CYPRUS QUESTION AND ITS INTERACTIONS WITH INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM*

KIBRIS SORUNU VE ULUSLARARASI SİSTEM İLE ETKİLEŞİMİ

Kamer KASIM

Bolu Abant İzzet Baysal University, Department of International Relations
(kamerkasim@ibu.edu.tr)
ORCID: 0000-0002-9594-5183

ABSTRACT

The Cyprus question is widely discussed in the diplomatic and academic circles since the Cold War era. During the Cold War years, the Cyprus question worried the Western Bloc due to the fact that the two NATO allies Turkey and Greece came face to face which may have been damaged the southern wing of NATO. In fact, the establishment of the Cyprus Republic with London and Zurich Treaties aimed to accomplish a solution different than Turkey's division of Cyprus and Greece's ENOSIS (Cyprus's integration with Greece) plans. However, it did not work and the Republic of Cyprus de facto ended with Greek Cypriot's attacked to the Turks in Christmas of 1963. After the Greece's backed military coup in Cyprus and overthrown of Makarious, Turkey conducted Cyprus Peace Operation to save Turks in the island in 1974. Turkey used its rights given by the Guarantee Agreements. All negotiations for the solution of the Cyprus question failed. Greek Administration of Southern Cyprus's application for the EU membership added the new parameter in the Cyprus issue. The Cyprus question continued in the post-Cold War era with the new parameters. The efforts to solve the question before the Cyprus's membership of the EU failed with the rejection of the Annan Plan from the Greek side in the referendum. As a result the Greek Administration of the Southern Cyprus became EU member and the Cyprus question remains unsolved. The developments in the international system also altered the parameters of the Cyprus question.

In this paper the Cyprus question will be analyzed in the light of international developments and the Cyprus question's interactions with international system will be evaluated discussing possible scenarios in the issue.

Keywords: Cyprus, Turkey, Greece, TRNC, Annan Plan, International System

ÖZ

Kıbrıs sorunu Soğuk Savaş döneminden beri hem diplomatik hem de akademik alanda yaygın olarak tartışılmaktadır. Soğuk Savaş döneminde iki NATO üyesi ülke olan Türkiye ve Yunanistan'ın karşı karşıya gelip çıkabilecek bir çatışma halinde NATO'nun güney kanadının zarar görmesi anlamında Batı'da endişeye yol açmıştır. Londra ve Zürih Antlaşmalarıyla kurulan Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti Türkiye'nin taksim ve Yunanistan'ın ENOSIS (adanın Yunanistan'ıla birleşmesi) düşüncesi dışında bir çözümü başarmayı amaçlamıştır. Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti adadaki Türklere yönelik 1963'te başlayan Kanlı Noel adı verilen saldırılarla fiilen sona erdi. Kıbrıs'ta Yunanistan destekli bir darbe ile Makaryos'un devrilmesinden sonra Türkiye Garanti Antlaşmasından kaynaklanan hakkını kullanarak 1974'te Kıbrıs Barış Harekâtını yaptı.

Gönderim Tarihi: 07.08.2020

Kabul Tarihi: 11.10.2020

^{*} Bu makale Bolu Abant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi, Bilimsel Araştırma Projeleri desteğiyle üretilmiştir. Proje No:2017.04.04.1215

Kıbrıs sorununa çözüm bulmak için yapılan müzakereler başarısızlıkla sonuçlandı. Güney Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi'nin AB üyelik başvurusu Kıbrıs sorununa yeni bir parametre ekledi. Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemde de Kıbrıs sorunu yeni parametrelerle devam etti. AB'nin Kıbrıs sorununu üyelikten önce çözme girişimi Annan Planı'nın referandumda Rum Kesimi tarafından reddedilmesiyle başarısızlıkla sonuçlandı. Uluslararası sistemdeki gelişmeler de Kıbrıs sorununda parametreleri değiştirdi.

