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Spring 2005

DIPL 2112/6509 The EU and Cyprus Seminar

Clay Constantinou Ambassador

Omer Gokcekus PhD

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JOHN C. WHITEHEAD
SCHOOL OF DIPLOMACY AND
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
SETON HALL UNIVERSITY

*Spring 2005**

DIPL 2112/DIPL 6509: The EU and Cyprus Seminar

I. INSTRUCTOR

*Instructors: Ambassador Clay Constantinou
Professor Omer Gokcekus*

Professor Ömer Gokcekus

Office: McQuaid 105

Office hours: Monday/Tuesday – 2:00 PM – 4 PM (or by appointment)

Telephone: 973- 313-6272

E-mail: gokcekom@shu.edu

II. COURSE DESCRIPTION

The recent EU enlargement is having serious implications on EU institutions. The impact on the new member countries is going to be even bigger. This is particularly true for Cyprus. First of all, Cyprus' accession to the European Union on May 1st signaled a colossal tide of change for this small country of under a million inhabitants. Enlargement opened the gates to a single market of 25 member states while granting 450 million citizens certain indisputable rights. Second of all, Cyprus is a divided country without a political settlement, therefore posing intriguing challenges for implementing basic European *acquis*.

In this course, we will assess the economic, political and social impact of EU membership on Cyprus. We will gain insights based on the perceptions of different actors, namely public sector – e.g., central and local government officials, university officials, court and central bank representatives; private

* *The 10 days in advance rule: This course-outline is subject to change. However, in case there is a change, the class will be informed at least 10 days in advance.*

sector – e.g., chamber of commerce, labor unions, representatives of farmers; and civil society, e.g., members of the press and NGO representatives.

This triangulation technique will allow us to draw a realistic picture of the potential benefits, costs, and most importantly the challenges for a new EU member. Based on this assessment, we will prepare a report to list and highlight the policy issues that should be addressed in a timely manner.

This is a hands-on-course: After serious preparation, i.e., reading relevant materials and carefully preparing a research strategy, we will visit Cyprus and interact with the main players. Based on this visit, we will prepare a report, for which every member of the class will contribute.

III. COURSE MATERIALS

<http://www.cyprus-conflict.net>

Historical Background: Narratives

William Hale, 2000, "Turkey and Regional Politics after the Cold War: Greece, Cyprus," *Turkish Foreign Policy, 1774-2000*, (London: Frank Cass Publishers

Robert Stephens "Turkey and Greece: A History of Colliding" in *Cyprus: A Place of Arms* (London: Praeger, 1966), chapter 6.

Caesar V. Mavratsas, 1997, "The ideological contest between Greek-Cypriot nationalism and Cypriotism 1974-1995: politics, social memory and identity," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, v 20 no 4.

The Colonial Period

G.S. Georghallides, 1985, *Cyprus and the Governorship of Sir Ronald Storrs: The Causes of the 1931 Crisis*, Cyprus Research Centre.

Ioannis Stefanidis, 1999, *Isle of Discord: Nationalism, Imperialism and the Making of the Cyprus Problem*, (New York University Press. pp. 242-246.

Lawrence Durrell, 1996, *Bitter Lemons*, Marlowe & Co., pp. 180-188, 201-203, 207-208

Nancy Crawshaw, 1978, *The Cyprus Revolt: An Account of the Struggle for Union with Greece*, London: George Allen & Unwin. pp. 255-258, 278-288.

The Zurich and London Agreements: Memorandum Setting Out the Agreed Foundation for the Final Settlement of the Problem of Cyprus

The Rise and Fall of a Unified Republic

Taxation and the Constitutional Crisis, 1962: Clerides-Denktaş Letters

The 13 Points: November 1963, The amendments to the constitution proposed by Makarios

The United Nations and the Divided Island: 1964

Richard Clogg, 1985, *The Coup in Athens: 1967 in A Short History of Modern Greece*, Cambridge University Press. pp 185-199.

Peter Loizos, 1981, *Coup D'état: July 1974, The Heart Grown Bitter*, Cambridge University Press. chapter 4.

Vamik Volkan, 1979, *From Cyprus---War and Adaptation*, University Press of Virginia, pp. 120-144.

U.S. Senate, 1974, *Crisis on Cyprus, A Study Mission Report* prepared for use of the Subcommittee to Investigate Problems Connected with Refugees and Escapees of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, 93rd Congress, 2nd session, October 14, 1974.

After Makarios

Giandomenico Picco, 1999, *Man Without a Gun: One Diplomat's Secret Struggle to Free the Hostages' Fight Terrorism*, Times Books, Random House. pp 16-19, 44-48.

Draft Framework Agreement on Cyprus, 29 March 1986

The New York Times, January 23, 1991, *Fresh Tension for Cyprus: Counting the Newcomers*.

Peter Pernthaler, 1998, *Federal or Confederal Solution to the Cyprus Problem?*

Costas M. Constantinou and Yiannis Papadakis, 2001, The Cypriot State(s) *in situ*: Cross-ethnic Contact and the Discourse of Recognition, *Global Society*, Vol. 15, No. 2.

