

Notes

1 The “Pragmatic Idealist” Logic of the Book

1. The only exceptions, I submit, have been the following three articles: Costas Melakopides and Marina Salvaridi, “Russia’s Policies towards Cyprus: A Case of ‘Pragmatic Idealism?’”, *Obosrevatel/Observer*, No. 8 (259), August 2011, pp. 34–45 (in Russian); Costas Melakopides (with Marina Salvaridi), “The ‘Pragmatic Idealism’ of Russia’s Post-Cold War Policy towards Cyprus”, *The Cyprus Review*, Vol. 24, No. 1, Spring 2012, pp. 71–97; and Costas Melakopides, “Pragmatic Idealism Revisited: Russia’s Post-1991 Cyprus Policy and Implications for Washington”, *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 4, Fall 2012, pp. 107–34.
2. Costas Melakopides, *Pragmatic Idealism: Canadian Foreign Policy, 1945–1995* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1998).
3. *Realpolitik*, which I take as synonymous to “political realism” is defined by Henry Kissinger as “foreign policy based on calculations of power and the national interest”. See *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), p. 137.
4. George Ball, *The Past Has Another Pattern* (New York: Norton, 1982), p. 342, emphasis added.
5. The arguable exception, discussed in Chapter 4, refers to Moscow’s “passivity” vis-à-vis the Turkish invasion of 1974.
6. The term “spiritual” figures prominently and consistently in Russian officials’ and diplomats’ statements about Russia’s bonds and affinities with Cyprus and Greece.
7. London’s idea regarding the unlawful return of Turkey to Cypriot affairs has been established, inter alia, by William Mallinson in his *Cyprus: A Modern History* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005).
8. The first author to substantiate this “policy” was Christopher Hitchens in his *Hostage to History: Cyprus from the Ottomans to Kissinger* (London and New York: Verso, 1997), first published as *Cyprus* by Quartet Books in 1984. For additional evidence from Mallinson and Vassilis Fouskas, see Chapter 4.
9. The evidence for all these issues is provided in Chapter 4.
10. Elaboration on the material in this paragraph is presented and discussed primarily in Chapters 4 and 6.
11. Correspondence with Marina Salvaridi, 17 July 2011.
12. See *Bilateral Treaties and other Agreements between the Republic of Cyprus and the Russian Federation*, Office of the Law Commissioner, Nicosia (situation as at 14.01.2014).
13. Among them, Claire Palley, Christopher Hitchens, William Mallinson, Brendan O’Malley and Ian Craig, Lawrence Stern, and Vassilis Fouskas.
14. Georgi L. Muradov, Interview with *Kibris*, 3 July 1998, reprinted in his *Russia–Cyprus: Our Common Way* (Nicosia: M.S. Satellite Publication Ltd, 2000), p. 171.
15. See “Russia–Japan: Towards Reaching a Compromise”, *Russia Today* website, 18 September 2009 (accessed 6 February 2012).
16. “Greece and Russia rally behind Cyprus”, *Cyprus Mail*, 2 October 2011.
17. “Osadchyi: Moscow’s support is given”, *Phileleftheros*, Nicosia daily, 12 June 2014, p. 4, emphasis added.

18. "Russian support to Cyprus is Diachronic", *Simerini*, Nicosia daily, 3 July 2014, emphasis added. The visitor was Nikolas Papadopoulos, son of the late President Tassos Papadopoulos, and leader of DIKO, a Cypriot Centrist political party.
19. The latest European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) decision, issued on 12 May 2014, asked Turkey to pay, within three months, the sum of €90,000,000 to the relatives of persons missing since the 1974 invasion and to the few Greek Cypriots still residing – under heroic conditions – in the militarily occupied lands. See "Turkey ordered to pay millions over Cyprus invasion", *Deutsche Welle*, Top Stories, 12 May 2014, www.dw.de/turkey-ordered-to-pay-millions-over-cyprus-invasion/a-17630353 (accessed 27 June 2014). See also, "Turkey stumbles over Cyprus on way to EU", *Deutsche Welle*, Top Stories/World/Europe, 5 November 2013, www.dw.de/turkey-stumbles-over-cyprus-on-way-to-eu/a-17204257 (accessed 27 June 2014).
20. Christopher Hitchens, *Hostage to History*, op. cit. The first quotation is on p. 11 (emphasis added), and the second on p. 166.
21. My stipulative definition of "geopolitics" coheres with the one adopted by Dr Ioannis Loukas in *Geopolitics* (Athens: Trochalia, 2000) (in Greek), whereby geopolitics consists of "geostrategy" and "geo-economics".
22. Claire Palley, *An International Relations Debacle: The UN Secretary-General's Mission of Good Offices in Cyprus 1999–2004* (Oxford and Portland, OR: Hart Publishing, 2005), pp. 102–3. Dr Palley was the first woman law professor at a United Kingdom University, when she was appointed at Queen's University Belfast in 1970. In 1998, she was made an Officer of the Order of the British Empire.

2 The Cyprus Problem, International Law, and the Annan Plan

1. Among the most reliable such historical works are Robert Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus 1954–59* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) and William Mallinson, op. cit.
2. See again Chapter 1, Note 19 above.
3. International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS), *Strategic Survey 1974* (London: IISS, 1975), p. 82n.
4. In my opinion, *even if*, for argument's sake, one were to fasten on crimes committed by individual Greek Cypriots during the 1963–64 strife, one cannot possibly forgive the crimes committed by the invasion and the 41-year-long misery perpetuated by the occupation.
5. Turkey's primary obligations are contained in the Council's "Anti-declaration" of September 2005.
6. As per the Treaty of Accession, signed in 2003.
7. The reservations relate to Ankara's increasing unreliability under Erdogan's rule, as we discuss in Chapter 7.
8. The term "reunification", which is favoured by non-Cypriots involved in the handling of the Cyprus problem, is regarded as an obvious euphemism by most Greek Cypriots, who prefer to use "liberation" from the Turkish troops of occupation.
9. There was deep disappointment in Cyprus when the State Department spokespersons distinguished Cyprus and Ukraine, calling Russia's policy "an invasion" and the Cyprus problem "a bi-communal" one ... See *Simerini* and *Phileleftheros*, 26 July 2014.

10. Christopher Hitchens, op. cit., p. 166.
11. Allowing the illegal settlers to vote in the referendum was another major legal and political anomaly, demonstrating the anti-Cyprus bias of the powers that be at the UN Secretariat.
12. Important studies of these issues include Claire Palley, *An International Relations Debacle*, op. cit.; and Van Coufoudakis and Klearchos Kyriakides, *The Case Against the Annan Plan* (London: Lobby for Cyprus, 2004). See also Costas Melakopides, *Unfair Play: Cyprus, Turkey, Greece, the UK and the EU* (Kingston, ON: Queen's University Centre for International Relations, 2006).
13. Vassilis K. Fouskas and Alex O. Tackie, *Cyprus: The Post-Imperial Constitution* (London and New York: Pluto Press, 2009), p. 16.
14. Ibid.
15. Abdullah Gul's interview with Ms Soula Chatzykiriakou, CyBC Evening News, 11 February 2005. Incidentally, this "interview" may well hold an international record for brevity, since it lasted for about 12 seconds!
16. R. St. J. Macdonald, "International Law and the Conflict in Cyprus," *The Canadian Yearbook of International Law*, 1981, p. 15.
17. Ibid., p. 22.
18. Ian Brownlie, *International Law and the Use of Force by States* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), as discussed by Macdonald, op. cit.
19. Rosalyn Higgins, "Intervention and International Law," in Hedley Bull (ed.), *Intervention in World Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp. 38–9.
20. Macdonald, op. cit., p. 25.
21. Ibid., p. 28.
22. In *Making Peace in Cyprus: Time for a Comprehensive Initiative* (Kingston, ON: Queen's University Centre for International Relations, Martello Papers 15, 1996, pp. 46–52), I introduced the ethical condemnation of Turkey's invasion, primarily via the Just War Theory, which has been ignored by the Cyprus-related bibliography.
23. See Council of Europe, *Case of Loizidou v. Turkey*, European Court of Human Rights, Strasbourg, judgement 40/1193/435/514, 28 July 1998. As Andreas Theophanous wrote, "By deciding that the denial of Loizidou's access to her property in northern Cyprus is 'a matter which fell within Turkey's jurisdiction', the court in effect confirmed that the TRNC is a vassal state by describing it as 'subordinate [to Turkish] local administration'". See "The Cyprus Problem: Accession to the EU and Broader Implications", *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 1, Winter 2003, p. 56.
24. *Europe/Documents*, no. 1589 (Luxembourg-Brussels: Agence Europe, 20 December 1989), p. 3.
25. *Bulletin of the European Communities* 16, no. 11 (Brussels: General Secretariat, Commission of the European Communities, 1984): point 2.4.1, p. 68.
26. In May 1984, UN SC Resolution 550 emphasized that the Security Council "...1. *Reaffirms* its resolution 541 (1983) and calls for its urgent and effective implementation. 2. *Condemns* all secessionist actions, including the purported exchange of Ambassadors between Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership, declares them illegal and invalid and calls for their immediate withdrawal; 3. *Reiterates* the call upon all States not to recognize the purported state of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" set up by secessionist acts...; 4. *Calls upon* all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus; ..."

