POWER POLITICS AND CYPRUS

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Cyprus lies on an axis of movement, both north-south and east-west. It stands at the crossroads of three continents, Europe, Asia and Africa. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that throughout history the major powers in the region have taken an interest in controlling and settling the island. Its strategic position has always ensured that Cyprus has played a key role in history, but it has also resulted in the island becoming a victim of others' power politics. Our main target is to forecast and evaluate the future conditions where Cyprus is being drawn and then presenting the clues for the road map with his already casted roles. In this paper, we will try to reveal the probable scenarios about Cyprus'strategic importance, over anticipated trends and relationships of future times.

STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF CYPRUS AND ROLES

From global and regional perspective Cyprus represents a geo-strategic mass center. The power controlling this mass center would lead to the achievement of great geo-strategic advantages and geostrategic expansion. Cyprus which lies between the gulfs that separate Asia from Europe and the Suez Canal, and that divides Africa, has an opportunity to Caspian basin catchments, waterways of Aden and Hurmuz, could also be perfect air and marine military base (Henn, 2007: 4). Keeping Cyprus under control would ease strategic expansion from Europe to Asia and Africa. Cyprus occupies a position from which it can control energy resources of Persian Gulf and Caspian basin catchments. It would be possible to control these resources with the help of air forces placed on island. Air forces can be used to control tankers carrying oil from Russia and Caspian catchments basin to the world market, the task can be brilliantly accomplished through airbases that will take place on Cyprus (Uslu, 2004: 17).

When the oil and gas reserves, appeared in the Caspian Sea after 1990 is taken into consideration, Eastern Mediterranean and Cyprus should be regarded as an important transit route for the import and export issues related with that region. In other words, Eastern Mediterranean and Cyprus have the ability of controlling energy centers and pipelines connected with those centers. Besides, Eastern Mediterranean and Cyprus is one of the most significant geographies which can supervise sea trade running over Suez and Black Sea. Moreover, water centers and water transportation routes, to be proposed for solving water contraversy in the Middle East Region in the future, will also be on area which Cyprus could easily control. Last, Cyprus also represents importance for the control of the small rouge states and terrorist groups surrounding Eastern Mediterranean. To sum up, those functions of Cyprus have direct impact on regional stability and an indirect impact on global stability.

POWER CENTERS AND CYPRUS

Cyprus has a huge geostrategic potential for countries with global ambitions like USA. The power on Cyprus can transform island into a military base and expand from Balkans to Persian Gulf, Caucasian and Middle East. This is more or less how the plan of the USA looks like. If US succeed in placing its military troops to Poland, Romania, Bulgaria and Cyprus, it will limit geo-strategic expansion of Russia to Eastern Europe, south of Turkish Gulfs and Caucasia. USA is one of the countries that has a great interest in Cyprus, and who wants to get control over energy resources and transportation lines, which results in achieving global control over world economy and total dominance. Power that has global ambitions has not dismissed Cyprus from its target list, the island that is able to control Middle East, Persian Gulf, Caucasian, Balkan, Eastern (Sayın, 2008; 55). Strategical roles for Cyprus in regard to projects to broaden the influence of power centers is outlined in the Table 1.

Table 1: Strategic Roles For Cyprus

Roles	**Scope**
Control of Movements (Between the Caspian region to Aden, Hurmuz, Africa, and Europe through Mediterrannean)	- Transportation Routes (Air/Sea/Pipeline) - Energy lines including Baku-Tblisi-Ceyhan - Water ways
Strategic Expansion (Including Balkans, Black Sea, Casucasus, Aegean Sea, Middle East, Suez Canal, Persian Gulf, North Africa)	- Geostrategic mass center - Supervise and develope international trade - Promising new energy resources (to be explored around it) - Cultural crossroad for soft-power purposes
Securitization (Back to power politics and post-modern security matters)	- Military base/power projection for regional stability including peace keeping and humanitarian aids - Soft power knot for post-modern security - Control tower providing sea/air superiority in East Mediterranean reagion - Pad for long range weapon systems - Guard to energy lines, terorist activities, smuggling, and illegal migration

The security of Mediterranean Sea cannot be obtained without Cyprus, while it is also a key for the security of Middle East and Europe. Geostrategic axis, comprising Malta-Crete-Cyprus islands which cover an important region of Mediterranean, "promise" safety of Europe from south and Africa's security from North (Sayın, 58). The fact that Cyprus lies on an oil line extended from Persian Gulf to Europe makes it rather important for the safety purposes of the pipeline. If this pipeline becomes nonfunctional, then Europe will have to import oil from South

Africa. Cyprus has a chance to get a high status in the perspective of global and continental energy security, because of its ability to hold the control over already functioning and planned pipelines transporting oil from Caspian basin catchments and Persian Gulf to Mediterranean Sea. EU needs to impact on Eastern Mediterranean and Cyprus. Because it is necessary in order to control the energy centers. It gives important advantage to the EU.

