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**Report of the member of Thesis Council on the thesis  
“Negotiation process on the Cyprus problem (1992-2017)”**

Submitted for the completion of  
a scientific degree of PhD.  
in Historical Sciences

Specialty 07.00.15 –  
History of international relations and foreign policy  
by Mamedov Mamed Koshkar-ogly

at Saint-Petersburg State University

Report for PhD submission  
MAMEDOV Mamed Koshkarogly  
“Negotiation process on the Cyprus problem (1992-2017)”

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## **Outline**

The dissertation analyzes the complex dynamics of the negotiation process related to the Cyprus problem focusing on the 1992-2017 period. The historical background starts with the transformation of the conflict from its latent state to an armed confrontation. The study then covers the numerous negotiation attempts including the 2017 negotiations under UN auspices. The dissertation examines mainly the historical, as well as the political, background of the conflict in Cyprus by highlighting the differences in the interests of the Greek and Turkish communities of Cyprus. It also explores the role and impact of international organizations (particularly the UN) and critical regional and global players during the negotiation process.

## **Assessment**

### *Relevance of the topic of dissertation research*

As the energy politics in the Mediterranean has once again brought the Cyprus issue in the limelight, dissertation topic is very timely and relevant. Moreover, it is also relevant for providing a better understanding of complex negotiation processes in general.

### *Degree of validity of scientific provisions, conclusions and recommendations formulated in the dissertation*

Theoretical and methodological basis of the research are works of leading authors as well primary documents of international organizations. The key arguments of the dissertation research is substantiated by empirical data and conclusions soundly stem from the candidates research.

### *Structure and content of the dissertation*

The thesis consists of an introduction, three chapters, conclusion, references (352 sources) and maps and photos the heading of applications. There is both a Russian and English part. While in need of some editing for English, over all the study is written in good English effectively utilizing suitable academic terminology. Relevant literature was used throughout the dissertation. The dissertation has a clear contribution and interesting results and addresses a timely and important issue. While I have no major criticisms regarding the overall quality of the work, in my 'Specific Areas of Discussion' I point out some of the issues which could be addressed to improve this dissertation.

### **Specific Areas of Discussion:**

#### **Introduction**

The introduction provides a good overview and motivation of the topic. In the introduction, relevance of the research topic, the goal and objectives of the dissertation research are explained. The introduction includes the theoretical and methodological foundations of the study. There is also a review of the relevant literature.

Areas for Improvement: (1) Research Question and the relevant sub-set of questions need to be laid out and explained much more clearly at the outset; (2) *Methodological basis* part needs more elaboration and emphasis.

## **Main Body**

*Chapter one* lays out the historical and political background of the Cyprus conflict with a specific emphasis on the period from the struggle for independence to the outbreak of conflict in 1974. *Chapter two* focuses on the 1974-2004 period by examining the roles of key international actors and organizations (especially UN) in the negotiation process as well. In this context, the study brings the factors hindering the negotiation process in the 1992-2004 period into the limelight. *Chapter three* starts out with an examination of the reasons for the failure of the "Annan plan" through the diverging prism of the political and economic interests of the Greek and Turkish communities of the island. The study also touches upon the domestic aspect as well by studying the impact of the negotiation process on the transformation of the political elites of the parties to the Cyprus conflict in 2005-2010. It continues with an assessment of the new initiatives and steps taken by international organizations and relevant regional and global actors to resolve the Cyprus problem in 2011-2017.

Areas for Improvement: (1) While the study is good in the description of events, the analytical part regarding the role of key organizations and especially critical regional and global players need to be emphasized and highlighted more; (2) In addressing this complex issue utilizing the Levels of Analysis in world politics framework could be useful in order to bring more theoretical structure and framework to the thesis; (3) domestic-external linkages need more elaboration.

## **Conclusion**

The conclusions summarize the historical trajectory and developments.

Areas for Improvement: Key findings and especially novel contributions need to be emphasized. This part certainly has to be extended, updated and improved.

### **Bibliography/appendix**

There is a comprehensive bibliography.

The dissertation by Mamedov Mamed Koshkar-ogly is a completed and independently executed scientific research. It presents new ideas and debates and is of interest for scholars and policy makers.

Over all, the dissertation research "Negotiation process on the Cyprus problem (1992-2017) carried out by Mamedov Mamed Koshkar-ogly presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Historical Sciences meets the qualification requirements for candidate dissertations on Specialty 07.00.15 - History of international relations and foreign policy.

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