



CYPRUS IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS FROM 1960 TO 2021 (FAILED CONFLICT RESOLUTION)

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Abstract

This study aims to evaluate the effectiveness of the United Nations Security Council's resolutions on Cyprus within the framework of the conflict resolution approach. Due to the conflict resolution approach, the position of Turkey, which is on the other side of the conflict and is the guarantor state, is also included in the evaluation with some suggestions. In this context, 152 Security Council resolutions between 1960 and 2021 have been examined. The results show that the Security Council has not been analyzed Cyprus' recent history well. Even the proposal to return to the 1960 Nicosia Treaty is a concrete indicator of this fact. In this sense, the Security Council has not been successful in terms of conflict resolution on Cyprus issue. On the other hand, Turkey, condemned within the framework of the Security Council resolutions, has not been able to explain itself well to the international community regarding Cyprus. The conflict resolution approach at least points that Turkey and Turkish Cypriots have also arguments to put forward for a satisfying solution.

Article Type: Research Article

Key Words: Turkish Cypriots, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Conflict Resolution Approach, United Nations Security Council, Greece, Turkey.

JEL Codes: F50, F51

Author's Note: This study has been prepared in accordance with scientific research and ethical rules. In this study, there is no content that requires ethics committee permission or legal/special permission. I, as the author of the article, signed my declaration certifying that there was no conflict of interest within the article preparation process.

1960'tan 2021'e Güvenlik Konseyi Kararlarında Kıbrıs (Başarısız Çatışma Çözümü)

Öz

Bu çalışma Birleşmiş Milletler Güvenlik Konseyi'nin Kıbrıs konusundaki kararlarının etkililiğini çatışma çözümü yaklaşımı çerçevesinde değerlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Çatışma çözümü yaklaşımı gereği çatışmanın diğer tarafında yer alan ve garantör devlet olan Türkiye'nin konumu da yapılan kimi önerilerle birlikte değerlendirmeye dâhil edilmektedir. Bu bağlamda 1960 ile 2021 yılları arasında 152 Güvenlik Konseyi kararı incelenmiştir. Sonuçlar, Güvenlik Konseyi'nin

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Kıbrıs'ın yakın tarihini iyi analiz edemediğini göstermektedir. 1960 Lefkoşa Antlaşması'nın mevcut haline dönülmesinin teklifi bile bunun somut bir göstergesidir. Bu anlamda çatışma çözümü açısından Güvenlik Konseyi'nin Kıbrıs konusunda başarılı olduğunu söylemek mümkün değildir. Öte taraftan Güvenlik Konseyi kararları çerçevesinde kınanan Türkiye ise Kıbrıs konusunda kendisini uluslararası topluma iyi bir şekilde anlatamamıştır. Çatışma çözümü yaklaşımı en azından Türkiye ve Kıbrıslı Türklerin de tatmin edici bir çözüm için öne sürebilecekleri argümanlarının olduğuna işaret etmektedir.

Makalenin Türü: Araştırma Makelesi

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kıbrıslı Türkler, Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti, Çatışma Çözümü Yaklaşımı, Birleşmiş Milletler Güvenlik Konseyi, Yunanistan, Türkiye.

JEL Kodu: F50, F51

Yazarın Notu: Bu çalışma bilimsel araştırma ve etik kurallarına uygun olarak hazırlanmıştır. Bu çalışmada etik kurul izni veya yasal/özel izin gerektirecek bir içerik bulunmamaktadır. Çalışma ile ilgili herhangi bir çıkar çatışmasının bulunmadığı SAVSAD Savunma ve Savaş Araştırmaları Dergisine yazar imzası ile beyan edilmiştir.

INTRODUCTION

The study has been organized as follows: the subject, conceptual framework, method, findings and comments, and “conclusion, discussion and recommendations”. These titles form the main headings with references and an extended summary.

Concerning The Subject

This title includes a problem and literature review, including academic theses and articles originated in Turkey, the purpose of the study, the importance of the study, and the limitations of the study.

Problems and Literature Review

The failure of an important and powerful structure such as the United Nations Security Council (UNSC, hereafter SC) in the face of the Cyprus problem is remarkable. Therefore, the failure of the Security Council on Cyprus is the problem of this study.

In terms of the literature that originated in Turkey, it is seen that the Cyprus issue has not been examined at a significant level in this respect. Based on the literature review, which mainly originated in Turkey, it is possible to say that there is a wealth of issues related to Cyprus. The

literature review shows that the Cyprus problem is not only about identity and ideology but also about national interests and the interests of third parties. In this sense, the Cyprus problem is the subject of evaluations of realist approaches as well as constructivist approaches built within the framework of identity. Even the limited number of examples presented below will give an idea of the framework of the literature that originated in Turkey.

From a neorealist perspective, including concepts such as national interest, power, conflict, competition, balance of power, and security, İmamoğlu and Uygun (2021, p.187) make a comparative analysis of the Eastern Mediterranean energy policies of Turkey and the Greek Cypriot administration of Southern Cyprus. Demirel and Özdemir (2021, p.145) evaluates the dynamics of the existence and expansion of Multinational Corporations in the North Cyprus in the context of non-recognition and embargoes. Kısacık (2021, p.124) questions why Russia and Turkey, which have continuously improved their relations on the axis of conflict-cooperation in the 2000s, follow contradictory policies in the context of the Cyprus problem, concluding that the reason is different national interests. Şafak et al. (2021, p.57) evaluate the post-Brexit United Kingdom's potential opportunities and challenges in the Eastern Mediterranean and Cyprus. Çelebi and Çelik (2020, p.168) examine Cyprus and the European Union's Cyprus policies from the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960 to the 2004 Annan Plan, concluding that Turkey and the Turkish Republic of the Northern Cyprus (TRNC) should define a new policy and initiate diplomatic initiatives for the recognition of the TRNC. The aim of Öğün and Tatar's study is to determine how the people of the TRNC perceive the Cyprus problem in the current conjuncture as of 2018 (Öğün and Tatar, 2019, p.82).

Saylan (2019, p.1742) studies Cyprus as an intractable conflict, concluding that the Cyprus Issue is essentially identity-based and that reconciliation over not only basic needs but also interests is required to find a solution. Gözügüzelli (2019, p.1) is concentrated on the domestic law practices and outcomes of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and the Greek administration of South Cyprus on the law of the maritime regime. Erdemir (2019, p.37) evaluates the impact of the Eastern Mediterranean on the energy security of the European Union with reference to the impact of hydrocarbon resources on the solution of the Cyprus problem.

