–5, 233–9, 244–7
 refugees 36, 120–21, 123, 129–30,
 197, 246
 and reunification 110–11, 162, 165
 and RoC 4, 15, 27, 87, 89, 111, 121,
 174–5, 180
 and security 86, 94–5, 124, 157,
 189–91, 195
 and settlers 124, 189, 191–3, 197,
 222, 281, 251
 and solution 187 *passim* 202,
 249–50
 Talat on 209, 228–31
 and Turkey 4, 14, 84, 86, 93–5, 129,
 175, 190–96, 209, 228, 242, 244,
 250–51

- and Turkish Cypriots 84–7, 93–6,
175, 190, 208–9, 223, 250
and UN 145 *passim* 153
see also Anastasiades; Christofias;
Greece; Greek; Omerou; RoC;
Vassiliou
- Green Line 84, 121, 142, 149
checkpoint 84, 142, 180
Regulation (GLR) 158, 177
- Greens (*Kinima Oikologon* [ecological
movement]) 191–2, 194, 197, 199
on BFF 189
on colonisation 192
positions 191, 194, 197–9, 228
- Grivas, George ('Dighenis') 101–3, 112
- Groom, A.J.R. 22, 38
- groups 7, 14, 23, 25, 30, 35, 119, 144
armed 206
bicomunal 30–31, 35
communal 14, 82
disenfranchised 11, 14, 119, 128
indigenous 126
mobile 119
working 27, 41, 138–9, 144, 160
- guarantees 15, 73, 103, 119, 148, 245
Christofias on 233–4
and Greek Cypriots 189–91, 208–9,
222, 227
Guterres on 225
Omerou on 244–5
and security 73–4, 141, 160, 163–6,
168, 189–91, 203–8
Talat on 227–8
Treaty 108, 190, 234–5, 249–51
and Turkey 72
and Turkish Cypriots 168, 203–8
'zero' 108, 190, 222
see also guarantors; security
- guarantors 50, 190, 200, 206, 207, 208,
211
Guterres on 200, 225
and Turkish Cypriots 204, 207
- Gül, Abdullah 52
- Günel, Altuğ 13, 47
- Gürel, Ayla 121
- Gürel, Şükrü Sina 51, 67, 98–9
- Guterres, António 3, 125, 149, 164,
190, 221
framework 190, 200–201, 236
new security system 200, 225
- Hadjipavlou, Maria 13, 20, 41, 42
- Hale, William 66
- Hands Across the Divide (HAD) 30
- hardliners 12, 103
- Hatay 71, 77
- Hatay, Mete 121, 125–6
- hegemony 14, 25, 79
AKP 75
framework 25, 84
Greek Cypriot 14, 93–4
- Hellenism 86, 100, 104
see also Greek
- Heraclides, Alexis 14, 100
- High Level Agreements 1977 and 1979
159, 188
- history 13, 18, 21, 33, 34, 237
Cyprus 47, 110, 233
dialectical 234
- Home for Cooperation (H4C) 32–3
- homeland 28, 68–9, 79
see also diaspora
- Hoşkara, Ercan 215
- HP (*Halkın Partisi* [People's Party])
204 *passim* 213
- human rights 15, 27, 119–21, 130, 195,
197, 223
Declaration 247
framework 119–20, 131
see also ECHR
- human security 95
- Hürriyet* 48
- hydrocarbons 52, 108, 111, 233
see also gas exploration
- İçener, Erhan 15, 164, 167, 173
- identity 18, 42, 86, 109–10
conflict 29, 39
group 37
Turkish Cypriot 14, 59, 79–81, 84,
86, 97, 99
- ideology 21, 48, 83, 92
- Imia/Kardak crisis (1996) 109
- Immovable Property Commission
(IPC) 242
- imperialism 24, 26
- İnönü, İsmet 48, 49
- Institute for Middle Eastern Affairs
27
- Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy
29

- integration 56, 70, 96, 129, 179, 230
 EU 155–6, 168, 173, 178–9
 federal 93, 96
 and Greek Cypriots 230
 with Turkey 64, 69, 175
 and Turkish Cypriots 54, 56, 86
- interactive
 Management Approach 30
 problem solving 21, 26, 27, 35, 42
- intercommunal 6–7, 23, 28–9, 32, 90,
 193, 251
 1958 clashes 32
 1963–4 crisis 26, 48, 82, 86, 89, 120,
 146
 1967 clashes 48, 86
 AKEL tradition 159
 coexistence 87–8, 89, 93
 dialogue 11, 13, 34, 36
 negotiations 7, 10, 13, 26, 124
