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Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies
Integrating Diversity in the European Union (InDivEU)

The Politics of Differentiated Integration:
What do Governments Want? Country Report - Cyprus

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European University Institute

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Integrating Diversity in the European Union (InDivEU) is a Horizon 2020 funded research project aimed at contributing concretely to the current debate on the 'Future of Europe' by assessing, developing and testing a range of models and scenarios for different levels of integration among EU member states. InDivEU begins from the assumption that managing heterogeneity and deep diversity is a continuous and growing challenge in the evolution of the EU and the dynamic of European integration.

The objective of InDivEU is to maximize the knowledge of Differentiated Integration (DI) on the basis of a theoretically robust conceptual foundations accompanied by an innovative and integrated analytical framework, and to provide Europe's policy makers with a knowledge hub on DI. InDivEU combines rigorous academic research with the capacity to translate research findings into policy design and advice.

InDivEU comprises a consortium of 14 partner institutions coordinated by the Robert Schuman Centre at the European University Institute, where the project is hosted by the European Governance and Politics Programme (EGPP). The scientific coordinators of InDivEU are Brigid Laffan (Robert Schuman Centre) and Frank Schimmelfennig (ETH Zürich).

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Abstract

There was never any prevalence of debates about differential integration and future of European integration in Cyprus. European issues have always been secondary in local debates, except when they tend to affect Cyprus directly, the de facto partition of the country and the potential for its resolution or economic and political interest of Cypriots. During pre-accession times the competition between political forces to appear more European than their opponents but the Europeanisation processes were rather superficial. In the post accession period, political debates were primarily shaped by a competition between Government, opposition forces, political parties and leaders who often debate about who is better fit to manage the various European policies in the political life of Cyprus, rather than genuinely debating about the nature, direction and character of the European Union, its future direction in terms of integration processes and the potential. After the 2013 austerity measures, Eurosceptical views and sentiments were developed which questioned the initial unconditional support for the EU integration processes. Nevertheless, differential integration is not a subject that has any prominence in Cypriot politics or public debates.

Keywords

Cyprus problem, de facto partition, catalyst, resolution, Europeanisation.

Summary of Results

I. Salience

In the context of Cyprus, differentiated integration (DI) appears to be of low salience in almost all the years in this analysis. Two key findings emerged. First, salience peaked around 2017 and 2018, when the Minister of Finance addressed matters relating to the economy. However, there was no clear position on how government officials and political parties perceived the future of integration in the EU. Interventions by ministers referred to the possibilities for the future of EU integration by taking a rather vague position, focusing on internal politics rather than considering EU-wide debates.

II. Position

The positions of the Cypriot governments with regard to DI during the period under investigation were determined by considerations of how Cyprus could benefit from accession to the EU as regards the resolution of the Cyprus problem (the de facto partition of the country). It is impossible to state whether the governments were for or against DI. The debates were domestically driven and shaped and there is no indication of how they positioned themselves in EU-wide debates on EU integration. Other social, ideological and political issues were relevant but rarely was there any political debate about the future of European integration, except for some academic debates.

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1. Introduction*

This report distinguishes between two different models of DI at the conceptual level. On the one hand, the ‘multi-speed EU’ model depicts DI as a temporary phenomenon and implies that all the Member States (MSs) will ultimately reach the same level of integration. On the other hand, the ‘multi-end EU’ model depicts DI as a potentially permanent feature of European integration. In this model, the MSs do not necessarily strive to reach similar levels of integration. Instead, each MS can ‘pick and choose’ to adjust its own level of integration to national preferences and capacities.

The results are based on an analysis of various government documents (Appendix 1).

The salience of DI models was intended to be assessed by counting key words in the above-mentioned documents (Appendix 2). The assumption was that the more a government talks about DI, the more relevant it is. However, successive government officials have rarely publicly debated any issues relating to the future of the EU in terms differential integration. DI models (multi-speed vs. multi-end), DI mechanisms (opt-out vs. enhanced cooperation) and DI instances etc. were only discussed by advisors, academics and intellectuals or journalists. The occasional references are indirect and spurious inferences without taking a position on the subject. The issue was always how Cyprus and the Cyprus problem (i.e. the ongoing de facto division of the country and the potential for a solution) would be affected by different EU policies, rather than examining the pros and cons of various DI alternatives and how Cyprus would fit into them. There is no searchable repository of parliamentary debates and therefore the analysis was done manually. In any case there are few data to go by for the following contextual reasons:

- First, the Republic of Cyprus has a presidential system,¹ not a parliamentary one. Executive power is in the hands of the government and the individual ministers appointed by the president, who is elected every five years. The government and the individual ministers decide on all matters relating to foreign and EU policy. The parliament, known as the House of Representatives, has a legislative and budgetary function. It approves treaties and has various committees to scrutinise the government.² Debates in parliament are on domestic affairs and government policies abroad, and rarely, if at all, address issues relating to the future of the EU.
- Second, for the purposes of this report relevant material was collected from the Cypriot presidency, ministries and the House of Representatives. However, there was so little in the actual debates on the EU’s future that it was impossible to conduct a word search as was required by the methodology guidelines.³
- Third, there is little reporting on European integration and EU-wide debates about its future by the Greek Cypriot media despite the considerable effect the EU has on the lives of EU citizens, including Cypriots. Issues relating to EU-level policymaking do not attract much attention by the Greek Cypriot media and political parties.⁴ This means that the EU-wide debates were only

* I would like to thank Aris Anastasiou for the research assistance he provided. I would also like to thank Demetris Kotsiekkas for the material he managed to muster, which was so hard to obtain in Cyprus. Finally, I would like to thank Corina Demetriou for her contribution.

¹ Ker-Lindsay, J. (2008) “Presidential Power and Authority,” Ker-Lindsay, J. and Faustmann, H. (eds.) *The Government and Politics of Cyprus*, Peter Lang, Bern, pp. 107-123.

² Charalambous, G. (2008) “The House of Representatives,” Ker-Lindsay, J. and Faustmann, H. (eds.) *The Government and Politics of Cyprus*, Peter Lang, Bern, pp. 143-167.

³ The material from the House of Representatives was in PDF picture format, which is not searchable. In any case we scanned through the material and asked various MPs and their assistants but found little of any relevance.

⁴ Trimithiotis, D. (2020) “The Persistence of Ethnocentric Framing in Online News Coverage of European Politics,” *Digital Journalism*, 8:3, 404-421, DOI: 10.1080/21670811.2019.1598882

reported by a few media outlets but did not form part of national political debates in a manner that would force politicians to engage in public debates on EU-wide issues.

- Fourth, Greek Cypriot Party manifestos have a domestic focus, with minimal references to debates about the EU's future. They only refer to the EU in relation to how it may affect the Cyprus problem, Cypriot internal economic and social life or EU-Turkey relations. This must be explained by the underlying evolution of Greek Cypriot party politics⁵ and the dominance of the Cyprus issue. Even during EU parliamentary elections, the debates are dominated by domestic issues and the contest is about who will best represent Cyprus and Cypriots in the EU and who will push for this or that solution of the Cyprus problem and domestic issues: "In Cypriot parties' discourses the political action does not aim at transforming Europe. It is rather the EU that is assessed as an active entity and whose actions impact the interests of the Republic of Cyprus and its citizens."⁶ This is because Cypriot party discourses "do not create a global vision for the EU, but only fragmented visions through interpretation of various Cypriot issues in the European context," of which the "essence consists of rationalising the manner through which Cyprus may benefit from its participation in the EU." The purpose is to "legitimise their political positions by referring to their participation and their actions within the European entities."⁷

2. EU accession and the Cyprus problem: The promises and failures of conflict resolution in resolving the Cyprus problem

Around the millennium, several international forces converged, making a transformation of the de facto partitionist status quo in Cyprus. There were transformations in Turkey, which also shifted Turkey's EU accession process and its Cyprus policy after 2002, which seemed to open possibilities for reaching an agreement over Cyprus. The 'troubled triangle' of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey was in a process of transformation.⁸ The publication of the Annan plan in late 2002 transformed the terms of the debate by specifying the terms of the solution, bringing about multiple ruptures within political forces in Cyprus both north and south of the barbed wire. The plan appeared when Cypriot society was rapidly changing. It coincided with the final stages of Cyprus's accession to the EU and the beginning of Turkey's accession process. The plan was the culmination of thirty years of interrupted UN negotiations, which eventually resulted in an accelerated process moments before Cyprus's EU accession. However, the process agreed empowered the UN Secretary General to fill in the final plan to be put to separate referenda without the consent of community leaders. It was designed to bypass the intransigent Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktaş. Moreover, Turkey's own European accession positively affected the contradictory internal socio-economic and political transformations taking place after the collapse of the bi-polar world and the EU eastward.⁹

The year 2004 promised to be a watershed as accession to the EU would coincide with reunification. Cypriots voted in a referendum on whether they accepted the comprehensive UN plan. Accession would operate as model for conflict resolution. In part, the Belgian and Swiss federal systems could be applied for Cyprus to be reunited once it joined the EU.¹⁰ The plan was, however, rejected, failing to reunite the country following an overwhelming rejection by the Greek Cypriots after an impassioned call by

⁵ Christophorou, C. (2008) "The evolution of Greek Cypriot party politics," Ker-Lindsay, J. and Faustmann, H. (eds.) *The Government and Politics of Cyprus*, Peter Lang, Bern, pp. 83-105.

⁶ Trimithiotis, D. (2018) "Understanding political discourses about Europe: A multilevel contextual approach to discourse," *Discourse & Society* 2018, Vol. 29(2) 160-179, DOI: 10.1177/0957926517734425.

⁷ Trimithiotis, D. (2018) "Understanding political discourses about Europe: A multilevel contextual approach to discourse," *Discourse & Society* 2018, Vol. 29(2) 160-179, DOI: 10.1177/0957926517734425.

