

The Role and Effectiveness of United Nations Peacekeeping Mission in the Cyprus Island

Birleşmiş Milletler'in Kıbrıs Adasındaki
Barış Koruma Görevi ve Etkinliği

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Abstract

The UN continues its peacekeeping mission in the Cyprus Island since 1964. The role and effectiveness of this mission inspires interest for further research. The rationale and the importance of this research lie on the requirement to study the organization, roles, and effectiveness of UN in carrying out its mandate in the island. This research can make a significant contribution to the literature as it addresses a substantial topic in the field. The specific aims of this research are to analyze the roles and organization of this mission and to draw conclusion on whether it has been effective in carrying out its mandate. A qualitative research method and a case study design have been followed in this research. It has been concluded that UN has been quite successful in normalization, and partially successful in maintaining peace and order, but has failed in preventing conflicts between communities from 1964 to 1974.

Keywords: UNFICYP, Peacekeeping, Cyprus Issue, Cyprus Talks, Blue Helmets.

Öz

BM, Kıbrıs Adası'ndaki barışı koruma misyonunu 1964'ten beri sürdürmektedir. Bu misyonun rolü ve etkinliği üzerine daha fazla araştırma yapılması ilgi uyandıran bir konu olmuştur. Bu araştırmanın gerekçesi ve önemi, BM'nin adadaki görevini yerine getirme konusundaki rolünü ve etkinliğini inceleme gerekliliğinden kaynaklanmaktadır. Araştırma, alandaki mühim bir

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Geliş Tarihi/Received: 26.02.2018

Kabul Tarihi/Accepted: 30.04.2018

konuyu ele aldığı için literatüre önemli bir katkı sağlayabilir. Bu araştırmanın belirgin amacı, misyonun rolünü ve örgütlenmesini analiz etmek ve görevini yerine getirme konusunda etkili olup olmadığına ilişkin çıkarımda bulunmaktır. Konu incelenirken nitel araştırma yöntemi ve olay incelemesi metodu takip edilmiştir. Araştırmanın sonunda; BM'nin barış ve düzeni sürdürmede kısmen, normalleşme konusunda oldukça başarılı, 1964'ten 1974'e kadar toplumlar arasındaki çatışmaların önlenmesi konusunda ise başarısız olduğu sonucuna ulaşılmıştır.

***Anahtar Kelimeler:** BM Barış Gücü, Barışı Koruma, Kıbrıs Meselesi, Kıbrıs Müzakereleri, Mavi Başlıklılar.*

Introduction: An Overview on the Cyprus Issue, its Interaction with International Affairs and Research Problem

Cyprus issue has remained on the agenda of international affairs since April 1955 when the Greek Cypriot ultra-nationalist EOKA organization (Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston-National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters) first attacked the British rulers, moderate Greek Cypriot citizens (which were condemned by ultra-nationalist as "collaborators"), and Turkish Cypriot citizens. After a short period of non-conflict between 1960 and 1964, the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) began its peacekeeping mission in the island and since then has been carrying out its mandate determined by United Nations Security Council (UNSC). It is the longest UN peacekeeping operation, which is still standing. The role of UNFICYP and its effectiveness on maintaining peace and order in the island have been a hot topic for researchers and international affairs experts. Some scholars have evaluated the roles of UN peacekeepers, including UNFICYP, as "vital" for international politics.¹ With the strategic location of the Island of Cyprus in the Eastern Mediterranean, ongoing negotiations, and recent political, economic, and military developments in the region, this debate and

¹ Anthony Verrier, *A International Peace-Keeping: United Nations Forces in a Troubled World*, New York, Penguin Books, 1981, pp. 17-22.

academic inquiries continue on the topic. Scientifically, this interaction and complex relations provide interesting points for researchers to study it in holistic approach. Foreign policy makers, observers, international relations experts, academicians, and security analysts work on this issue for the purpose of reaching reasonable and scientific conclusions. In this context, the main research question of this paper could be conceptualized as: “What are the main considerations about UN’s peace mission role and its effectiveness in the Island of Cyprus?” The general purpose of this paper is to study the roles and responsibilities of UNFICYP, and assess its effectiveness in maintaining peace and order in the island in the light of recent developments in the region.