 relations 7, 28, 85, 88
 space 6
 talks 9, 100, 102, 147
 tensions 251
- International Studies Quarterly* 20
- intra-communal 37
 dialogues 10, 37
 process 10, 13
see also intercommunal
- invasion (Turkish 1974) 31, 103, 106,
 107, 110, 140, 146, 192, 244
 and Greek Cypriots 222
 and occupation 31, 106, 110, 193,
 228, 244
 second 103
 and Turkish Cypriots 193
- Ioannidis, Dimitrios 115
- irredentism 65
 Greek 104, 106
- Islam 48, 82
- Islamic 8, 57, 64, 68–9, 75, 193
- Israel 3, 52, 69
 Palestinian conflict 20, 23
- Istanbul 48, 106
- Italy 75, 129
- Jerusalem 48
- Johnson, Lyndon 101–2
- journalists 142
 Turkish Cypriot 56
- Juncker, Jean-Claude 164
- Kadis, Costas 33
- Kadritzke, Niels 90
- Kahn, İbrahim 68
- Kamenos, Panos 115
- Karamanlis, Constantinos 58, 101,
 103–4
 ‘Nicosia decides’ doctrine 104
 ‘syndrome’ 63
- Karamanlis, Kostas 105, 109
- Kasoulides, Ioannis 149
- Kastelorizo 102
- Kelman, Herbert C. 21, 22, 23–4, 27
 1984 workshop 27
- Kemalist 8, 64–5, 67–9, 75
 ideology 48
 ‘National Contract’ 65
 ‘Peace at Home – Peace in the
 World’ 65
 reforms 81
 state 72
see also Atatürk
- Ker-Lindsay, James 50, 136
- Ki-moon, Ban 3, 124
- Kissinger, Henry 56–7, 103
- Kitromilides, Paschalis 40, 108
- Kızılyürek, Niyazi 54, 63
- Kontos, Michalis 14–15, 145
- Köprülü, Mehmet Fuat 47
- Kosovo (scenario) 162
- Kotak, İsmet 125, 133
- Kotzias, Nicos 107, 108, 115, 150,
 190–91
 ‘zero troops, zero guarantees’
 190–91
- Kranidiotis, Yiannos 104
- KTOEOS (*Kıbrıs Türk Orta Eğitim
 Öğretmenler Sendikası* [Cyprus
 Turkish Secondary School
 Teachers Union]) 205
- KTÖS (*Kıbrıs Türk Öğretmenler
 Sendikası* [Turkish Cypriot
 Teachers’ Union]) 57, 205
- Küçük, Fazıl 54, 83, 88
- Küçük, İrsen 55
- Kurds 67, 72, 78, 126, 128
- Kuwayama, Takami 24–5
- Kyprianou, Spyros 103, 188, 222
prótaxis 222
- Kyrenia 123, 132
- Kyrou, Alexis 100–101, 105

- ‘Land for Peace’ 212, 223
see also territory
- language/s 23, 28, 36, 66, 83, 85, 96,
 163, 181, 187
- law 166, 247
 EU 164, 170, 176–7, 188
 international 15, 27, 56, 127, 145–6,
 150–52, 159, 171, 244–5, 247
 and order 93, 135, 146
 property 247
 of the Sea 150
- leadership 4 *passim*, 6–7, 13, 18, 68,
 150, 155, 180, 204, 222
 Greek Cypriot 31–2, 104, 115,
 156–7, 165, 205
 Turkish Cypriot 27, 31, 54, 83, 88,
 120, 126, 157, 160, 162, 174,
 205
- Lebanon 20, 69
- Ledra
 Place Hotel 27–8, 30, 140
 Street 5, 138
see also checkpoint
- Lefkosia 95
 -Limassol Road 132
see also Nicosia
- Left 82, 94
 and Right 29, 95, 96, 203
 Turkish Cypriot 31, 70, 82, 94, 95–6,
 99, 127, 203, 205, 214
- liberalism
 British 81
 libertarians 198
 neo 68
 Turkish Cypriot 88
- Lillikas, Giorgos 193, 197, 199
- linkage 11, 32, 130, 166
 Cyprus-Turkey 53
 diasporic 25
 missing 10, 16
- Loizides, Neophytos 14, 18, 119, 132
- Loizos, Peter 25, 40
- Loizou, Natasa 123
- London 22, 105, 128
 Conference (1959) 48, 49, 67, 170
 Cypriot diaspora 189–9
 -Zurich Agreements (1959) 58, 100,
 101, 103–4, 170, 236
- Lordos, Alexandros 132, 142
- Lumsden, Malvern 22
- Macmillan, Harold 101
- majoritarianism 93, 198
- majority 85, 195, 198, 202, 211, 229,
 232, 235, 242
 in BBF 148
 Greek Cypriot as 79, 81, 85, 93, 149,
 229, 231, 253
 minority- 93
 of population 158, 194, 232, 229,
 235, 242