Largely industrilized EU provide 80% of its oil need from the Middle East, and this proportion is mostly carried to Europe through Mediterranean. Therefore the EU has been trying to establish sea superiority in Mediterranean and Aegean Sea. EU has involved itself for full membership of Cyprus in order to control strategic units in the Eastern Mediterranean (Alemdar, 2009). In addition to that, East Mediterranean and Cyprus, which could supervise crucial trade routes and energy centers, directly provide political advantages for the actor having word on East Mediterranean and Cyprus. Safety of European energy is totally depends on the security of the energy traffic at this region.

The basic interest of Russia in Middle East and Eastern Mediterranean is to ensure a broad influence as possible as in the area gaining importance on account of either its oil richness or strategic position. Cyprus plays a guard role for Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline, Ceyhan terminal and Suez Canal, which is the main point for petroleum that go to the Mediterranean Sea. Both Tartus and Latakia in Syria are significant for both Syria and Russia in that they face the outlet of the Ceyhan end—the receiving end—of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil terminal giving Russia and its partners the ability to disrupt or secure the port and route during the possibility of the eruption of any future war(s) with the United States (Nazemroaya, 2006; 1). The island must be under the control of Russian–sided government instead of Western or at least, should stay independent and nonaligned. Russia sees the Cyprus as NATO base and therefore prefers the island as independent. In that term, tendency of politicial power in the Greece becomes the determiner for Russian policy on Cyprus.

Geostrategic importance of Cyprus for Turkey is vital Turkish security and defense concerns in many ways. Cyprus, is only 65 km from Turkey, has importance for Turkey geographically. Turkish coasts completely surround Eastern Mediterranean from the Northern part. Then Cyprus has same advantages for Turkey to the control of Eastern Mediterranean. Cyprus is also the key point for Turkish Sea Strategy (HAK, 1995; 72-75). The island controls Turkey's harbors such as Mersin, as well as Syria's and Israel's. It also ensures unsinkable missile launching pad and control tower on air and sea routes in Eastern Mediterranean including Turkish southern waters. It also provides security of oil traffic from Middle East. Turkey fears that Cyprus would be used as a "springboard" for the invasion of Turkey from the South.

Cyprus has a dual strategic importance for Greece. In addition to historical ambitions connecting island to homeland in Enosis at the backside, Athens sees Greek influence over the Cyprus as adding to Greece's geostrategic importance in

practice (Dize, 2002; 41). This, in turn, is expected to make Greece even more important in the eyes of its EU and NATO partners, which consider Cyprus as being situated at a traditional cultural crossroads and therefore as a bridge between Europe and Middle East. Moreover, this would further increase the geostrategic value of Greece in relation to that of Turkey, to which the United States currently pays significant attention. Another strategic value for Greece is that the island not only is situated closely to the Turkish mainland, but also in Turkey's so called 'soft belly'. This would create a significant degreee of insecurity to Turkey especially if medium- and/or long-range weapons systems were to be installed on the island and a strong Navy was to be deployed in the area.

SCENARIOS FOR CYPRUS IN TERMS OF GLOBAL POWER RELATIONS

Based on Cyprus' strategic significance and his related benefits, it is very probable building up several scenarios considering the global power competetions and their applied systematics. Nevertheless, none of these scenarios have the chance to come true in near future, as it is very up and trendy that deadlock is presenting itself as the only working solution for such a long time. Considering the global powers as USA EU, and the regional players like Turkey and Greece, we can still focus on three main scenario analysis (Table 2 provides an outline). Although these are listed below in order of precedence, it is still probable that of any one of them taking place while the previous one is still not likely to happen.

- EU membership of a united Cyprus under the dominance of Greek Cypriot Authority.
- A rather loose confederation structure under US guarantor rights (maybe using NATO farmework)
- Division of the island and international recognition of North Cyprus Turkish Republic as a result of the deadlock.

Cyprus Scenario 1; A Unifed Cyrprus as EU Member

If a newer version of Annan Plan, which is placating Greek Cypriots and diluting Turkey's rights to guarantee, is committed by counter parties, there will emerge a Greek Cypriot dominated government structure. Greek Cypriots would diffuse to whole island and get him under control physically within a short period just like the quid pro quo's (compromises) they achieved in the cases like, land and internally displaced people. While Turkey will be remained to be kept outside EU, and with some more impositions and tricks on EU, Greek Cypriots will control the support aids coming from EU to Cyprus for not to let them reach Turkish region and to force the pace of Turkish side's pine away. As a result, the rights of Turkish Cypriots and Turkish Governments guarantee will remain unfulfilled on paper.