27. Donald M. Payne, "The Cyprus Problem: A Need to Defend Principles," *Mediterranean Quarterly* 9, no. 2, 1998. Mr Payne was a Democrat of New Jersey who died in March 2012, after writing more articles condemning both Turkey's illegal policies in Cyprus and Washington's toleration of these policies.
28. Ten years later, on 17 July 2014, the combined efforts of UNDP and USAID had been mobilized again to emphasize the alleged nature of the Cyprus problem as "psychological". Hence *Simerini's* editorial noted inter alia:

Objective: To help the poor guys ... the Greeks ... to overcome their psychological problems, understand the Turks and thus easily lead to the acceptance of the solution. We return back ten years! The same UNDP, again with lavish funding by Americans (remember how many of our people were funded then to promote the Annan monstrosity, some were [even] rewarded with State Office!) attempted to impose the monstrosity. It did not succeed, despite the millions that went to individuals and NGOs, which sprang up like mushrooms.

29. Left-wing AKEL, identifying a deep division among its members, called on the UN to offer relevant guarantees, so that it could support the plan. Such guarantees were never given.
30. "Annan V", Part A, "Foundation Agreement", Annex IX, Attachment 3, "Letter to the Secretary-General of the Council of Europe", p. 141.
31. Costas Melakopides, *Unfair Play*, op. cit.
32. Council of Europe, Parliamentary Assembly, *Colonization by Turkish settlers of the occupied part of Cyprus*, Doc. 9799, 2 May 2003, p. 2.
33. Perry Anderson, "The Divisions of Cyprus", *London Review of Books*, Vol. 30, No. 8, 2008, pp. 7–16 (www.lrb.co.uk/v30/n08/perry-anderson/the-divisions-of-cyprus).
34. *Ibid.*
35. For a longer list of grounds justifying the plan's rejection by the Greek Cypriots, see the website of the Cypriot Foreign Ministry at www.mfa.gov.cy. And for an excellent "academic" discussion of the plan's defects and the motives behind it, see Claire Palley, *An International Relations Debacle*, op. cit.
36. *Ibid.* emphasis added.
37. David Hanney, Letter to the editor, *The Economist*, 20 December 2014.
38. *Ibid.*

3 Revisiting Pragmatic Idealism: Assumptions, Main Concepts, and Some "Neighbouring" Theoretical Structures

1. George Iacovou, Telephone interview with author, 21 October 2014.
2. In the first pages of his magnum opus, *Power among Nations*, Morgenthau asserted that human nature has remained unchanged since the Ancient Indians, the Chinese and the Ancient Greeks!
3. Quoted in William K. Frankena, *Ethics* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1963), p. 96.
4. See Constantine Melakopides, "Ethics and International Relations: A Critique of Cynical Realism", in David G. Haglund and Michael K. Hawes (eds.), *World Politics: Power, Interdependence and Dependence* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Canada, 1990), pp. 506–30.
5. Robert O. Keohane (ed.), *Neorealism and its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

6. *Ibid.*, p. 191. Keohane's own chapter is entitled "Theory of World Politics: Structural Realism and Beyond".
7. *Ibid.*, p. 198. On pp. 198–9, Keohane continued: "The need to find a way out of the trap means that international relations must be a policy science as well as a theoretical activity ... Realism helps us determine the strength of the trap, but does not give us much assistance in seeking to escape".
8. John Hertz is an honourable exception to my generalization.
9. *The New York Times*, 24 June 1941, p. 7, quoted in Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945–1984* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), p. 6 (emphasis added).
10. The "usurpation" of Thucydides by political realism is stereotypical but, as Laurie M. Johnson Bugby has shown, unwarranted. See her "The Use and Abuse of Thucydides in International Relations", *International Organization*, Vol. 48, No. 1, Winter 1994, pp. 131–53.
11. Henry Kissinger's juxtaposition of Wilsonian idealism and Theodore Roosevelt's power politics forms the remarkable second chapter to his *Diplomacy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994). "The Hinge: Theodore Roosevelt or Woodrow Wilson" should be studied both for its brilliant insights but also for its author's evident effort to shake off the widespread conviction that he is an unmitigated "hawk".
His effort is betrayed, for instance, by the following far-fetched claim: "It is above all to the drumbeat of Wilsonian idealism that American foreign policy has marched since his watershed presidency, and continues to march to this day"(!) (p. 30).
12. Charles R. Beitz, "Recent International Thought", *International Journal* (Toronto), Vol. XLIII, Spring 1988, p. 183, emphasis added.
13. Dorothy V. Jones, "The Declaratory Tradition in Modern International Law", in Terry Nardin and David R. Mapel (eds.), *Traditions of International Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 44.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 42. According to Jones, these nine principles are the sovereign equality of states; territorial integrity and political independence; equal rights and self-determination of peoples; non-intervention in the internal affairs of states; peaceful settlement of inter-state disputes; no threat or use of force; cooperation with other states; and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. *Ibid.*, pp. 44–5.
15. I have argued for the "pragmatic idealism" of President Obama in my "Pragmatic Idealism Revisited: Russia's Post-1991 Cyprus Policy and Implications for Washington", *op. cit.*
16. The quotations until Pierre Elliott Trudeau are from my *Pragmatic Idealism*, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–9. For Trudeau, see the chapter "The Logic and Ethics of Trudeauvian Internationalism, 1968–84", pp. 87–127.
17. See Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), especially Ch. 6, pp. 246–312. Parenthetically, *Pragmatic Idealism* was published a year earlier than Wendt's celebrated opus.
18. This argument is developed in my *Is There an Ethics in International Politics? An Introduction to Theory and Practice* (Athens: I.Sideris, 2003) (in Greek).
19. John Stuart Mill, *From On Liberty* (1859), in *The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, 33 vols., eds. J.M. Robson et al. (Toronto; London: Toronto University Press; Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963–91), vol. 18, p. 231.
20. See, for instance, Jürgen Habermas, *Knowledge and Human Interests* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987).

21. For an informative introduction to critical theory, see Richard Devetak, "Critical Theory" in Scott Burchill and Andrew Limklater (eds.), *Theories of International Relations* (London and New York: Macmillan Press and St Martin's Press, 1996), pp. 145–78.
22. See "The Big Ten: The Case for Pragmatic Idealism", *The National Interest*, September–October 2007.
23. See "Grounds for U.S. military intervention", *The Washington Post*, 9 April 2011.
24. Illuminating references to recent Russian political culture, including the reinvigoration of Orthodoxy and the search for new forms of national identity – which support this book's main hypothesis – can be found in Michael Stuermer, *Putin and the Rise of Russia* (London: Phoenix, 2008).
25. George W. Bush's worldview and its inherent militarist initiatives represent stereotypical cases of what springs to mind here.
26. Formulations of this kind have had – and continue to have – many sponsors. One classic version originated with Palmerston: "We have no eternal allies, and we have no perpetual enemies. Our interests are eternal and perpetual, and those interests it is our duty to follow". Quoted in John Dickie, *Inside the Foreign Office* (London: Chapmans, 1992), p. 42. Let me clarify that I will not argue here for the uninterrupted (or unqualified) harmony of their interests, let alone any "eternality" of Russian–Hellenic alliance. The latter would be to ignore, for instance, the Bolsheviks' support to Kemal Ataturk's army in response to Venizelos' "rash policies" and even instances of Soviet Moscow's pro-Turkey policies against the interests of the Cypriot Republic (including its "passivity" regarding the 1974 invasion). In any event, my principal focus in the present study is on post-World War II, and especially post-Cold War, relations of Moscow and Cyprus, where the evidence for the *co-habitation of their interests and values* is arguably indubitable, as shown by verbal and non-verbal actions of Russian practitioners; the statements and declarations of Cypriot and Russian diplomats and politicians; and the judgements of Russian academics and Cypriot academics and opinion-makers.