 rights 245, 252–3
 and Turkish Cypriots 31, 123, 129,
 166, 213, 231, 233
 vote 210, 222
- Makarios 83, 101–4, 106, 115
- Malas, Stavros 199
- Malta 174
- map/s 49, 83, 162, 195, 212, 230
 Annan 212, 223, 230, 236, 241
 Ghali 223, 225
 Morphou 236
 Turkish Cypriot 235
- Markides, Kyriacos C. 25, 40
- Marmara 53
- media 23, 29, 31, 35, 140, 144, 149–50,
 187
- Mediterranean 49, 52, 67, 68–70
 Eastern 52, 64, 67, 69–73, 179, 249
 Centre for 26
- Megali Idea* 52, 106
- memory 18
- Menderes, Adnan 48, 49
- Merkel, Angela 178
- Mersin 69
- methodology 6–8, 20–22, 23
- Meyer, Albert 90
- Mezar-ı Şerif 69
- Michael, Michális S. 3, 13–14, 20,
 38–40, 75, 79, 132, 187
- Middle East 51, 72, 73–4, 108, 249
 Institute for 27
 Islam 48
 Saadabad Pact (1937) 65
- migration 119, 124, 130
 Turkish 55, 57, 124, 126, 129, 252
see also diaspora
- mobility, human 130
- Mogherini, Federica 164
- Moliviatis, Petros 109
- monitoring 9, 19, 141, 145, 156, 225

- monologue 37
 - adversarial 12, 18
- Mont Pèlerin talks 136, 192, 196, 223, 233
- Morphou (Güzelyurt) 120, 194, 236, 252
- Mostras, Vassilios 105
- 'mother-baby' 55-6, 59
- Moudouros, Nikos 13, 64
- Mufti 32, 237
- multinational force 73, 207, 234, 245
- museum 106
- Muslim/s 49, 51, 68, 81, 128, 191
 - Brotherhood 72
 - Sunni 36
- narrative 12, 14, 27, 33, 179, 187, 229
 - conflict 38, 119
 - Cyprus 48, 179
 - EU 176, 179
 - Greek 106
 - Greek Cypriot 85, 106
 - nationalist 11, 25, 85, 106
 - Turkish 68, 92
 - women's 30
- National Guard (Greek Cypriot) 83, 103, 146, 200
- National Pact (*Misak-ı Milli*) 48
- National Training Laboratory 29
- nationalism 28, 65-6, 111, 180
 - ethno- 26, 31, 86, 111
 - Greek 88
 - Greek Cypriot 4, 48
 - Turkish 65-6, 92, 127-8
 - Turkish Cypriot 86
- NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) 101, 113, 208, 228
 - EU Cooperation 109, 190
- navtex (Navigational Telex) 224
- negotiation/s 5-11, 22, 25-7, 65, 125-6, 135-41, 144, 147, 150-51, 161-5, 168, 190, 212, 221-2
 - 2002-4 126
 - 2008-12 124, 127, 143
 - 2015-17 9, 120, 125, 179, 221, 248, 252
 - collapse 221-2
 - deadlock 150-51
 - EU accession 52-3, 158, 169, 174, 177-8, 180
 - intercommunal 7, 10, 13, 26, 124, 135-8, 140, 142
 - limitations 6, 139-40
 - official 27, 37, 161
 - ongoing 9, 10, 179
 - post- 4
 - pre- 26
 - process 120, 126, 138-42, 145-7, 195
 - settlement 5, 9, 130, 135, 161, 163 166
 - support 22, 162
 - theory 19, 22
 - track one 138-40
 - see also peace talks
 - Netherlands, the 77, 161, 207
 - New Cyprus 25
 - New World Order 64
 - Nicosia 104-5, 123, 150, 176, 212
 - and Athens 105, 108
 - buffer zone 143
 - decides 104
 - International Airport 137, 143
 - old sector of 33-4
 - Non-Government Organisation (NGO) 32-3
 - Northern Cyprus 27, 126-7, 132, 181, 249, 252
 - see also TRNC
 - Omerou, Yiannakis 16, 244
 - reflections 244 *passim* 247
 - opinion polls 148, 222
 - Orthodox 36, 81, 87, 206
 - Church 82, 206
 - Easter 32
 - OSCE (Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe) 140, 165
 - osmosis 187, 245
 - Othello 49
 - 'other' 11, 34, 111, 180, 253
 - Ottoman 48, 49, 51-2, 68-9, 81, 111
 - neo- 51
 - Oxford 29
 - Özal, Turgut 54, 61, 107
 - Özejder, İbrahim 203
 - Özersay, Kudret 204, 210
 - Özgürgün, Hüseyin 55