It is mostly probable that a picture come in view where EU improves its strategic perspective and starts competing with Turkey, US and some countries over the Levant to regional geographies. Cyprus is offering to EU some essential strategic opportunities not only over the region but also by means of a global visionary

perspective. The inclusion of Cyprus to EU will add an important value to EU's strategic vision and its projection of power management strategies. Wherewithal EU wants Cyprus as a whole and where Turkish side is dissoluble under Greek Cypriot dominance. We face the same damaging attitude like a tacit politics which is being applied to other Islamic populated European countries. At the same time, they demand on Turkish government support to this united Cyprus project while leaving out the Turkey's EU membership matter, out of the plan, trying to kill two birds with one stone in other words. EU will get rid of being the object of Turkish side of Cyprus and Turkey, and by doing so, it will give rise to the protectionism of Christian - Rome culture which lies in deep heart of EU.

The EU membership of a united Cyprus brings along some other threats which slipped from Greek's notice also. The changes, in its traffic and in demographics of its population may drag along the island to new journeys, he may get less recognized and more cosmopolitan whereas EU starts to follow different perspectives on three different continents under its global restructuring policy. The power rivalry for Cyprus would be much more apparent when EU would start to apply its main politics by all means, to be more specific, when the three front runner countries, England, Germany and France will hold the reins. This rivalry will turn the island into not only the military base of near geographies payoffs but also the object of them. Moreover, under these circumstances Cyprus would have to take US requests as for granted. The main tragedy will be observing the Greek Cypriots being dissolved with the immigrations and changes coming from Europe while they're trying to dissolve Turkish Cypriots in the same time.

Shortly, a EU member united Cyprus will be an assimilation pot for both Greek and Turkish Cypriots while Turkish affluence in the island will be firstly assimilated and transmigrated predominantly by Greek side first. And Turkey, left out of EU, will lose also its geographical, political and social chance over Cyprus forever. Turkey will have to watch and bear the negative reflections of the big powers fait accompli and rivalry in the territory. When military, economic and energy wise opportunities around the island are brought to agenda, Turkey will be left out and this will force Turkey to face it out with EU directly. Cyprus will be counted as EU's land and Greece will have the chance to leave Turkey across EU for the concerns related. As a result, a EU member united Cyprus scenario must never be approved by Turkey without clearing away the disadvantages of this plan. The respects are as follows;

- Non approval of every new permanent structure before the full membership of Turkey to EU.
- No compensation from the active guarantor status of Turkey
- For unified solution, support a model where two separate governments having strong administration structures coming together under a loose confederation.

- Speed up the studies to increase Turkey's exclusive economic zones around the island by taking into consideration the possible arrangements that may come up in future.

The strategic importance of the Turkish port of Ceyhan-situated about 70 km from the northern tip of Cyprus is increase over the coming years as northern Iraqi oil flows out on the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline and the ambitious BTC pipeline comes on stream. The US already has a base close to the port, in Turkey's Incirlik air base. The island "could become an offshore financial and services centre" for US corporations. Arab fears that Cyprus will become a US protectorate have been heightened by Washington's moves to redeploy its military forces in Germany to bases further east (Katsinaris, 2004; 1). There are very high stakes for the US, not least of which are the oiland gas resources of the Persian Gulf, Central Asia and North Africa, an expanding military presence throughout the Caucasus and the ambitious Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) oil pipeline.

Because using the Island as a logistics base would allow the Pentagon more flexibility in planning its interventions in the Middle East and give it firmer control over the oil-rich regions of the Middle East, North Africa and the Caspian Sea. A US base on Cyprus would increase US "emergency intervention capacities" in the Caucasus, Middle East and Central Asia and boost Washington's pre-emptive strike capacity, as well as guaranteeing it a "security belt" in the area. Cyprus's southern extremity is just 200 kilometres from the Suez Canal. The strategic planning department of the US European Forces Command considers Cyprus a "strategically important place" because of its proximity to the oil fields of the Middle East, the Caucasus and Africa, as well as for the security of the BTC oil corridor.

Table 4: Cyprus Scenarios

Scenarios	Complications	Winners	Muddy	Losers
Unified Cyprus in EU (Assimilation game)	* Greek Cypriot assimilation in short term * Long term assimilation of both sides in EU * Tool for EU power politics (Europanization) * No gain for Turks	EU	Greek Cypriots Greece US	Turkish Cypriots Turkey Russia
US Guarantorship for a Condefederal Cyprus (Melting Pot)	* Governments under American supervision * American dependency and reactions * Tool for US power politics (Americanization) * Heavy military concentration including NATO presence	US	Greek Cypriots Greece Turkish Cypriots Turkey	EU Russia

Divided Cyprus (Keep your way)	* Two federal states with certain boundaries * Independent and sovereign governments in coordination for shared interests * Long term stability and lasting peace * No foreign intervention	Greek Cypriots Greece Turkish Cypriots Turkey	EU US Russia	-

Cyprus Scenario 2; Cyprus Under US Guarantorship.