Bu makalede Kıbrıs sorunu uluslararası gelişimeler ışığında analiz edilecek ve Kıbrıs sorununun uluslararası sistemle etkileşimi olası senaryolar üzerinden değerlendirilecektir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Kıbrıs, Annan Planı, Türkiye, Yunanistan, Uluslararası Sistem

1. Introduction

The Cyprus question has been continued from the Cold War era with different stages and it was affected from the changes of the international system and the Cyprus question also has an impact on international relations at least the relations among the countries to involved or interest in Cyprus. When the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from Cyprus started to be discussed, Greece wanted the island's unification with Greece, Turkey argued that the Cyprus has never been ruled by Greeks and its much closer to Turkey and if the United Kingdom leaves from the island, Cyprus should be unite with Turkey. Later Turkey supported the idea of division of Cyprus between Turkey and Greece. The establishment of the Cyprus Republic might be considered a kind of compromise of Turkish and Greek opinions about the future of the island. However, the idea did not bring the peace in Cyprus. Greek attacks towards Turks in the Christmas of 1963, which was called Bloody Christmas ended the possibility of living together in the same state. Turkey time to time wanted to intervene to protect the lives of the Turks. Turkey as a one of the guarantor states of Cyprus has a right and duty regarding the protection of the order in the island. Turkey used its rights after Greece organized the military coup in Cyprus to unite the island with Greece in 1974. Turkey's Cyprus Peace Operation saved Turks and brought peace in Cyprus.

The Cyprus question was an important issue for the Western allies during the Cold War era. The two NATO allies Turkey and Greece might have involved in conflict, which would seriously weaken the southern wing of NATO. Turkish Cypriots declared Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) in 1983. The first change of parameter in the Cyprus question was Southern Administration of Greek Cyprus (SAGC)'s application of the membership of the EU. Another important change was the systemic one. The end of the Cold War impacted on almost every subject in international politics. The Cyprus question was also affected from the end of the bipolar world. The EU gave green light for SAGC's membership process before the Cyprus guestion was solved. However, the EU leadership knew that if the Cyprus question has not been solved before the membership this would be a big problem. The Annan Plan was the last effort to solve the Cyprus question before the SAGC's membership. The plan was rejected with the referendum held on 24 April 2004. While the Turkish side said yes with 64 %, the Greek side said no for 76 %. The Greek side hoped for more compromise from the Turkish side since even if the Greek side said no, SAGC would be a member of the EU. However, the developments of the international system and relations among the parties of the Cyprus question did not evolve in a way that the Greek Cypriot's wanted.

In this article it is argued that the Cyprus question impacted on the relations among the parties of the conflict but also the Cyprus question has been affected from the developments of the international system. The endless negotiations failed and international community became tired of the Cyprus question. The peaceful atmosphere in the island makes many to think about

the two state solution as the most rational way about the future of Cyprus.

2. The Cyprus Question in the Cold War Era

When the Greeks of Cyprus acted to end the British rule in the island in order to unite Cyprus with Greece, Turks also have their organizations. EOKA, the terrorist organization, was founded for the aim of ENOSIS by the Greeks. EOKA attacked the British administration and terrorized not just Turks of the island, but also Greeks who are not cooperated with it. John Harding, the Governor of Cyprus, described EOKA as Right Wing, Fascist terrorist movement in Cyprus. (French, 2015: 5). Turks in Cyprus established organizations to protect their existence in Cyprus. Turkish Resistance Organization-TMT (Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı) was the most important organization to protect life and property of the Turks in Cyprus. Turkey first argued that if the British rule ends the island should be unite with Turkey, since Cyprus before the British rule belonged to the Ottoman Empire and Cyprus has never been ruled by Greeks in the history. Turkey later against the Greek idea of ENOSIS, supported the thesis of partition of Cyprus (Taksim). Continuing attacks towards Turks in Cyprus and difficulty of British establishment to provide security in the island worried Western allies due to the Cold War conditions. The formula for the Cyprus question came as the establishment of the Cyprus Republic with London and Zurich Agreements in 1959 and the Treaties of Alliance, Establishment and Guarantees in 1960. In this Republic, President would be a Greek and Vice President would be a Turk. Vice President has a veto power in foreign affairs, defence and security. Government officials, police and gendarmerie consisted of 70 % Greek Cypriots and 30 % Turkish Cypriots. The army would be consisted of 60 % Greek and 40 % Turkish Cypriots. (See Safty, 2011. Ertekün, 1984. Dodd, 1998). This so called solution did not satisfy EOKA and Makarious. The Turkish side was also suspicious about the intention of the Greeks since the idea of ENOSIS has been discussed among the Greek Cypriots. Makarious tried to take the Constitutional rights of Turks through 13 amendment of the Constitution. These amendments were unacceptable for the Turkish side since it proposed even to abandon the right of veto of the vice President. (Lindsay, 2011: 7-11). EOKA started attacked to the Turkish Cypriots. Attacks happened in 21-22 December 1963 called Bloody Christmas caused de facto separation of the two ethnic groups in Cyprus. Dr. Major Nihat İlhan's wife and his three children were killed by EOKA terrorist organization. Le Figaro on 25-26 January described the seen as "...I saw in a bathroom the bodies of a mother and three infant children murdered because their father was a Turkish officer...". The brutally of the massacre can be seen in the Museum of Barbarism in Nicosia. After that, the situation in Cyprus was worsened, Turkey warned that Turkish armed forces would intervene in order to save lives. So Bloody Christmas was a turning point in Cyprus. (For Bloody Christmas See Keser, 2013).