4 Moscow's Policies towards Cyprus during the Cold War: *Realpolitik* versus *Latent Pragmatic Idealism*

1. See William Mallinson's rich account of this obsession primarily in his 2010 study: *Cyprus: Diplomatic History and the Clash of Theory in International Relations* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2010), hereafter "Mallinson 2010".
2. William Mallinson, *Britain and Cyprus: Key Themes and Documents since World War II* (London and New York, I.B. Tauris, 2011), p. 18.
3. This applies *par excellence* to Thomas W. Adams and Alvin J. Cottrell's *Cyprus between East and West* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1968), Chapter IV, "Soviet Policy toward Cyprus", pp. 29–54. "Political realism" has definitely marked the more recent analyses of Augustus Richard Norton, "The Soviet Union and Cyprus", in Norma Salem (ed.), *Cyprus: A Regional Conflict and its Resolution* (London and New York: Macmillan and St Martin's Press, 1992); and Claude Nicolet, *United States Policy towards Cyprus, 1954–1974: Removing the Greek–Turkish Bone of Contention* (Mannheim: Bibliopolis, 2001). Similarly, clearly "power-political" have been the works of Greek authors Charalambos Tsardanides, "The Soviet Union and the Cyprus Problem, 1960–1991", in Christodoulos Yialourides and Panayiotis Tsakonias, *The New International Order, Greece, Turkey and the Cyprus Problem* (Athens: I. Sideris, 1993), in Greek; and

- Andreas Stergiou, "Soviet Policy toward Cyprus", *The Cyprus Review*, Vol. 19 No. 2, Fall 2007; and "Les Russes à Chypre dans l'après-Guerre froide", *Outre-terre: Revue européenne géopolitique*, Vol. 27, 2011, pp. 121–8.
4. It should be noted that Hitchens, Fouskas, and Mallinson, whose books on Cyprus' travails have been utilized thankfully in Chapters 4 and 5, could not resist employing normative arguments in their works.
 5. Ch. Tsardanides, *op. cit.* p. 268.
 6. George Ball, *The Past Has Another Pattern* (New York: Norton, 1982), p. 342, emphases added.
 7. On this issue, Mallinson (2005, p. 21) noted: "Moralising apart, America's main objective in encouraging decolonization was to gain unfettered access to new markets, breaking in the process Britain's 'imperial preference'".
 8. Theodore A. Couloumbis, *Greek Political Reaction to American and NATO Influences* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966), p. 97.
 9. Quoted in Theodore A. Couloumbis, *ibid.*
 10. Theodore Couloumbis, *Telephone interview with author*, Athens, 3 January 2015. Professor Couloumbis' statement, I assume, referred to Athens' conservative elites and not to the majority of the Greeks.
 11. Hitchens, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–5.
 12. Hitchens, *ibid.*, p. 47.
 13. Quoted by Hitchens, *ibid.*, p. 43.
 14. Robert Holland, *Britain and the Revolt in Cyprus, 1954–1959* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 68. Sir Robert Armitage was appointed Governor of Cyprus in January 1954.
 15. *Ibid.*
 16. Mallinson, 2005, p. 23.
 17. Fouskas and Tackie, as in Chapter 2, Note 13 above.
 18. Perry Anderson, "The Divisions of Cyprus", *op. cit.*
 19. *Ibid.*
 20. Robert Holland, *op. cit.*, p. 331.
 21. Perry Anderson, *op. cit.*
 22. Brendan O'Malley and Ian Craig, *The Cyprus Conspiracy: America, Espionage and the Turkish Invasion* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 1999), p. vii.
 23. The three Treaties were those of Establishment, of Alliance, and of Guarantee.
 24. O'Malley and Craig, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
 25. O'Malley and Craig, *ibid.*, emphases added.
 26. Perry Anderson, *op. cit.*
 27. *Ibid.*
 28. Fouskas and Tackie, *Cyprus*, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–19.
 29. Mallinson, 2010, p. 60.
 30. "British Interests in the Eastern Mediterranean", 11 April 1975, PRO FCO 46/1248, DPI/516/1, quoted by Mallinson, 2010, p. 60.
 31. See, for instance, Fouskas in Fouskas and Tackie, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
 32. Mallinson, 2005, p. 35. On p. 208, *ibid.*, Mallinson wrote that "*the British government's role is indisputable*"; and that the Thirteen Points were "*indeed framed with British help and encouragement*", as admitted in a letter of 11 March 1971 sent by FCO's 'Seconde' to the High Commissioner in Cyprus Ramsbotham (emphasis added).
 33. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
 34. The conviction is founded on the fact that a series of Turkish documents and studies had elaborated on the strategy "to regain Cyprus", beginning with Nihat Erim.

35. Mallinson, *op. cit.*, p. 208, n. 13.
36. Fouskas in Fouskas and Tackie, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
37. Lawrence Stern, *The Wrong Horse: The Politics of Intervention and the Failure of American Diplomacy* (New York: Time Books, 1977), p. 84.
38. Stergiou, "Soviet Policy toward Cyprus", p. 94.
39. As published, for instance, in Albany N.Y. *Knickerbroker News*, 20 February 1964.
40. *Phileleftheros*, 28 February 2015, p. 2.
41. Sam Pope Brewer, "U.N. Acts to Send Force to Cyprus with a Mediator", *The New York Times*, 5 March 1964. The article also noted: "France joined the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia in objecting on principle to the control of United Nations armed forces by the Secretary General, but they voted for the resolution".
42. Interview with Marina Salvaridi, Nicosia, 24 March 2011. At that time, Dr Markoullis spoke as a former Foreign Minister. She returned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the 5 August 2011 government reshuffle. Dr Kozakou-Markoullis' important recent insights will also be encountered at the end of this book.
43. 52nd Session of the Turkey-EU Association Council, *Statement by H.E. Mr Ahmet Davutoglu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey and by H.E. Mr Mevlut Cavusoglu, Minister for EU Affairs and Chief Negotiator*, Luxemburg, 23 June 2014, UE-TR 4806/14. Manifestly, this document attempted to exploit the 11 February 2014 "Joint Declaration" by Anastasiades-Eroglu by distorting its spirit (see Chapter 6).
44. See "Letter to Prime Minister Inonu, from President Johnson, dated June 5th, 1964", in P. N. Vanezis, *Cyprus: The Unfinished Agony* (London: Abelard-Schuman, 1977), pp. 116–19.
45. Stergiou, 2007, *op. cit.* p. 95.
46. Nicolet, *op. cit.*, pp. 290–4.
47. For instance: "Kissinger later claimed that his calculations succeeded, as a Greek-Turkish war had been prevented. Of course, the fate of the main victims, the Cypriot civilians, was not included in his strategic equation". Nicolet, *op. cit.*, p. 452.
48. Mallinson, 2010, p. 60.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 60–61, emphasis added. In "Uncomfortable Questions: Cyprus, October 1973–August 1974", *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 14, 2005, pp. 45–63 doi:10.1017/S0960777304002140, Vassilis K. Fouskas reports the following after a personal interview with Martin Packard: "His experience and his eyewitness account of the intercommunal strife led him to argue that progress towards communal re-engagement was subverted by both the United Kingdom and Turkey, as both powers desired the partition of Cyprus" (p. 54). Besides raising a number of significant questions for further research, this paper argues persuasively that "the Turkish invasions of Cyprus of 1974 cannot be entirely disconnected from the geo-strategic theatre of the Middle East and the US cold-war objective of the 'defence of Israel'" (p. 62).
50. Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 159. Johnson's statement was originally revealed in Philip Dean, *I Should Have Died* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1976), pp. 113–14. In the early 1980s, I had the opportunity to interview then-Canadian Senator Philip Gigantes (Dean was his *nom de plume*), in Kingston, Ontario. He assured me that these were the exact words of Lyndon Johnson, as recorded in his Notebook as Press Attaché in the Greek Embassy in Washington, in 1964. He was certain that he would write his memoirs one day. The rather strange title of the book is explained by the fact that its first part is devoted to the author's capture

- and torture by the North Koreans during the Korea War (where he served as war correspondent) and his subsequent escape.
51. Mallinson, 2005, p. 1. The figure of 100,000 illegal settlers in 2005 has been superseded by far in 2015, rendering the native TCs a small minority in the occupied territory.
 52. Adams and Cottrell, pp. 34–5, based on a *Die Welt* report of 29 January 1964.
 53. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
 54. Augustus Richard Norton, “Soviet Union and Cyprus”, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
 55. Adams and Cottrell, p. 37, quoting *Pravda* of 4 July 1964. Given that even *Pravda* could not publish a statement that was delivered four days later, there is a typographical error here.
 56. Adams and Cottrell, *op. cit.* p. 38.
 57. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
 58. Stergiou, 2007, *op. cit.* pp. 93–4.
 59. Norton is quoting from *Pravda*, 9 and 16 August 1964, as cited in Charles B. Lane, *Soviet-Middle East Relations, Soviet-Third World Relations*, v.1 (London: Central Asian Research Centre, 1973), p. 25.
 60. Adams and Cottrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–40.
 61. “Memorandum for the Honorable Robert S. MacNamara from John A. MacCone”, Approved for Release 2004/01/15, CIA-RDP80B01676R000400040013-2, www.fioa.cia.gov (accessed 8 March 2015).
 62. Allen Dulles’ memo is attached to the main Memorandum under discussion. To its credit, the 1958 Memo makes clear that “it is important to note that Greek Cypriots as a group are chiefly interested at present in the struggle with Great Britain for self-determination”. *Ibid.*
 63. *Ibid.*, emphasis added.
 64. CIA Memorandum of 12 February 1965 (emphasis added).
 65. Perry Anderson, “The Divisions of Cyprus”, *op. cit.*, emphasis added. Anderson had already praised Makarios as follows: “Makarios was a charismatic leader, of great dignity and subtlety, and often spellbinding eloquence”.
 66. Norton, *op. cit.*, p. 107, quoting from Nancy Crawshaw, *The Cyprus Revolt: An Account of the Struggle for Union with Greece* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1978), p. 381.
 67. Nicos Katsourides, Interview with author, Nicosia, 16 November 2014.
 68. Mallinson, 2005, p. 72.
 69. Stergiou, 2007, *op. cit.* p. 96.
 70. By 1971, “Washington officials developed an ambiguous relationship with Makarios. They no longer regarded him as the ‘Castro of the Mediterranean’, as was popular during the Johnson era”. Nicolet, *op. cit.* p. 448.
 71. In this connection, see particularly Mallinson, 2005 and 2010, and Lawrence Stern, *op. cit.*
 72. Quoted in Mallinson, 2005, p.48.
 73. *Ibid.*, pp. 48–9.
 74. Maurice Goldbloom, “United States Policy in Post-War Greece,” in Richard Clogg and George Yiannoulopoulos (eds.), *Greece under Military Rule* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1972), p. 228. Maurice Goldbloom was Labour Information Officer at the US Economic Mission to Greece, 1950–51.
 75. Quoted by Goldbloom, *ibid.*, p. 247.
 76. *Ibid.*, p. 249.
 77. Quoted in Constantine Melakopides, “The Cyprus Problem in Greek Foreign Policy”, in Norma Salem (ed.), *Cyprus: A Regional Conflict and its Resolution*

