

CFSP WATCH 2005 – Cyprus – by Costas Melakopides and Giorgos Kentas¹

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- 1. What are the priorities for your government in CFSP in 2005? What are the key issues for your country in 2005 (especially with regard to the negative referenda on the Constitutional Treaty in France and the Netherlands; after the recent EU enlargement and on behalf of the perspective of the upcoming accession round(s))?**

The Cypriot government does not have any special priorities in the CFSP/ESDP. However, some diplomats told us that Cyprus is interested in the further development and enhancement of the CFSP. To that end, Cyprus pursues a constructive role for the growth of the CFSP.

[Some Cypriot elites have considered Cyprus to be a small player in the field of the CFSP. However, some Cypriot CFSP specialists and diplomats disagree with this position. They claim that Cyprus could play a more constructive role in the development of the CFSP, taking into consideration the country's privileged geostrategic position in the Eastern Mediterranean].

- 2. Does your country adopt a more pessimistic or optimistic stance regarding the ratification crisis of the Constitutional Treaty? How might the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty in France and the Netherlands influence the ratification debate in your country and also have an impact on the outcome of the referendum?**

Cyprus has already ratified the Constitutional Treaty. On 1 July 2005, the House of Representatives adopted that Treaty and on 4 July 2005, it became a law of the state. The right-wing Democratic Rally (DISY), the centrist Democratic Party (DIKO), the social-democrat United Democratic Centre Party (EDEK), and three minor parties, the New Horizons (NEO), the United Democrats (EDI), and the European Democrats (EYDI) voted in favour of the Treaty. The socialist Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL) voted against and the Ecologists-Environmental Movement abstained.

With regard to the ongoing crisis over the Treaty, the Cypriot government believes that there is a necessity for a period of reflection.

Some EU specialists argued that the rejection of the Treaty in France and the Netherlands encouraged AKEL to vote against the Treaty without running the risk of any political mischief [PRICE?]. AKEL is the largest political party in the governmental coalition consisting also of DIKO and EDEK. Traditionally, that party had kept a sceptical view over the EU; however, it supported Cyprus' accession to the Union as a means to induce progress toward the settlement of the Cyprus Problem. The President of Cyprus, Mr. Tassos Papadopoulos, called for the ratification of the Constitutional Treaty.

- 3. National Perceptions and Positions with regard to CFSP/ESDP Issues in 2005**

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

- The perceived success and/or failure of CFSP/ESDP (e.g. taking into account current developments like the current ratification crisis of the Constitutional Treaty);*

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Cyprus considers the CFSP/ESDP as a successful policy of the Union. Although the ESDP is a rather recent policy of the EU, Cyprus bureaucrats believe that, up until now, the development of that policy is very encouraging. In the latest Conference on the Union's military and civilian capabilities that took place on 22 November 2004, member states concluded that the Headline Goal is on the right track. Cyprus is one of those member states that support the CFSP/ESDP and the development of the EU capabilities. Cyprus has already contributed materially to the development of the Union's military and civilian capabilities.

- *The role of the EU in crisis management e.g. in Congo, Georgia, Darfur;*

Cyprus considers operation ARTEMIS in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the EU's first autonomous military mission, as a very successful operation. Cyprus has participated in that operation with one senior officer in the ARTEMIS Headquarters.

Cyprus has welcomed and supported the launch of operation THEMIS in Georgia, the first rule-of-law mission of the Union. Although there have been some difficulties in the implementation of that mission, it was a successful one overall. The EU had the opportunity to test its capacity to undertake this kind of mission and draw on the lessons learned from THEMIS.

Cypriot bureaucrats believe that the mission in Darfur will be a strong test not only for the Union but also for other players in the field of crisis management. Darfur mission is a major opportunity for the further development of EU-NATO relations. Furthermore, this mission will test the ability of the EU to undertake a large-scale operation in collaboration with the UN, NATO, the African Union (AU) and other actors. The operation in Darfur is in line with the philosophy and the aims of the European Security Strategy (ESS). With regard to a military operation in Darfur, some ESDP specialists told us that the EU cannot undertake such an operation there. For the moment, the EU lacks the means and the capacity to undertake a major peacekeeping operation in Africa. This scenario might be possible in collaboration with either the AU or NATO; however some African states oppose the military presence of European troops in the region.

- *The perceived impact of EU enlargement on CFSP/ESDP;*

The latest enlargement has enhanced the security of Europe and extended the zone of co-operation and trust in the region. On the other hand, some Cypriot bureaucrats expressed their concern over the direction of the CFSP/ESDP after enlargement. Cyprus is a neutral state, member of neither NATO nor Partnership for Peace and, thus, it wishes to see a more coherent and integrated CFSP/ESP functioning in the interest of the EU and its member states. Cyprus insists that the EU should avoid a division between the so-called pro-Atlantisists and the "Eurocentrists". The split of the EU's member states over the Iraq crisis in 2003 should not be repeated. Today, there is some scepticism over the priorities of some new member states with regard to the prospects of the CFSP/ESDP.