 - Özker, Özgür 237, 239
 - Özkök, Hilmi 61
 - Özuslu, Sami 70

- Pakistan 55
- Pangalos, Theodoros 104, 192, 196, 222
- Papadopoulos, Nicolas 162, 188
- Papadopoulos, Tassos 18, 105, 109–10,
157–60, 169, 188, 198–9
on Annan Plan 31, 158, 226, 248
'effect' 226
- Papagiannis, Linos 193
- Papagos, Alexander 100
- Papandreou, Andreas 103, 104
- Papandreou, George (junior) 104, 105
- Papandreou, Georgios 101–2, 104
- Paris Peace Conference (1946) 101, 104
- partition 15, 28, 32, 57, 83, 101–2, 106,
110, 175, 200
de facto 103, 104, 111, 146, 179, 188
'or death' 48
see also *taksim*
- PASOK (*Panellinio Socialistiko Kinima*
[Panhellenic Socialist Movement])
109
- paternalism 4, 17, 79
- Patriarchate 105
- peace
'at Home, Peace in the World' 47,
65
-building 7, 20–21, 29, 31, 33–5, 42,
135–6, 142, 175
education 41, 206
keeping 14, 22, 136, 140, 147, 151
-making 3, 14, 21, 23, 136, 175
model 10, 13
'Operation' 27, 60, 205
policy 4
process 3, 5–11, 14, 37, 100–101,
104, 107–8, 111, 119, 129,
138–42, 144, 174, 179–80, 190
project 36, 173
talks 5–6, 9, 17, 28, 107, 123, 130,
139, 144, 161, 173–6, 178, 180,
248
see also UNFICYP
- Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO)
123, 132
- Pesmazoglou, Georgios 101
- Pipinelis, Panayiotis 102–3, 105
- polarisation 28, 31, 141
- policy 9, 130, 135
makers 16, 25, 34, 125
rapprochement 26, 88, 238
- Turkey's 55, 57, 64–7, 69–70, 107,
109, 124, 191
- Politiki Epitropi Kypriakou Agona*
(PEKA) [Political Committee of
the Cypriot Struggle] 169
- Politis* 33–4
- population 60, 126–7, 130, 227, 242,
252
4:1 ratio 236
census 127, 192–3
displacement 120
Greek Cypriot 148
majority 188, 194, 229, 235, 242
movement 5, 119, 130
settlers 126, 133, 193
transfer 82–3, 126
Turkish 65, 250–51
Turkish Cypriot 90
- power sharing 15, 120, 198–9, 231–2,
234–5
see also governance
- presidency 129, 143, 210, 245–6,
247
rotating/rotational 163, 198, 209–10,
234–5, 253
- prisoner/s
Dilemma 22
exchange 122
- problem-solving 22, 26, 34
interactive 26, 42
workshops 23, 29
- property 15, 120–21, 123–4, 129, 132,
194–7, 213–14, 223–4, 230–31,
235–6, 241–2, 247, 249
Board 223–4
as chapter 148, 160, 179, 249
compensation 129, 155, 168, 195,
213–14, 235
Christofias position 235–6
Eroğlu on 241–2
exchange 123, 195, 212, 213–14,
235
in North 123, 127, 241
occupants 223
Omerou on 246, 247
ownership 127, 132, 212, 213–14,
223, 231, 242
and refugees 192, 194–7
restitution 213–14, 235
Talat on 228, 230–31

- Vassiliou on 223, 224
see also Immovable Property Commission
- prótaxis* 222
- Protocol
 Additional (Turkey's Customs Union) 156, 159–61, 166, 169–70, 178
 for Agricultural Labour Force 126
 No. 1 (Treaty of Alliance) 190
 No. 10 170
 Pyla 31, 143
- Qatar 55
- Ramsbotham, Oliver 11, 18
- Rapoport, Anatol 22
- rapprochement 26, 123, 238
 and AKEL 26, 238
 Greek-Turkish 109
 and memory 18
 movement 33
see also reconciliation
- reality/ies 12–13, 35, 68, 179, 208, 212, 151, 240
 Cypriot 5, 33, 74, 138
 demographic 124
 international 146, 244
 local 29–30
 new 27, 33
 post-1974 119, 120
 post-conflict 14, 20
- recognition 11, 80, 171, 209
 non- 71, 84, 155
 North Cyprus 171, 177
 political 155, 159, 177
 property 195, 214
 of RoC 159, 190, 246
 of TRNC 162, 248