- (London: Macmillan Press, 1992) published in association with the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, Ottawa, p. 77.
78. Goldbloom, op. cit., p. 252.
 79. US House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, *Controlling the Damage: US Policy Options for Greece*, Report of a Study Mission to Greece, 18 to 21 January 1974, published 22 February 1974.
 80. The political, strategic, and diplomatic antecedents of the Turkish invasion have best been described and assessed in the two important books by Mallinson (to which I am indebted); in Hitchens' masterly *Hostage to History*; in Lawrence Stern, *The Wrong Horse*, which made the first historical (and para-historical) revelations about Henry Kissinger's role; and by O'Malley and Craig's *The Cyprus Conspiracy*. The next paragraph is supported fully by the first three books above.
 81. "Turkey's international reputation suffered as a result of the effort by the Turkish military to extend its control to a third of the island. The British Prime Minister regarded the Turkish ultimatum as unreasonable, since it was presented without allowing adequate time for study". Bulent Gokay, *Soviet Eastern Policy and Turkey, 1920–1991: Soviet Foreign Policy, Turkey and Communism* (London: Routledge, 2012), p. 106.
 82. Perry Anderson, "The Divisions of Cyprus", op. cit.
 83. Ibid. Anderson added the conclusion of the 1976 Report by a Commons Select Committee: "Britain had a legal right to intervene, she had a moral obligation to intervene, she had the military capacity to intervene. She did not intervene for reasons which the government refuses to give."
 84. George Iacovou, Salvaridi interview, Nicosia, 23 February 2011.
 85. Cf. Tsardanides, op. cit., p. 276; and Stergiou, "Soviet Policy towards Cyprus", op. cit., p. 98.
 86. The book in question by Makarios Droushiotis will be discussed in Chapter 6.
 87. Yiannakis Omirou, "Russia's stance towards Cyprus and a revelation", *Phileleftheros* online, 29 October 2014.
 88. Mallinson, 2005, p. 85.
 89. Ibid. Kissinger's "revelation" is contained in *Years of Upheaval* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999), p. 192.
 90. Norton, op. cit., p. 106, quoting *Pravda*, 31 August 1988, emphasis added.
 91. Norton, *ibid.*
 92. Georgi L. Muradov, Interview with *Kibris*, 3 July 1998, reprinted in his *Russia–Cyprus: Our Common Way*, op. cit., p. 171.
 93. See "Russia-Japan: towards reaching a compromise", *Russia Today* website, 18 September 2009 (accessed 6 February 2012).
 94. Norton, op. cit., p. 107.
 95. See also Stergiou, 2007, op. cit., p. 100.
 96. Column "As Today", *Phileleftheros*, 23 January 2015, referring to the issue of 23 January 1986.
 97. Norton, op. cit., p. 109, emphasis added.

5 Russia and Cyprus, 1991–2012: Pragmatic Idealism versus Realpolitik

1. Georgy L. Muradov, op. cit., p. 134 (my translation).
2. Ibid., emphasis added.
3. Interview to CyBC's Aleka Preka, 18 May 1999, p. 123 (my translation).

4. Ibid. p. 124 (my translation).
5. Interview to Christophoros Papastylianou, *Simerini*, 25 April 1999, *ibid.*, pp. 115–16 (my translation).
6. Ibid., pp. 118–19.
7. Argyrios Pisiotis, “Greece and Turkey in the Concentric Circles of Russian Post-Cold War Foreign Policy”, in Christodoulos Yialourides and Panayiotis Tsakonas (eds.), *Greece and Turkey after the End of the Cold War* (Athens: Caratzas, 2001), p. 412.
8. Pisiotis, *op. cit.* The Imia confrontation brought Greece and Turkey to the brink of war in 1996. It was due to conflicting claims about the sovereignty of two islets in the Aegean, as part of Turkey’s attempted revisionism of the status of this Sea. The war was averted by the political intervention of the Clinton administration.
9. Pisiotis, *ibid.*
10. The only sanctions ever introduced against Turkey were the ones imposed for a short while by the US Congress, because of Ankara’s use of American weapons in the 1974 invasion.
11. Pisiotis, *op. cit.* p. 413.
12. Andreas Stergiou, “Les Russes à Chypre dans l’après-Guerre froide”, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
13. “Russia threatens retaliation over S-300 missiles”, *Hurriyet Daily News*, 10 November 1997 (accessed 24 October 2014).
14. “Russia warns Turkey”, Cyprus News Agency, Nicosia, 26 November 1997 www.hri.org/cyprus/cna/1997/97-11-26.cna.html (accessed 24 October 2014), emphasis added.
15. Yiannakis Omirou, “Russia’s stance towards Cyprus and a revelation”, *Phileleftheros* website (www.philenews.com), 29 October 2014.
16. Ibid.
17. BBC News, http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/russian/news/newsid_3648000/3648405.stm.
18. George Iacovou, Interview with Marina Salvaridi, Nicosia, 23 February 2011.
19. Ibid.
20. George Iacovou, Telephone interview with author, Nicosia, 21 October 2014.
21. Igor Torbakov, “UN Veto Sparks Debate on Russian Policy Aims”, http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=26456&no_cache=1 (accessed 25 October 2014). To be precise, it was not “the majority of Turkish Cypriots” who voted “yes”; it was the majority of those who voted in the occupied territory, whose clear majority by then were the illegal settlers from Turkey.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Information and Press Department, 26 December 2007 (emphases added).
25. “Nicosia-Moscow set to sign cooperation agreement”, *Financial Mirror*, Nicosia, 21 February 2005.
26. Ibid.
27. The Joint Declaration can be found at: <http://www.cyprus.gov.cy/MOI/pio/pio.nsf/All/60895A8B06E9435CC2257507003E3507?OpenDocument&print>
28. Ibid.
29. Official website of the Russian Federal State Statistics Service: http://www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/b10_39/lssWWW.exe/Stg/14-13.htm

30. Russian Foreign Ministry's official website: <http://www.mid.ru/bdomp/ns-reuro.nsf/348bd0da1d5a7185432569e700419c7a/f5afbe990361f97dc32576bf0048bfb5!OpenDocument>
31. Данные Всероссийского научно-исследовательского института потребительского рынка и маркетинга – [Data of the All-Russian Consumer Market and Marketing Research Institute (2010), http://www.vniiprim.ru/news/show.php?news_id=519 (accessed 6 April 2012).
32. Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Cyprus and the Government of the Russian Federation for the avoidance of the double taxation with respect to taxes on income and on capital, Nicosia, 5 December 1998.
33. Natalia Kardash, "Russian Community in Cyprus: Advantages and Challenges", paper presented during the Conference entitled, "The Republic of Cyprus and the Russian Federation: Past, Present and Future Challenges", University of Nicosia, 2 November 2010, p. 1.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., p. 2.
36. Ibid., p. 4.
37. Nadia Arbatova, "Russia and Cyprus in the context of Regional and European Security", presented in the Conference mentioned in n. 33 above.
38. Georgi Muradov, *Our Common Way*, op. cit., p. 177, emphasis added.
39. During our collaboration in 2010–12, Ms Salvaridi, working at the Visa Section of the Cyprus Consulate in St Petersburg, emphasized repeatedly that whenever she asked prospective Russian visitors to Cyprus the reasons for their tourist choice, they would mention – beyond "the sun and the sea" – "the friendly bonds and cultural affinities between Russians and the Greeks of Cyprus".
40. For figures see Statistical Service of Cyprus (CYSTAT) http://www.cystat.gov.cy/mof/cystat/statistics.nsf/services_71main_en/services_71main_en?OpenForm&sub=1&sel=2
41. Ibid.
42. "Russian tourists will reach 400,000 in 2012", *Philelefttheros* (Nicosia daily), 11 February 2012, p. 13.
43. Argyrios Pisiotis, op. cit., p.421.
44. Interviews by editor Yevgeny Kosov in Nicosia, *VIP-Premier*, Issue 05–06/2010, www.vip-premier.ru/eng/inside.php?action=statia&id=6933&pid=621 (accessed 25 March 2015).
45. Mr Shumsky's interview by Yevgeny Kosov was entitled, "Russia and Cyprus are linked by sincere friendship".
46. "Medvedev Resolves Cyprus Taxation", *Moscow Times*, 8 October 2010, <http://www.themoscowtimes.com/business/article/medvedev-resolves-cyprus-taxation/418969.html>
47. Ibid.
48. *Moscow Times*, op. cit., 8 October 2010.
49. Official website of the President of Russia: <http://eng.news.kremlin.ru/transcripts/1099/print>.
50. Interview with Marina Salvaridi, Nicosia, 24 March 2011.
51. Interview with Marina Salvaridi, Nicosia, 4 April 2011.
52. Interview with Marina Salvaridi, Nicosia, 23 February 2011.
53. George Iacovou, Telephone interview with author, Nicosia, 21 October 2014.
54. "Greece and Russia rally behind Cyprus", *Cyprus Mail*, 2 October 2011.
55. This loan, which began to be delivered in late 2011, demonstrated the presence of "pragmatism" in Nicosia policy-makers' decisions, as opposed to the abject failure

of the George Papandreou administration to follow the same route in 2009 so as to avoid the well-known humiliating consequences for Greece.