A thorough literature review about the Island of Cyprus, UNFICYP, and the Eastern Mediterranean has been carried out with a systematic data collection method. The concept of insiderness certainly contributed to the reliability and validity of this research, since this concept is widely used in social research, referring to the degree to which a researcher has access to and an understanding of the situation about a case, as regards the researcher living and working in the mentioned environment. In this context, naturalistic observation of the experts of regional affairs and the people who have observed the events in natural settings without experimental manipulation or other forms of interference has been also utilized as far as they have been related with the research problem. The utmost importance has been given to the objectivity and reliability of the primary sources by recognizing the complexity and sensitivity of the topic studied. This research touches hot discussion points of the topic and provides novelty to the scientific field from the school of realistic approach in international relations.

The research design establishes the decision-making processes, conceptual structure of study, and methods of data collection and analysis used to address the central research problem of the study.²

² University of Southern California Libraries, Research Guides, <http://libguides.usc.edu/writingguide/designflaws>, (Access Date: 27.01.2018).

A well-designed theoretical framework could help to represent the conceptual foundation of the aimed results of the study. In the same context, a consistent theory specification provides theoretical insight and conceptual framework. Research design provides the framework for the generation and analysis of data according to the priorities set by researcher.³ In theoretical/analytical framework, the specific methods, and the ways, in which the research is structured, should be laid out. There are five major types of research design in research methods of politics: experimental, cross-sectional, longitudinal, case study and comparative design,⁴ although there are some other categorizations up to 15 methods.⁵ Case study is a very popular research design and enables the researcher to focus on a single case in depth, perhaps over an extended period of time.⁶ This design is a preferable one in order to study a topic in holistic approach from every perspective. Foreign policy analysis, being a systematic study of the nature, rationale, impact, effectiveness, implications of alternative policies by using the methodologies of relevant social science disciplines, could contribute to the studying of all relevant aspects of the research question in this study.

In order to study the case in a comprehensive approach, a smooth study plan has been followed in this research. In the first part, an overview on the Cyprus Issue, its interaction with international affairs, and research problem have been presented as an introduction in the context as the academic basis. In the second part, the establishment of UNFICYP and its legal basis has been explained. It is essential to study this chapter thoroughly in order to comprehend the historical background and legal basis of UNFICYP. In the third part, the organization of UNFICYP has been studied. The overall political and military capability and restrictions of UNFICYP should be clarified in order to push forward

³ Alan Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 12-20.

⁴ Peter Burnham et.al., *Research Methods in Politics*, Palgrave, 2008, pp. 55-68.

⁵ University of Southern California Libraries, Research Guides, <http://libguides.usc.edu/writingguide/researchdesigns>, (Access Date: 24.02.2018).

⁶ Peter Burnham, *Ibid*.

the research topic. In the fourth part, the effectiveness of UNFICYP in maintaining peace and order has been analyzed. This part constitutes the bulk of the research and provides assessment and considerations about its promotion to peace and order. In the last part, conclusion and suggestions have been listed. After analyzing the effects and making assessments, the interpretations, results and reasonable suggestions have been shared with the reader at the end of the research.

1. The Establishment of UNFICYP and its Legal Basis

With 1959 and 60 agreements, the Republic of Cyprus, Greece, Turkey, and the United Kingdom agreed on a treaty to guarantee the political acquisitions of the constitution, the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus. After the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960, Greek Cypriot Leadership pursued all chances to amend constitution which had given equal administrative rights to Turkish Cypriot Community. After the unilateral constitution amendment effort by Greek Cypriot Leadership in 1963 in order to deprive Turkish Cypriot Community of basic legal rights and “the Bloody Christmas” incidents again in 1963, during which 364 Turkish Cypriot were massacred⁷, including the wife and three kids of a Turkish officer, UNSC took a decision (UNSC Resolution 186⁸) to create and deploy peacekeeping forces in the island.

Due to the outbreak inter-communal violence at the island of Cyprus, on 4 March 1964, the UNSC unanimously adopted its Resolution 186 to establish an international force to reestablish the peace at island. The Eastern Mediterranean Island-Republic, which had proclaimed independence and been established in 1960, was in a state of real conflict and even on the verge of civil war, as clashes broke out and intensified between Greek and Turkish communities. The first units of

⁷ Zaim M. Nedjatigil, *The Cyprus Conflict - A Lawyer's View*, Tezel Offset And Printing, KKTC, 1982, pp. 17-18; Pierre Oberling, *The Road to Bellapais: The Turkish Cypriot Exodus to Northern Cyprus*, Social Science Monographs, 1982, p. 120.