- reconciliation 3, 11, 30–33, 36, 93, 123, 141, 175, 177, 179
- Red Crescent 122
- referendum 32, 61, 169, 171, 211, 213, 227, 241, 245–6, 250
 on Annan Plan 4, 18, 31, 105, 137, 153, 155, 158–9, 169, 237, 241, 252–3
 'enosis' 93, 99, 233
 separate but simultaneous 9, 175, 206
 in Turkey 77, 209
 refugees 11, 36, 119 *passim* 130, 196, 244
 Greek Cypriot 36, 120–21, 123, 129–30, 197, 246
 Kurdish 126
 property 192, 195–6, 230
 return of 129, 195–7
 representation 30, 81, 85, 177
 communal 81, 123, 199
 Turkish Cypriot 15, 123, 156
 resettlement 121, 127, 196
 reunification 3, 4, 9, 36, 83, 110, 178, 193
 AKEL on 232
 ELAM on 193
 and EU 161, 176
 finances of 171
 and Greek Cypriots 110–11, 162, 165
 ideology of 83–4
 process 120
 prospects 32, 108, 221
 and Turkish Cypriots 83–5, 93–5, 178
- Richmond, Oliver 136
- right/s 55, 82, 85, 119, 122–3, 165–7, 205–6, 227, 230–31
 citizenship 128–9, 197, 230–31
 guarantee 54, 60, 120, 167–8, 208, 250
 intervention 120, 166, 200, 205–6, 208, 225
 minority 102, 159
 political 123, 197, 230–31, 236
 of return 15, 119–20, 122, 129, 196
 unilateral 73, 161, 205, 225
 voting 129, 146, 177
see also human rights; property
- 'Rome Seminar' 26, 41
- Rothman, Jay 22–3
- Russia 3, 224
- Sadak, Necmettin 47
- Said, Edward 24
- Saint George the *Exorinos* 32
- Sampson, Nicos 17–18, 106, 115
- Sarajevo 69

- Sarper, Selim 105–6
- Saunders, Harold 25
- Second World War 244
- secularism 82
- security 4–5, 7, 32, 95, 104, 135, 163–5,
163–8, 222–3, 227–8, 240–41,
244–5, 250–51
alternative 167, 205–6
arrangements 164–5, 167, 206, 228
as chapter 15, 54, 78, 84, 148, 178,
195
Cyprus's 104, 108, 111, 190
dilemma 79, 95
and EU 159–60, 166–9
'everyday' 165, 169
and Greek Cypriots 86, 94–5, 124,
157, 189–91, 195
and guarantees 73–4, 141, 163–5,
195
human 95
in- 4, 81, 82–3, 86, 94, 148, 234
new 72–3, 190, 200, 206, 215, 233–4,
240–41, 244–5, 250
psychological 7, 79, 95
regional 72, 144
Turkey's 49–50, 53, 55, 64, 66–72, 74,
77, 105, 167, 179, 204
and Turkish Cypriots 49–50, 73,
79–83, 86–7, 89, 90, 166, 203–9,
227–8, 233–4, 251–2
umbrella 156–7, 165, 168
Western 161
see also guarantees; United Nations
- SeeD (Centre for Sustainable Peace
and Democratic Development)
140, 142, 144, 250–51, 253
- self 12, 22
-determination 56, 99, 100, 114,
169–70
reflection 14, 108
- separatism 90
- Serai 81
- settlement 5–6, 8–10, 32, 74, 102, 108,
110, 119, 128–9, 168, 207
1960 102, 104
BBF 148–9
comprehensive 5–6, 74, 136, 139,
141, 144, 161–2, 226
and EU 52–3, 126, 177
federal 8, 96, 211
final 65, 100, 142
Greek Cypriots on 129
negotiated 5, 9, 130, 135, 166
non- 6, 94
peaceful 20, 119, 129–30, 147
plan 137–8
post-10, 12, 15, 156, 165–6, 167,
168–9
pro- 127, 158, 165
sustainable 155, 157, 163
Turkish Cypriots on 79, 82, 126
see also solution
- settlers 11, 15, 57, 119 *passim* 128,
129–30, 228, 237
Greek Cypriot position 124, 189,
191–3, 197, 222, 228, 251
/immigrants 119–121, 124 *passim*
128
numbers 57, 125–6, 127, 191–2, 237
politicisation 127–80
- Sèvres
'syndrome' 75, 92
Treaty 67
Sherif, Muzafer 111
- Short Stories by Greek Cypriots and
Turkish Cypriots* 33
- Simitis, Costas 104–5, 108, 109
- social psychology 21
- Solidarity Movement (*Kinima
Allileggi*) 189, 191, 192, 194, 199,
200, 228