Washington studied for the possibility of "sending a military force to Cyprus, in the form of a peacekeeping force" (Athanasiadis, 2004: 1) "US officials have already proposed this to the TRNC, stressing the island's strategic importance for the superpower's geopolitical interests", wrote Daily Times diplomatic correspondent. Cyprus would be turned into an "international mandate country" serving the interests of the US and its British ally. NATO is particularly interested in getting access to the Gecitkale airport in the north of the island. This scenario may be applied under the circumstances if EU cannot reach a solution at its own will. As per modus operandi, US may suggest not only keeping an army on the island but also a guarantor role in the NATO as well.

As a result of such a model it will be much easier to protect Turkish identity and existence on the island whereas the governments keep their strong positioning in a rather loose federated structure. Turkey, unfortunately will remain to stay out of EU, but will not have to face the problems directly against EU about security, economics, energy and other topics related to the island. While US is strenghtening its position and efficiency in the Levant a discomfort may occur in neighbour geographies, ignoring Turkey's benefits. The significant role of US will increase in solving the problems between Greece and Turkey and the guarantorship of US in the island will not be similar to role Turkey has performed, and when the relationship of these two countries are collapsed, ipso facto, it will lose its meaning. Moreover, Turkish Republic of northern Cyprus economy will remain dependant on Turkey.

US guarantee rights must not bring any limitations to Turkey or shoudn't tie up its rights derived from international agreements and pacts to avoid such disadvantages. The studies to increase Turkey's exclusive economic zones around the island should be accelerated too. On the other side, the existence of US and its hegemonic expectations on the territory will draw the hostile reactions of Middle East countries initially and other near geographies following them and Cyprus will become a target. The Europenization will be replaced by Americanization, and this will trigger the instability and tendency to rebel towards foreign power elites.

Cyprus Scenario 3; Division of Island.

The division of the island can be considered if and only if the above scenarios with US and EU might not work or realized, and it becomes a shared world public

opinion that there is no probable solution out coming from the meetings of counterparties. This may happen, while Greek Cypriots are persisting to reject the probable solutions for pushing more compromises same as during Annan Plan, and Turkey is deciding to go in his own way very precisely. Eventually, these two governments who are already incompatible for living together will be left to their own wills. A final settlement like this will protect the rights of Turkish existence on the island and the ambiguity would disappear. Two governments which are trapped in a small island would have to collaborate in many areas even if they don't want to, and confederate consciousness will be implemented actually in coming times.

Turkey will remain keeping the competitive edge to follow up some independent policies oriented in future with the division of the island and also Turkish austerity would be able to kept unknown mainly for military and some other areas. Hence Turkish Republic of northern Cyprus will be more and more dependant on Turkey's support to be recognized worldwide and develop economically. If this recognition doesn't take place, Turkish Republic of northern Cyprus may choose to merge with Turkey. Naturally, the lobbying activities of Greek Cypriots and Greeks over US and EU will remain increasingly. This may end up in United Nations' Security Council's drafting some sanctions and joint resolutions against Turkey, if United Nations, USA and Russia would take sides with EU with the reactions of Greek to Turkey. However, Turkey has enough power and opportunities to suffer from the those reactions. Another negative time frame may and will start between Turkey and EU and the membership process most strongly would fell through. This shouldn't be considered as a big loss as EU has never been sincere in accepting Turkey as a member.

It will be best time to come up with the division of island solution, when Greek Cypriots are displaying an utmost uncompromising attitude about the matter. Until this, it is essential to impress the international public opinion with strong arguments and get them used to with the idea. The steps along must be taken by Turkey and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus together. The acceptance of big powers about the recognition, like US should be prearranged and ally countries are better to get used with the new structure plan. Cooperation with Israel/Jewish Lobby will be very useful to reduce the repulse from US and England, and allying with them and other influential countries. A multi-purposed action plan has to be prepared for serial betterment in Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, just in case such a division may come alive.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the geostrategic importance of the Cyprus has not declined over the years, and could even be argued to have increased. Its strategic position has always ensured that Cyprus has played a key role in history, but it has also resulted in the island becoming a victim of others' power politics. Taking account the future power relations, we have envisaged three scenarios for future Cyprus; (1) An unified Cyprus with the domination of Cypriot Greek side in EU, (2) A confederal Cyprus

with two strong federal states under the U.S. guarantee, and (3) Division of Island. Hegemonic power centers will not bring a lasting peace for Cyprus and they can harm the both local sides in Cyprus in a long term. For that reason, governments in Cyprus should develop their own ways to struggle with any hegemonic polar to maintain and ensure their survivability. The best solution would be a kind of division by maintaining their own and strong federal state in the farmework of a loose confederal structure. However, if reunified, Turkey would need a guarantee that strategic things would not be lost.

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