In Avcı's study, in accordance with the energy resources that have been discovered in the Eastern Mediterranean, the discourses and policies of the regional and global actors who play an active role in the solution of the

Cyprus issue are examined, and the effect of hydrocarbon resources on the solution or non-solution is evaluated with the literature review method (Avcı, 2021, p.iii). Arıkdoğan (2020, p.3) has studied what happened in Cyprus, especially the double standard Turkish people were exposed to between 1948 and 1967, by accessing archive documents including letters and telegrams. In his study, Güler evaluates in the axis of the Cyprus issue the political developments and movements in the domestic public opinion of both the USA and Turkey, and even between the other countries involved in the issue (Güler, 2020, pp.1-12). Özkan (2019, p.iv) studies the positions of the United States and Turkey towards the Cyprus issue between 1949 and 1964. Boztepe examines the policies of global actors and Turkey's EU journey in the context of the Cyprus issue, including the problems Turkey has to solve, such as opening the ports and airspaces to the Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus and solving the property and East Mediterranean energy sources problems (Boztepe, 2019, pp.99-100).

Arabacı evaluates the Cyprus issue through examples from Turkish cinema and touches on how the Turkish and Greek people who are the subject of the issue are reflected and from what point of view the films are created, concluding that the films examined are successful in reflecting historical realities even though they could not be isolated from the experienced political views (Arabacı, 2019, pp.112-117). Bayraktar (2018, p.iv) examines the Cyprus policies of Turkey and Greece between 1963 and 1974 by taking the significance of the superpowers in the Cold War atmosphere into account, coming to the conclusion that both Turkey and Greece did their best to win the superpowers during all of the major crises (1964, 1967, and 1974) and accordingly that they managed to take advantage of the cold war, in particular *détente*. The aims of Tekir's study are first to investigate the extent to which Denktaş's political thoughts influenced the Cyprus issue, and second, to examine whether Denktaş is really an irreconcilable political figure (Tekir, 2018, p.9).

The aim of Opçin's study (2015, p.iv) is to assess whether or not current natural gas discoveries in the Eastern Mediterranean can contribute to the resolution of the Cyprus conflict, concluding that the amount of natural gas reserves found so far in the Aphrodite field cannot be a game changer when compared to, for example, the deep-rootedness of the Cyprus conflict. Erdoğan (2015, p.114) examines the effects of the Cyprus issue on Turkey-European Union relations and concludes that the Cyprus issue is the element that has the most impact on both membership and mutual relations between Turkey and the EU.

Kişman (2014, p.III) studies the Cyprus issue with reference to relations between the USA and Turkey dated from 1945 to 1980, concluding that bilateral relations between 1945 and 1980 were sometimes based on alliances on behalf of the interests in the region and at times turned into crisis diplomacy, and concluding that the Cyprus issue in particular has led to a constant re-evaluation of the relations between the two countries and that the general policy of the USA is mostly shaped around the continuation and interests of the NATO alliance. Avcı (2014, p.112) evaluates the Cyprus issue in the light of the Turkey-England relationship between 1950 and 1960, concluding that it is not possible to understand the Cyprus problem without remembering the Democratic Party government's performance between 1950 and 1960 to make Cyprus a national cause, and the sacrifices made for this national cause. Uçkan's study (2012, p.iv) deals with the emergence and rise of Turkish nationalism in Cyprus in the context of the construction process of the Turkish side in the Cyprus issue by making discourse analysis on the newspapers *Halkın Sesi* and *Hürriyet*.

Sivriservi's study comments on the cause and effect of the Cyprus Peace Operation because of the increase in Greek attacks and violence against Turkish Cypriots within the frame of the Cyprus Crisis in 1963-1964, 1967, 1974 (Sivriservi, 2011, p.II). Batu (2005, p.60) makes an analysis of the Cyprus conflict within the framework of conflict resolution theory, concluding that it is difficult to be optimistic about the resolution of the Cyprus problem in the near future by using the concept of power asymmetry. Kahraman's work, which examines the impact of the Cyprus issue on Turkey's European Union policy, argues that Cyprus is very important for Turkey, that the Cyprus issue affects Turkey's foreign policy, and that the Cyprus issue has become multidimensional recently (Kahraman, 2004, p.v). Gürses (2004, p.167) evaluates the Cyprus issue in terms of Turkey's European Union membership process, concluding that a reasonable settlement of the Cyprus issue will especially contribute to Turkey's capabilities in relations with the EU and will offer an opportunity for new initiatives for Turkish foreign policy, including national interests in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Tamçelik discusses the resolution plans for the Cyprus issue with reference to the SC's Resolution 789. In his study, some SC resolutions between 1964 and 1992 are taken into account, and his study is concentrated on the federation debates and potential issues such as land ownership, displaced persons, and economic structure within the framework of the federation discussion (Tamçelik, 2008, pp.1-1102).

To summarize, there is no study that analyses and evaluates the discourse of all SC resolutions on Cyprus as of December 2021 with reference to conflict resolutions, despite the fact that there are extensive Turkish studies on Cyprus.

Purpose of the Study

This study has been handled in order to reveal the position of the SC on Cyprus thanks to the findings with reference to the UN resolutions, evaluating those findings with reference to conflict resolution approaches.

The Importance of the Study

As understood from the literature review originated from Turkey, there is currently not enough number of studies that evaluate the Cyprus issue with reference to all decisions of the SC on Cyprus as of December 2021, and that make content analysis of all those resolutions with reference to conflict resolutions approach. In this sense, it is possible to say that the study will contribute to the literature originated from Turkey in its most up-to-date form. In this sense, increasing the number of studies originated from Turkey is one of the sub-objectives that has importance.

Limitations

The limit of the study consists of 152 resolutions of the SC between 1960 and 2021. The distribution of these by years is as follows: 1 decision for 1960, 6 decisions for 1964, 4 decisions for 1965, 3 decisions for 1966, 2 decisions for 1967, 3 decisions for 1968, 2 decisions for 1969, 2 resolutions for 1970, 2 resolutions for 1971, 2 resolutions for 1972, 2 resolutions for 1973, 11 resolutions for 1974, 3 resolutions for 1975, 2 resolutions for 1976, 3 resolutions for 1977, 3 decisions for 1978, 2 decisions for 1979, 2 decisions for 1980, 2 decisions for 1981, 2 decisions for 1982, 3 decisions for 1983, 3 decisions for 1984, 2 decisions for 1985, 2 decisions for 1986, 2 decisions for 1987, 2 decisions for 1988, 2 decisions for 1989, 4 decisions for 1990, 4 decisions for 1991, 5 decisions for 1992, 3 decisions for 1993, 4 decisions for 1994, 2 resolutions for 1995, 2 resolutions for 1996, 2 resolutions for 1997, 4 resolutions for 1998, 3 resolutions for 1999, 2 resolutions for 2000, 2 resolutions for 2001, 2 resolutions for 2002, 3 resolutions for 2003, 2 resolutions for 2004, 2 decisions for 2005, 2 decisions for 2006, 2 decisions for 2007, 2 decisions for 2008, 2 decisions for 2009, 2 decisions for 2010, 2 decisions for 2011, 1 decision for 2012, 2 decisions for 2013, 2 resolutions for year 2014, 2 resolutions for 2015, 2 resolutions for 2016, 2 resolutions for 2017, 2 resolutions for 2018, 2 resolutions for 2019, 2 resolutions for 2020, and 2 decisions for 2021.