Turkey's intervention attempt to restore order in Cyprus and protect lives and properties of Turks faced objection from the US and the US President Johnson sent a letter to Turkish Prime Minister İnönü in 1964 and Johnson said that "in all candor that the United States cannot agree to the use of any United States supplied military equipment for a Turkish intervention in Cyprus under present circumstances." (Landau, 1974: 46). At that time Turkey did not intervene and temporarily situation became calm down in Cyprus. However, attacks against Turks continued. Later Greece sent more ammunition to support EOKA's violence for ENOSIS. In fact EOKA-B was established and controlled by Greece to reach ENOSIS through military means. Grivas went to Cyprus in 1971 and became the head of the terrorist organization EOKA-B. The differences of opinion were seen between Makarious and EOKA-B about the future of Cyprus and strategies

to reach the aim of ENOSIS. Military government in Greece and EOKA thought that Makarious is getting far away from ENOSIS and Greece's backed coup conducted to overthrown Makarious. This gave Turkey even more legitimacy to intervene as one of the guarantor states to protect order and save lives in Cyprus. Turkey conducted Cyprus Peace Operation in 1974. Turkey saved the existence of Turks in Cyprus with the operation. However, the US imposed arm embargo to Turkey on 5 February 1975. Turks in Cyprus declared the establishment of Turkish Cyprus Federal State on 13 February 1975. After that there were negotiations for the settlement of the dispute. However, these negotiations did not produce any result and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) was declared on 15 November 1983. (See Gözügüzelli, 2008: 85-89). Both sides could not reach an agreement about the main parameters of the settlement. While the Turkish side asked for bi-communal, bi-zonal federation with political equality, the Greek side wanted to have a control of the island rejecting the Turkish side's political equality.

During the Cold War era, for the West, the Cyprus question was important in terms of creating potential for conflict between the two NATO allies Turkey and Greece, which would seriously harm the southern wing of NATO. The negotiations in the last years of the Cold War conducted with the initiative of the US. It was failed in February 1990 and the UN Security Council accepted the resolution 649 on 12 March 1990 calling establishment of bi-communal and bi-zonal federation. (http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/649, 1990). The SAGC applied for the EU membership on 3 July 1990, which was added the new dimension in the Cyprus question just before the Cold War ends. The disintegration of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War changed the international system and also impacted on the Cyprus question.