56. "Russia Interested in Close Cooperation with Cyprus – Russian ForMin", ITARTASS News Agency, 9 November 2011, emphasis added.
57. Author's correspondence with Statistics Service, Cypriot Ministry of Finance, 4 April 2012.
58. For the falsehood of the image and the assertion, see George Christou, "Bilateral Relations with Russia and the Impact on EU Policy: The Cases of Cyprus and Greece", *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 2011, pp. 225–36.
59. See www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/b12_06/IssWWW.exe/Stg/d01/14-07.htm
60. Source: as in Note 40 above. It is certainly noteworthy that the 2009/2011 increase reached 125 per cent!
61. For a perceptive summary of Christofias' mid-2011–February 2013 problems and troubles, see Nikos Meletis, "The mine that Red Christofias stepped upon", 23 March 2013, *Ethnos Online*, <http://www.ethnos.gr/article.asp?catid=227678&subid=28pubid=63801535>.
62. See, for instance, "Complaints by Dimitris Christofias: Putin did not even come to the phone", *Politis Online*, 25 March 2013. Mr Barroso also revealed at the time that the European Commission had been advising President Christofias, since November 2011, to negotiate a financial assistance programme for Cyprus but to no avail.

6 Nicos Anastasiades' First Two Years in Power

1. The negotiations had been suspended in mid-2012, before Cyprus undertook the rotating presidency of the Council of the EU. Given its stubborn refusal to recognize the RoC (since 1964!), Ankara prevented the TCs from negotiating with the Nicosia government. The inverted commas around bi-communal negotiations are justified because the TC side, lacking autonomy, is guided and manipulated by Ankara.
2. After detecting Anastasiades' change of mind (and heart) in late October 2014, I presented the paper "Reaffirming Pragmatic Idealism in Russia-Cyprus Relations: The Apparent Virtuous Cycle of Nicos Anastasiades" at the Conference "Revisiting Relations Between Russia and Cyprus in the New European and International Environment", University of Nicosia, 18 November 2014.
3. "Petty-foggery" or "chicanery" is probably the best translation of the Greek term "*strepsodikia*" on which Parliament President Yiannakis Omirou primarily insists to describe Turkey's negotiating behaviour, using the TCs as proxies. The term essentially connotes the tendency to twist facts and figures, to backslide on prior agreements, and to pose as victim when the opposite is clearly the case.
4. The "phenomenon" was discussed in columnist Costakis Antoniou's "The leadership of AKEL owes explanations", *Simerini*, 24 July 2014:

Most paradoxical is the fact that the Left is participating in a game in which directors of the "orchestra" are the Western powers. The bizonal solution is of English inspiration; the Seminars for "rapprochement" are of Anglo-American inspiration; the same for the Annan plan; moreover, the man who first promoted methodically the bizonal federation was [conservative leader] Glafkos Clerides.

5. The relevant term –v erb: *διεκδικώ*; noun: *διεκδίκηση* – can be translated as either "assertion of rights" or "claiming" them. Its use is confined primarily to the

- “Centrist” political forces, against what they perceive as the failed policy of “only saying Yes (to the Western powers)” by former Presidents Clerides and Christofias. As we will see, asserting or claiming Cyprus’ rights is overwhelmingly linked to the Russian Federation.
6. I followed actively such public events, not as a passive listener but rather as a “*participant observer*”, trying to raise questions – sometimes “innocent” or “neutral” and other times “challenging” – hoping to extract further information that might enrich the present work.
 7. See Ambassador Koenig’s speech, under the very title of the Conference, on the Nicosia US Embassy website, www.cyprus.usembassy.gov/sp-amb_marshall_fund_sep13.html.
 8. Tasos Mitsopoulos’ death some weeks later was lamented by the entire Greek Cypriot political class and the Greek Cypriot people, who will always remember his dignity, civility, and his special political skills and talents.
 9. “Russia supports Cyprus solution efforts”, *Famagusta Gazette* website, 18 February 2014 (accessed 19 June 2014).
 10. See, for instance, *Simerini*, 29 January 2014.
 11. Alexander Downer’s unfortunate career as a biased special advisor to the UNSG has been exposed widely in the Cypriot and international media and in A. Emilianides, Giorgos Kentas and Michalis Kontos, *Simademeni Trapoula: Ta aporita eggrafa tw n diapragmatefseon Christofia-Talat* [Marked Cards: The Classified Documents of the Christofia-Talat Negotiations] (Nicosia, Power Publishing, 2010), esp. pp. 85–126 (“The Role of the Downer Group”).
 12. This telling proverb was mobilized frequently by Ambassador Osadchyi, as in his 6 June 2014 interview with Michalis Pavlides on Nicosia’s MEGA TV. See “‘Better an old friend than two new ones’ says the Russian Ambassador”, *Phileleftheros*, 7 June 2014.
 13. See, for instance, “Piotr Velicky nuclear missile cruiser to make portcall to Limassol”, *ITAR-TASS News Agency*, 27 December 2013.
 14. Yiorgos Perdikis, Telephone conversation with author, 20 October 2013.
 15. We should recall that these pronouncements began with Security Council Resolution 186 of 1964 and continued with the resolutions condemning explicitly the Ankara/TC UDI of 1983.
 16. Cf. Yiannos Charalambides’ essay in *Simerini*, 22 January 2014.
 17. This “anti-declaration” was issued by the Council in response to Turkey’s declaration that Ankara’s signature to the Additional Protocol extending the Customs Union to all new member states did not imply recognition of Cyprus! Turkey, however, keeps ignoring the EU’s demands ever since, because no EU sanctions have been imposed or even threatened against it.
 18. “Georgios Pikis: Confederal elements in the declaration”, www.mignatiou.com, 23 February 2014.
 19. *Phileleftheros*, “The UN resolutions are point of departure for Russian position”, 8 April 2014, p. 4.
 20. *Phileleftheros*, 30 April 2014.
 21. *Ibid.*
 22. The event was organized by the Cyprus Office of the European Commission and by the NGO “Organisation for the Modernization of Society” (OPEK). This NGO, for months before the 2004 referendum, was passionately supporting the Annan plan.
 23. *Phileleftheros* website, 11 May 2014, emphasis added.

24. Suffice it to say that the initial letter in most comments in English was the same “F” that was used both in Lyndon Johnson’s abuse of the Greek Parliament and Constitution, addressed to the Greek Ambassador, in June 1964 (see Chapter 5) and by Ms Victoria Nuland’s aforementioned abuse of the EU committed in Kiev.
25. See, for instance, *Phileleftheros*, 12 May 2014.
26. *Ibid.*
27. See Andreas S. Angelides, in *Simerini*, 16 June 2014. Mr Angelides, a lawyer and former Parliamentary Spokesman for DIKO, is also a prolific essayist representing the best in the argumentation of “Centrist” politicians, in terms of applying to the Cyprus problem the norms of international law and the ethics and law of human rights.
28. See “Turkey ordered to pay millions over Cyprus invasion”, *Deutsche Welle*, Top Stories, 12 May 2014, www.dw.de/turkey-ordered-to-pay-millions-over-cyprus-invasion/a-17630353 (accessed 27 June 2014). See also, “Turkey stumbles over Cyprus on way to EU”, *Deutsche Welle*, Top Stories/World/Europe, 5 November 2013, www.dw.de/turkey-stumbles-over-cyprus-on-way-to-eu/a-17204257 (accessed 27 June 2014).
29. By mid-June 2014, these two TC negotiators had visited Brussels, Paris, Berlin, Washington and Stockholm.
30. In more than one such instance, Nami reportedly appeared, or was presented, as the Foreign Minister of Cyprus!
31. Richard Miniter, “Obama’s Secret Weapon against Putin?”, *FORBES*, 17 March 2014, emphasis added (accessed 30 December 2014).
32. See Paragraph 5, “Joint Declaration of the two leaders on the re-launching of the talks on the Cyprus problem”.
33. Costas Venizelos, “ ‘Barbaros’ has departed “, *Phileleftheros*, 12 June 2014, p. 5.
34. Mr Omirou resigned from the position of EDEK party leader in January 2015.
35. A number of first-class Nicosia columnists hold the same “Centrist” opinion on the Cyprus question and, mostly on the need to safeguard Cyprus’ special relationship with Russia. The list includes Costakis Antoniou, Fanoula Argyrou, Yiannos Charalambides, Marios Evriviades, Savvas Iacovides, Christos Iacovou, Michalis Ignatiou, Yiorgos Kallinikou, Lazaros Mavros, Aristos Michaelides, Yiorgos Sertis, and Costas Venizelos. Finally, the brilliant political cartoons by “Pin” (Petros Papapetrou) are worth at least 1000 words...
36. A major shot in the arm of this approach was provided by the mid-May 2014 latest decision by the ECHR condemning Turkey to pay the €90 million, as we have seen.
37. On this point, the Centrists’ position coheres with AKEL’s, which retains its Russophile sentiments since Soviet times, as we have seen.
38. Republic of Cyprus, *Press and Information Office*, *Press Release*, “The President of the Republic receives the Deputy Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation”, 29 May 2014.
39. Republic of Cyprus, *Press and Information Office*, *Press Release*, “Bilateral political negotiations between Cyprus and Russia”, 29 May 2014.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *ITAR-TASS*, “Cyprus respects Russia’s position on Ukraine crisis”, 29 May 2014, <http://en.itar-tass.com/russia/733969> (accessed 18 June 2014).
42. The fact that the presentation of Droushiotis’ book was taking place at the same time may better be regarded as an unfortunate coincidence.
43. Republic of Cyprus, *Press and Information Office*, *Press Release*, 11 June 2014.