It is possible to say the following in terms of literature review originated from Turkey: The Cyprus issue has not been discussed until a recent date (until the end of 2021) within the scope of the Security Council resolutions. Therefore, the literature review of the study is based on sources including academic theses and articles that originated in Turkey.

Another limitation of the study is its conceptual framework. As can be seen in the conceptual framework section, the conflict resolution approach constitutes the conceptual limit of this study.

Conceptual Framework

In fact, the conceptual framework of this study consists of the findings obtained as a result of the research. For this reason, these concepts are not included here separately; they are handled in the findings and comments section. However, a general evaluation of the findings will be made within the framework of a conflict resolution approach. Findings from the SC resolutions are suitable for evaluating these results in terms of conflict resolution elements.

Conflict resolution¹ refers to the constructive handling of conflicts and their resolution before they turn into violence. If conflicts have turned violent, it means taking control and ending them with peaceful methods. In this respect, it focuses on establishing permanent relations between the parties by providing satisfactory solutions to the conflicting parties by identifying and eliminating the social, economic, political, and psychological factors that cause the conflict (Dizdaroğlu, 2019, p.1).

Method

In the following lines, the method of the research, the model which is used, the universe and the sample of the study, data collection tools, data collection and data analysis are presented under the sub-headings.

Model of the Research

The model used in the research is the scanning model. Since scanning models describe an existing situation as it exists, they are suitable for the purpose of this study. To put it differently, this study seeks to answer the question of what, and the results are recorded for interpretation with reference to the conflict solution approach.

Universe and Sample

As of December 2021, the universe of the study consists of 152 SC resolutions, which are the subject of the research. In terms of the literature review, academic theses and articles from Turkey comprise the study's sample.

Data Collection Tools

The main source of data collection is the resolutions shared by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) with the public on its website. In other words, the main source is official documents.

Data Collection

The data source is primary and in this sense, the data is factual since it is based on official documents. Documentary scanning constitutes the data collection technique.

The Analysis of Data

The analysis of the obtained data is based on content analysis. In this framework, the findings that are the subject of content have been classified and evaluated.

Findings and Comment

Some general statements stand out in the SC's resolutions on Cyprus. Those include, for example, the reports expected from the UN Secretary-General, the contributions of the UN Secretariat, the contribution for good office of the UN General Council, the reference to previous resolutions, respect for the decisions by all member states, the acknowledgment of financial and military support for the Peace-Keeping Forces by member states, etc. So, if these general statements are excluded, it is possible to say that the SC resolutions concerning Cyprus include the following elements.

- *Cyprus as a Threat to International Peace and Security*: In its resolutions 186(1964) and 187(1964), SC defines Cyprus as a threat to international peace and security.

- *Treaties Signed at Nicosia on August 16, 1960:* In its resolutions 186(1964) and 541(1983), SC refers to the Treaty of Guarantee (1960), Treaty concerning the Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, and the Treaty of Alliance between the Kingdom of Greece, the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Cyprus (1961).
- *Respect to Territorial Integrity and Political Independency:* In its resolutions 186(1964), 353(1974), 360(1974), 367(1975), 541(1983), 550(1984), 649(1990), 716(1991), 750(1992), 774(1992), 939(1994), 1117(1997), 1146(1997), 1217(1998) and 1251(1999), SC recalls the Charter of the United Nations, especially Article 2 paragraph 4, saying, "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations".
- *The Sovereignty of Cyprus Republic:* In its resolutions 186(1964), 187(1964), 353(1974), 355(1974), 360(1974), 367(1975), 541(1983), 550(1984), 649(1990), 716(1991), 750(1992), 774(1992), 939(1994), 1117(1997), 1146(1997), 1217(1998), and 1251(1999), SC underlines the sovereignty of Cyprus Republic, calling upon all member states.
- *The Responsibility of Cyprus Government:* In its resolution 186(1964), SC demands to take all additional measures needed for stopping violence and bloodshed in Cyprus from the Government of Cyprus, which has the responsibility for the maintenance and restoration of law and order.
- *The Communities of Cyprus and Their Leaders' Acting with the Utmost Restraint:* In its resolutions 186(1964), 201(1965), 206(1965), 220(1996), 222(1966), 231(1966), 238(1967), 244(1967), 247(1968), 254(1968), 261(1968), 266(1969), 274(1969), 281(1970), 291(1970), 293(1971), 305(1971), 315(1972), 324(1972), 334(1973), 343(1973), 349(1974), 353(1974), 354(1974), 364(1974), 367(1975), 370(1975), 383(1975), 391(1976), 401(1976), 410(1977), 414(1977), 422(1977), 541(1983), 649(1990), 1218(1998) and 1251(1999), SC calls upon the communities of Cyprus and their leaders to act with the utmost restraint.
- *UN Peace-Keeping Force:* In its resolutions 186(1964), 187(1964), 192(1964), 193(1964), 194(1964), 198 (1964), 201(1965), 206(1965), 219(1965), 220(1966), 222(1966),

231(1966), 238(1967), 244(1967), 247(1968), 254(1968),
 261(1968), 266(1969), 274(1969), 281(1970), 291(1970),
 293(1971), 305(1971), 315(1972), 324(1972), 334(1973),
 343(1973), 349(1974), 353(1974), 359(1974), 361(1974),
 364(1974), 370(1975), 383(1975), 391(1976), 401(1976),
 410(1977), 414(1977), 422(1977), 430(1978), 443(1978),
 451(1979), 458(1979), 472(1980), 482(1980), 486(1981), 495(1981),
 510(1982), 526(1982), 534(1983), 544(1983), 550(1984),
 553(1984), 559(1984), 565(1985), 578(1985), 585(1986),
 593(1986), 597(1987), 604(1987), 614(1988), 625(1988),
 634(1989), 646(1989), 657(1990), 680(1990), 682(1990),
 697(1991), 698(1991), 723(1991), 750(1992), 759(1992),
 796(1992), 831(1993), 839(1993), 889(1993), 927(1994),
 969(1994), 1000(1995), 1032(1995), 1062(1996), 1092(1996),
 1117(1997), 1146(1997), 1178(1998), 1217(1998), 1251(1999),
 1283(1999), 1303(2000), 1331(2000), 1354(2001), 1384(2001),
 1416(2002), 1442(2002), 1486(2003), 1517(2003), 1548 (2004),
 1568(2004), 1604(2005), 1642(2005), 1687(2006), 1728(2006),
 1758(2007), 1789(2007), 1847(2008), 1873(2009), 1898(2009),
 1930(2010), 1953(2010), 1986(2011), 2026(2011), 2058(2012),
 2089(2013), 2114(2013), 2135(2014), 2168(2014), 2197(2015),
 2234(2015), 2263(2016), 2300(2016), 2338(2017), 2369(2017),
 2398(2018), 2430(2018), 2453(2019), 2483(2019), 2506(2020),
 2531(2020), 2561(2021) and 2587(2021), SC takes a decision for
 peace-keeping force about the extension of its duty period, the
 cooperation with it, the security of its personnel, an alternative
 financing method for it and/or possible restructuring of it, etc.