3. The Cyprus Question after the Cold War

The end of the Cold War was the basic systemic change, which naturally impact on the Cyprus question. First of all with the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the end of bipolar world necessitated for the redefinition of the role of NATO. Therefore without a threat like the one from the Soviet Union during the Cold War era, southern wing of NATO would not be that crucial and the possibility of Turkey-Greece conflict because of Cyprus would be less concern of NATO. Regional conflicts and the role of regional powers increased with the end of the Cold War. Regarding the Cyprus question, the EU factor joined the discussion, particularly after the European Commission's positive answer to the SAGC's application for the membership in 1993. Despite the fact that Turkey and the TRNC objected the application of the SAGC for the EU on the grounds that SCGA does not represent the whole island and also it is against to the Treaties of Guarantee and 1960 Constitution of Cyprus, the membership process of the SAGC continued. However, the EU continued the process and wanted to have a solution of the Cyprus question before the membership process to be concluded. The main states of the EU especially Germany desired the enlargement of the EU towards Central and Eastern Europe. Greece blackmailed the EU if the membership process of SAGC does not go ahead, it would veto of the enlargement of the EU towards Central and Eastern Europe. The negotiations for the settlement of the Cyprus question were stuck and the EU leadership and the UN acted to find a solution. As a result the Annan Plan was prepared in 2002. (Kasım, 2005). The Annan Plan had been modifications through negotiations and the last version of the Plan was presented in Burgenstock, Switzerland and it was put on the referendum on 24 April 2004. The plan had 64.9 % Yes vote from the North and 75.8 % No vote from the South. Since the Greek side voted no, the Annan Plan was rejected and could not be implemented. According to the plan, Cyprus Republic would be composed of the two constituent states. The parliament of the state would have two chambers and each of them would be 48 members. Senate would be composed of equal number of Turkish and Greek Cypriots. The Chamber of Deputies would be composed of in proportion to persons holding constituent state citizenship status. However each constituent state provided that minimum of one-quarter of the seats. Besides the territorial adjustment in the favour of the South, the regulations about the station of the troops in Cyprus also may put the security of the Turks of Cyprus at risk. Because according to the plan although Greek and Turkish contingents permitted to stay, the plan said that "each contingent not to exceed 6,000 all ranks, until 2011; each contingent not to exceed 3,000 all ranks thereafter until 2018 or the European Union accession of Turkey, whichever is sooner; and the Greek contingent not to exceed 950 all ranks and the Turkish contingent not to exceed 650 all ranks thereafter, subject to three-yearly review with the objective of total withdrawal. (For the text of the plan see, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/bm-kapsamli-cozum-plani-_annan-plani_.tr.mfa).

To discuss Annan plan with detail is not in the scope of this article. However, it might be argued that from the territorial adjustments to the military protection and even the regulations about the property claims did not provide enough guarantees for the Turks of the island and these arrangements created potential for conflict between the both sides. The reason that the Greek side rejected the plan in the referendum was that the SAGC knew the fact that even if Annan Plan was rejected SAGC would be a member of the EU. Therefore SAGC thought that since Turkey also wanted to be a member of the EU, the Turkish side would have to compromise and they could get much better deal than the Annan Plan. Despite the fact that Annan Plan creates a lot of risks for the Turkish side regarding security and property issues, the Greek side became the one rejected the plan for the above mentioned reasons. The Turkish side did not get any benefit for supporting the plan despite a positive atmosphere created just after the Annan Plan referendum, which showing that the Turkish side wanted a deal and settlement of the Cyprus question. (Kasım, 2007: 64-67. See Kasım, 2017: 278-295).

4. The Cyprus Question in the post-Annan Era

The Greek side became a member of the EU despite the rejection of the Annan Plan in the referendum. This was also a failure for the EU since SAGC became a member without a settlement of the Cyprus question. The SAGC has no authority in the north and just one part of the divided island entered the EU, which is a problem for the EU administration. Although Turkey supported the Annan Plan, the EU asked Turkey to sign an adaptation declaration of the Ankara Agreement taking into account of the accession of the ten new member states. (https://www.ab.gov.tr/_300_en.html). This was a problem for Turkey since the SAGC became a member of the EU as a so called "Republic of Cyprus". Turkey does not recognize SAGC as the Republic of Cyprus and stated that the SAGC has no authority in the north. Turkey signed the Adaptation Protocol. However, Turkey published a Declaration in which clearly stated that the Republic of Cyprus referred to in the protocol is not the original partnership state established in 1960 and Turkey regards the Greek Cypriot authorities as exercising authority, control and jurisdiction only in the territory of the south of the buffer zone. The most importantly, in this declaration Turkey stated that its existing relationship with the TRNC remains unchanged. (http://www.mfa.gov.tr/declaration-by-turkey-on-cyprus_-29-july-2005.en.mfa).