44. *Phileleftheros*, “Russia’s support is granted”, 12 June 2014, p. 4.
45. Lazaros Mavros has been a vehement critic of the Christofias and Anastasiades’ governments for their handling of the Cyprus problem. On the other hand, he often lends a sympathetic ear in his morning radio programme and frequently seems to imply support for political leaders Yiannakis Omirou, Yiorgos Lillikas, Nikolas Papadopoulos, Marinos Sizopoulos and Yiorgos Perdikis. As regards his favoured academic interlocutors, who have been critical of Anastasiades’ Cyprus policies, they include Professors Andreas Theophanous, Yiorgos Kentas, Christos Clerides, and Costas Mavrides, as well as Dr Yiannos Charalambides and political scientist Michalis Kontos.
46. Foivos Klokkaris, “Bi-communal negotiations – underestimating the Turkish goals”, *Simerini*, 13 February 2015.
47. Costakis Antoniou, “Europe and Government are Rejected”, *Simerini*, 15 April 2014, p. 9: “54% of the citizens responded that they are pessimistic about a solution to the Cyprus problem. 50% disagree with the handling of the issue by Anastasiades, proving that they reject the Joint Declaration of Anastasiades-Eroglu”.
48. “Italian Demarche to Ankara”, *Kathimerini* (Athens daily), electronic edition, 16 October 2014.
49. According to Turkish newspaper AKSAM, Ankara had been pressing Rome to demand that Italian company ENI stop its exploration in Cyprus’ EEZ, in violation of the contract that ENI and KOGAS had signed with the Nicosia government. See, for instance, *Phileleftheros*, 14 October 2014, p. 5.
50. There, inter alia, Turkey’s attempted revisionism has “baptized” as “grey zones” areas that are unquestionably Greek since the Lausanne Treaty of 1923.
51. See “Unilateral actions inadmissible in Cyprus settlement– Russian ForMin”, *TASS Russian News Agency*, 9 October 2014. See also, “The [Russian] Embassy has informed Nicosia; Moscow has reacted to Turkish provocations”, *Phileleftheros* website, 9 October 2014, 3:29 pm.
52. Costas Venizelos, “Russian ‘canons’ against Turkey”, *Phileleftheros*, 10 October 2014, p. 5.
53. Nikolas Markantonis, “Putin: The Violation of Cyprus’ Sovereign Rights is Unacceptable”, *Sigmalive*, 17 October 2014 (www.sigmalive.com/news/politics/171837/putin-aparadecti-i-paraviasi-kyriarx-dikaionaton...) (accessed 10 November 2014).
54. “Moscow is Ready for a Defence Agreement”, *Simerini*, 28 October 2014, pp. 1 and 10.
55. “Russia is interested in a Defence Agreement with Cyprus: Moscow’s regional role is being renewed”, *Phileleftheros*, 28 October 2014, p. 4.
56. *Simerini*, 28 October 2014, p. 10, emphasis added. Needless to say, Mr Omirou’s arguments contradicted directly Makarios Droushiotis’ attempt to discredit Moscow.
57. “Anastasiades got angry; shots against the UN Secretary General and the US”, *Phileleftheros*, 16 January 2015, p. 4. President Anastasiades argued furiously that he “was taken for granted” because of his support for the Annan plan in 2004; and that, since the Americans do not wish to disturb their relations with Turkey, they expected him to make all the concessions.
58. These concepts included the alleged “isolation of the Turkish Cypriots” and the use of “Greek-Cypriot administration” instead of Republic of Cyprus!
59. Certainly, until this manuscript was delivered in early May 2015. For instance, in a Cypriot opinion poll on “the desired qualities of political personalities”, only two politicians were mentioned by name: Cypriot MEP Dr Eleni Theocharous and Alexis Tsipras. *Sigma Evening News*, 14 April 2015.

60. Dora Antoniou, "The background to the declaration on Russia", *Kathimerini*, Athens daily, 1 February 2015.
61. "Russia might bailout Greece – finance minister", *Russia Today*, 30 January 2015; and "Russia says it will extend aid to Greece if asked", www.euractiv.com, 30 January 2015.
62. "Greek foreign minister: 'I am not a Russian puppet'", www.euractiv.com, 30 January 2015.
63. Nikos Kotzias, *Greek Foreign Policy in the 21st Century: For a New, Energetic, Democratic, Patriotic Strategy in the Era of Globalization* (Athens: Kastaniotis, 2010) (in Greek).
64. Dora Antoniou, as in n. 60 above.
65. "Tsipras accuses Turkey of undermining Cyprus peace talks", www.todayszaman.com, 2 February 2015.
66. *The Wall Street Journal*, "Obama Expresses Sympathy for New Greek Government", 1 February 2015, www.wsj.com.
67. Dimitar Bechev, "Playing the Putin Card: What's Behind the Greek prime minister's alliance with Moscow?", <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/04/08/playing-the-putin-card-greece-alexi-tsipras-in-moscow/>. The article ended as follows:

Meanwhile, Vladimir Putin must surely enjoy Tsipras courting his friendship. This gives the Russian president an opportunity to preach the virtues of sovereign foreign policy and to show that isolation and sanctions won't make him change his course. The Greek leader was, no doubt, hoping for more than what he actually got. But at the end of the day, symbolism matters a lot in politics, to use once more two words of Greek origin.

68. *Official Website of the Government of the Russian Federation*, News, "Dmitry Medvedev meets with Prime Minister of Greece Alexis Tsipras", 9 April 2015.
69. *Ibid.*, emphasis added.
70. "Tsipras assures government seeking debt solution in eurozone", www.ekathimerini.com/4Dcgi/4dcgi/_w_articles_ws1_109/04/2015_549001.
71. David M. Herzenhorn and Liz Alderman, "Putin Meets With Alexi Tsipras of Greece, Raising Eyebrows in Europe", *International New York Times*, 8 April 2015, <http://nyti.ms/1FkSaTO>.
72. "Vladimir Putin's Egypt visit sends message to US", www.theguardian.com, 9 February 2015. Anastasiades' Moscow visit will be discussed in Chapter 8.

7 The Russo–Turkish Labyrinth and the Cyprus–Egypt–Israel–Greece Rapprochement

1. Costas Melakopides, "Political Culture", *Dictionary of International Relations and Foreign Policy: History, Theory, Terminology* (Athens: I. Sideris, 1998), pp. 391–393 (in Greek).
2. *Ibid.*
3. See, for instance, Alexey Dolinskiy, "How Moscow understands soft power", *Russia Direct*, 21 June 2013; Pavel Koshkin, "For Russia, soft power doesn't have to mean being a softy", *Russia Direct*, 17 March 2014; and Elena Chernenko, "Russia's new soft power doctrine could be a summer blockbuster", *Russia Direct*, 10 July 2014.
4. In contrast to the passionate Western anti-Putin propaganda following the Crimea adventure, I have benefited from the sophisticated analyses of Jack Matlock,