- solution 6–15, 22, 53, 58, 74, 93–5,
103–4, 135–6, 147, 155–6, 159–60,
174–80, 188–9, 191–3, 196–7, 222,
224, 227–31, 233–4, 237–8, 244–5,
251
anti- 128
comprehensive 135, 137, 139, 141
Cypriot state 15, 155
and EU 15, 104, 108, 155 *passim*
169, 174 *passim* 180
and Greek Cypriots 187 *passim* 202,
249–50
federal 8, 103, 107, 110, 160, 163,
187–8, 227, 249
imagined 3, 12
no 53, 58, 166
non 69–70
partition as 32, 101, 103
peaceful 136, 147, 176, 188

- political 15, 84, 174, 177, 188
 post- 135, 141
 pro- 31, 138–9, 174, 178–9, 229
 second-best 49
 status quo 4
 sustainable 156
 and Turkish Cypriots 203 *passim* 214
 two-state 93–4, 148, 160, 162, 226
 unitary state 158
 ‘virgin birth’ 226 *passim* 232
see also European solution;
 settlement
- Sonan, Sertaç 13–14, 79, 98, 132
 sovereignty 6, 11, 81, 86, 95, 198, 244–5
soydas 111
 Soysal, Mümtaz 51–2, 56
 Sözen, Ahmet 14–15, 132, 146
 state/s
 -centric 20, 25
 confederal 160, 209
 constituent 110, 119–20, 123, 124–5,
 159, 193–4, 209–10, 211–13,
 230–31, 242, 248, 251
 Cypriot 15, 155
 federal 198, 207, 211, 226, 227, 229,
 231, 233–4, 240, 246, 252
 Greek Cypriot 104, 125, 162, 242,
 252
 Turkish Cypriot 123, 125, 129,
 162–3, 193, 195–6, 213, 227,
 230–31, 242, 249
 two- 93–4, 148, 162, 226
 unitary 110, 148, 158–9, 188, 227
see also solution
 status quo 4, 6–7, 12, 15, 38, 42, 65,
 68–9, 80, 130, 148–9, 169, 175,
 179, 188, 211, 222, 240, 251
 Stavrínides, Zenon 25, 40
 Steinberg, Gerald 21
 Stephanous, Stephanos 191–2
 Storrs, Ronald 48–9
 Straw, Jack 177
 Suez Canal 67
 Sultan 81
 Sümer, Canan 71
 survey/s 50, 54, 122–3, 127, 132, 156,
 165, 250–51, 253
 SYPOL (*Symmahia Politon* [Citizens’
 Alliance]) 189
see also Citizens’ Alliance
- Syria 20, 69, 72, 77, 78
 Syriza (*Sinaspismos Rizospastikis
 Aristeras* – Coalition of Radical
 Left) 108
- Taiwanisation 188
taksim 48, 83, 88, 102
see also partition
 Talat, Mehmet Ali 16, 97, 160, 226
 passim 232
 on Annan plan 226–7, 230
 and Christofias 41, 124, 138, 139,
 160, 210, 229
 election 18, 31, 53, 158, 178
 on federalism 226–7
 and Greek Cypriots 209, 228–31
 positions 226–32
 and Turkey 99, 209, 227
- TDP (*Toplumcu Demokrasi Partisi*
 [Communal Democracy Party])
 163, 205, 214, 215
 positions 204 *passim* 212, 214
 territory 68–9, 102–3, 106, 120, 124,
 168, 177, 195–6, 242, 252
 as chapter 15, 148, 160, 179, 192
 ‘for peace’ 212
 donums 223
 occupied 95, 192–3, 223, 237, 244
 percentages 195–6, 212, 235, 244
- TESEV (*Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal
 Etüdler Vakfı* [Turkish Economic
 and Social Studies Foundation])
 54–5
- third party 5, 8, 14, 15, 26, 29, 165
 intervention 41, 151
 UN as 145, 148
- Third World 24
 Thrace 51, 54
 Tidwell, Alan C. 21
 Timmermans, Frans 164
 TMT (*Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı* –
 Turkish Resistance Organisation)
 54, 88, 89–90
- trade unions 82–3, 90, 237
 ‘train-the-trainers’ 30
 transferability 24, 33, 35
- Treaty
 of Alliance 189–90, 200, 211
 Federation 211
 French-Turkish 77

- of Guarantee 48, 108, 120, 168, 172,
189–90, 205–7, 211, 225, 227,
234, 249–51
- implementation 251
- of Lausanne 47, 65, 75, 114
- of Sèvres 67
- ‘Troop Withdrawal’ 190
- TRNC (Turkish Republic of Northern