Turkey did not get benefit for its efforts to find a settlement on Cyprus question on the basis of bi-zonal and bi-communal partnership. On the contrary, the Cyprus question has been put

as an obstacle in the accession negotiations with the EU. The EU's demand from Turkey to open its ports and airports for the SAGC's vehicles was unacceptable for Turkey, while isolations of TRNC continued despite Turkey's and TRNC's efforts for the settlement. (See Kasım, 2005: 259-273. Kasım and Eren Kasım, 2017: 560-564).

Developments in the international system especially in the post-Annan Plan era evolved in a way, which were against the expectations of the Greek Cypriots who rejected the Annan Plan. The SAGC hoped that the Greek side would get much better deal due to the fact that Turkey wanted the EU membership and would be ready to compromise for the settlement. International developments and regional relations created the atmosphere that impacted on the Cyprus question. In the Balkans, Montenegro became independent after the referendum in 2006. Kosovo declared independence in 2008 and after August 2008 conflict between Russia and Georgia, Abkhazia and South Ossetia's declaration of independence were recognized by Russia. However, the Kosovo case especially has similarities with the Cyprus example, which created the discussion that if Kosovo became independent and was recognized by many EU countries, why not the independence of the TRNC should be widely recognized and this might be the settlement of the Cyprus question. The two different ethnic, religious and cultural communities live in Cyprus. Turks and Greeks could not manage to live and rule Cyprus together. As we mentioned in this article, the Republic of Cyprus de-facto ended after 1963 and actual separation of the communities happened in 1974. The two communities in Cyprus have been living separately in their own states since then. In the case of Kosovo, there is also history of conflict between the two sides and armed struggled resulted NATO operation in 1999. After that Kosovo separated from Serbia and negotiations started for the settlement ended without success. Ahtisaari as a UN Special Envoy presented a plan to define the status of Kosovo, the plan called Compre-hensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement. (See http://www.unosek.org/docref/Comprehensive proposal-english, pdf). Kosovo declared its independence in February 2008. Kosovo was recognized by the EU countries except for five of them. This was an ethical dilemma for the EU since they do not recognize the TRNC, while recognizing Kosovo. International Court of Justice in its advisory opinion stated that Kosovo has special case not to be an example of Cyprus. This statement even reminded similarities of the both cases and might also be considered as de facto acknowledgement of this. (Kasım and Eren Kasım 2017: 565-570. For ICJ See Caplan, 2010). Russian President Putin is strongly against the independence of Kosovo argued that countries which recognized Kosovo why not to recognized the TRNC. (The Guardian, 15 February 2008).

The international developments impacted on the Cyprus question and the discussion about Cyprus question also affected relations among concerned parties of the dispute. First of all the SAGC became a member of the EU without a settlement in the Cyprus question. This was against the EU practice regarding membership. The EU asked candidate countries to solve territorial problems before the membership realized. However the SAGC has no control in the North besides undeniably there are two communities and the two administrations in Cyprus. The practice of the EU in Cyprus contradicted basic parameters of the EU's politics. Secondly, the Cyprus question also became more internationalize due to the developments in the international arena. The United Kingdom's leaving process from the EU, Brexit even impact on the Cyprus question and Cyprus became an issue on the discussion. The United Kingdom as one of the guarantor state of Cyprus has also two military stations in the island. The status of the civilians who live in the area of stations was particularly discussed. (Yiolitis, 2016). The energy resources around Cyprus also created interest of many countries. Since energy issue has been widely discussed

in the international arena and energy became a major topic in the current international system. Therefore it is worth dealing with energy dimension of the Cyprus question