- *Cease-Fire*: In its resolutions 194(1964), 193(1964), 353(1974), 354(1974), 355(1974), 357(1974), 358(1974), 364(1974), 370(1975) and 383(1975), SC ask the parties to maintain cease-fire for the performance of peacekeeping forces and peaceful settlement.
- *Immediate End to Foreign Military Intervention and Formal Disapproval of the Unilateral Military Actions*: In its resolution 353(1974), 360(1974) and 1642(2005), SC demands an immediate end to foreign military intervention and declares formal disapproval of the unilateral military actions in Cyprus with reference to a request by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios.
- *Negotiation Demand between Turkey, Greece and United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland*: In its resolutions 353(1974),

357(1974), 360(1974), 361(1974), 391(1976), 401(1976), 410(1977) and 422(1977), SC demands negotiation between Turkey, Greece and United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland by taking into account not only the interests of the parties but also the legitimate wishes and requirements of the opposing side,

- *Humanitarian View:* In its resolutions 361(1974), 1032(1995), 1062(1996), 1117(1997), 1146(1997), 1178(1998), 1217(1998), 1251(1999), 1642(2005), 1687(2006), 1728(2006), 1758(2007), 1789(2007), 1818(2008), 1847(2008), 1873(2009), 1898(2009), 1930(2010), 1953(2010), 1986(2011), 2058(2012), 2089(2013), 2114(2013), 2135(2014), 2168(2014), 2197(2015), 2234(2015), 2263(2016), 2300(2016), 2338(2017), 2369(2017), 2398(2018), 2430(2018), 2453(2019), 2483(2019), 2506(2020), 2531(2020), 2561(2021) and 2587(2021), SC thanks to efforts for humanitarian aid or demands high performance for displaced persons and/or missing persons as a result of the conflicts.
- *Ten-Point Agreement for the Resumption of Intercommunal Talks:* In its resolutions 451(1979), 458(1979), 472(1980), 482(1980), 495(1981), 486(1981), 510(1982), 526(1982), 534(1983) and 422(1977), SC welcomes the Ten-Point Agreement for the resumption of intercommunal talks. The text named as ten-point agreement is a conclusion followed by Spyros Kyprianou, the president of the Republic of Cyprus, and Rauf Denktaş, the Turkish Cypriot leader, on May 19, 1979. This text includes conclusions such as resuming intercommunal talks, respecting for human rights and basic freedoms, talking about territorial and constitutional directions, resettlement of Varosha, returning to normal conditions by promoting goodwill and mutual confidence, independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus, rejecting the union with any other country in whole or in part, etc. (Press and Information Office, 2018).
- *Federal Republic of Cyprus:* In its resolutions 649(1990), 716(1991), 750(1992), 774(1992), 939(1994), 1117(1997), 1146(1997), 1217(1998), 1251(1999), 1604(2005), 1642(2005), 1728(2006), 1758(2007), 1789(2007), 1818(2008), 1847(2008), 1873(2009), 1898(2009), 1930(2010), 1953(2010), 1986(2011), 2026(2011), 2058(2012), 2089(2013), 2114(2013), 2135(2014), 2168(2014), 2197(2015), 2234(2015), 2263(2016), 2300(2016), 2338(2017), 2369(2017), 2398(2018), 2430(2018), 2453(2019), 2483(2019), 2506(2020), 2531(2020), 2561(2021) and 2587(2021), SC refers

Federal Republic of Cyprus based on a bicomunal, bizonal federation with political equality.

- *Reference to Resolution 3312 of General Assembly on Cyprus Question:* In its resolutions 365(1974), 367(1975), 370(1975), 383(1975), 391(1976), 401(1976), 410(1977), 414(1977) and 422(1977), SC renews essentially to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.
- *Criticism of the Unilateral Decision of 13 February 1975 Declaring a Federated Turkish State:* SC criticizes the autonomous Turkish Cypriot Administration's unilateral decision of 13 February 1975 which declares a Federated Turkish State via its resolution 367(1975).
- *Deploing the Declaration Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus as an Independent State:* In its resolutions 541(1983) and 550(1984), SC deplores the declaration Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus as an independent state.
- *Unacceptable Status Quo Created by Turkey:* In its resolutions 774(1992), 789(1992), 831(1993), 889(1993), 902(1994), 939(1994), 1062(1996), 1117(1997), 1146(1997), 1179(1998), 1217(1998), 1251(1999), 1728(2006), 1758(2007), 1789(2007), 1953(2010), 1986(2011), 2026(2011), 2058(2012), 2089(2013), 2114(2013), 2135(2014), 2168(2014), 2197(2015), 2234(2015), 2263(2016), 2300(2016), 2338(2017), 2369(2017), 2398(2018), 2430(2018), 2453(2019), 2483(2019), 2506(2020), 2531(2020), 2561(2021) and 2587(2021), SC declares that present status quo created by Turkey is unacceptable by meaning 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation performed by Turkey and its conclusions.
- *Confidence-Building Measures:* In its resolutions 789 (1992), 831(1993), 831(1993), 889(1993), 902(1994), 927(1994), 939(1994), 969(1994), 1000(1995), 1032(1995), 1062(1996), 1092(1996), 1117(1997), 1146(1997), 1178(1998), 1217(1998), 1218(1998), 1251(1999), 1642(2005), 1687(2006), 1728(2006), 1758(2007), 1789(2007), 1818(2008), 1847(2008), 1873(2009), 1898(2009), 1930(2010), 1953(2010), 1986(2011), 2026(2011), 2058(2012), 2089(2013), 2114(2013), 2135(2014), 2168(2014), 2197(2015), 2234(2015), 2263(2016), 2300(2016), 2338(2017), 2369(2017), 2398(2018), 2430(2018), 2453(2019), 2483(2019), 2506(2020), 2531(2020), 2561(2021) and 2587(2021), SC demands

the withdrawal of non-Cypriot forces, the extension of the unmanning agreement of 1989 to all areas of the buffer zone controlled by the United Nations, to extend peacekeeping force into Varosha, the promotion of people-to-people contact, propose bi-communal projects, to hold a Cyprus-wide census, the development of economic projects benefiting those under the Turkish Cypriot Administration, etc.