⁸ UN Resolution 186, [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/186\(1964\)](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/186(1964)), (Access Date: 25.01.2018.)

UNFICYP arrived on the island on 27 March 1964. This peacekeeping initiative of UNFICYP has been defined as the beginning of a new episode in the checkered history of international peacekeeping forces.⁹ The function of UNFICYP was defined by UNSC resolution as “...in the interest of preserving international peace and security, to use its best efforts to prevent a recurrence of fighting and, as necessary, to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order and a return to normal conditions.”¹⁰

Although the core disputes between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots has remained mainly unresolved, UNFICYP has made impressive progress in its primary task of preventing the inter-communal war. UNFICYP, moreover, has also made a substantial contribution in maintaining peace and security and normalization of conditions between communities. In at least these respects, the then Secretary-General has defined UNFICYP a “successful” peacekeeping operation.¹¹ Although the UN has taken this measure, Turkey felt alone in international arena in her effort to solve the Cyprus issue. In addition, violence, atrocity, massacres, and inhuman treatment of Turkish Cypriot community continued, despite UNFICYP’s presence in the island.

In the framework of continuous assessment of the mission, UNFICYP prepares a draft report at every six months and convey it UN Center for further evaluation and process. At the final stage, United Nations Secretary-General (UNSG) issues this report to the UNSC for additional discussion about the actual situation in the island and makes recommendations for the mission. Normally, the UNSG proposes the extension of mission for another six months. In the early period, this report has been prepared on three-months bases, as this

⁹ Charles C. Moskos, “Conflict in a peacekeeping organization: UNFICYP”, *Επιθεώρηση Κοινωνικών Ερευνών*, 1971, 7(7-8), pp. 53-62, <http://dx.doi.org/10.12681/grsr.543>, (Access Date: 21.04.2018).

¹⁰ UNSC Resolution 186, [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/186\(1964\)](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/186(1964)), (Access Date: 13.02.2018).

¹¹ United Nations Document, S /7350, June 10, 1966, paragraph 172.

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mission was considered to have not continued so long. Since the establishment, the mission has been extended 13 times on three-month basis and 98 times on semi-annual basis. This report discusses every issues, ranging from funding to human resources, from gender policy to disciplinary acts. However, it mainly forms the basis for the discussions in the UNSC Resolution. UNSG might also issues separate reports to the UNSC, when Good Offices Mission is actively involved in negotiations while seeking an end to the Cyprus issue.

The reports about the status of the Cyprus conflict and UNFICYP have been prepared on every July and January by the UNSG to the UNSC. The UNSC has consistently renewed the mandate. Subsequent semi-annual resolutions passed by the UNSC have extended the mission of UNFICYP in the island. The UN officially asks Greek Cypriot Administration (GCA), which is recognized in international arena as the official representative of “Republic of Cyprus” dated 1960, for its opinion about the prevailing conditions on the island and whether it is necessary to keep UNFICYP on the mission. Generally GCA agrees on extension for the mission. For the last reporting period, UNSC expressed its full support for UNFICYP and decided to extend its mandate for a further period ending 31 July 2017 with the most recently Resolution 2338 (2017).¹² It is almost certain that the mission will be extended in next reporting period as core mandates are not fully fulfilled and the necessary conditions were not reached in the island. The most current report has been submitted in accordance with UNSC Resolution 2369 (2017).¹³ The UNSC requested a strategic review of UNFICYP in this report with a view to focusing on how UNFICYP should be optimally configured to implement its existing mandate, based exclusive assessment of the impact of UNFICYP activities. At the end of this final report and review, it has been recommended that deterrent role of UNFICYP would be maintained for some time. These reporting and assessment

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¹² https://unficy.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/unscr_2338.pdf, (Access Date: 19.02.2018).

¹³ <http://undocs.org/S/2017/1008>, (Access Date: 19.04.2018).

processes and following continuous resolutions of the UNSC constitute the legal basis of UNFICYP mission in the island.