⁸ Aktar et al, 2010.

⁹ Ugur, 1996; 1999; Trimikliniotis and Bozkurt, 2012.

¹⁰ See Emerson, M. and Tocci, N. (2002); also see Tocci, (2004).

President Papadopoulos, the Greek Cypriot leader, calling for a resounding no. Turkish Cypriots said a resounding yes.¹¹ This disparity added considerable tension and suspicion to the relations between the two communities. Following the referendum's failure, Cyprus entered the EU as a divided country in a state of limbo. This has significantly shaped Cyprus's relations with and position within the EU, as its unresolved problem and its tensions with Turkey have become a constant source of problems in EU-Ankara relations.

A stalemate followed in the immediate aftermath of the Annan plan. In the February 2008 presidential election hard-line Tassos Papadopoulos was defeated by Dimitris Christofias,¹² who assumed office. This created impetus for a new round of negotiations. For two years Christofias negotiated with Talat,¹³ the left-wing Turkish Cypriot leader who headed the breakaway TRNC until 2010. Three crucial factors must be considered. The situation in 2008 had changed since 2004. Turkey's EU accession lost momentum, Erdoğan's *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* (AKP) (Justice and Development Party) was consolidating its grip on power in Turkey and the economic crisis and the transformations in the Arab world were reshaping the geopolitical map. Second, precious time was wasted, rather than negotiating the points of disagreement over the Annan plan. Both Christofias and Talat underestimated the obstacles they faced and the time they had in office, in fact they both lost power in the subsequent elections. Third, a last minute chance was floundered when the leaders failed to lock in and capitalise on the remarkable progress on governance, one of the crucial issues in the Cyprus problem. This was the first time ever that leaders of the two communities agreed on the parameters for sharing power in a bi-communal bi-zonal federation in a system with weighted cross-voting and rotating presidencies for Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Nevertheless, Christofias was under immense pressure from his hawkish government partners and the main opposition party leader, Nicos Anastasiadis, who up to that point had acted as a "right-wing peace-maker."¹⁴

In 2010, the political elites on both sides were poised to sabotage any prospect of an agreement. Paradoxically, the hostile Greek Cypriot political establishment with the full backing of media moguls and the increasingly disinterested Ankara combined with the new vigour of the ascending Turkish Cypriot right meant that the political right and nationalism were becoming hegemonic once more.¹⁵ In the meantime, on the Greek Cypriot side there was little popular participation in activities preparing the ground for a federal compromise, with an education system and media system hostile to compromise. On the Turkish Cypriot side, the movement that ousted Denktaş and brought in Talat was demoralised. Turkish Cypriot disillusionment informed by disappointment with the realisation of promises of accession/reunification and massive divisions within the mass social-political movement led to the replacement of the left-wing leader in the election in April 2010. The veteran right-wing Derviş Eroğlu was narrowly elected.¹⁶ In 2013, right-wing Nicos Anastasiadis was elected, but he was no longer the reconciliation and "right-wing peacemaker." During his presidential campaign and after being elected he adopted a hard-line position. When he became president, the immediate task was the economy and a haircut on deposits was imposed as soon as he took office. When negotiations started, he adopted such a hard-line position that some scholars refer to his policy as an attempt to 'normalise' the partition of Cyprus in the minds of the Greek Cypriots.¹⁷ In the meantime, by 2015 the Turkish Cypriot side had

¹¹ Trimikliniotis and Bozkurt, 2012; Perikleous, 2009.

¹² The leader of *Ανορθωτικό Κόμμα Εργαζομένου Λαού* (AKEL) (Progressive Party of Working People).

¹³ He headed the *Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi* (CTP) (Republican Turkish Party), the Turkish Cypriot sister-party of AKEL.

¹⁴ Loizides, N. (2012).

¹⁵ Nominally the left in both communities were in the driving seat of the negotiations; in practice they were in retreat. No interim agreement was signed when UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon visited Cyprus in March 2010. In Shakespearean terms, once more *time went out of joint*, see Trimikliniotis, N., Bozkurt, U. (eds.) (2012) *Beyond a divided Cyprus: a state and society in transformation*, MacMillan Palgrave, New York.

¹⁶ He was elected in the first round with 50.3 percent of the votes.

¹⁷ Ioannou, 2020.

changed its leader: pro-peace Mustafa Akinci was elected and he wanted to proceed with negotiations to resolve the Cyprus problem. However, negotiations collapsed in 2017 as Anastasiadis took a hard-line position. He was more interested in winning the subsequent presidential election in 2018, which he did indeed win. However, in 2020 the Covid-19 crisis ensued. In October 2020, hard-line Ersin Tatar won the Turkish Cypriot presidential election, ousting pro-peace Mustafa Akinci.

3. Cypriot governments and differentiated integration

To assess the salience of DI in Cypriot government discourse, we searched (a) government programmes (b) presidential speeches and (c) other documents such as statements by ministers and press releases. The analysis proceeded from the more general (i.e. government programmes) to the more specific (i.e. Council statements/parliamentary debates). The collection covered the years 1992 (the date of the application for EU accession) to 2004 (the date of EU accession), 2008, 2012, 2017-2020, when key events at the EU level (i.e. treaties, debates on the Future of Europe) took place. In total, 50 documents were manually searched as the search repository did not support searches for specific key words. In addition, secondary literature was exhaustively analysed.

The study and analysis of government programmes, speeches and proposals in the period 2004-2020 showed that none of the political forces that came to power in this period, despite different strategic and ideological departure points, either clashed with or questioned in practice the structure and functioning of the European Union, following in fact what was known as the 'European one-way street,' a term that emerged in the early 2010s with the financial crisis. It is nevertheless possible to identify, in addition to the different ideological departure points, different visions among the political parties in Cyprus. These are examined below, taking each governance period separately.

After the accession on 1 May 2004, following the Greek Cypriots' rejection of the UN plan to resolve the Cyprus problem, the problem remained the dominant issue. Public debates remained focused on its resolution but a new issue was added to the agenda: how the Turkish Cypriot community would also benefit from accession to the EU, given that the EU *acquis* was and remains suspended in the northern occupied territories. The EU policy of supporting the Turkish Cypriots involved providing financial and expert support in a manner that would prepare the ground for a federal reunification of the country, despite the suspension of the EU *acquis* in the occupied territories but without it implying recognition of the breakaway regime. The Republic of Cyprus Government and most Greek Cypriot political parties were concerned that this financial support could somehow imply recognition or even 'acknowledgement' of a regime that they considered to be illegal and that EU support for the Turkish Cypriots could operate as a disincentive to resolving the Cyprus problem. Many EU partners did not find these concerns persuasive, given that it was President Tassos Papadopoulos as leader of the Greek Cypriot community who called on them to reject the UN plan to resolve the Cyprus problem. Other issues on the agenda related to Cyprus's post-accession economic and social development and modernisation of its institutions. There was hardly any debate pertaining to differential integration, except for some critical remarks coming from the Communist Party (Progressive Party of the Working People, AKEL) and some invited professors from Greece, which were confined to academic circles. Following the economic crisis there was more of a debate about the nature of the EU, its own crisis, future European integration and how Cyprus would fit into a future European Union.

3.1 Before accession to the EU, 1990 to 2003: The Presidencies of Glafkos Clerides

Cyprus applied to join the EU in 1990, during the Presidency of George Vassiliou (1988-1992). In 1993 Vassiliou narrowly lost to Glafkos Clerides, who was then re-elected President in 1998 but lost in 2003 when he ran a third time against Tassos Papadopoulos, who became president for the 2003-2008 term.

During this time *Europeanisation* was primarily seen as a catalyst and general framework for resolution of the Cyprus problem. It was thought at the time that the EU accession process and the EU

legal and political framework would provide ‘carrot and a stick’ mechanisms. The ‘EU as a Carrot’ argument stressed the economic case for joining, such as the idea that new markets could be opened and modernisation of the economy would result. The regional fund would help by developing infrastructure with longer-term benefits, with the Turkish Cypriots being the main beneficiaries. The ‘EU as a Stick’ idea was basically that the EU could be used as a pressure mechanism to put leverage on Turkey in the international arena to adopt a more constructive approach on Cyprus. Greek Cypriot policymakers saw Turkey as dependent, both economically and politically, on the EU. Given the failure of the UN, at least so far, to apply pressure to reach a solution, the weakening of the non-aligned movement and changes in the international political order, this was perceived as a prime strategy for a solution. In this sense *Europeanisation* was seen as offering Turkish Cypriots who did not wish to be dependent on Turkey an opportunity to move away from this dependency with the accession of Cyprus.

The word ‘Europe’ became hegemonic in political discourse in Cyprus. The rhetoric was orientated towards Europe as the main reference point, and there was considered to be taking place a process of “*Europeanisation* of political thinking.”¹⁸ In the words of an anthropologist, the Greek Cypriot political elite seemed to be embracing a “Euro-centric ideology”¹⁹ as the national image and domestic policy issues that divided political groups were increasingly articulated with reference to Europe.²⁰ All the Greek Cypriot political parties claimed to be pro-European. In some contexts, there was competition among groups and individuals in the political elite over who was more European, as the term was equated with modernity, forward-lookingness, advancing and professionalism. Reference to Greekness and Hellenism was of course retained but even that was legitimised as the ‘origin’ of ‘*Europeanness*.’²¹

Certain political ideological elements were articulated in arguments in favour of joining the EU, on how Cyprus must be integrated within the EU and the shape of the EU in the future. There was strong support for Cyprus becoming ‘more European,’ drawing closer to ‘European norms’ and ‘European practices of governance’ in what can be referred to as *Europeanisation* arguments.²² Historically, many of the political forces campaigning and arguing in favour of EU accession as a strategy to resolve the Cyprus problem had an economic ideology based on free trade and a Thatcher-style political and economic agenda. From the late 1990s onwards, accession to the EU was also seen as spearheading “privatisation or the liberalisation of monopolistic sectors” and liberalising interest rates.²³ The same political forces, which were aligned to the governing party DESY, tended to push for similar economic packages, particularly after the collapse of the Cypriot banking system in 2013 and the memorandum of understanding signed between the Cypriot government and the EU’s troika, which led to austerity and economic liberalisation measures in return for the economic rescue package.²⁴

From the 1990s, the Treaty of Maastricht started to be invoked in order to further this line of argument. Key terms in the ‘harmonisation’ process were ‘modernisation,’ ‘liberalisation’ and changes

¹⁸ Theophylactou, 1995: 121.