5. Energy Dimension of the Cyprus Question

Although energy resources discovered around island considered the factor may catalyze the settlement, however, this issue became another divergent point between the Turks and Greeks of Cyprus. The SAGC's unilateral act of declaring Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) and giving license to companies for the extraction of the sources raised tension between the both sides. The SAGC's clamming of the zones overlapped Turkey and TRNC's EEZ. Turkey and TRNC decided to conduct search for resources. Besides Turkey and TRNC prevented entry to the zone's that they consider in their jurisdiction. In that way Turkey and TRNC showed that they would prevent attempts to violate their rights on the energy resources. It is obvious that transferring energy resources of Cyprus through Turkey would be the most rational way. It would be possible to benefit these energy resources only after the settlement of the Cyprus dispute. Therefore the Cyprus question created the new interest among the countries interested in energy sources. (Kasım, 2018: 17-186. Anadolu Agency, 30 October 2018. Energy and Natural Resources Ministry, 11 October 2016, Anadolu Agency, 13 February 2020).

Energy resources of Cyprus would be more valuable to consider the resources discovered in other Mediterranean countries. Natural gas reserves have been discovered Leviathan field, 620 bcm, Dalit 14 bcm, Tamar 280 bcm in Israel and, Zohr field in Egypt 800 bcm. (See Kasım, 2018). Greece and the SCGA tried to promote Eastern Mediterranean Natural Gas Pipeline to carry gas from Israel to Greece and Italy. The pipeline would be 1,900 km long with the capacity of 16 bcm. However, this pipeline would be long and costly. On the other hand a pipeline between Turkey and TRNC would be 80 km long and able to carry natural gas from Turkey to TRNC and also from Eastern Mediterranean to Turkey and to the European countries. This pipeline project between Turkey and TRNC would be cheaper and more efficient than Easter Mediterranean pipeline (See Sagsen, 2019). Turkey and TRNC objected the SCGA's unilateral declaration of EEZ and its act to extract resources surrounding the island, since Turks in Cyprus also co-ownership rights in these resources. In order to provide its energy security and protect its rights, Turkey signed agreement with Libya on the delimitation of maritime jurisdiction areas. As Prime Minister of the TRNC Ersin Tatar stated that "the Turkey-Libya deal adhered to the international law and was based on facts that gave birth to a fresh map in the region" (Anadolu Agency, 11 December 2019). Turkey gave clear messages that unilateral act of the SCGA is unacceptable and necessary measures would be implemented against it. In fact Turkey did not allow Saipem 12000 of ENI's ship to enter 3. Zone which is also claimed by Turkey and the TRNC (see Anadolu Agency, 20 February 2018. Kahveci, 2018).

The SCGA gave licenses to companies for extraction of resources and in order to give the impression that conducting extractions are save, the SCGA extending its military ties with France (The Cyprus Mail, 7 November 2017). In the current situation, the SCGA ignored the rights of the Turkish Cypriots and continued with unilateral exploration. As Olgun noted that "(This) would inevitably put the final nail in the coffin of the so-called partnership talks and prepare the ground for the legitimization of a two-state outcome" (Olgun, 2019).

6. Conclusion

The Cyprus question has been on the agenda of international politics since the Cold War years. After the failure of Cyprus Republic, the two sides have been living separately and negotiations continued for the settlement. The Cyprus question was a matter for the Western alliance during the Cold War since it posed a danger of conflict between the two NATO allies Turkey and Greece. After the Cold War, the parameters of the Cyprus question changed and also its impact on international relations. SAGC's EU membership process added the EU dimension of the Cyprus question. However, the EU dimension did not contribute for the settlement. The EU's guarantee for SCGA's membership resulted the failure of the Annan Plan and SAGC became a member of the EU without a settlement. This would impacted EU's position as well as other countries view about the Cyprus question. Later energy resources around Cyprus created more interest on Cyprus. However, Greek Cypriot policy of unilateral declaration of EEZ and division of Cyprus towards sectors for energy exploration made settlement even more difficult. The SAGC gave licenses for the companies which also more internationalized the issue and the SAGC followed a policy that aimed to make Turkey and the companies' origin countries came face to face in the region.