- the last US Ambassador to Soviet Moscow, appointed there by Ronald Reagan. What emerged clearly from his earliest analyses was, inter alia, that the West had deceived Moscow after the fall of the Soviet Union; that Putin only aims to restore Russian national dignity; that Crimea had always been part of Russia, etc. See www.JackMatlock.com and info@jackmatlock.com
5. For a strong relevant argument, see Simon Tisdall, "Can Turkey under Erdogan any longer be deemed a reliable western ally?" *The Guardian online*, 15 December 2014.
 6. See Selim Deringil, "Turkish Foreign Policy since Atatürk", in Clement H. Dodd (ed.), *Turkish Foreign Policy: New Prospects* (Huntingdon: The Eothen Press, 1992), pp. 2–6.
 7. Hercule Millas, *Images of Greeks and Turks: School Books, Historiography, Literature and National Stereotypes* (Athens: Alexandria, 2001) (in Greek), pp. 39–40.
 8. Bahri Yilmaz, "Turkey's New Role in International Politics," *Aussenpolitik*, Vol. 45, No. 1, 1994, p. 90.
 9. Deringil, op. cit., p. 6.
 10. Quoted throughout the Turkish press immediately after the December 1999 Helsinki European Council.
 11. *Turkish Daily News*, 7 January 2002.
 12. Niazi Kizilyurek, "Mumtaz Soysal: From Kemalism to Neoturkism," in Theodore Couloumbis and Thanos Dokos (eds.), *Review of Defense and Foreign Policy 2001: Greece and the World, 2000–2001* (Athens: ELIAMEP-Parateretes, 2001), p. 62 (in Greek).
 13. The Turkish declaration of *casus belli* in the Aegean Sea followed Greece's expression of intention to extend its territorial waters to 12 nautical miles as legitimated by UNCLOS. Turkey's threat, however, has led Greece to postpone the exercise of its right.
 14. Donald M. Payne, "Security in the Eastern Mediterranean: Bargaining with Law Breakers," *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 2003, p. 25.
 15. Deringil, op. cit., p. 2 (emphasis added).
 16. The most extravagant of the latest include legislation against men-and-women's cohabitation in student lodgings, and the spring 2014 demand by an AKP minister that Turkish women should avoid laughing loudly in public.
 17. Chris Morris, "Turkey: Angry Man of Europe," *BBC Online*, 2 February 2001.
 18. Kemal Kirisci, "Turkey and the United States: Ambivalent Allies", in Barry Rubin and Thomas Keaney (eds.), *US Allies in a Changing World*, BESA studies in international security (London: Frank Cass, 2001), p. 126.
 19. Barcin Yincan, "Why don't Turks commemorate the outbreak of World War 1?" *Hurriyet Daily News*, electronic edition, 13 September 2014.
 20. *Hurriyet Daily News*, electronic edition, 28 August 2014, emphasis added.
 21. Costas Melakopides, "Turkey's Political Culture as a Necessary Condition for Decoding its Policies Towards Cyprus, Greece and the European Union", *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, Vol. 34, No. 2 Winter 2006, pp. 301–17.
 22. For a perceptive introduction to Davutoglu's thinking, see Ioannis N. Grigoriadis, "The Davutoglu Doctrine and Turkish Foreign Policy", Working Paper No 8/2010, ELIAMEP, Athens, April 2010. On p. 4, Grigoriadis wrote: "In Davutoglu's view, Turkey is a Middle Eastern, Balkan, Caucasian, Central Asian, Mediterranean, Gulf and Black Sea country, can simultaneously exercise influence in all these regions and thus claim a global strategic role".
 23. It is remarkable that, until recently at least, the book had been translated only in Greek and Arabic. Therefore, few other Europeans, including Russians, could

become directly and fully familiar with the labyrinthine reasoning of Davutoglu's geopolitical hegemonism.

24. Ahmet Davutoglu, *Strategic Depth: Turkey's International Position* (Athens: Pliotita, 2010) (in Greek), p. 200 (my translation).
25. *Ibid.*, p. 279, emphasis added.
26. "Erdogan says Russia Downed Malaysian Plane", *www.todayzaman.com*, 20 July 2014 (accessed 20 July 2014).
27. *Ibid.* It is noteworthy that *Zaman* is supporting the Gulen movement and hence opposes Erdogan's administration. Its journalists and columnists, however, are generally quite objective and include respectable Turkish academics.
28. Yasar Yakis, "Putin's visit to Turkey", *Today's Zaman*, *www.todayzaman.com*, 10 December 2014 (accessed 12 December 2014).
29. Additional strong indications that Moscow is serious about the "Turkish Stream" surfaced during Alexis Tsipras' visit to Moscow in April 2015, as we will see.
30. "Israel-Cyprus exclusive economic zone set", *Ynetnews.com*, 19 December 2010 (accessed 2 January 2015).
31. "Report: Israel scrambles IAF warplanes toward Turkish ship", *Haaretz*, 30 September 2011.
32. Benny Morris, "Israel's New Allies", *National Interest*, 2 February 2012.
33. *Ibid.* (emphases added).
34. Theodoros Tsakiris, "Greece and the Energy Geopolitics of the Eastern Mediterranean," LSE Ideas, Strategic Update 14.1, June 2014, p.9.
35. Stefanos Evripidou, "Historic plan for water and electricity", *Cyprus Mail*, 8 August 2013.
36. Asher Zeiger, "Israel, Greece, Cyprus sign energy and water deal", *Times of Israel*, 8 August 2013.
37. "Connecting Cyprus and Israel electrically", *Cyprus Mail*, 31 October 2014.
38. "Israel and Cyprus to Improve Military Cooperation", 2 May 2013, ARUTZ SHEVA israelnationalnews.com/News/Flash.aspx/267521#UYVto3fpdg (accessed 5 January 2015).
39. Republic of Cyprus, *Press and Information Office* (PIO), 9 April 2013.
40. Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Press Room, 7 May 2013. "President Peres meets with Cypriot President Anastasiades", emphasis added (accessed 5 January 2014).
41. *Ibid.*, emphases added.
42. *Ibid.* The emotional dimension was also revealed when Cyprus rushed first with firefighting planes to help Israel during the Carmel forest fire of December 2010, an action reciprocated seven months later, when Israel sent electricity generators to assist Cyprus after the catastrophic explosion at Mari in July 2011.
43. See "Israeli Fighter Jets Challenge Cypriot Air Defence in Mock Battle Exercise", www.defence-update.com, 17 February 2014. The article explained that "the Cypriot side played the air defence role, employing the island's air defence systems" which, as it also noted, are Russian-made.
44. See "Israel's first response to Turkish provocations", *Signalive.com*, 20 October 2014. For details on earlier Greek-Israeli military exercises, see Panos Nastos, "Greek-Israeli-Cyprus Military and Security Relations: A Preview", RIEAS, 15 December 2013, www.rieas.gr/research-areas/2014-07-30-08-58-27...
45. Conversation with Professor Amikam Nachmani, Nicosia, 31 October 2014. The Conference was organized by the Cypriot think tank "Thucydides". During his lecture, Dr Nachmani emphasized the solid grounds for Cyprus-Israel collaboration in security and other issues, essentially because of numerous "common denominators between Israel and Hellenism".

46. Nicos Katsourides, Interview with author, Nicosia, 17 November 2014. Mr Nicos Katsourides, former Parliamentary Spokesperson of left-wing AKEL, is widely recognized as the most mature politician and thinker of the Cypriot Left.
47. This hypothesis, written before Anastasiades' Moscow visit, was confirmed in late February 2015, as we will see in Chapter 8.
48. Zvi Magen and Gallia Lindenstrauß, "Russian-Turkish Relations: Contemporary Dilemmas of Past Empires", INSS, *Strategic Assessment*, Vol. 16, No. 2, July 2013.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
50. *Ibid.* One assumes that the last quoted sentence implies opposition to the suspected "solution by the BZBC federation". Indeed, this alleged solution seems to satisfy only Turkey's designs and hegemonic ambitions over the whole of Cyprus. Therefore, it is against the interests of the Greek Cypriot majority, as well as Greece, Israel, Egypt, most EU states and Russia.
51. Daniel Pipes' insightful analysis of Turkish developments cohered with my suggestions on Turkey's political culture and the intimated operational code of President Erdogan. In this respect, Dr Pipes noted that, because of his domestic electoral successes, and despite his serious and frequent foreign policy failures, Erdogan believes himself to be "invincible". And this is precisely what renders him potentially dangerous.
52. Republic of Cyprus, *Press and Information Office*, "Egypt–Greece–Cyprus Trilateral Summit Cairo Declaration", *Press Release*, 8 November 2014.
53. This probability was voiced as certainty, a few days after the Cairo Conference, by Greek journalist and author Yiorgos Karabelias, a perceptive frequent guest to Lazaros Mavros' morning radio programme in Nicosia.
54. Republic of Cyprus, *Press and Information Office*, "Joint Declaration by the Ministers of Energy of Cyprus, Egypt and Greece", *Press Release*, 25 November 2014.
55. Costas Venizelos, "Selling natural gas creates new conditions: the Cyprus-Egypt agreement creates fait accompli", *Phileleftheros*, 22 February 2015.
56. "Control of the EEZ by Sea and Air is the Goal of Ministry of Defence", *philenews.com*, Phileleftheros website, 11 January 2015.
57. *Ibid.*
58. In late July 2014, the Cypriot press reported that the Israelis were asking the Nicosia government to be allowed to utilize the Troodos Mountains radar facilities for the expanded inspection of the Cypriot and Israeli EEZs. The initial British responses were said to range from negative to dismissive.
59. See *Simerini* and *Phileleftheros*, 24–26 October 2014.
60. Republic of Cyprus, *Press and Information Office*, "The President of the Republic received the Minister for Europe of the United Kingdom", *Press Release*, 26 November 2014.
61. "British Hypocrisy", *Simerini* editorial, 28 November 2014.
62. See www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+Motion+B8-2014-0216...
63. See www.hurriyetdailynews.com/european-parliament-call-on-turkeyto-stop-provocations-in-cyprus
64. Panayis Galiatsatos, "T. Erdogan Announces Drilling", *Kathimerini* (Athens daily), 12 December 2014.
65. *Ibid.*
66. Sadly, the same theatrical performance took place during Christmas 2014: on Christmas Day, Ahmet Davutoglu phoned PM Samaras from Greek Thrace to wish him "Many Happy Returns"; the day before, there were massive violations of the Greek FIR and national airspace by Turkish F-16s.