¹⁹ Argyrou, 1996: 43.

²⁰ Argyrou, 1996: 43-51.

²¹ The then President of the Republic and then leader of DESY, the party of traditional nationalism and conservatism, Nicos Anastasiadis claimed that the ideology of his party was ‘Euro-democratism.’ In addition, two former leaders of *DEKO*, the centrist party, who abandoned the party following its poor showing in the presidential election in February 1998, defined their ideology with reference to vague ‘Europeanism.’ Chrysostomides called his group ‘Movement for Realignment of the Centre’ and considered himself a “European Social Democrat.” He joined forces with the Socialist Party *EDEK*. Alexis Galanos, a former *DEKO* official and House of Representatives President called his short-lived new party ‘Euro-democratic Renewal’ (*Ευρωπαϊκή Δημοκρατική Αναγέννηση*).

²² See Trimikliniotis, 2001; 2010.

²³ See the leader in the *Cyprus Mail*, 8 October 1998.

²⁴ There is an abundance of leader commentaries supporting this. See, for instance, the leader in the *Cyprus Mail*, ‘Our View: Don’t let Cypriot unions bully their way into privatisation talks,’ <https://cyprus-mail.com/2015/01/29/our-view-dont-let-cypriot-unions-bully-their-way-into-privatisation-talks/>, *Cyprus Mail* 29 January 2015.

in financial institutions, monetary policy and public finances. Criticism of such arguments came primarily from the left-wing AKEL party and the left-wing PEO trade union, which stressed their opposition to the receding of state intervention in the economy and support for poorer sections of society and erosion of the welfare state.²⁵ Nonetheless, from the 1990s, government and pro-accession scholarly opinion focused on the potential of the EU framework as a catalyst for the resolution of the Cyprus problem. The same line of argument continued even after the failure to reunite the country: that the EU could provide a broader framework which could contribute to the search for a solution, to building trust and security between the two communities and to providing Turkey with incentives, making the solution workable in the longer term.

There was wide consensus among political actors that the EU provided a ‘broad framework’ for a solution to the problem as it provided a basis on which the two sides could negotiate or “a source of ideas.”²⁶ This line was put forward by diplomats (from Cyprus, the UN, the EU and the UK) who were involved in the negotiation to resolve the Cyprus problem, contending that accession would act as a “*lubricant*” that could help with “*sticky points*” in resolving the “*rough edges*” in the negotiations between the two communities, such as constitutional provisions on sovereignty and divisions of power between regions and the central government.²⁷ The “sticky points” referred to included constitutional disagreements, sovereignty and where it derived from. From this perspective, if the EU countries were ‘shedding’ or ‘sharing’ their ‘sovereignty’ between them and most powers were given to another layer of governance, then the dispute over the ‘sovereignty’ of the future federal republic lost some of its significance. According to this view, the entire dispute over control of the Cypriot State and the question of legitimacy and ‘power’ would arguably be altered if a new European layer were added to the equation. In this scenario, the national state, as a central arena in which ethnic groups confronted each other, was likely to lose its centrality to another emerging ‘battlefield,’ the EU level. Attention would therefore shift towards the central locus of power. There was an assumption that EU monetary union, which was in course from the 1990s, gave the EU yet another central instrument of policy. This argument is regularly repeated by Greek Cypriot right-wing economic liberal politicians to this day.

The typical position taken by Cypriot politicians is that the solution to the Cyprus problem should contain the necessary mechanism in line with the necessary financial (fiscal and monetary) arrangements that would place Cyprus in the ‘core’ of the EU, so that a reunified Cyprus is integrated in the eurozone. This has been the consistent line held by all successive Cypriot governments. However, the actual meaning of this would depend on the ideological leanings of each government. Former Finance Minister Georgiades²⁸ insisted there would be a “development impetus”²⁹ that would be based on governance mechanisms which would allow for austerity regulations. Mr. Georgiades pointed out, however, that such regulations should apply to the cuts, procedures and structures of the public and banking sector and the economy in general, to limit costs and maximise benefits and prospects. Resolution of the Cyprus

²⁵ See Trimikliniotis, 2001b.

²⁶ Hannay, D. (1997).

²⁷ The analogy comes from Sir David Hannay “A Cyprus Settlement Protects for 1997” in the Conference Agenda for a new Cyprus at the LSE, 29/1/97. However, various pro-European advocates used similar analogies. This continues even today.

²⁸ Speaking at a discussion organised by the EU Delegation to Cyprus entitled “The White Paper and Cyprus. The Economic Dimension,” Georgiades, H. (2017) “Το όραμα του Χάρη Γεωργιάδη για το μέλλον της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης,” *ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ NEWS*, 04/05/2017, <https://politis.com.cy/politis-news/oikonomia/to-orama-toy-chari-georgiadi-gia-to-mellon-tis-eyropaikis-enosis/>

²⁹ «Αναπτυξιακή ώθηση»

“Ο κ. Γεωργιάδης επεσήμανε, ωστόσο, ότι θα πρέπει να ισχύσουν τέτοιες ρυθμίσεις όσον αφορά τις τομές, τις διαδικασίες και τη διάρθρωση του δημόσιου και τραπεζικού τομέα και γενικότερα της οικονομίας, που να περιορίζουν το οποιοδήποτε κόστος και να μεγιστοποιούν το όφελος και τη θετική προοπτική. Η επίλυση του Κυπριακού θα αποφέρει μίαν αναπτυξιακή ώθηση στην Κύπρο. Προειδοποίησε ότι «η αναπτυξιακή αυτή ώθηση ενδεχομένως να κινδυνεύσει αν δεν ισχύσουν οι βασικές προϋποθέσεις από όσα αναμένονται από ένα κράτος μέλος της και μία οικονομία που ανήκει στην Ε.Ε. και την Ευρωζώνη.”

problem was seen as a likely impetus for economic development. The former Minister warned that "this growth impetus could be jeopardised if the basic conditions of what is expected of a Member State and an EU-owned economy do not apply in the eurozone." He made a similar argument in the context of projecting a possible federal solution to the Cyprus problem, proposing an obligation for a constitutionally balanced budget, claiming that "failure to maintain financial discipline would threaten any new federal state."³⁰ He was later criticised for promoting the imposition of a neoliberal austerity package on post-solution Cyprus.³¹

Scholars who held government office employed Axelrod's 'conflict of interest' model to theoretically show this.³² The discovery of a 'new factor' (in this context, the EU) in a conflict situation actually increases the scope for 'agreement,' what he calls the "region of feasible agreements" between the two sides, but it also increases the "conflict of interest." This is a purely theoretical model, however, rather than a concrete analysis of what the political groups in society think and how they operate in practice. Some Greek Cypriot 'Euro-enthusiasts' go so far as to argue that participation in the EU institutions would bring Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots closer together in an attempt to gain more from Brussels (regional funding and investment, attention, powers etc). The commonality of Cypriot national origin would in this perspective be more important than the narrow ethnic divide. Another dimension of the catalyst argument was the idea that European citizenship and the EU institutional framework could provide a new setting for the two communities to co-operate. A typical view often repeated by government officials was that the European legal and institutional framework and European standards and norms could be utilised to facilitate a solution to the Cyprus problem based on the *acquis communautaire*.

Union citizenship has different aspects. First, it provides an all-encompassing identity that has the potential to overcome the ethnic divide between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Cultural experiences shared between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, many times in the past suppressed by the opposing nationalists to exaggerate ethnic differences, could be a basis for reuniting the two communities. EU membership could foster a shared culture that facilitates trust and assists in finding a solution to the Cyprus problem.³³ The second aspect of EU citizenship is the guarantee of rights, such as the freedoms of movement, settlement and property, as provided for in the Treaty of Rome and in line with the *acquis*.³⁴ Citizenship would underpin (communal/individual) rights, thus assisting by creating a better climate of trust and security through the European minority rights regime, the European Court of Human Rights, the Council of Europe and the EU. Reference was also made to the decentralisation of power as a characteristic of the EU that would be an attractive option for the Turkish Cypriots. Furthermore, the principle of *subsidiarity*, one of the cornerstones of EU governance, allows for decision-making to take place closer to the community at the lowest possible level. Greek Cypriot academics and policymakers argued that this provided opportunities for greater security and a guarantee of autonomy.³⁵ Pro-European Turkish Cypriots invoked *subsidiarity* in stressing their case for Turkish Cypriot autonomy. Former opposition leader of the Turkish Cypriot community and subsequently the elected leader, Mehmet Ali Talat, stressed the 'political equality' in a future federal Cyprus within the

³⁰ "Cyprus finance minister warns on fiscal rules for reunited island," *Financial Times*, 13 January 2016.

³¹ Florentin, A. (2017) "Λιτότητα και βιωσιμότητα της λύσης," Ανατροπή, 13 May 2017. For an extended version, see Florentin, A. (2017) "Η Βιώσιμη Λύση στον Αστερισμό της Συνταγματικής Λιτότητας," Ανατροπή, May 2017.

³² Theophylactou 1995:125-129.

³³ Botswain 1996: 94.

³⁴ PIO 1995a (Press and Information office of the Republic of Cyprus).