- *Set of Ideas:* In its resolutions 716(1991), 750(1992), 759(1992), 774(1992), 789(1992), 889(1993), 927(1994), 969(1994), 1000(1995), 1032(1995), 1062(1996), 1092(1996), 1117(1997), 1178(1998), 1217(1998) and 1251(1999), SC refers the Set of Ideas. Set of Ideas is a framework plan prepared by the United Nations Secretary General, Boutros Gali, in order to produce a comprehensive solution to the Cyprus problem. This framework essentially designs federation in detail (Tamçelik, 2008, p. 204).
- *The Security of Buffer Zone: In its resolutions* 831(1993), 839(1993), 889(1993), 927(1994), 969(1994), 1000(1995), 1032(1995), 1062(1996), 1092(1996), 1117(1997), 1146(1997), 1178(1998), 1217(1998), 1251(1999), 1642(2005), 1687(2006), 1728(2006), 1758(2007), 1789(2007), 1847(2008), 1873(2009), 1898(2009), 1930(2010), 1953(2010), 1986(2011), 2026(2011), 2058(2012), 2089(2013), 2114(2013), 2135(2014), 2168(2014), 2197(2015), 2234(2015), 2263(2016), 2300(2016), 2338(2017), 2369(2017), 2398(2018), 2430(2018), 2453(2019), 2483(2019), 2506(2020), 2531(2020), 2561(2021) and 2587(2021), SC underlines the security of Buffer Zone where the two sides are in close proximity to each other.
- *Violent Incidents or Increasing Violations in Buffer Zone or Cease-Fire Line:* In its resolutions 1062(1996), 1092(1996), 2453(2019), 2483(2019), 2506(2020), 2531(2020), 2561(2021) and 2587(2021), SC notices violent incidents or increasing violations in buffer zone or cease-fire line.
- *The European Union concerning the Opening of Accession Negotiations with Cyprus:* In its resolutions 1062(1996), 1092(1996), 1117(1997) and 1146(1997), SC acknowledges that the decision of the European Union about the opening of participation negotiations with Cyprus is of importance in terms of developments that could facilitate an overall settlement.

- *Calling upon all States not to Recognize Any Cypriot State Other than the Republic of Cyprus:* In its resolutions 541(1983) and 550(1984), SC calls upon all states not to recognize any Cypriot state other than the Republic of Cyprus by intending Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.
- *Urging the Turkish Cypriot Side and Turkish Forces:* In its resolutions 1331(2000), 1354(2001), 1384(2001), 1416(2002), 1442(2002), 1486(2003), 1517(2003), 1548 (2004), 1568(2004), 1604(2005), 1642(2005), 1687(2006), 1728(2006), 1758(2007), 1789(2007), 1818(2008), 1847(2008), 1873(2009), 1898(2009), 1930(2010), 1953(2010), 1986(2011), 2026(2011), 2058(2012), 2089(2013), 2114(2013), 2135(2014), 2168(2014), 2197(2015), 2234(2015), 2263(2016), 2300(2016), 2338(2017), 2369(2017), 2398(2018), 2430(2018), 2453(2019), 2483(2019), 2506(2020), 2531(2020), 2561(2021) and 2587(2021), SC urges the Turkish Cypriot side and Turkish Forces to rescind the restrictions imposed on 30 June 2000 on the operations of United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) and to restore the military status quo in Strovolia.
- *Recalling the Status of Varosha:* In its resolutions 2506(2020), 2531(2020), 2561(2021) and 2587(2021), SC condemns the 20 July announcement by Turkish and Turkish Cypriot leaders on the issue of Varosha. It calls for the immediate reversal of this course of action and the reversal of all steps taken on Varosha since October 2020 by reaffirming the status of Varosha as set out in its previous resolutions.
- *Simultaneous Referenda for Reunification of Cyprus or Eventual Referenda:* In its resolutions 1475(2003), 1548(2004), 1847(2008), 1873(2009), 1898(2009), 1930(2010), 1953(2010), 1986(2011), 2026(2011), 2058(2012), 2089(2013), 2114(2013), 2135(2014), 2168(2014), 2234(2015), 2263(2016), 2300(2016), 2338(2017), 2369(2017), 2398(2018), 2430(2018) and 2453(2019), SC makes a call for simultaneous referenda for reunification of Cyprus.
- *Emphasis on International Community's Appreciation or Support:* In its resolutions 1847(2008), 1873(2009), 1898(2009), 1930(2010), 1953(2010), 1986(2011), 2026(2011), 2058(2012), 2089(2013), 2114(2013), 2135(2014), 2168(2014), 2197(2015), 2234(2015), 2263(2016), 2300(2016), 2398(2018), 2430(2018), 2453(2019), 2483(2019), 2506(2020), 2531(2020), 2561(2021) and 2587(2021), SC stresses the importance of support and appreciation of

international community for the constructive negotiation between parties.

- **The Emphasis for Active Flourishing Civil Society:** In its resolutions 1758(2007), 1789(2007), 1818(2008), 1847(2008), 1873(2009), 1898(2009), 1930(2010), 1953(2010), 1986(2011), 2026(2011), 2058(2012), 2089(2013), 2114(2013), 2135(2014), 2168(2014), 2197(2015), 2234(2015), 2263(2016), 2300(2016), 2338(2017), 2369(2017), 2398(2018), 2430(2018), 2453(2019), 2483(2019), 2506(2020), 2531(2020), 2561(2021) and 2587(2021), SC welcomes intercommunal contacts via civil society.
- **Woman Emphasis in Civil Society for Bilateral Positive Communication:** In its resolutions 2026(2011), 2058(2012), 2089(2013), 2114(2013), 2135(2014), 2168(2014), 2197(2015), 2234(2015), 2263(2016), 2300(2016), 2338(2017), 2369(2017), 2398(2018), 2430(2018), 2453(2019), 2483(2019), 2506(2020), 2531(2020), 2561(2021) and 2587(2021), SC welcomes intercommunal contacts via civil society, making woman emphasis.
- **Youth Emphasis for Bilateral Positive Communication:** In its resolutions 2398(2018), 2430(2018), 2453(2019), 2483(2019), 2506(2020), 2531(2020), 2561(2021) and 2587(2021), SC welcomes intercommunal contacts via civil society, making youth emphasis.
- **Increased Tension in the Eastern Mediterranean over Hydrocarbons:** In its resolutions 2398(2018) 2483(2019), 2506(2020), 2531(2020), 2561(2021) and 2587(2021), SC urges the sides because of hydrocarbon exploration in the eastern Mediterranean as this activity increase the tension between the parties.
- **Negotiations between Two Parts of the Island:** In its resolutions 367(1975), 370(1975), 383(1975), 391(1976), 401(1976), 410(1977), 414(1977), 422(1977), 440(1978), 716(1991), 774(1992), 831(1993), 927(1994), 969(1994), 1000(1995), 1032(1995), 1062(1996), 1117(1997), 1146(1997), 1178(1998), 1217(1998), 1218(1998), 1251(1999), 1642(2005), 1687(2006), 1728(2006), 1758(2007), 1789(2007), 1818(2008), 1847(2008), 1873(2009), 1898(2009), 1930(2010), 1953(2010), 1986(2011), 2026(2011), 2058(2012), 2089(2013), 2114(2013), 2135(2014), 2168(2014), 2197(2015), 2234(2015), 2263(2016), 2300(2016), 2338(2017), 2369(2017), 2398(2018), 2430(2018), 2453(2019), 2483(2019), 2506(2020), 2531(2020), 2561(2021) and 2587(2021), SC