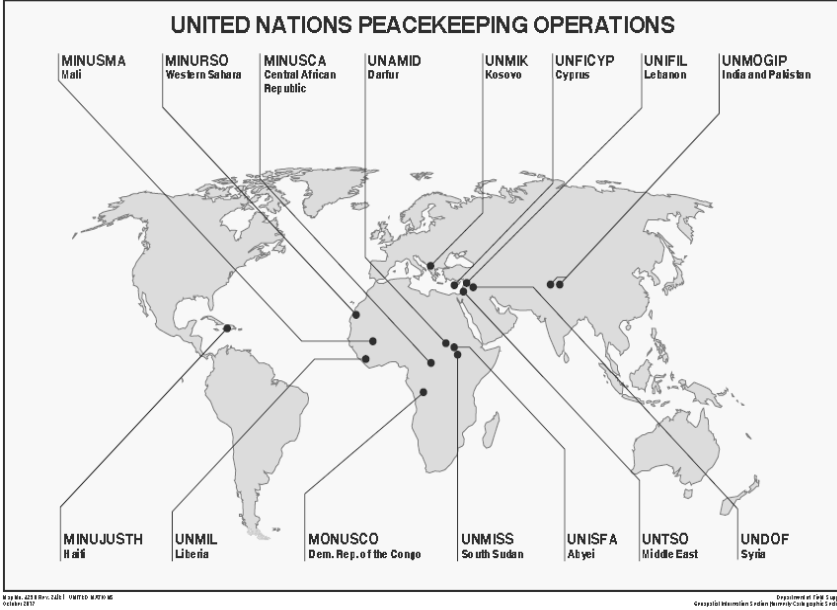
2. The Organization of UNFICYP

There are currently 14 ongoing worldwide UN peacekeeping missions, with more than 100,000 deployed personnel. UNFICYP stands as the longest running peacekeeping mission, which still continues (See Map-1 for current peacekeeping operations). Although United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) in the Middle East and United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) had been established well before UNFICYP and they also still continue, they are not really “peacekeeping” mission according to actual understanding, in fact they are just monitoring missions. Comparing to other operations in terms of human resources and \$54 million of annual budget, with more than 1000 personnel (including civilian contractors) ,¹⁴ UNFICYP does not rate high in peacekeeping lists in quantitative order. The UN is required to deploy over 120,000 peacekeepers in all its missions, which might outstrip the capacity of the organization.¹⁵ By comparison, the number and size of other UN missions are quite higher. However, regardless of the number and size, in importance order, it is assessed that UNFICYP is one of most sensitive and critical one among others, as it operates in a very sensitive and critical juncture.

¹⁴ http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2017/586, (Access Date: 18.04.2018).

¹⁵ *Providing Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges, and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Contributions*, 1st Edition, Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 1.

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Map 1. Current Peacekeeping Operations¹⁶

By the year of 1970, UNFICYP has grown in numbers to about 3,500 military personnel, and 200 civilian staff (Organizational chart provided at Figure-1.).¹⁷ In those years, the peacekeeping mission has been led by a General-rank officer, together with supporting staff and six different national contingents. As the operational requirement changed and the conflict environment evolved, the organization structure has been revised accordingly.

¹⁶ http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/dpko/P_K_O.pdf, (Access Date: 23.02.2018); United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) ended in March 2018 while the author has been working on this topic.