³⁵ Michaelides 1993; Nicolaides 1993: 103-106.

EU.³⁶ Similar arguments were regularly made by Mustafa Akinci, subsequently leader of the Turkish Cypriot community.³⁷

At the scholarly level, the uncertainty about the shape of the European Union in the future was seen as a factor that might potentially undermine the EU's ability to play a role in resolving the Cyprus problem once Cyprus acceded to the EU.³⁸ Despite catalyst rhetoric by government and pro-EU commentators, so far membership of the EU has not managed to bring about the reunification of Cyprus, enhance security between the two communities or do away with the Turkish occupation of the north.³⁹ The uncertainty factor obscures a clear vision or prediction of the future of the European integration process (with all the pitfalls which this entails) and may well undermine the credibility of *Europeanisation* as a mechanism for conflict resolution. A European Union of multiple tiers and layers would mean differentiated membership. Accession did not lead to automatic enforcement of human rights as Greek Cypriot policy makers had hoped. The uncertainty about the future integration of the EU is an uncertainty factor, as different kinds of membership may well mean that Cyprus may be placed in the outer echelons of the European Union.

Before accession, these uncertainties were related to the prospects for a solution of the Cyprus problem, in view of the steps taken by the Cyprus Government towards accession to the EU as European integration is a dynamic and contradictory process. At the same time, the EU was negotiating the entry of eastern European States, the EMU schedule, which envisaged the start of the final stage by 1999, and future reforms of an institutional nature. Some experts had warned that the very uncertain nature of the EU project that Cyprus would accede to meant that it was "far from clear what kind of EU Cyprus is joining, nor what kind of EU member it is expected to be."⁴⁰ In the 1990s and 2000s, experts and scholars were referring to a need for Cypriot policymakers to think over the new vocabulary such as 'multi-speed EU,' 'Europe à la carte,' 'Concentric circles,' 'multi-tier Europe,' 'variable geometry' and 'enhanced co-operation,' which gave an indication of the changes anticipated.⁴¹ The debate at the time was such that a potentially new era in terms of EU integration with different kinds of membership of the EU was considered. The debate over '*differentiated integration*' with opt-outs or opt-ins and differentiated membership was introduced in Cypriot debates. If there was to be a multi-speed or multi-tier EU, there was a consensus among Greek Cypriot political parties that Cyprus must be in the core, not the periphery.⁴² As one scholar put it, this would mean imagining and building "a federal Cyprus in a federal Europe."⁴³

3.2 The coalition government of the centrist Democratic Party and the left-wing AKEL (2003-2008)

Tassos Papadopoulos was elected president in 2003. The Republic acceded to the EU in 2004 and entered the eurozone in 2008. Private consumption was the growth engine of the Cypriot economy during the 2004-2008 recovery years, although the average real wage did not increase. This apparent contradiction was resolved through plentiful lending to the households of workers. The only remotely relevant reference to DI in the President's inaugural speech in 2003 was to the fact that Cyprus alone in the EU had to carry the cost of harmonisation itself:

³⁶ Talat, interviewed by the author, 18.12.96.

³⁷ Mustafa Akinci was elected president of the unrecognised TRNC in 2015 but lost the election on 18 October 2020.

³⁸ Trimikliniotis, 2000; 2001a.

³⁹ Trimikliniotis, 2001a.

⁴⁰ Featherstone 1996: 69.

⁴¹ Featherstone 1996: 69; Ioakimidis, 1997; Trimikliniotis 2000; 2001a.

⁴² Ioakimidis, (1997).

⁴³ Peristianis, N. (1998) "A Federal Cyprus in a Federal Europe," *The Cyprus Review*, Vol. 10 No. 1 (1998): <http://cyprusreview.org/index.php/cr/article/view/489/437>

“The achievement of the Copenhagen Council decision in December 2002 is certainly historic. It is due mainly to the determination, the consistent struggle and the constant support of the Government of Greece. A fair commendation is also due to President Clerides and his government, to the negotiating team, to the government officials who worked hard to come up with solutions, to the House of Representatives, which almost unanimously provided legislative coverage of the government's decisions and, above all, to the Cypriot people, who were unaffected by the huge financial cost of harmonisation, since only Cyprus, of all the candidate countries, finances the cost of harmonisation from its own resources.”⁴⁴

Analysis of the period 2003-2008 showed that the government of Tassos Papadopoulos (Democratic Party) was not at all sceptical about the possibility of Cyprus joining a united Europe. This is evidenced by the speech by the President of the Republic on the country's accession to the EU, in which he stated that Cyprus “becomes a full, organic and integral member of the great European family,”⁴⁵ implying the existence of collaborative and solidarity ties between the Member States. Having said that, the President went on to assure his audience that Cyprus's accession to the EU was taking place “without losing our national identity,”⁴⁶ trying to avoid a possible conflict with the most Eurosceptic voters for his party and to reconcile the pro-Western feelings of pro-European Cypriots with those of Eurosceptics. At some point in his speech, Tassos Papadopoulos accepted that the emergence of Cyprus as “a constructive and creative partner entails obligations and responsibilities.”⁴⁷

In his closing remarks, the President expressed the view of the entire pro-European political spectrum in Cyprus that “the enlargement of the European Union also means the expansion of the potential of a United Europe.”⁴⁸

The position of the other coalition partner (AKEL)

AKEL was generally critical of the European Union but did not oppose Cyprus's accession to it in 2004. The resolution of the party's 20th Congress in 2005 referred among other things to the policies of the European Union, its form and the interests which the Union serves. In particular, the resolution stated:

“The European Union remains an advanced form of capitalist political-economic integration, beginning with the need to expand the potential of large Western European capital for its constantly increasing scope of action, but also with the need to strengthen western European policies and economic policies as much as possible against the other powerful poles of the capitalist world – the United States and Japan.”⁴⁹

⁴⁴ “Το επίτευγμα της απόφασης του Συμβουλίου της Κοπεγχάγης, τον Δεκέμβρη του 2002, είναι σίγουρα ιστορικό. Οφείλεται, κατά κύριο λόγο στην αποφασιστικότητα, τον συνεπή αγώνα και την σταθερή υποστήριξη της Κυβέρνησης της Ελλάδας. Δίκαιος έπαινος οφείλεται, επίσης, στον Πρόεδρο Κληρίδη και την Κυβέρνησή του, στη Διαπραγματευτική Ομάδα, στους κρατικούς λειτουργούς που μόχθησαν για την επιδίωξη των λύσεων, στη Βουλή των Αντιπροσώπων που, σχεδόν, ομόφωνα έδωσε τη νομοθετική κάλυψη στις αποφάσεις της Κυβέρνησης και, πάνω απ' όλα, στον Κυπριακό Λαό που αγόγγυστα επιβαρύνθηκε με την τεράστια οικονομική δαπάνη που συνεπάγεται η εναρμόνιση, αφού μόνη η Κύπρος από όλες τις υποψήφιες χώρες, χρηματοδοτεί από ίδιους πόρους το κόστος της εναρμόνισης.”

⁴⁵ In Greek: “γίνεται πλήρες, οργανικό και αναπόσπαστο μέλος της μεγάλης Ευρωπαϊκής οικογένειας.” Speech by the President of the Republic on Cyprus's accession to the EU, 1 May 2004.

⁴⁶ In Greek: “χωρίς να χάνουμε την εθνική μας ταυτότητα.”

⁴⁷ In Greek: “ένας εποικοδομητικός και δημιουργικός εταίρος συνεπάγεται υποχρεώσεις και ευθύνες.”

⁴⁸ In Greek: “η διεύρυνση της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης σημαίνει και διεύρυνση των δυνατοτήτων της Ενωμένης Ευρώπης.”

⁴⁹ In Greek: “Η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση παραμένει μια προωθημένη μορφή καπιταλιστικής πολιτικοοικονομικής ολοκλήρωσης, που ξεκινά από τις ανάγκες της διεύρυνσης εσωτερικά των δυνατοτήτων του μεγάλου δυτικοευρωπαϊκού κεφαλαίου για ολοένα και μεγαλύτερη επιφάνεια δράσης, αλλά και από την ανάγκη της μεγαλύτερης δυνατής ισχυροποίησης των δυτικοευρωπαϊκών πολιτικών και οικονομικών συμφερόντων απέναντι στους άλλους ισχυρούς πόλους του καπιταλιστικού κόσμου - ΗΠΑ και Ιαπωνία.” The statement is available here.

AKEL did not pursue its critique and offered conditional support for Cyprus's EU accession process. It chose the optimistic alternative of forging alliances for struggles within the existing institutions of the EU and particularly the European Parliament.⁵⁰ The party added the following:

“AKEL participates in the Unified European Left in the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe. Through action in these groups, AKEL aims to contribute to the formation of a more democratic and socially just Europe... ”⁵¹

This choice by AKEL is understood in the text which follows, where it is put in the context of the Cyprus problem: "AKEL has utilised all the above measures and will continue to use them to promote the Cyprus issue."⁵²

The particular priority given to the Cyprus problem over all other issues continues to be at the core of the party's political strategy and tactics today in all areas of its political activity.

The position of the main opposition party – the Democratic Rally (DESY)

DESY, the main opposition party, adopted the position of the European People's Party and criticised AKEL for not having the broad alliances in the EU that would allow Cyprus to benefit. The party pledged that when in power the Republic of Cyprus would become part of the core of the EU by applying to also join the military wing of the EU, the 'Partnership for Peace.'

3.3 The government position of President Dimitris Christofias, candidate of the left-wing party AKEL (2008-2013)

For the first time in its history, AKEL had its General Secretary elected as President of the Republic in 2008. In his **inauguration speech**, President Christofias only remotely touched on the future of the EU, stressing the need for a social Europe.