encourages two parts of the Cyprus for the sovereignty of Cyprus Republic with reference to bicomunal, bizonal federation.

SC, which defines the Cyprus problem as a threat to international peace and security, refers to the Nicosia Treaty, signed on August 16, 1960, on the Cyprus problem. Again, as can be seen from the SC Resolutions regarding Cyprus, the SC envisages a federative structure with territorial integrity and political independence with reference to the Republic of Cyprus. It bases this federative structure on two communities and two territories with politically equal rights. In the resolutions, the SC also calls on all states not to recognize any structure other than the Republic of Cyprus. In short, the SC does not recognize the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

SC thinks that the Cyprus problem can be solved with the communication that will develop between both communities. SC, relying on confidence-building measures among the Cypriot communities for the solution of the problem, is of the opinion that in this context, non-governmental organizations involving women and youth can also play an important role in the solution of the Cyprus problem. SC even called for a referendum on the reunification of Cyprus. SC considers the Republic of Cyprus as responsible for the island, but the SC bases the authority of the Republic on the Greek Cypriots. By demanding Turkey to preserve the status quo regarding the Varosha issue, the SC is also disturbed by the actions performed by Turkey and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in opening the Varosha and because of their hydrocarbon activities in the Eastern Mediterranean. Therefore, it seems that the SC is close to the status quo in favor of the Greek Cypriot side.

The SC's approach is theoretically suitable for conflict resolution and has good governance elements, but ignoring the context of the parties makes it unsuccessful and casts a shadow on its impartiality.

CONCLUSION, DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study makes the impartiality of the SC on the subject questionable. The solution in the SC resolutions is based on a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation with politically equal rights. This approach, which theoretically seems to be solution-oriented, is actually far from the realities of the political history of the island. The UNSC resolutions are not seemed

to consider enough the political history aspect of the conflict. To briefly remind, the Greek Cypriots wanted to amend the Constitution of Cyprus, contrary to the 1960 Treaty, because the current situation prevented the Greek Cypriots from uniting with Greece in accordance with ENOSIS, it means union in Greek (Erdoğan, 2018, p.182), and finally they wanted to rule the island alone. In this context, they started attacks and terrorist acts through EOKA- National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (Bağcı, 2018, p.148). Even the establishment of a peacekeeping force on the island was the result of Turkey's military maneuvers including five Turkish planes' making warning flights at low altitudes in 1963 (Bağcı, 2018, p.168). However, the peacekeeping force was not enough to prevent the events, and the Greek Cypriot side constantly sought ways to keep the Turkish Cypriots under control. The Turkish Cypriots' resistance to these attacks and violence was thanks to the Turkish Resistance Force, which was established in 1957 and was active until the 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation performed by Turkey (Erdoğan, 2018, p.181). Again, it was the Greek Cypriot side that disrupted the 1960 order and declared the Hellenic Republic of Cyprus by making a coup on the island in 1974, overthrowing the Makarios administration (Erdoğan, 2018, p.185). On the other hand, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus was proclaimed in 1983, replacing the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus declared in 1975 after the Cyprus Peace Operation (Erdoğan, 2018, pp.189-212).

SC resolutions cannot be functional because Greek Cypriots desire to see Turkish Cypriots as a minority in Cyprus and not as politically equal subject. Political history shows that Greek Cypriots did not consent to political equality, and the Greek Cypriots desired to break this equality when they had been politically equal. Even the rejection of unification in the 2004 referendum within the framework of the Annan Plan by the Greek Cypriots is another indication of this fact. Furthermore, according to SC resolutions, even returning to the 1960 Nicosia Treaty requires Turkish Cypriots to give up their own gains. On the other hand, considering Turkey's actions regarding Cyprus, the SC's stance consists of repeated condemnations of Turkey.

SC resolutions have not been successful so far in resolving the Cyprus problem. It does not look like it will be successful after that because it is far from grasping the social, psychological, and political elements behind the problem. Although SC compliments the active participation of civil society based on especially women and youth, in its decisions, these seem to be the fashion trends of the day. It seems unsuccessful in terms of conflict resolution approach as well.

The illustration below, with reference to Galtung's modeling, makes the situation clear. In this model, attitudes (A) express prejudices, beliefs, perceptions, and feelings. Behavior (B) means statements, offences, insults, attacks, etc. Context (C) as an objective reality means political, economical, cultural, historical background (Scottish Center for Conflict Resolution, p.1).

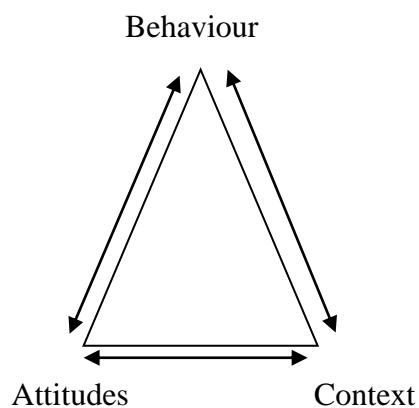


Figure 1. ABC Triangle Modelling in Conflict Resolution Approach (Mitchell, citing from 1981 Dizdaroğlu, 2019, p.1)²

The context of the conflict expresses how the conflict arises, how the parties are affected by this environment, and how the conflict can result. Attitude includes the reactions of the parties to social situations that are shaped by their perceptions. Behavior refers to the methods adopted by the conflicting parties to achieve their goals. These methods include the use of direct force as well as verbal actions such as warning or threat (Dizdaroğlu, 2019, P.1). Therefore, first, it is possible to say that the context of the Turkish and Greek sides is completely different from each other. For the Turkish side, the motto “peace at home, peace in the world” is a strategic point of view, while for the Greek side, Enosis and Megalo Idea³ is a strategic and even ideological points of view. These different contexts bring with them different attitudes and behaviors. Throughout the process, physical attacks and terror against Turkish Cypriots, as well as Greece's ambitions for Cyprus and Turkey, have prevented them from meeting on common ground. Recently, the issue of hydrocarbon exploration studies in the Eastern Mediterranean has been added to these chronic problems from

an economic, more precisely, geoeconomic aspect. Actually, the Turkish side responds with the reflex of any nation-state and protects its national interests. In fact, in order to overcome these and similar problems, Turkey needs to want and undertake its growth as a power. In this sense, Turkey, like Greece, seems to act with the concern of a nation-state.