Failure of the negotiations reminded the fact that bi-zonal and bi-communal federation is too difficult since the Greek side does not agree with this. The Greek side also does not want to share power with the Turks and basically opposed the political equality of the two communities. Under these circumstances it would be unrealistic to expect both side reach an agreement on the federation and this may create the discussion about the two state solutions on Cyprus. Given the fact that developments in international relations are more convincing regarding the two state settlements in this type of issues as was seen in the case of Kosovo which is great similarities with the Cyprus case. As Olgun correctly stated that "A mutually and equally felt existential need to join forces and act together is the reason why multi-ethnic federal partnerships are established... These conditions do not exist in Cyprus, because with the acquiescence of the international community Greek Cypriots have come to believe that they are capable of doing everything on their own without needing Turkish Cypriots. These have made a federal partnership in Cyprus unfeasible and unrealistic." (Olgun, 5 December 2018). It should also be noted that TRNC considered a major step for reopening abandoned town Maras. (See Anadolu Agency, 7 June 2020). If this happens, it would be a one of the major event in the recent history of the Cyprus question.

The Cyprus question will be on the agenda of international politics since the island has strategic position in Eastern Mediterranean region. Since the difficulty of the settlement became more obvious, international community understands the fact that there are two communities and the two different states in the region. TRNC existed even without recognition.

Ethics Statement

No human studies are presented in this manuscript.

Author Contributions

The author confirms being the sole contributor of this work and has approved it for publication.

Conflict of Interest

The author declares that the research was conducted in the absence of any commercial or financial relationships that could be construed as a potential conflict of interest.

Bibliography

- CAPLAN, R. (2010). "ICT's Advisory Opinion on Kosovo", http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/PB55%20 The%20ICJs%20Advisory%20Opinion%20on%20Kosovo.pdf, 17 September.
- DODD, H. C. (1998). The Cyprus Imbroglio, Huntingdon: The Eothen Press.
- ERTEGÜN, N. (1984). The Cyprus Dispute and the Birth of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Nicosia: Rüstem and Brother.
- French, D. (2015). Fighting EOKA the British Counter-Insurgency Campaign on Cyprus, 1955-1959, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- GÖZÜGÜZELLI, E. (2008). Vurun "Kahpe" Kıbrıs'a, İstanbul: Togan Yayıncılık.
- KAHVECİ, H. (2018), "Güney Kıbrıs'ın Parselleri KKTC'nin Parselleriyle Çakışmaktadır.", https://www.gundemkibris.com/kibris/guney-kibris-parselleri-kktcnin-parselleri-ile-cakismaktadırh244188.html, 30 Mart.
- KASIM, K. (2018). "Kıbrıs Sorununda Enerji Boyutu", 2. Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Sempozyumu, Trabzon, 15-16 November 2018, pp. 170-186.
- KASIM, K. (2017). Uluslararası Sistemdeki Değişimlerin Kıbrıs Sorununa Etkisi, T. Arı ve Ç. Aydın Koyuncu içinde, IX. Uludağ Uluslararası İlişkiler Konferansı-Dünya politikasında Kriz ve Değişim (278-295), Bursa: Dora Yayınları.
- KASIM, K and EREN KASIM, E (2017). "Taiwan-Cyprus-Kosovo Cases: Differences and Similarities", Journal of Administrative Sciences/Yönetim Bilimleri Dergisi, 15 (30), 553-572.
- KASIM, K (2007). "Soğuk Savaş Dönemi Sonrası Kıbrıs Sorunu", Gazi Akademik Bakış, 1 (1), winter, 57-72.
- KASIM, K (2005), "Kıbrıs Sorunu ve Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliği'ne Üyelik Süreci", H. Arıkan and M. Kar içinde, Türkiye-Avrupa Birliği İlişkileri, Siyasal, Bölgesel ve Ekonomik Boyutlar, (259-273), Ankara: Seçkin Yayınları.
- KESER, U (2013). "Bloody Christmas of 1963 in Cyprus in the Light of American Documents", Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi, Journal of Modern Turkish History Studies, XIII/26, spring, 249-271.
- LANDAU, M. J. (1974). "Johnson's 1964 Letter to İnönü and the Greek Lobbying at the White House", Turkish Yearbook of International Relations, vol. 14, 45-58.
- LINDSAY, J-.K. (2011). The Cyprus Problem, What Everyone Needs to Know, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- OLGUN, M. E (2019). "Hydrocarbons to Determine Political Future of Cyprus: Op-ed", Hürriyet Daily News, http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/hydrocarbons-to-determine-political-future-of-cyprus-op-ed-147907, 25 October, (Accessed 30 December 2019).
- OLGUN, M. E (2018). "Analysis: Where to next in Cyprus?", Hürriyet Daily News, http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/analysis-where-to-next-in-cyprus-139441, 5 December, (Accessed 22 February 2019).
- SAFTY, A. (2011). The Cyprus Question, Diplomacy and International Law, Bloomington: I Universe.
- SAĞSEN, İ. (2019). "Turkey-TRNC Natural Gas Pipeline to Change Geopolitical Balance in Med", Anadolu Agency, https://www.aa.com.tr/en/analysis/turkey-trnc-natural-gas-pipeline-to-change-geopolitical-balance-in-emed/1684563, 26 December.
- YIOLITIS, E. (2016). "Back to base: what does Brexit mean for UK sovereign bases in Cyprus?", https://www.lexology.com/library/detail.aspx?g=aa35f06c-c8f6-402d-8d5c-40f2fdf96525, 30 September. (Accessed 27 January 2019).