“The Republic of Cyprus, as a member of the European Union, will actively participate in European development with the aim of realising the vision of a social Europe. Cyprus can become a bridge between the European Union and our neighbours in the region, but also with countries with which Cyprus traditionally maintains close and friendly relations through the non-aligned movement. Given that the vision of a social Europe is based on unity through acceptance of and respect for diversity and not on the levelling and alienation of peoples and cultures, the President said that his government intends to use our education, our cultural values, our traditions, our customs and sports to strengthen resistance to destructive effects.”⁵³

⁵⁰ AKEL's 18th Congress in 1995 changed its position on accession to the EEC. It dropped its opposition and instead opted for conditional support. The conditions were that (a) accession would operate as a catalyst in the solution of the Cyprus problem and (b) the conditions of employment and benefits for working people would not be adversely affected by membership of the EU. See AKEL (2014) “Απόφαση για τη Θέση του ΑΚΕΛ στο θέμα της ένταξης στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση,” *Πολιτικές Αποφάσεις και Ψηφίσματα Συνεδρίων του ΑΚΕΛ*, Central Committee of AKEL, pp. 418-423.

⁵¹ In Greek: “συμμετέχει και στην Ενωμένη Αριστερά της Κοινοβουλευτικής Συνέλευσης του Συμβουλίου της Ευρώπης. Μέσα από τη δράση στις ομάδες αυτές, το ΑΚΕΛ στοχεύει να συμβάλει στη διαμόρφωση μιας πιο δημοκρατικής και κοινωνικά δίκαιης Ευρώπης...”

⁵² In Greek: “Όλα τα πιο πάνω βήματα το ΑΚΕΛ τα αξιοποίησε και θα εξακολουθεί να τα αξιοποιεί για προώθηση του Κυπριακού...”

⁵³ “Η Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία, ως μέλος της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, θα συμμετέχει δραστήρια στο ευρωπαϊκό γίγνεσθαι με στόχο την υλοποίηση του οράματος για μια κοινωνική Ευρώπη, είτε ακόμα ο κ. Χριστόφιας, προσθέτοντας πως η Κύπρος μπορεί να καταστεί γέφυρα μεταξύ της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης και των γειτόνων μας στην περιοχή, αλλά και με χώρες που η Κύπρος παραδοσιακά διατηρεί στενές και φιλικές σχέσεις μέσα από το Κίνημα των Αδεσμεύτων. Εχοντας υπόψη ότι το όραμα της κοινωνικής Ευρώπης στηρίζεται στην ενότητα μέσα από την αποδοχή και το σεβασμό της διαφορετικότητας και όχι στην ισοπέδωση και στην αλλοτρίωση των λαών και των πολιτισμών, ο Πρόεδρος είπε πως η διακυβέρνηση του σκοπεύει να αξιοποιήσει την παιδεία, τις πολιτιστικές μας αξίες, τις παραδόσεις, τα ήθη και έθιμά μας, τον αθλητισμό, για να ενισχύσει τις αντιστάσεις στις φθοροποιές επιδράσεις.”

The new president posed once again the Cyprus problem and reiterated the role which the European Union must play to resolve it. In his inaugural speech to the House of Representatives, he stated: “The European Union can and must play a role in efforts to resolve the Cyprus issue. We look forward to the solidarity of our European partners and expect that they will assist in breaking the deadlock and resolving the Cyprus issue.”⁵⁴ In this way, AKEL’s previous choice of non-conflict with the European Union was consolidated.

President Christofias’s inaugural speech in parliament referred to AKEL’s aspirations for the future of Europe: “The Republic of Cyprus, as a member of the European Union, will take an active part in becoming European, with the aim of realising the vision for a social Europe, bearing in mind that the vision of a social Europe is based on unity through acceptance of and respect for diversity.”⁵⁵ The government was convinced that the European Union could change direction through constant political struggle within its institutions in cooperation with other progressive European powers.

AKEL followed this line throughout the next decade, both at the national and EU levels. The discussions at its 21st Congress held in 2010 included important references to the European Union. Although AKEL reasserted that “its assessment of the nature of the European Union as an advanced form of capitalist political-economic integration” remained unchanged, it realised at the same time that “decisions taken in Brussels and the situation prevailing in the European Union affect the lives of Cypriots.”⁵⁶ With this admission, AKEL portrayed the European Union as hierarchically superior to the Republic of Cyprus, the sovereignty of which was being challenged by decisions of this supranational organisation.

Attention was focused on the quality of these decisions, which, according to AKEL, produced a “European Union that is far from being transformed into an area where the right of the peoples prevails over the interests of monopolies, capital and powerful Member States.”⁵⁷ Recognising that the Member States do not play equal roles in decision-making, AKEL stated that “the government headed by President Christofias, with very difficult conditions for small states, is making constant efforts for the equal participation of our country in the European institutions.”⁵⁸ This analysis by AKEL portrayed the European Union as a multi-speed organisation and it pledged to promote a fairer Europe.⁵⁹ It considered, however, that Cyprus could gain “positive elements in areas such as the environment, technological and internet modernisation, in areas of health.”⁶⁰

⁵⁴ In Greek: “Ρόλο στις προσπάθειες επίλυσης του Κυπριακού μπορεί και πρέπει να διαδραματίσει η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση. Εμείς προσβλέπουμε στην αλληλεγγύη των ευρωπαίων εταίρων μας και προσδοκούμε ότι θα συνδράμουν στη διάρρηξη του αδιεξόδου και στην επίλυση του Κυπριακού.” Available here.

⁵⁵ In Greek: “Η Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία ως μέλος της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, θα συμμετέχει δραστήρια στο ευρωπαϊκό γίγνεσθαι, με στόχο την υλοποίηση του οράματος για μια κοινωνική Ευρώπη... Έχοντας υπόψη ότι το όραμα της κοινωνικής Ευρώπης στηρίζεται στην ενότητα μέσα από την αποδοχή και το σεβασμό της διαφορετικότητας...”

⁵⁶ In Greek: “οι εκτιμήσεις του για τον χαρακτήρα της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης ως προωθημένης μορφής καπιταλιστικής πολιτικοοικονομικής ολοκλήρωσης παραμένουν αναλλοίωτες. Ταυτόχρονα αντιλαμβάνεται ότι “οι αποφάσεις που λαμβάνονται στις Βρυξέλλες καθώς και η κατάσταση που επικρατεί στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση επηρεάζουν τη ζωή των Κύπριων.”

⁵⁷ In Greek: “μια Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση που απέχει από το μετατραπεί σε χώρο που επικρατεί το δίκαιο των λαών έναντι των συμφερόντων των μονοπωλίων, του κεφαλαίου και των ισχυρών κρατών μελών.”

⁵⁸ In Greek: “η κυβέρνηση με επικεφαλής τον Πρόεδρο Χριστόφια, μέσα σε πολύ δύσκολες για τα μικρά κράτη συνθήκες καταβάλλει σταθερές προσπάθειες για ισότιμη συμμετοχή της πατρίδας μας στους Ευρωπαϊκούς θεσμούς.”

⁵⁹ The party’s statement can be found here.

⁶⁰ In Greek: “μπορεί να αποκομίσει θετικά σε τομείς όπως το περιβάλλον, τον τεχνολογικό και διαδικτυακό εκσυγχρονισμό, σε τομείς της υγείας κ.α..”

The Cypriot presidency of the European Council (2012)

In the second half of 2012, Cyprus took the presidency of the European Council. The Christofias-AKEL government set specific priorities in a speech that the President made to the European Parliament. At the heart of these priorities, the government aimed to achieve a "better Europe" and a Europe of "social cohesion, prosperity, security and development."⁶¹

In the speech by President Christofias on welcoming the presidency of the European Council on 28 May 2012, references to DI were again quite remote:

"Austerity policies alone have been proven to lead to a deeper recession in our economies. We can and must give European citizens hope again. Above all, we must give prospects and hope to our young people, to the future of our Europe. I personally pledge that the forthcoming Cypriot presidency of the Council will aim primarily to contribute constructively and work hard and consistently to ensure conditions for development and social cohesion. I hope that all of us will seize the opportunity before us in the next six months and agree to adopt a development budget for the Union for the next 2014-2020 programming period. I believe that by faithfully following the Community method, Europe will once again be able to deal with the crisis methodically and effectively and emerge stronger from this difficult ordeal."⁶²

In line with the AKEL party position, President Christofias elaborated his political vision as "a vision of peace, democracy, pluralism and social justice" adding that "in such times of crisis the need to achieve a more effective Union of more solidarity was all the more urgent."⁶³

During the same speech, President Christofias differentiated himself from the positions of his party's last congress by giving "congratulations to the European Parliament for the role it plays in defending and promoting the fundamental principles on which the European Union is based."⁶⁴ At the same time, he proposed a "fairer redistribution of the income generated ... which will lead to the much-discussed social cohesion within the Union."⁶⁵ The President further stressed "the need to improve the single market by emphasising the need to strengthen European competitiveness."⁶⁶ The conscious decision by the Christofias government to not pursue its party's criticism in the European Parliament emanated from AKEL's decision not to clash with the existing system, in contrast with many communist parties, so as not to undermine the effort for cooperation with bourgeois and reformist forces so that the claim for a resolution of the Cyprus problem became a single request by all the Member States of the European Union.

⁶¹ In Greek: "η κυβέρνηση θέτει στόχο την επίτευξη μιας καλύτερης Ευρώπης και μιας Ευρώπης "της κοινωνικής συνοχής, της ευημερίας, της ασφαλείας και της ανάπτυξης." Available here.