Cyprus) 47, 49, 53 *passim* 59, 84,
87, 91–3, 248
- citizenship 56–7, 125–6, 241, 252
- Constitution (1983) 51, 60, 88
- declaration 54, 90
- economy 54, 70, 87, 91
- embargo 29, 53, 155
- and Greek Cypriots 137
- legality of 95
- recognition/non-recognition 54, 59,
137, 162, 248
- and Treaty of Alliance 190
- and Turkey 49–50, 53–6, 58–9,
62, 70–71, 82, 91–2, 95, 126,
241–2
- Water Supply Project 91
see also Turkish Cypriots; Turkey;
UDI
- troops
- British 132
- foreign 189, 191, 207
- of occupation 189, 234, 237
- reduction 190, 200
- Turkish 47–8, 50, 73, 106, 108, 165,
167, 190, 208–9, 222–4
- withdrawal of 73, 90, 108, 189–91,
200, 209, 223–4, 249
- see also* demilitarisation; ‘zero
troops’
- Tsipras, Alexis 108, 115
- Türk Birliği Partisi* (Turkish Union
Party) 133
- Türkeş, Alparslan 49, 56
- Türkeş, Tuğrul 49–50, 129
- Turkey 3–4, 8, 11–13, 31, 47 *passim* 77,
79 *passim* 93, 101–3, 105–6, 111,
120–29, 149, 174–8, 250–52
- 1974 invasion/intervention 48, 51–2,
89, 99, 103, 106, 107, 110, 120,
140, 192, 228, 244–5, 250
- aid to TRNC 56, 58, 90–91, 98
- Armed Forces of 48, 50, 53, 205
- on Cyprus EEZ 149–50, 161, 163,
171, 224
- Cyprus policy 47–50, 55, 67, 107
- and Cyprus security 163, 166, 168,
190–91, 209, 227, 233, 240
- democratisation 109
- Embassy (Nicosia) 89, 128, 133
- ‘encirclement syndrome’ 64–8, 75, 92
- and EU 52–3, 109, 156–61, 165
passim 170, 174–81, 228, 249
- foreign policy 64–9, 109
- geopolitics 13, 48–50
- and Greek Cypriots 4, 14, 84, 86,
93–5, 129, 175, 190–96, 209,
228, 242, 244, 250–51
- Greek relations 8, 10, 11–12, 50,
54, 73, 88, 104–5, 109, 111, 158,
163, 230
- as Guarantor 48, 50–51, 54, 137,
163, 173, 203–8, 233–4, 250–51
- as ‘liberator’ 27, 82, 84
- mainland 57–8, 82, 87–8, 90, 252
- martyrs 55–6, 58
- as motherland 55–6, 58, 60, 83–4,
91, 94
- National Security Council 53
- national security 64, 66–73
- nationalism 51, 53, 66, 76, 92, 127–8
- Republic of 47, 89, 190
- settlers 14, 124–8, 193
- ‘threat’ 48, 84, 52, 109
- and Turkish Cypriots 8, 13 *passim*
44, 48–9, 53–4, 79 *passim* 94,
95, 108, 120–29, 138, 174 *passim*
181, 191–2, 203 *passim* 237,
241–2, 250–52
- Turkish Cypriot dependence 4, 14,
54, 79–80, 82, 84, 87–91, 99,
179,
see also Ankara; Turkish Cypriots
- Turkish Cypriot/s 4–5, 13–14, 31–3, 47
passim 58, 70–71, 79 *passim* 99,
106–8, 119 *passim* 133, 155–6, 174
passim 181, 203 *passim* 217, 226
passim 232, 236–8, 240–43, 244–7,
248–53
- and AKEL 236–8
- and Annan plan 96, 153, 178–9, 206,
210–11
- on BBF 203, 224, 238

- change 31, 81, 208, 238
 civil society 31, 81, 208, 238
 democracy 42, 80
 demography 82, 119–20, 129, 229
 dependency 54, 91, 99
 diaspora 97, 119, 129–30
 dilemma 14, 79 *passim* 95
 economy 55–7, 84, 87–9, 99, 179
 elite 82
 enclaves 90, 102, 120–22, 228
 and EU 53, 174–81
 and Greek Cypriots 175, 190, 223, 250
 identity 79, 86, 97
 leadership 27, 31, 54, 83, 88, 120, 128, 157, 160–62, 174, 205
 Left 31, 70, 82, 94–6, 99, 127, 203, 205, 214
 map 235
 as minority 79, 96, 102, 159,
 nationalism 86, 94
 positions 203 *passim* 217
 refugees 121
 reunification 83–5, 93–5, 178
 and RoC 31, 79, 84, 86, 93, 95–6, 174
 on security 49–50, 79–83, 86–7, 203–9, 227–8, 233–4, 251–2
 on solution 203 *passim* 214
 state 162–3, 195–6, 230–31, 249