Among the proposals made for the solution of the Cyprus issue in the literature, one of the priorities is given to the “importance of nationalistic education on the island that leads to historic enmities being transmitted from one generation to the next, mutual stereotypes that inhibit creative thinking and dialogue...” (Yılmaz, 2005, p.38). This is a reasonable suggestion, but considering the glorious Hellenic and Byzantine heritage, it seems difficult for the Greek part to achieve it.

On the other hand, there is an inevitable reality for Turkey as guarantor, homeland, and as a country whose geopolitical, geo-economics, and geostrategic interests are affected. Up until now, Turkey has not been able to explain its cause regarding Cyprus well to the world and the international community. The parameters of the conflict resolution approach indicate that Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots have a suitable scientific framework to defend their arguments.

Starting with the Organization of Turkic States and getting its support could be a good development for the Cyprus cause and for the recognition of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus as an independent nation state. The Cyprus case and the idea of recognizing the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus as an independent nation state can at least be evaluated in order to inform the international community that Turkey and Turkish Cypriots have alternatives.⁴

Notes

1. Detailed analyzes and evaluations regarding the conceptual framework of this article has not been included. Such an effort has the capacity to be a separate study when the volume problem is taken into account. However, the reader can refer to the following study and its reference list for more comprehensive information on the concept of “conflict resolution”: Özçelik, Sezai. “An Introduction to Security Studies.” *International Security*, ed. Nejat Doğan, Eskişehir Anadolu University Press, 2019, pp.3-33.

2. Conflict Resolution Theory was created by Johan Galtung. Dizdaroğlu refers here to the study of Mitchell (1981). For detail, see Dizdaroğlu (2019, p.1).

3. Megalo Idea, which means Big Idea, is the name of the idea of re-establishing a great empire, which emerged after the Byzantine lost Istanbul (Constantinople). The conclusion of the Turkish War of Independence in 1919-1922 with the defeat of the Greeks dealt a great blow to this idea. The person who published the first Megalo Idea map was Rigas Ferreros (1757-1798), the greatest poet

and national hero of Greek history. Ferreros drew the first map while he was in Bucharest in 1791, and later printed it in Vienna in 1796 and distributed it in all Greek-speaking lands. Megala Idea is the ideology of bringing Greece to the golden age of Byzantium (Yaycı 5). The articles of Megala Idea are as follows. 1) Greece will declare its independence. 2) Western Thrace (Bati Trakya) and Thessaloniki (Selanik) will be taken from the Turks at any cost. 3) Aegean Islands will be given to Greece. 4) All 12 Islands will be given to Greece. 5) Western Anatolia will be given to Greece. 6) Pontus Greek State will be established. 7) Cyprus will be left entirely to the Greeks. 8) Crete (Girit), Imbros (İmroz) and Tenedos (Bozcaada) will be given to Greece. 9) Istanbul (Istanbul) will be taken from the Turks and the Byzantine Empire will be re-established (Yaycı, 2020, p.7).

4. This proposal seems appropriate in the context of the course of Cyprus' political history. In the face of the irredentist attitudes of the Greek part, these attitudes may trigger different or similar thoughts in the Turkish part due to the action-reaction principle. These inferences are not far from world political history and scientific truth (action-reaction principle). For irredentism, which means a state's annexation of territories with close cognates, see Yakut (2019, p.109).

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GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

Bu çalışma, Güvenlik Konseyi'nin Kıbrıs konusundaki konumunu ortaya koymak ve Kıbrıs'la ilgili Güvenlik Konseyi kararlarının neden çatışma çözümünden uzak olduğunu göstermek amacıyla ele alınmıştır. Bunu yaparken çatışma çözümü yaklaşımının bir tarafı ve aynı zamanda garantör devlet olan ancak Kıbrıs konusunda yeni bir statüko yarattığı (mevcut statükoyu değiştirdiği) gerekçesiyle Güvenlik Konseyince eleştirilen Türkiye'nin konuyla ilgili duruşu da dikkate alınmaktadır.

Literatür taraması açısından Güvenlik Konseyi'nin Aralık 2021 itibariyle Kıbrıs'a ilişkin tüm kararlarını referans alan ve tüm bu kararları çatışma çözümü yaklaşımından hareketle, içerik analizini yaparak değerlendiren bir çalışma yahut yeterli sayıda çalışma olmadığını söylemek mümkündür. Bu tespit özellikle de Türkiye orijinli çalışmalar için geçerlidir. Bu anlamda çalışmanın bilhassa Türkiye orijinli çalışmalar açısından literatüre katkı sağlayacağı ileri sürülebilir.

Araştırmada kullanılan model tarama modelidir. Tarama modelleri var olan bir durumu olduğu gibi betimlediğinden bu çalışmanın amacına uygundur. Başka bir deyişle, bu çalışmada bir değerlendirme yapmak amacıyla *ne* sorusuna cevap aranmakta ve bulgular yorumlanmak üzere tasnif edilmektedir. Değerlendirme kısmında ise çatışma çözümü yaklaşımı sonucunda varılan sonuçlar değerlendirilmekte ve Güvenlik Konseyi kararları çerçevesinde dezavantajlı konumda gözükten Türkiye için kimi öneriler dile getirilmektedir.