⁶² "Οι πολιτικές λιτότητας μόνον οδηγούν αποδεδειγμένα σε βαθύτερη ύφεση των οικονομιών μας. Μπορούμε και πρέπει να δώσουμε ξανά ελπίδα στους Ευρωπαίους πολίτες. Πρωτίστως θα πρέπει να δώσουμε προοπτική και ελπίδα στους νέους μας, στο μέλλον της Ευρώπης μας. Προσωπικά δεσμεύομαι ότι η επικείμενη Κυπριακή Προεδρία του Συμβουλίου θα έχει ως κύριο στόχο να συμβάλει εποικοδομητικά και θα εργαστούμε σκληρά και με συνέπεια για τη διασφάλιση συνθηκών ανάπτυξης και κοινωνικής συνοχής. Ευελπιστώ ότι όλοι μας θα αδράξουμε την ευκαιρία που έχουμε μπροστά μας το επόμενο εξάμηνο και θα συμφωνήσουμε στην υιοθέτηση ενός αναπτυξιακού προϋπολογισμού για την Ένωση για την επόμενη προγραμματική περίοδο 2014-2020. Πιστεύω ότι ακολουθώντας πιστά την κοινοτική μέθοδο θα μπορέσει η Ευρώπη για ακόμη μια φορά να αντιμετωπίσει μεθοδικά και αποτελεσματικά την κρίση και να εξέλθει ισχυρότερη από αυτήν τη δύσκολη δοκιμασία."

⁶³ In Greek: "ενός οράματος ειρήνης, δημοκρατίας, πλουραλισμού και κοινωνικής δικαιοσύνης... Σε τέτοιες περιόδους κρίσεων καθίσταται πιο επιτακτική η ανάγκη για να πετύχουμε μια πιο αλληλέγγυα και αποτελεσματική Ένωση."

⁶⁴ In Greek: "συγχαρητήρια στο Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο για τον ρόλο που διαδραματίζει στην υπεράσπιση και την προαγωγή των θεμελιωδών αρχών επί των οποίων εδράζεται η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση."

⁶⁵ In Greek: "δικαιότερη ανακατανομή του παραγόμενου εισοδήματος... που θα οδηγήσει στην πολυσυζητημένη κοινωνική συνοχή εντός της Ένωσης."

⁶⁶ In Greek: "χρειάζεται να βελτιώσουμε την ενιαία αγορά δίνοντας έμφαση στην ανάγκη ενίσχυσης της ευρωπαϊκής ανταγωνιστικότητας."

3.4 The government position of President Nicos Anastasiades, candidate of the right-wing Democratic Rally (DESY) party (2013-2018)

In February 2013 when the global financial crisis was raging in Cyprus, the leader of the right-wing DESY party, Nikos Anastasiadis, was elected. In his inaugural speech to the House of Representatives, the new president stated that "our main goal will be our full equal and credible participation in all pillars and policies of the European Union."⁶⁷ This statement was made in relation to the aspirations and goals of the previous governments. The party officials of the governing party referred directly to the position of the European People's Party on the subject, stating they fully adopted the EPP manifesto.

The speech by President Anastasiades to the European Parliament on 12 December 2018⁶⁸

President Anastasiades did not directly refer to DI. He spoke, however, about developments and trends in the EU as follows:

"Developments and trends, such as the withdrawal of a Member State from the European Union, the closure of borders, a revival of nationalist tendencies, a devaluation of the role played by the Union through the rise of populism and the realisation of the principle of solidarity, exacerbation of the phenomenon of terrorism such as the incident tragically experienced yesterday must ring the alarm bell ... President Juncker had presented an ambitious programme for the term of office of the Commission with a view to the forthcoming European Parliament elections. Cyprus, as an ardent supporter of a stronger, more democratic and more united Europe, has been and remains an aid in the implementation of this programme."⁶⁹

"In the introductory part of my address, I pointed out that on accession to the EU, Cypriots connected their future with that of the EU and its people. They hoped that membership would be a catalyst for them, giving them the same rights and the same level of respect for their fundamental freedoms as other Union citizens enjoyed and still enjoy in their home countries. Without dividing lines, guarantees and invasive rights of third parties, an occupation army and restrictions on basic freedoms... As we discuss our future, for the Cypriot citizens even these four basic freedoms, self-evident for the rest of Europe, are difficult to achieve. Europe, which is actively involved or taking initiatives to solve international problems, has a duty to contribute to solving a Member State problem. A problem that is an open wound in her own body. Healing this wound will strengthen the

⁶⁷ In Greek: "Βασική επιδίωξη θα είναι η πλήρης ισότιμη και αξιόπιστη συμμετοχή μας σε όλους τους πυλώνες και πολιτικές της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης." Available here.

⁶⁸ Speech by the President of Cyprus Nicos Anastasiades to the national parliament (Ομιλία Προέδρου Αναστασιάδη στην τελετή εγκατάστασης στη Βουλή), (12.02.2018)

⁶⁹ "Εξελίξεις και τάσεις, όπως η αποχώρηση ενός κράτους μέλους από την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, κλείσιμο συνόρων, αναβίωση εθνικιστικών τάσεων, απαξίωση του ρόλου που διαδραματίζει η Ένωση μέσα από την έξαρση του λαϊκισμού και κατά το δοκούν υλοποίηση της αρχής της αλληλεγγύης, όξυνση του φαινομένου της τρομοκρατίας όπως αυτό που δυστυχώς βιώσαμε χθες, πρέπει έντονα να μας προβληματίσουν... Ο Πρόεδρος Γιούνκερ είχε παρουσιάσει ένα φιλόδοξο Πρόγραμμα για τη θητεία της παρούσας Επιτροπής, με ορίζοντα τις επόμενες ευρωεκλογές που πλέον πλησιάζουν. Η Κύπρος, ως ένθερμος υποστηρικτής μιας πιο ισχυρής, πιο δημοκρατικής και πιο ενωμένης Ευρώπης, υπήρξε και παραμένει αρωγός στην υλοποίηση του εν λόγω προγράμματος.

Κατά το εισαγωγικό μέρος της προσφώνησης μου επεσήμανα πως οι Κύπριοι ταύτισαν, τη στιγμή της ένταξης της Κύπρου στην ΕΕ, το δικό τους μέλλον με το Μέλλον της Ένωσης και των υπολοίπων Ευρωπαίων πολιτών. Προσδοκούσαν πως η ένταξη θα είχε καταλυτικό ρόλο και θα απέδιδε σε αυτούς, τα ίδια δικαιώματα και το ίδιο επίπεδο σεβασμού των θεμελιωδών τους ελευθεριών, όπως αυτό που απολάμβαναν και απολαμβάνουν οι υπόλοιποι Ευρωπαίοι πολίτες στις χώρες τους. Χωρίς διαχωριστικές γραμμές, εγγυήσεις και επεμβατικά δικαιώματα τρίτων, στρατό κατοχής, και περιορισμούς στις βασικές ελευθερίες... Την ώρα που συζητάμε το Μέλλον μας, για τους Κύπριους πολίτες είναι ακόμη και αυτές οι τέσσερις βασικές ελευθερίες, αυτονόητες για όλη την υπόλοιπη Ευρώπη, ένας δύσκολα επιτεύξιμος στόχος... Η Ευρώπη, που ορθώς ενεργά συμμετέχει ή αναλαμβάνει πρωτοβουλίες για επίλυση διεθνών προβλημάτων έχει καθήκον να συμβάλει στην επίλυση ενός προβλήματος κράτους μέλους. Ενός προβλήματος που αποτελεί ανοικτή πληγή στο δικό της σώμα. Η επούλωση αυτής της πληγής, θα ενισχύσει την Ένωση, όχι μόνο ηθικά αλλά και ουσιαστικά. Αφού τότε μόνον η Κύπρος θα είναι σε θέση να διαδραματίσει, στο μέγιστο των δυνατοτήτων της, τον σημαντικό της ρόλο, σε μια περιοχή ιδιαίτερα σημαντική για τα συμφέροντα της Ένωσης."

Union, not only morally but also substantially. Since only then Cyprus will be able to play, to the best of its ability, its important role in an area particularly important for the interests of the Union.”⁷⁰

A key difference between this government and all the previous ones concerned military policy and the "decision to apply for membership of the Partnership for Peace" and "building and improving our relations with NATO," which was at the core of a fierce political confrontation with the opposition party AKEL. Despite similar statements by three successive governments from 2004 onwards (DEKO, AKEL, DESY) regarding a social Europe, the different stand taken by the DESY government in favour of NATO and the Partnership for Peace revealed a fundamental disagreement as regards the full integration of Cyprus in the 'western world.' Despite not questioning the European path, AKEL opposed the complete westernisation of the country. At the other end of the spectrum, DESY, as a true exponent of the Greek Cypriot economic and political elite, considered that its interests were best served by the western allies.

During his address at the EU Heads of Mission lunch hosted by the Finnish presidency of the European Council, President Anastasiades focused on the Cyprus problem and referred briefly to the disproportionate burden facing Cyprus because of the large numbers of refugees arriving from Syria:

“Migration must be addressed in a comprehensive manner by delivering on all fronts and not by opting for a piecemeal approach. An effective and fair asylum system constitutes part and parcel of a holistic approach to migration. Cyprus continues to face disproportionate migratory pressures. We remain the first country in terms of first time asylum applications per capita.”

In 2017, the Minister of Finance at the time spoke against further federalisation of the EU but without taking a position on DI.⁷¹ He argued in favour of a European Union that would have fewer responsibilities but would effectively exercise the competencies it has: “Fewer, but better and focus through joint decisions on selected policy areas.”⁷² He suggested that the EU “should not abandon some areas, but we should decide through joint decisions what we will focus on, from now on.” In 2018 the same minister⁷³ stated his opposition to further transfers of powers to EU institutions, which he labelled “unelected central bureaucracy,” but noted his support for an EU banking Union.