 and Turkey 13 *passim* 44, 48–9, 53–9, 79 *passim* 95, 120–9, 174 *passim* 181, 191–2, 203 *passim* 237, 241–2, 250–52
 Vice-President 81, 245
see also Eroğlu; Talat; TFSC; TRNC; Turkey
 Turkish Federated State of Cyprus (TFSC) 89, 125–6
 Turkish Special Warfare Unit 54
 Türkmen, İlter 67
- U Thant 136
 UBP (*Ulusal Birlik Partisi* [National Unity Party]) 127
 election 160, 214
 positions 203 *passim* 213, 229
see also Eroğlu
 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) 150
 UN Secretary-General 3, 41, 124–5, 135–6, 143, 146–7, 163, 221–2, 224, 234
 Annan 126, 149
 Boutros-Ghali 41, 137, 142–3, 229
 Good Offices 135–6, 146–7
 Gutierrez 5, 149, 164, 190, 200–201, 225
 Ki-moon 3, 124
 mandate 14, 135–7, 140, 147
 reports 187, 222, 225
 Special Adviser to 5, 108, 135, 146–7, 149–50, 221
see also Annan; Boutros-Ghali; Gutierrez; Ki-moon; United Nations; UN Security Council; UNFICYP
 UN Security Council (UNSC) 136, 146, 165, 181, 207, 245
 on BBF 229
 Cyprus resolutions 54, 170, 231
 as guarantor 165, 207
 on political equality 231
 Resolution 186 (1964) 136, 146, 240
 Resolution 541 (1983) 89–90, 97
 Resolution 1325 (2000) 30
 unitary state 148, 158–9, 188, 227
 ‘United Cyprus Republic’ 124
 ‘United Federal Republic of Cyprus’ 236
 United Kingdom 47, 77, 90, 149
 as Guarantor 137, 147
 United Nations (UN) 3, 14–15, 101, 135 *passim* 155, 173, 200, 226, 234
 auspices 162, 173
 Charter 146
 Declaration of Human Rights 247
 Gambari process 160
 General Assembly 100, 105–6, 146, 181
 and Greek Cypriots 145 *passim* 155, 221, 226
 mandate 14, 135, 142, 147
 reporting 187
 and Turkey 52, 54
see also UNDP; UNFICYP; UNSC; UNSG
 UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) 132
 United Nations Force in Cyprus [UNFICYP] 135, 140, 146–7, 208

- United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) 247
- United States (US) 3, 8, 108, 101, 224
 Agency for International Development (USAID) 29
 Britain and Canada Plan (1978) 103
 involvement 29, 48, 75, 102, 149, 162
 policy 101, 113, 161
- University of Cyprus 122–3, 127, 132
- UNPA (United Nations Protected Area) 36, 138
- Uzer, Umut 66
- Van Nuffel, Pieter 163–4, 182
- Vance, Cyrus 102
- Varosha 162, 209
 fenced area 137, 143, 212
see also Famagusta
- Vassiliou, George 16, 104, 221 *passim*
 225
 proposals 247
- Venizelos, Sophocles 101
- Verheugen, Guenter 170, 175, 182
- Vienna Agreement (1975) 121–2
- ‘virgin birth’ 189, 211, 226–7, 234, 246
- Volkan, Vamık D. 23, 25, 27, 40
- Vural, Yücel 3, 13–14, 79, 203, 217
- Wagner, Wolf 90
- Waldheim, Kurt 3
- Weeks, Priscilla 24
- Wendt, Alexander 108, 109
- West 21, 24, 72
 anti- 25
 scholars 24–5, 40, 51
 security 161
 women 30, 35, 237
- Wretched of the Earth* 24
- Yakinthou, Christalla 121
- Yavuzalp, Ercüment 57
- YDP (*Yeni Doğu Partisi* [New Dawn Party]) 133, 251
 positions 205 *passim* 212
- Yeni Düzen* 70
- Yiorkadzis, Polykarpos 106
- Yılmaz, Mesut 49
- YKP (*Yeni Kıbrıs Partisi* [New Cyprus Party]) 127
- Yorgancıoğlu, Özkan 56
- ‘zero troops, zero guarantees’ 108,
 190–91, 205, 222, 250
see also Kotzias
- zero-sum 147, 151, 230
- Zeybekci, Nihat 53
- Zorlu, Fatin Rüştü 49, 67
- Zurich-London Agreements (1959) 58,
 101, 103–4, 169–70
see also London Agreements