- *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?*

In dealing with international peace and security, the ESS has at its core the concept of effective multilateralism. As a small state, whose security is guaranteed through international cooperation and the respect of International Law, Cyprus fully supports the principles on which the ESS is embedded, namely the respect of International Law and the UNSC Resolutions and decisions. As it opposes pre-emptive and preventive war, the ESS insists on preventive action through international institutions and forums. Cyprus does not endorse any method of preventive military action that would violate International Law or threaten the cardinal role of the UN Security Council in the protection of international peace and security. Cyprus considers the ESS as an instrument that enhances the coherence and the integration of the EU's CFSP.

Cypriot bureaucrats underlined that the ESS came about through a transparent process. This process exemplifies the way that the EU works in the field of foreign and security policy. They also stressed that this process makes the EU an honest broker in international politics. The EU could be trusted by states such as Iran and Indonesia in dealing with sensitive issues.

- *European Neighbourhood Policy and its implications;*

Cyprus supports the whole concept of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). Cypriot bureaucrats told us that Cyprus is primarily concerned with the Euro-Mediterranean dimension of the ENP. As the tenth anniversary of the Euro-Med project approaches, the EU should seek its revitalization. It is true that the Middle East crisis stands as the stumbling block for the further development of the Euro-Mediterranean Policy. Now that the peace process seems to move forward (Gaza disengagement and the new leaderships in the Palestine Authority), there is an opportunity to revive the Euro-Med project.

Some specialists insisted that the ENP could function as an alternative to further enlargement of the EU, in the sense that the EU could offer special/strategic partnerships to some states that it cannot invite to join in.

- *The creation of battle groups and their role for ESDP.*

The battle groups are crucial for the strengthening of the Union's ESDP and its Headline Goal 2010. Cypriot bureaucrats told us that the project is moving forward and the EU is almost ready to undertake operations in the size of battlegroups. Cyprus had fully supported the creation of battlegroups and has already provided niche capabilities (a medical unit and infrastructure). Due to its security needs, Cyprus is not capable of providing combative military forces for the battle groups. However, it is now examining the possibility of participating in a battle group with non-combative forces.

4. The Constitutional Treaty and its future – National perceptions concerning a 'plan B'?

- *Official positions on the Constitutional Treaty provisions on CFSP / ESDP and external relations?*

By endorsing the Constitutional Treaty, Cyprus has accepted the provisions related to CFSP/ESDP and external relations. Should the Treaty come into force, Cyprus is looking forward to implementing those provisions.

- *Constitutional Treaty or some version of 'Nice Treaty Plus'?*

The EU is in a period of reflection over the ratification of the Constitutional Treaty or the modification of the Nice Treaty. As yet, Cyprus did not make any decision with regard to the modification of the Nice Treaty. Some Cypriot bureaucrats told us that they consider CFSP/ESDP matters as mostly geared to the large member states of the EU.

Describe (briefly) the position of your country on the following key issues and the possibility of their realisation without a Constitutional Treaty as a 'plan B', 'C' or 'D':

- *External Representation: What is the final position of your country on the European foreign minister and the President of the European Council? Will / should there be a post resembling that of the Foreign Minister based on the Nice Treaty (something like an enhanced High Representative)? How could this be realised?*

By supporting the Constitutional Treaty, Cyprus has approved the posts of the European foreign minister and the President of the European Council. Cypriot bureaucrats told us that they can see the utility of the two posts; however, they would not approve the enhancement of the High Representative's competences beyond the Nice Treaty. A unanimously approved legal framework should bind any decision about those issues. CFSP experts insist that this issue will be a crucial one for the EU's leaders. They see a dispute between those states that will support the enhancement of the High Representative post and those that will support the maintenance of the status quo.

- *Basic structures of the European External Action Service have already been developed. Now that the Constitutional Treaty might not enter into force, is your government in favour of developing such a body in order to support the High Representative?*

Cyprus believes that the work on the development of the European External Action Service should continue. Cypriot diplomats told us that the materialization of this body is sine qua non for the enrichment of the CFSP. Since the EU aims at an enhanced role in international politics, it should work on the finalization of that body. Cypriot diplomats expect that when the period of reflection is over, the European External Action Service will be put into action.

- *Decision-making: Does your country opt for an extension of qualified majority voting in the field of CFSP? Will the Nice provisions be sufficient for an efficient CFSP/ESDP decision-making within the enlarged EU?*

Cyprus would not approve the extension of qualified majority voting in the field of the CFSP. Cypriot diplomats told us that they understand that within the enlarged EU some complication may surface. This, however, could not stand as an excuse in order to change the existing voting system in the Council. Some experts told us that some small states such as Cyprus, Malta and Luxembourg would be sceptical over the transformation of the qualified majority voting system.

- *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?*

Under the current circumstances, Cyprus has no military resources to offer to the EU. In this sense, it would be unfair for Cyprus to express a strong position on the issue. Cypriot bureaucrats told us that these kinds of initiatives are geared to the larger countries. Africa is considered as a promising region for EU crisis management operations.