¹⁷ Charles C. Moskos, *Ibid.*

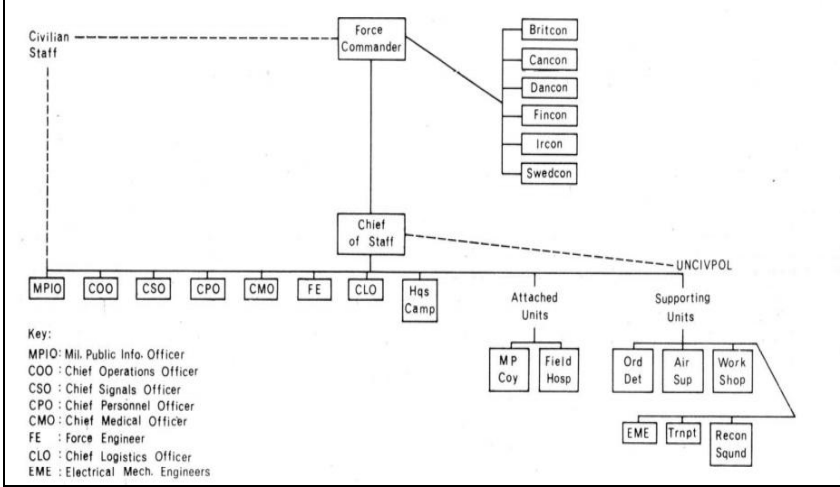


Figure 1. Organization Chart of UNFICYP as in 1970

The potential structures of a UN peacekeeping mission have been assessed and relevant suggestions have been made in general terms in order to produce best structure.¹⁸ Similarly, the structure of UNFICYP is evaluated upon requirement in order to face actual challenges on the ground. In the current structure, there are mainly three components of UNFICYP: Civil Affairs, Military Force and UN Police (UNPOL). From the current organization, it can be assumed that civilian side or authority has more influence on the conduct and performance of the mission. Civilian nature of the UN mandate has gained more popularity and importance within the structure, especially after the opening of border gates in 2003.¹⁹ In addition, military personnel have increasingly been

¹⁸ Nadege Sheehan, "United Nations peacekeeping: Limitations and Prospects", *The Economics of Peace and Security Journal*, 2008, Vol 3, No 2, 74-80, pp. 75-77.

¹⁹ <http://undocs.org/S/2017/1008>, (Access Date: 18.04.2018).

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joined by more civilian peacekeepers in the structure.²⁰ This might be commented by nature, as normalization has improved and possibility of an armed conflict between the communities has decreased after 43 years. By the year of 2018, current organization of UNFICYP is shown in Figure-2.

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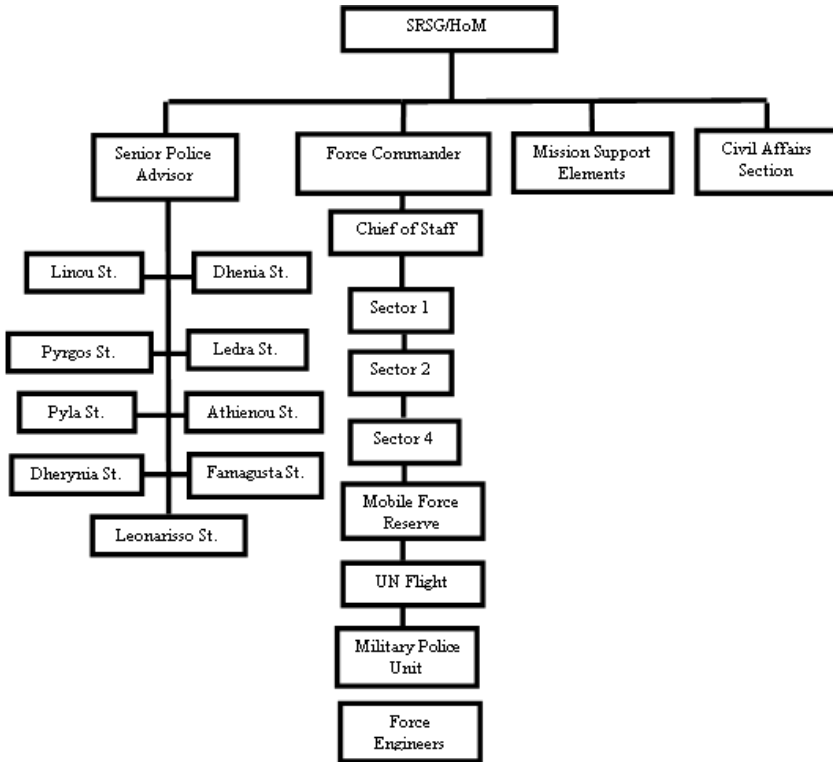


Figure 2. Current Organization Chart of UNFICYP²¹

²⁰ *The Blue Helmets: A Review of United Nations Peace-Keeping*, 3rd Edition, United Nations, 1996, pp. 1-20.

²¹ Designed according to the information accessed in UNFICYP Web Site, <https://unficy.unmissions.org/>, (Access Date: 18.04.2018).

The overall mission is led by senior and internationally experienced civilian UN diplomat, which is dual-defined as Special Representative of Secretary General (SRSG) and Head of Mission (HoM). As understood from the definition, SSRG/HoM serves both as a special representative to UNSG for the Cyprus issue and as the leading position for the functioning of the mission. By the nature of peacekeeping operations, a civilian, not a military officer, fills the leadership position. As a result of improved gender representation and sensitivity in UN structure, SSRG/HoM is tended to be assigned from senior female officials. This approach is also believed to affect positively the conduct of UN mandate in the island with the creation of more peaceful and moderate perception on both sides. SSRG/HoM has the utmost authority and responsibility on UNFICYP's mission performance. SSRG/HoM directly reports to the UNSG for the mission and stands for the highest advisory role for the UNSG. S/he is normally assigned from high profile nations, and expected to have deep knowledge about the UN, international affairs, regional relations, and considerations.