During the first term of the DESY government (2013-2018), the confrontation escalated with the implementation of austerity measures as a way to address the economic crisis based on neoliberal visions of economic recovery. One of the first measures adopted as soon as the DESY government came into power in 2013 was a haircut on all bank deposits exceeding €100,000, which the President deplored and claimed that it was enforced by the EU and was intended by the EU as an experiment to pilot-test its future implementation in other Member States. The President repeatedly spoke of "the European Union's lack of solidarity with Cyprus" in this respect.⁷⁴ At a reception in honour of the speakers of the national parliaments of EU Member States, he stated that "the basic European principle of solidarity has not been respected,"⁷⁵ acknowledging that Cyprus' accession to the supranational body entailed surrender of some

⁷⁰ Speech by President of Cyprus Nicos Anastasiades in the national parliament (Ομιλία Προέδρου Αναστασιάδη στην τελετή εγκατάστασης στη Βουλή), (12.02.2018).

⁷¹ Now deputy leader of the governing right-wing DESY party.

⁷² Speaking at a discussion organised by the EU delegation to Cyprus entitled "The White Paper and Cyprus. The Economic Dimension," Georgiades, H. (2017) "Το όραμα του Χάρη Γεωργιάδη για το μέλλον της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης," ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ NEWS, 04/05/2017, <https://politis.com.cy/politis-news/oikonomia/to-orama-toy-chari-georgiadi-gia-to-mellon-tis-eyropaikis-enosis/>

⁷³ Georgiades, H. (2018) "Welcoming address by Minister of Finance Harris Georgiades at the 9th Limassol Economic Forum." Minister's Press Releases, 19 October 2018, <http://mof.gov.cy/en/press-office/minister-s-press-releases/welcoming-address-by-minister-of-finance-at-the-9th-limassol-economic-forum>

⁷⁴ In Greek: "για έλλειψη αλληλεγγύης της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης απέναντι στην Κύπρο."

⁷⁵ In Greek: "η βασική Ευρωπαϊκή αρχή της αλληλεγγύης δεν έτυχε σεβασμού."

sovereign rights in policy development at the economic field.⁷⁶ Despite this admission, the Cypriot right did not question its European orientation in the following years.

The position of the main opposition party AKEL

During this term, the opposition party AKEL maintained the same position as before that "the European Union is an advanced form of political-economic capitalist integration,"⁷⁷ arguing that "the imposition of the Lisbon Treaty, the institutionalisation of common economic governance, the Banking Union, the austerity agenda, the adoption of a series of packages towards a single policy by the Member States under the control of the EU and the so called 'Directorate of Brussels' lead to the institutionalisation of neoliberalism and weaken the social role of the state."⁷⁸ AKEL reiterated "the vision of consistent left-wing forces within the European Union and more broadly for a Europe of peoples, workers, solidarity, social justice and peace."⁷⁹ This position confirmed the firm line taken by AKEL vis-à-vis the EU, i.e. strong criticism but no conflict with its institutions.

3.5 The DISY Government – Nicos Anastasiadis (2018-2020)

Anastasiadis's second consecutive term in power began in 2018. During the first two years (2018-2020), there were multiple and multi-level discussions about the future of Europe throughout the Union.

In a speech before a plenary session of the European Parliament in December 2018, President Anastasiadis stated that Cyprus was an ardent supporter of "a stronger, more democratic and more united Europe"⁸⁰ and that his government would continue to push for "defence and military cooperation" between Member States. He invoked the need for solidarity among EU Member States only as regards the growing refugee flows.⁸¹ During a plenary session of the European Parliament on the new six-year budget in February 2020, an MEP in the ruling DESY party, Mr Lefteris Christophorou, talked about the need to increase the Union's resources and at the same time the contribution of the Member States as a "necessary precondition for a strong Europe with a future and prospects."⁸²

The debate on the future of Europe also took place at the national level, with the government hearing the citizens' perspectives as regards the Union and their proposals. The public debate served as a new legitimising basis for European integration. In this context, a public consultation was held in Cyprus on the topic 'Quo Vadis Europa? The Future of Europe and the role of the European Union on the international stage' in October 2018, which was attended by Cypriot Foreign Minister Christodoulides and MEP Papadakis. The conclusion of the public event was an acceptance that Europe needed to be upgraded and that a "better Europe is needed,"⁸³ as MEP Papadakis stated.⁸⁴

⁷⁶ Efimerida (2013), 'Αναστασιάδης: Πειραματόζωο για το κούρεμα καταθέσεων η Κύπρος', 22 April 2013.

⁷⁷ In Greek: "η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση είναι μια προχωρημένη μορφή πολιτικοοικονομικής καπιταλιστικής ολοκλήρωσης."

⁷⁸ In Greek: "η επιβολή της Συνθήκης της Λισαβώνας, η θεσμοθέτηση της Ενιαίας Οικονομικής Διακυβέρνησης, η Τραπεζική Ένωση, η πολιτική της λιτότητας και η υιοθέτηση σειράς πακέτων στην κατεύθυνση μιας ενιαίας πολιτικής των κρατών-μελών υπό τον έλεγχο της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, και του λεγόμενου Διευθυντηρίου των Βρυξελλών, θεσμοθετούν τον νεοφιλελευθερισμό, αποδυναμώνουν τον κοινωνικό ρόλο του κράτους." Available here.

⁷⁹ In Greek: "το όραμα των συνεπών Αριστερών δυνάμεων μέσα στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση και ευρύτερα, για μια Ευρώπη των λαών, των εργαζόμενων, της αλληλεγγύης, της κοινωνικής δικαιοσύνης και της ειρήνης."

⁸⁰ In Greek: "ένθερμος υποστηρικτής μιας πιο ισχυρής, μιας πιο δημοκρατικής και πιο ενωμένης Ευρώπης."

⁸¹ Speech by the President of the Republic of Cyprus during a plenary session of the European Parliament on the future of the EU, 12 December 2018.

⁸² In Greek: "απαραίτητη προϋπόθεση για μια ισχυρή Ευρώπη με μέλλον και προοπτική."

⁸³ In Greek: "χρειάζεται μια καλύτερη Ευρώπη."

⁸⁴ Discussion 'Quo Vadis Europa? The future of Europe and the role of the EU in the international stage,' 8 October 2018.

As was explained in the first part of the study, the Minister of Finance at the time expressed himself as being against further federalisation of the EU and argued in favour of a European Union that would have fewer responsibilities but would effectively exercise the competencies it had.⁸⁵ The *White Paper on the Future of Europe* presented in March 2017 by Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker set out five scenarios: continuing the EU's line of priorities set by the Commission, focusing gradually on the EU as a single entity; nothing but the market; freedom for the Member States to do more what they want to do (two-speed Europe); to do less in a more efficient way; and finally to do more together. The Minister of Finance stated that he did “not agree that the scenario of the Europeans is necessarily the federal one,” warning that “we are in danger of becoming Europeans without European citizens.” Regarding economic governance, the then Finance Minister called for the next steps to be careful and stressed the need to complete the banking union, the union of capital markets, to improve the stability pact and to strengthen innovation and trade, and concluded as follows:

“I believe that especially after Brexit we need to pause and reflect and re-emphasise the basic principles of the European idea, the four well-known freedoms, which are related to freedom and not to regulation.”

During his speech at the Limassol Economic Forum the same Finance Minister noted his concern about “the next steps in the European unification process.”⁸⁶ The minister warned “against the continual transfer of powers to an unelected central bureaucracy” but was a strong advocate of “a banking union.”⁸⁷ The Minister did not take a position on DI per se. He only made some general remarks dealing solely with “the need for policies which will allow the EU economies to compete on a global scale, and definitely not policies which create unnecessary burdens for our economies.” He referred to the need for

⁸⁵ Speaking at a discussion organised by the EU delegation to Cyprus entitled “The White Paper and Cyprus. The Economic Dimension,” Georgiades, H. (2017) “Το όραμα του Χάρη Γεωργιάδη για το μέλλον της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης,” ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ NEWS, 04/05/2017, <https://politis.com.cy/politis-news/oikonomia/to-orama-toy-chari-georgiadi-gia-to-mellon-tis-eyropaikis-enosis/>

⁸⁶ Harris Georgiades (2018) “Welcoming address by Minister of Finance Harris Georgiades at the 9th Limassol Economic Forum.” Minister's Press Releases, 19 October 2018, <http://mof.gov.cy/en/press-office/minister-s-press-releases/welcoming-address-by-minister-of-finance-at-the-9th-limassol-economic-forum>

⁸⁷ Minister Georgiades noted: “I would have a similar concern when it comes to international security and other major global issues including mass migration and the protection of our environment. Go it alone policies will not work. If we are to tackle the next phase of globalisation, if we are to be successful in seeing through a transition to cleaner forms of energy, we must co-operate. And this is exactly where the EU could have a role. Already the challenges to world trade highlight the relevance of the EU, which is, first and foremost, a formidable trading block. But can the EU take a global lead when it is currently engaged with Brexit and when it is challenged not only externally but also from within? By the forces of populism? And when there is so much distrust between Member States on a number of key policy files, including the banking union? I would say that the EU could still be successful, but only if it rethinks and regroupes and wisely considers the next steps in the European unification process. For instance, I feel I should once again warn against the continual transfer of powers to an unelected central bureaucracy, even if this is an enlightened bureaucracy and even if there is an indirect democratic legitimacy. Democratic legitimacy should be more direct. Accountability and transparency in the EU should be enhanced. We should all acknowledge that participation in the EU and especially in the eurozone comes with responsibilities and that common rules should be followed. But these rules should be ones determined by Member States through a decision-making process which is open and inclusive for all. This is the only way we can maintain popular support for the EU. Equally important is the direction and the content of EU policy initiatives. Here I would highlight the need for policies which will allow the EU economies to compete on a global scale, and definitely not policies which create unnecessary burdens for our economies. We need policy initiatives that support entrepreneurship and investment, which offer breathing space and flexibility and not policies which erode any competitive advantages our economies may enjoy. I am, for instance, a strong supporter of the banking union. We do need stronger foundations for our banking sector and we need significant consolidation. Pan-European banks would be something I would support. But such steps take time. And the implementation of the banking union should not follow a path of bureaucratic rigidity, but instead a street-smart, efficient and adaptive approach.