Canan Oztoprak, 2000, *The Experience of Bi-Communal Contacts through the eyes of a Turkish Cypriot: Facts and Fictions*

The Annan Plan and its Fate

The Annan Plan for Cyprus. <http://www.annanplan.org/>

Rebecca Bryant, May 2004, *An Ironic Result in Cyprus*, *Middle East Report Online*.
<http://www.merip.org/mero/mero051204.html>

Cyprus: A EU Member

Cyprus in the EU: History, negotiations, treaties, documents

<http://www.eucoordinator.gov.cy/harmonization/harmonization.nsf>

George S. Yiangou, 2003, *The Accession of Cyprus to the EU: Challenges and Opportunities*, Institute for the Study of Europe, Columbia University.

George S. Yiangou, 2003, *Domestic Governance and EU Policy: The Belgian Experience as a Toolkit for Cyprus*, Occasional Paper No 1., Institute for the Study of Europe, Columbia University.

IV. BASIC RULES OF THE GAME

1. **Active participation:** You are expected to attend and participate all of the activities both prior to the trip and during the trip. I take attendance and there is no unexcused absence. Attendance and participation is meaningful if you are involved in what's going on in the course. This requires keeping up with the readings, asking questions, visiting the course web site and giving thought to the relevant issues. I keep track of participation for each activity. Keep in mind that quality of participation is as important as quantity.

Due to the nature of this course, diplomatic professionalism during the trip, including diplomatic attire, arriving on time, being courteous, and showing respect for fellow participants.

2. **Journals:** To encourage you to read the assigned materials, attend the activities prior to the trip, and pay attention to the details during the trip, you are required to keep a journal. In particular, during the trip, your journal entry will include (a) record of meetings for the day, (b) who we met, where we met, the titles of officials and institutions, (c) what we discussed or learned at the meeting, and (d) any other reflections on

knowledge gained as a result of the meeting. Journals are due for Monday, March 7, 2005.

3. ***Two oral presentations:*** (1) Short debriefing after the Cyprus trip on a particular issue or institution. (Issues or institutions to be assigned); and (2) presenting a part of the final class report at the end of the semester.
4. ***Assessment report:*** As a class we will put together our findings and analyses together to compile a report on Cyprus. In addition to drafting your particular section, we will work together to put together the main findings & recommendations section of the report.

SIX ISSUES AND ASSIGNMENT

1. Presence of Turkish Army and Settlers, Dispossessed owners of properties

FAZIO, DALAI
GILLIGAN, ELIZABETH
KELLY, GEORGE
DUGGAL, ANKIT
SABINA SABADOS

2. Human Rights, Missing people: Recognition and Reconciliation

MUEDIN, AMY
NOVAK, GRETCHEN
ODWORI, NIVAH
TREVINO, ANGELA
PREPIS, GEORGE

3. The EU membership and its economic implications - With a particular focus on agriculture

ABBARNO, AARON
ABRAHAM, MOUNA
KISCO, CHRISTOPHER
KARATOPRAK, ADRIENNE
VESPUCCI, ELIZABETH

4. The EU membership and its economic implications - Income disparity between Greek and Turkish Cypriots: Green Line trade rules, financial assistance regulation, and other current issues

ATHENS, MAUREEN
BOISVERT, DANIEL
BREZNIK, MAJA
TASKIN, DERYA

5. Bi-communal projects as conflict resolution and other confidence building efforts: Two municipalities of Nicosia and their projects

PINTO, ALISON
RUSZKIEWICZ, DAVID
STAHR, LAURA
WILBUR, KARL
NICHOLS, STEPHEN

6. Annan plan

ADAMIDES, CONSTANTINOS
MATHOPOULLOS, WILLIAM
MESESAN, CHRISTINA
NEBHNANI, AANCHAL
MARATS, MICHAEL

5. **Grading:** The following table summarizes the weights for grading.
Please keep in mind that, in fairness to each of you, no other criteria whatsoever will be used in determining any grade in this course!

<u>Weights</u>	
• <i>Active participation</i>	50% of course grade
• <i>Journals</i>	20% of course grade
• <i>Two oral presentations</i>	10% of course grade
• <i>Assessment Report</i>	20% of course grade
A+ = 95 +; A=90-94; B+ = 85 - 89; B = 80 - 84; C+ = 75 - 79; C = 70 - 74; D= 60-69; F = less than 60	

V. SCHEDULE OF THE MEETINGS PRIOR TO THE TRIP

Meeting 1: February 3, 2005 – 4:00 PM – 5:00 PM

Rules of the game, expectations, assignments, etc.

Meeting 2: February 17, 2005 – 4:00 PM – 5:00 PM

Logistics of the trip, and briefs on assigned issues

VI. SCHEDULE OF THE EVENTS/MEETINGS DURING THE TRIP (TENTATIVE)

Sunday, February 27, 2005: Visiting historical and archeological sights

*Monday, February 28, 2005: Meeting with Head of Parliament
Presentation by the U.S. Embassy*

*Tuesday, March 1, 2005: Meeting with U.N. Envoy
Meeting with former President Vasiliou*

*Wednesday, March 2, 2005: Panel Discussion by the Greek and Turkish Cypriot
Students
Panel Presentation by the Turkish Chamber of Commerce
Presentation by Turkish Political Party Representatives*

Thursday, March 3, 2005: Meeting with E.U. Ambassador

*Friday, March 4, 2005: Briefing by the Turkish and Greek Municipalities of
Nicosia*

VII. SCHEDULE OF THE MEETINGS AFTER THE TRIP

Meeting 3: March 28 – 6:15 PM – 7:30 PM

Discussion/presentation of the preliminary reports on each issue

Meeting 4: April 25 – 6:15 PM – 7:30 PM

Submission and final presentation of the entire assessment report.