As the leading position of the mission, SSRG/HoM is personally supported by civilian officials of political and legal advisors, an administrative section, and a public information office, which constitute civil affairs branch of UNFICYP. Civil Affairs Branch was established in 1998, when the nature of mission was transformed from more militarily to civilian aspects. This move reflects the expanding civilian nature of issues in the island. The civilian officials serve indeterminate tours in the island. They perform the duties in the context of UN mandate: "normalization in the island". They liaise with the government authorities, local community leaders, civilian representatives of related associations, religious authorities, non-governmental organizations, and anybody on any issue, which is by nature "civilian", in order to resolve issues affecting the civilian population. This branch deals with communal issues, environmental, social, religious, and humanitarian concerns. It promotes to civilian access and activity in the Intermediate

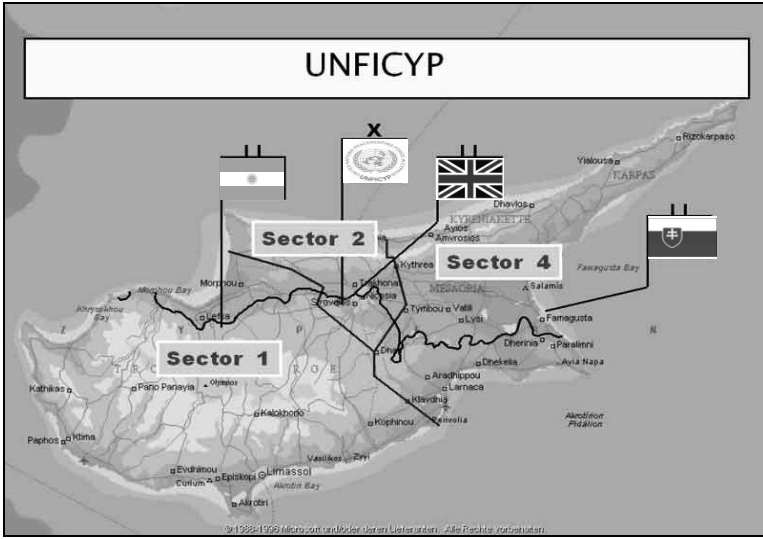
Zone (IZ),²² and therefore it established some interaction mechanisms among stakeholders. As mentioned above, this branch has more influence on the conduct of overall UNFICYP mission. Although civilian affairs branch is small in size and relies heavily on support of military and police officers to operationalize its activities, its dominance on UNFICYP is unarguable.

Another important component is Military Force. It constitutes a great bulk of UNFICYP manpower. Its focal aim is to “prevent a recurrence of fighting”. In the years of 1960s and 1970s, the overall UN military number was huge in numbers. However, after the pacifying years, the possibility of an armed conflict decreased, so did the military number. This structure mainly observes the current status quo, which was established in 1974, assuring that neither side would take any steps which might be assessed as militarily advantageous or violation of current status quo. They monitor ceasefire conditions to be respected and maintained, although there is no “*de jure*” ceasefire between sides. UN military might be asked to support UNPOL in case of any requirement when UNPOL stand inadequate in number to deescalate the tension. UN Military personnel are located in five separate camps: two are in Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), two are in GCA and the remaining one is in the IZ.²³ It performs its mission with three main sub-component as well as supporting units as such sectors. Sector 1 is responsible for the western perimeter of island and Argentina is the leading troop contributing country, supported by some Latin American countries. Sector 2 is responsible for the urban part of Nicosia, twin capital of both communities, and led by the UK alone. Sector 4 is responsible for the eastern perimeter of the island, and Slovakia is the leading troop contributing country for this sector, augmented by Eastern European countries. Sector area of responsibilities is shown in Map-2. Cultural similarities and regional-historical relations are taken into consideration for the effectiveness of

²² It is named as “Buffer Zone” by UNFICYP.