67. "Cyprus' participation in the PfP would not disturb us; Osadchyi: We would not want you in Nato", *Phileleftheros*, 13 December 2014, p.4.
68. As Note 11 in Chapter 6 above.
69. By mid-December 2014 and in the first two weeks of 2015, numerous political leaders and serious commentators had stated or insinuated that Mr Eide had become a *persona non grata*.
70. "Government files strong protest over Eide's remarks", *Cyprus News Agency*, 8 April 2015. The protest referred also to Eide's remark that "many states do not see seismic exploration as a violation of the Exclusive Economic Zone of a state".
71. Daniel Dombey, Heba Saleh, and John Reed, "Egypt and Cyprus freeze out Turkey in possible gas deal", *Financial Times* online, 25 November 2014.
72. "They are worried and criticize the Government: Parties' Reactions against Biden and vis-a-vis the Cyprus Problem", *Phileleftheros*, 25 November 2014, p. 4.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid.

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1. See Courtney Weaver, "Russians prepare to quit Cyprus", *Financial Times*, 24 March 2013.
2. Muradov, op. cit., p. 177 (emphasis added).
3. For instance, the rejuvenated Bank of Cyprus is today dominated by American and Russian capital.
4. Mr Georgiadis made his comment after his lecture on "The Cypriot Economy Before and After the Troika Memorandum", University of Cyprus, 20 November 2014.
5. Dimitris Liatsos, "Russia-Greece-Cyprus relations in 2014 and prospects for 2015", *Russia Behind The Headlines*, reproduced in www.infognomonpolitics.blogspot.gr, 1 January 2015.
6. Michalis Papadopoulos, "Cold Shower from Putin", *Simerini*, 20 December 2014. The article quoted similar statements by DIKO, EDEK, and the Ecologists.
7. Pericles Nearchou, *Radio Proto interview*, 4 January 2015.
8. Ambassador George Kasoulides, Correspondence with author, 14 January 2015 (my translation).
9. Ibid.
10. Georgi L. Muradov, Interview with *Kibris*, 3 July 1998, reprinted in his *Russia-Cyprus: Our Common Way*, op. cit., p. 171.
11. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Information and Press Department, 26 December 2007 (emphases added).
12. See "Russia-Japan: towards reaching a compromise", *Russia Today* website, 18 September 2009 (accessed 6 February 2012).
13. "Russia Interested in Close Cooperation with Cyprus – Russian ForMin", ITAR-TASS, 9 November 2011, www.itar-tass.com/en/e154/267267.html (emphasis added).
14. "Osadchyi: Moscow's support is given", *Phileleftheros*, 12 June 2014, p. 4, emphasis added.
15. "Russian support to Cyprus is Diachronic", *Simerini*, 3 July 2014, emphasis added.
16. Igor Torbakov, Correspondence with author, 15 September 2010.
17. Igor Torbakov, Correspondence with author, 5 April 2012.
18. Igor Torbakov, Correspondence with author, 9 July 2014.
19. *Phileleftheros*, 11 December 2014, p. 4.
20. Pericles Nearchou, Correspondence with author, 13 March 2015.

21. "Give diplomacy with Russia a chance", *International New York Times*, 9 September 2014.
22. See the *deontological* argument for the Obama administration's duty and its capacity to adopt a pragmatic idealist Cyprus policy, because of President Obama's evident pragmatic idealist principles and worldview, in Costas Melakopides, "Russia's Post-1991 Cyprus Policy and Implications for Washington", *op. cit.*
23. Nicos Anastasiades also met with the President of the Russian Duma, Sergey Naryshkin. During the meeting, Mr Naryshkin referred "to the traditional bonds between Russia and Cyprus and added that 'our countries approach various modern international issues in a similar way and they have great cooperation in international organisations. And Russia contributes in this cooperation with its firm position on the Cyprus problem". *Press and Information Office, Press Releases, "The President of the Republic meets with the President of the Russian Duma"*, 25 February 2015.
24. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus, "The Republic of Cyprus and the Russian Federation signed a number of Agreements and Memoranda of Understanding", 25 February 2015.
25. Giorgos Frangos, "Eleven bilateral agreements with Russia. Signed: Facilities for the Russian Navy", *Phileleftheros*, Electronic Edition, 25 February 2015.
26. Cyprus Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 25/02/2015, *op. cit.*
27. Cyprus Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. "Putin: Cyprus will allow Russian vessels to call at its ports", *TASS Russian News Agency*, 25 February 2015, www.tass.ru/en/Russia/779578.
30. *Ibid.*
31. Cyprus Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *op. cit.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. Republic of Cyprus, Press and Information Office, *Press Releases, "The President of the Republic and the President of the Russian Federation give a Joint Press Conference, 25/02/2015*.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Yiannis Antoniou, "Positive evaluation from the Russian side: At the epicenter, Nicosia's relations with Moscow in spite of the EU sanctions", www.kathimerini.com.cy, 26 February 2015. The article emphasized that the Russian satisfaction was caused, *inter alia*, by the fact that Nicos Anastasiades was the first EU leader visiting Moscow officially after the EU sanctions, considering especially that the visit took place in the middle of the Ukrainian crisis, "while the Kremlin is under economic and diplomatic pressure".
36. *The Moscow Times*, 25 February 2015.
37. *Tass Russian News Agency*, 26 February 2015.
38. *Tass Russian News Agency, ibid.*
39. *Tass Russian News Agency, 25 February 2015.*
40. Costas Venizelos, "The Russian Federation will approach companies for participation in natural gas exploration; Russia is present in Cyprus' EEZ", *Phileleftheros* website, 1 March 2015.
41. *Ibid.*
42. "As demonstrated during the recent discussions regarding the resolution to renew UNFICYP, Moscow's intervention was substantial and effective, primarily vis-à-vis the British μεθοδεύσεις (i.e. scheming or machinations)". *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.* Finally, "Moscow expressed no complaint regarding Cyprus' stance on Ukraine. Quite the opposite: it regards it as positive because, although a small state, it expressed in the EU its own position on the sanctions".

44. See, for instance, Ian Drury, "Putin's Cyprus deal gives Russia a foothold in the EU: British MPs blast island's decision to let Moscow's navy use its ports", *Mail Online*, 27 February 2015, www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2971278/Putin-s-Cyprus-deal-gives-Russia-foothold-EU... (accessed 28 February 2015).
45. "Tory MP Richard Ottaway, chairman of the Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, said: 'It is going to make renewing sanctions against Russia ... much more unlikely. Putin is trying to drive a wedge between countries in the EU'. Ibid. Ian Drury quoted LSE's James Ker-Lindsay's expectation that many in the EU "will feel worried and disappointed by this agreement". To his credit, he also added Ker-Lindsay's observation that "Cyprus felt the EU had not helped it at the height of the financial crisis, yet Russian businesses and oligarchs stayed and did not withdraw their money".
46. "US ambassador tweet on Anastasiades Russian visit angers Cypriots", *enikos.gr*, 3 March 2015; and Jean Christou, "US ambassador: my tweet was misunderstood (Update 3)", *Cyprus-mail.com*, 2 March 2015.
47. Jean Christou, "Hammond visit not 'firmed up'", www.cyprusmail.com/2015/03/26/hammond-visit-not-firmed-up/ (accessed 9 April 2015).
48. Dr Yiannos Charalambides, "The political butlers of Mr Hammond", *Simerini*, 31 March 2015.
49. Ibid.
50. "US Unhappy Over Cypriot President's Visit to Moscow – Cyprus' Minister", sputniknews.com/politics/20150304/1019049935.html, 4 March 2015 (accessed 8 April 2015).
51. Ibid. Back in London, British MPs kept protesting for a whole month after Anastasiades' Moscow visit, still addressing questions to the Foreign Office and prompting the *Simerini* editorial, "They are Still Reacting", 26 March 2015.
52. Pericles Nearchou, Correspondence with author, 13 March 2015.
53. Igor Torbakov, Correspondence with author, 15 September 2010.
54. George Iacovou, Telephone interview with author, Nicosia, 21 October 2014.
55. Nicos Katsourides, Interview with author, Nicosia, 17 November 2014.
56. In correspondence with the author, 15 January 2015, Dr Solon Kassinis, an experienced technocrat and former Director of Energy in the corresponding Cyprus Ministry, expressed a somewhat reserved opinion: "Russia has very strong ties with Cyprus, which mostly began on a 'traditional' sort of basis. However, nowadays these are more driven by factors such as that of economy and energy, rather than mere tradition. I believe that you were right and do so share your ideas on 'pragmatic idealism', but this concept only acted as a catalyst during the early appearance of the Russia–Cyprus relations. Historically, these relations and alliance have been evolving through the years to reveal today an economy and energy driven tie (i.e. an 'interest' based bond) between the two countries, which has replaced to a great extent the historical 'traditional' relations and bonds."
57. Dr Giorgos Kentas, Correspondence with author, 16 January 2015.
58. Ibid.
59. Pericles Nearchou, Correspondence with author, 13 March 2015.
60. Ibid.
61. Dr Erato Kozakou-Markoullis, Correspondence with author, 18 December 2014.

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