Other sources

- Anadolu Ajansı (2020), "Reopening N. Cypriot Town to Gain Ground After Covid-19", 7 June (Accessed 20 July 2020).
- Anadolu Ajansı (2020), "KKTC Başbakanı Tatar Türkler Doğu Akdeniz'de Rumlar Kadar Hak Sahibidirler", 13 February (Accessed 20 February 2020).
- Anadolu Ajansı (2019), "Turkey-Libya Deal Adheres to International Law", 11 December. (Accessed 30 December 2019).
- Anadolu Ajansı (2018), "KKTC Ekonomi ve Enerji Bakanı Nami:Parsellerin Tamamında Kıbrıs Türk Halkının Payı Var", https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/kktc-ekonomi-ve-enerji-bakani-nami-parsellerin-tamaminda-kibris-turk-halkinin-hakki-var/1068223#, 20 Şubat. (Accessed 12 November 2019).
- Anadolu Ajansı, (2018). Milli Sondaj Gemisi Fatih Akdeniz'de İlk Sondajına Başlıyor, https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/gunun-basliklari/milli-sondaj-gemisi-fatih-akdenizde-ilk-sondajina-basliyor/1297748, 30 October. (Accessed 7 February 2019).
- Enerji ve Tabii kaynaklar Bakanlığı, "KKTC ve Türkiye Arasında Kapsamlı Enerji İşbirliği Anlaşması İmzalandı", http://www.enerji.gov.tr/tr-TR/Bakanlik-Haberleri/Turkiye-Ve-KKTC-Arasında-Kapsamli-Enerji-Isbirligi-Anlasmasi-Imzalandi, 11 October 2016. (Accessed 18 February 2018).
- The Cyprus Mail (2017), "Cyprus-France Seen Upping Defence Ties", https://cyprus-mail.com/2017/11/07/cyprus-france-seen-upping-defence-ties/, 7 November.
- UN Security Council Resolution, (1990). http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/649, 12 March. (Accessed 7 February 2019).
- "Declaration by Turkey on Cyprus", Republic of Turkey, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/declaration-by-turkey-on-cyprus_-29-july-2005.en.mfa, 29 July 2005. (Accessed 22 January 2019).
- Text of the Annan Plan, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/bm-kapsamli-cozum-plani_annan-plani_tr.mfa, (Accessed 10 January 2019).
- "Kosovo Breakaway Illegal Says Putin", The Guardian, https://www.theguardian.com/ world/2008/feb/15/russia.kosovo, 15 February 2008. (Accessed 7 January 2019).