- *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?*

The establishment of the civilian-military cell at the EUMS is considered as a very positive development. This cell will help the EU in developing a framework for better cooperation and coherence over ESDP operations. Cyprus was not a member state of the EU and did not express any view over the 2003 debate on the creation of a full-fledged operational EU headquarters.

- *Is your country in favour of realising provisions such as the permanent structured cooperation even without the Constitutional Treaty? What measures would be preferred?*

Cyprus would not approve the realization of provisions concerning the permanent structured cooperation over CFSP/ESDP matters without the Constitutional Treaty coming into force. On the other hand, Cypriot diplomats told us that Cyprus is open to suggestions over enhanced/structured cooperation. They underline, however, that this kind of cooperation should be open to all member states. There is some concern about ending up with sub-divisions within the EU, an outcome that would break the unity of the EU.

- *Would your country support the creation of core groups inside or outside the EU in CFSP/ESDP if the Constitutional Treaty finally failed?*

Cyprus does not support the creation of core groups inside or outside the EU over CFSP/ESDP matters. Cypriot diplomats told us that the primary goal of the Union should be to maintain its unity and to avoid loose integration that might lead to disintegration.

5. Mapping of Activities in CFSP-related Research

- *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)*

In 2005, there was an extensive debate over the participation of Cyprus in the Berlin Plus regime. Although a member-state now, Cyprus (with Malta) is prevented from full ESDP participation. The Copenhagen European Council decided that only those member-states, which are simultaneously members of either NATO or the Partnership for Peace (PfP), are eligible for the ESDP operations that use NATO assets¹. Hence, Cyprus and Malta, two European states that do not fulfil this criterion, cannot participate in such ESDP missions. Likewise, their representatives cannot participate or vote in EU institutions and bodies - including the Political and Security Committee- regarding decisions on the implementation of such operations, nor are they allowed to receive classified EU information containing or referring to classified NATO information.

One year after the EU's latest enlargement, some problems have surfaced regarding EU-NATO cooperation². Until last May, EU and NATO diplomats regularly met to discuss security issues under the Berlin Plus agreement. However, Malta and Cyprus cannot participate in these meetings, given Turkey's objection on the ground that they are not PfP members. Furthermore, Turkey insists that NATO should not transmit classified information to the EU because Cyprus or Malta have not concluded bilateral security agreements with NATO, hence "they cannot be trusted". As a result, NATO and the EU cannot share classified information or discuss serious security issues.

While Turkey blocks Cyprus and Malta from participating in the EU-NATO meetings, the two EU member states have not shown interest in acceding to PfP. Malta joined the PfP in 1995 but withdrew the next year. The Nicosia government has argued that there is neither an immediate political incentive nor the proper political and social consensus to pursue accession to the PfP³. However, the Social-democratic Party (EDEK), with two ministers in the Republic's cabinet, as well as the main opposition party (DYSI), are promoting the idea of PfP accession. Most of the CFSP experts we talked with told us that Cyprus should assume PfP accession the soonest possible. They understand that Turkey might block such a Cypriot bid; they insist, however, that this would be a problem for Turkey, not for Cyprus.

In early May 2005, Cyprus rejected Turkey's bid to be associated with the Union's European Defence Agency⁴. A Cypriot representative argued that "since Turkey blocks Cyprus' participation in the EU-NATO political dialogue, Cyprus couldn't support Turkey's request". Analysts in Brussels and Nicosia, stressing that Cyprus' full EU accession can no longer be ignored, suggest that the EU and NATO should work out alternative options to facilitate their collaboration⁵. The ball, however, is in Ankara's court and major EU and NATO member-states know the way to change Turkey's attitude. In April 2005, in a surprise move, Prime Minister Tony Blair asked his Turkish counterpart, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, to reconsider his country's policy concerning NATO-EU co-operation and Cyprus' corresponding participation⁶.

Turkey also blocks Cyprus' participation in international organizations and regimes, such as the MTCR (Missile Technology Control Regime), Wassenaar Arrangement and OECD.

Cypriot diplomats told us that Cyprus is in favour of the expansion of EU-NATO relations provided that participation is open to all member states of both the EU and NATO.

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

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¹ European Council of Copenhagen 12 and 13 December 2002, Presidency Conclusions. Annex II.

² Dempsey, Judy, "EU and NATO vie to Set Trans-Atlantic Agenda", *International Herald Tribune*, February 19 2005.

Dempsey, Judy, "For EU and NATO, Snags over Intelligence", *International Herald Tribune*, November 11 2004.

³ *Simerini* (a Cypriot daily newspaper), March 1 2005.

⁴ *Phileleftheros* and *Simerini* (Cypriot daily newspapers), May 3 2005.

⁵ See, for example, Binnendijk, Hans, "Talking security", *International Herald Tribune*, April 20 2005.

⁶ *Turkish Daily News*, "Now There's a Cyprus Crisis in NATO", February 23 2005.