Likewise, the capital markets union, which is another strategically important initiative. But again, this should truly and effectively create conditions for the growth of capital markets, for the free movement of capital, for the benefit of smaller corporations and not only the larger few. It should definitely not end up being just another exercise of transferring competencies to a central authority.”

“policy initiatives that support entrepreneurship and investment, which offer breathing space and flexibility and not policies which erode any competitive advantages our economies may enjoy.” No position was taken as to the shape or direction of further EU integration processes.

In general, successive Cypriot finance ministers avoided expressing views as to where the EU was heading with regard to DI. In a recent statement, the current Minister of Finance referred to the future of the EU but did not take a stance or position himself as to the current or future nature of the EU:⁸⁸

"The European Union has been called upon to find new tools and innovative methods to help rescue several European economies that are in danger of collapsing. Every crisis can be an opportunity. Indeed, with this crisis, despite the intense consultations we have had at the European level, a historic agreement has been reached. A historic agreement that I believe opens another chapter on where the European Union is heading, if we are heading for a more federalised EU or an EU as it is today, facing many distortions in a society and an ever-changing economy."⁸⁹

Opposition party AKEL

Although AKEL lost the presidential election for the second time in a row, it did not abandon its position of critique but non-conflict with the EU, prioritising once again the solution of the Cyprus problem. During a speech in the European Parliament regarding the future of Europe, AKEL MEP Sylikiotis stated that “the European Union has responsibilities; instead of discussing today the upgrading of the Customs Union with Turkey, it should decisively demand the implementation of Ankara 's obligations.”⁹⁰

Regarding the future of Europe, MEP Sylikiotis stated that “something has gone wrong with the past and present of the European Union,”⁹¹ reiterating the position of AKEL for “another way of development that defends the public character of the strategic sector and services of each country.”⁹²

Regarding relations between Member States, MEP Sylikiotis stated that “the south Mediterranean Member States take a disproportionate share of responsibility” and proposed that the Union's policies should be based on “solidarity between the Member States.” Unlike MEP Papadakis, MEP Sylikiotis was not content with the slogan “better Europe” but claimed instead that “we need another Europe.”⁹³

4. Conclusion

There is little debate in Cyprus on DI or the future of the EU. Despite significant political disagreements among the Cypriot political parties and especially between the two largest parties, AKEL and DESY, confrontation tends to focus on how to manage the various European policies in the political life of Cyprus and less on the nature and character of the European Union as a whole. This is partly the result

⁸⁸ Petrides, C. (2020) “Δηλώσεις Υπ. Οικονομικών Κωνσταντίνου Πετρίδη στη Βουλή για το Νέο Πολυετές Δημοσιονομικό Πλαίσιο της ΕΕ για την περίοδο 2021-2027,” 28/07/2020, Minister's Press Releases.

⁸⁹ In Greek: “Η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση κλήθηκε να βρει νέα εργαλεία και καινοτόμες μεθόδους ούτως ώστε να βοηθήσει στη διάσωση αρκετών Ευρωπαϊκών οικονομιών που κινδύνευαν και κινδυνεύουν με κατάρρευση. Κάθε κρίση μπορεί να αποτελέσει μια ευκαιρία. Όντως με αυτή την κρίση, παρά τις έντονες διαβουλεύσεις που ζήσαμε σε Ευρωπαϊκό επίπεδο, επετεύχθη μια ιστορική συμφωνία. Μια ιστορική συμφωνία η οποία πιστεύω ότι ανοίγει και ένα άλλο κεφάλαιο για το πού οδεύει η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, εάν οδεύουμε σε μια πιο ομοσπονδιοποιημένη ΕΕ ή μια ΕΕ όπως είναι σήμερα, αντιμετωπίζοντας πολλές στρεβλώσεις σε μια κοινωνία και μια οικονομία που μεταλλάσσεται συνεχώς.”

⁹⁰ In Greek: “η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση έχει ευθύνες, αντί να συζητά σήμερα την αναβάθμιση τελωνειακής Ένωσης με την Τουρκία, να απαιτήσει αποφασίστηκε την υλοποίηση των υποχρεώσεων της Άγκυρας.”

⁹¹ In Greek: “κάτι έχει πάει λάθος με το παρελθόν και το παρόν της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης.”

⁹² In Greek: “ένα άλλο δρόμο ανάπτυξης που να προασπίζεται το δημόσιο χαρακτήρα των στρατηγικών τομέων και υπηρεσιών κάθε χώρας.”

⁹³ In Greek: “χρειαζόμαστε μια άλλη Ευρώπη.”

of the common acceptance by all parties across the political spectrum in Cyprus that if there are any chances of resolving the Cyprus problem it will be done through participation in and with a contribution by the European Union, which can operate as a catalyst. In general, in all areas of Cypriot politics, the Cyprus problem has a prominent position, and its predominance is maintained in the context of the country's European integration too. The unconditional faith in a united Europe began to deteriorate during the first years of the economic crisis with the imposition in 2013 of austerity measures, leading to an expansion of Eurosceptic views and sentiments both inside and outside the two major political parties. Differential integration is not a subject that has any prominence in Cypriot politics or public debates.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Overview of the documents analysed

First Speeches	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Speech by President of Cyprus Tassos Papadopoulos on joining the European Union (01.05.2004) • <u>Speech</u> by President of Cyprus Demetris Christofias in the national parliament (28.02.2008) • <u>Speech</u> by President of Cyprus Nicos Anastasiades in the national parliament (Ομιλία Προέδρου Αναστασιάδη στην τελετή εγκατάστασης στη Βουλή) (28.02.2013) • <u>Speech</u> by President of Cyprus Nicos Anastasiades in the national parliament (Ομιλία Προέδρου Αναστασιάδη στην τελετή εγκατάστασης στη Βουλή), (12.02.2018)
European Council presidency speech	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Speech</u> by President of Cyprus to the European Parliament (04.07.2012)
Future of Europe Speeches a. European Parliament b. for citizen consultation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Speech</u> by President of Cyprus Nicos Anastasiades to the European Parliament about the Future of Europe • <u>Speech</u> by Cypriot member of the European Parliament Lefteris Christoforou in the European Parliament about the new six-year budget. • <u>Speech</u> by Cypriot member of the European Parliament Neoclis Sylikiotis in the European Parliament • Συζήτηση με τον Πρόεδρο της Κύπρου, Νίκο Αναστασιάδη, σχετικά με το μέλλον της Ευρώπης (συζήτηση) Discussion with Cyprus’s President Nicos Anastasiades about the Future of Europe (<u>Speech</u>) • <u>Speech</u> by Member for Foreign Affairs Demetris Papadakis at the citizen consultation event “Quo Vadis Europa; The Future of Europe and Europe’s role on the international stage” (12.10.2018)
Party programmes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • European People’s Party programme 2019 • European People’s Party programme 2012, https://www.disy.org.cy/images/ikonomika/Manifesto-EPP.pdf • 22th AKEL Congress 2015, https://www.akel.org.cy/6890-2/ • 21st AKEL Congress 2010, https://www.akel.org.cy/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/theseiskeakel21syn.pdf • 20th AKEL Congress 2005, https://www.akel.org.cy/θέσεις-της-κ-ε-για-το-20ο-συνέδριο-του-ακε/#.X48kwi8RroA • 18th AKEL Congress 1995
Other speeches and interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘2019 Should Be the Year of Change – and a Change We Deliver’: Interview With Cypriot President Nicos Anastasiades, https://southeusummit.com/europe/cyprus/2019-should-be-the-year-of-change-and-one-we-deliver-an-interview-with-cypriot-president-nicos-anastasiades/

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Speech by President of the Republic of Cyprus Mr Nicos Anastasiades at the Invest Cyprus Forum Bloomberg European HQ, https://presidency.gov.cy/en/international-presence/2018/10/05/speech-by-the-president-of-the-republic-of-cyprus-mr-nicos-anastasiades-at-the-invest-cyprus-forum-bloomberg-european-hq/ • Welcoming address by Minister of Finance Harris Georgiades at the 9th Limassol Economic Forum. Minister's Press Releases, 19 October 2018, http://mof.gov.cy/en/press-office/minister-s-press-releases/welcoming-address-by-minister-of-finance-at-the-9th-limassol-economic-forum • Statement by Minister of Finance Konstantinos Petridis in parliament on the New Multiannual Financial Framework of the EU for the period 2021-2027, 28 July 2020, Press Release http://mof.gov.cy/en/press-office/minister-s-press-releases/716/?ctype=ar
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Appendix 2 Keywords

Γενικές ΔΕ (General differentiated integration)	ΔΕ μοντέλα (differentiated integration models)	
	Διαφορετικών ταχυτήτων (Multi-speed)	Διαφορετικών τελικών προορισμών (differentiated final destinations)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • διαφοροποίηση ενοποίησης (differentiated unification) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ευρώπη δύο ταχυτήτων (Europe of two speeds) • Ευρώπη πολλών ταχυτήτων (Europe of multiple speeds) • Πρόθυμη συνεργασία, συνασπισμός των προθύμων (Alliance of the willing) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Μεταβλητής γεωμετρίας (variable geometry) • Σκληρός πυρήνας (hard core/nucleus) • Ευρώπη δύο επιλογών, δύο επιπέδων • Ομόκεντροι ευρωπαϊκοί κύκλοι (European concentric circles) • αλά καρτ Ευρώπη (Europe à la carte)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Το μέλλον της Ευρώπης (The future of Europe) 		

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