Çalışmanın sınırına yönelik olarak literatür taraması açısından şunları söylemek mümkündür: Kıbrıs konusu, bu çalışmanın konusunu oluşturan Güvenlik Konseyi kararları kapsamında (2021 yılı sonunu içerecek şekilde) Türkiye orijinli literatürde değerlendirilmemiştir. Bu

anlamda çalışmanın literatür taraması, Türkiye orijinli kaynaklara (akademik tez ve makale) dayanmaktadır. Çalışmanın bir diğer sınırını ise 1960-2021 yılları arasındaki Güvenlik Konseyi'nin 152 kararı oluşturmaktadır. Bunların yıllara göre dağılımı şu şekildedir: 1960 yılı için 1 karar, 1964 yılı için 6 karar, 1965 yılı için 4 karar, 1966 yılı için 3 karar, 1967 yılı için 2 karar, 1968 için 3 karar, 1969 için 2 karar, 1970 için 2 karar, 1971 için 2 karar, 1972 için 2 karar, 1973 için 2 karar, 1974 için 11 karar, 1975 için 3 karar, 1976 için 2 karar, 1977 için 3 karar, 1978 için 3 karar, 1979 için 2 karar, 1980 için 2 karar, 1981 için 2 karar, 1982 için 2 karar, 1983 için 3 karar, 1984 için 3 karar, 1985 için 2 karar, 1986 için 2 karar, 1987 için 2 karar, 1988 için 2 karar, 1989 için 2 karar, 1990 için 4 karar, 1991 için 4 karar, 1992 için 5 karar, 1993 için 3 karar, 1994 için 4 karar, 1995 için 2 karar, 1996 için 2 karar, 1997 için 2 karar, 1998 için 4 karar, 1999 için 3 karar, 2000 için 2 karar, 2001 için 2 karar, 2002 için 2 karar, 2003 için 3 karar, 2004 yılı için 2 karar, 2005 yılı için 2 karar, 2006 yılı için 2 karar, 2007 yılı için 2 karar, 2008 yılı için 2 karar, 2009 yılı için 2 karar, 2010 yılı için 2 karar, 2011 yılı için 2 karar, 2012 yılı için 1 karar, 2013 yılı için 2 karar, 2014 yılı için 2 karar, 2015 yılı için 2 karar, 2016 yılı için 2 karar, 2017 yılı için 2 karar, 2018 için 2 karar, 2019 için 2 karar, 2020 için 2 karar, 2021 için 2 karar. Kavramsal çerçeve açısından ise çalışmanın sınırını *çatışma çözümü yaklaşımı* oluşturmaktadır.

Birleşmiş Milletler Genel Sekreteri'nin katkılarına teşekkür gibi genel nitelikli ifadeler çıkarıldığında, kararlarda aşağıdaki vurguların ön plana çıktığı görülmektedir.

- Uluslararası barış ve güvenliğe bir tehdit olarak Kıbrıs,
- 16 Ağustos 1960'ta Lefkoşa'da imzalanan antlaşmalar,
- Toprak bütünlüğüne ve siyasi bağımsızlığa saygı,
- Kıbrıs hükümetinin sorumluluğu, Kıbrıs toplulukları ve liderlerinin itidalli hareket etmeleri,
- BM Barış Gücü,
- Ateşkes,
- Yabancı askerî müdahalenin derhal sonlandırılması, tek taraflı askerî eylemlerin resmi olarak onaylanmaması,
- Türkiye, Yunanistan ve Büyük Britanya ve Kuzey İrlanda Birleşik Krallığı arasındaki müzakere talebi,
- İnsani bakış,

- Toplumlararası müzakerelerin yeniden başlatılması için On Maddelik Anlaşma,
- Federal Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti,
- Kıbrıs Sorunu hakkında Genel Kurul'un 3312 sayılı kararına atıf,
- 13 Şubat 1975 tarihli Federe Türk Devleti ilanına ilişkin tek taraflı kararın eleştirisi,
- Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti'nin bağımsız bir devlet olarak bildirilmesinin kınanması,
- Türkiye'nin yarattığı kabul edilemez statüko,
- Güven artırıcı önlemler,
- Fikir Seti,
- Tampon bölgenin güvenliği,
- Tampon bölgede veya ateşkes hattında şiddet olayları veya artan ihlaller,
- Tüm devletlere Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti dışında herhangi bir Kıbrıs Devletini Tanımamaya Çağrı,
- Kıbrıs Türk tarafını ve Türk kuvvetlerini zorlama,
- Maraş'ın durumunu hatırlatmak,
- Kıbrıs'ın yeniden birleşmesi için eşzamanlı referandum veya nihai referandum,
- Uluslararası topluluğun takdir veya desteğine vurgu,
- Aktif, gelişen sivil toplum vurgusu,
- İkili olumlu iletişim için sivil toplumda kadın ve gençlik vurgusu,
- Doğu Akdeniz'de hidrokarbonlar üzerindeki artan gerilim,
- Adanın iki parçası arasındaki müzakereler.

Sonuçlar, Güvenlik Konseyi'nin Kıbrıs konusundaki tarafsızlığını sorgulanır hale getirmektedir. Türkiye tarafından yaratılan statükonun kabul edilemeyeceğini pek çok kez kararlarında ifade eden Güvenlik Konseyi için çözüm, siyasi olarak eşit haklara sahip iki bölge, iki toplumlu bir federasyona dayanmaktadır. Teorik olarak çözüm odaklı gibi görünen bu yaklaşım aslında adanın siyasi tarihinin gerçeklerinden uzaktır. 2004

referandumunda Kıbrıslı Rumların, Annan Planı çerçevesinde birleşmeyi reddetmesi bile bu gerçeğin bir başka göstergesidir.

Güvenlik Konseyi kararları Kıbrıs sorununun çözümünde şimdiye kadar başarılı olamamıştır. Çünkü sorunun arkasındaki sosyal, psikolojik ve politik unsurları kavramaktan uzaktır. Sonuçlar, Güvenlik Konseyi'nin Kıbrıs'ın yakın siyasi tarihini iyi analiz edemediğini göstermektedir. 1960 Lefkoşa Antlaşması'nın mevcut haline dönülmesinin teklifi bile bunun basit bir göstergesidir. Bu anlamda çatışma çözümü açısından Güvenlik Konseyi'nin Kıbrıs konusunda başarılı olduğunu söylemek mümkün değildir. Öte taraftan Türkiye'nin Kıbrıs konusunda kendisini uluslararası topluma iyi bir şekilde anlatamadığı da bir gerçektir. Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti'nin tanınması için Türk Devletleri Teşkilatı'nın öncülük etmesi, yapılacak önerilerden biri olarak değerlendirilebilir. Ayrıca çatışma çözümü yaklaşımının parametreleri, Türkiye ve Kıbrıslı Türklerin yarattıkları yeni statüko için kendi argümanlarını savunmak adına uygun bilimsel bir çerçeveye de sahip olduklarına işaret etmektedir.

Kıbrıs davası ve Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti'nin bağımsız bir ulus devlet olarak tanınması düşüncesi, en azından Türkiye'nin ve Kıbrıslı Türklerin alternatiflerinin olduğu konusunda, uluslararası toplumu hazır hâle getirmek için değerlendirilebilir- Bu öneri Kıbrıs'ın siyasi tarihinin gidişatı çerçevesinde uygun durmaktadır. Rum kesiminin irredentist tavırları karşısında bu tavırlar, etki-tepki prensibi gereği, Türk kesiminde de farklı veya benzer düşünceleri tetikleyebilir. Bu çıkarımlar dünya siyasi tarihine ve bilimsel realitelere (etki-tepki prensibi) uzak değildir.