²³ <https://unficyp.unmissions.org/map-unficyp-deployment>, (Access Date: 15.04.2018).

the mission and therefore distribution of roles and nationalities have been configured accordingly. In addition, distribution of positions in the UNFICYP HQ has been arranged in order not to cause any turbulence. Mainly, the UK can be said to hold key positions in the HQ.



Map 2. Sector Area of Responsibilities²⁴

The responsibility areas outreach to all parts of island according to UNFICYP planning. The logic behind is the requirement to share areas for the distribution humanitarian aids and to continue to check all territory and show presence in case of a solution. In reality, UNFICYP does not have any direct authority to intervene in any case out of the IZ, except humanitarian aid convoys, and they can only show presence in other areas only after preannouncement, touristic, or civilian ends.

²⁴ <http://www.bundesheer.at/archiv/a2001/zypern/missionsgeschichte.shtml>, (Access Date: 23.01.2018).

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What differentiates UNFICYP from other peacekeeping operations is its large military formation. The UNFICYP military component aims to prevent a recurrence of fighting, as indicated in mandate, maintain a stable environment, namely “status quo” in impartial manner, and deescalate any tension and military presence along the IZ in order to support the political process for a lasting solution. The bulk of the military personnel is found in three sector command, each of which is one of the main component of UN Military Force. These sectors are led by Argentina, UK, and Slovakia. In each sectors, there are also national contingents of varying size. Each of the national contingents was charged with responsibility for a specific region of Cyprus. Depending on post requirement, military personnel both in HQ and in Sectors are assigned by troop contributing countries on semi-annually, annually or biennially basis. Like all other peacekeeping missions, these personnel wear their national uniforms, while they carry blue berets or helmets as a distinguishing factor. The military structure has been once revised according to actual requirement following the rejection of Annan Plan in 2004. The UNSC, in its resolution 1568, approved the amended concept of operations and force level of UNFICYP, which led to an authorized strength of 860 troops, (2004/756). Subsequently in 2016, the UNSC once again decided to increase the military force’s manpower level from 860 to 888.²⁵ In the final mission review, it has been recommended that the actual military strength of UNFICYP would be reduced to 802 troops, together with some changes in functional areas, favoring the UNPOL and civilian cadres.²⁶ The current national military contingents of UN Military Force are shown in Table-1.

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²⁵ <http://undocs.org/S/2017/1008>, (Access Date: 23.04.2018).

²⁶ Ibid.

Argentina	276	Hungary	77
Austria	4	Paraguay	14
Bangladesh	2	Serbia	47
Brazil	2	Slovakia	169
Canada	1	Ukraine	2
Chile	14	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	279
Total: 887			

Table 1. Manning Status of Military Personnel Contributing Countries, as of July 2017²⁷

Third main component of UNFICYP is the UNPOL. The UNPOL collaborates with UNFICYP's Military and Civil Affairs components as part of a "three-pillar" concept. In terms of mission mandate, UNPOL mainly contributes to the "maintenance and restoration of law and order" within the IZ. It cooperates with UNFICYP's military and the Civil Affairs components with regards to any civilian activity or any illegal activity, such as hunting, unallowable farming and building construction, and contact transgressors for each direction, which might violate status quo, threaten stability and security and increase tension. UNPOL also escorts humanitarian convoys, which are planned to be delivered to Greek Cypriots and Maronites residing in TRNC every 15 days. In UNPOL, officially, 69 police officers from nine countries and one civilian support staff serve and it is headed by UNFICYP's Senior Police Advisor.²⁸

²⁷ UNFICYP Official Webpage, http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2017/20, (Access Date: 13.02.2018).

²⁸ UNFICYP Official Webpage, <https://unficy.unmissions.org/unpol>, (Access Date:

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The figures and police contributing countries are shown in Table-2.

Australia	3	Lithuania	1
Bosnia and Herzegovina	10	Montenegro	4
Bulgaria	3	Romania	4
China	6	Russian Federation	3
India	4	Serbia	2
Ireland	12	Slovakia	5
Italy	2	Ukraine	10
Total: 69			

Table 2. Manning Status of Police Contributing Countries,
as of July 2017²⁹

UNPOL is a civilian police force and it does not administer the law or have powers of arrest or detention.³⁰ UNPOL investigates criminal offences committed or suspected of having been committed by non-UN persons inside the intermediate zone. In fact, it hands over the criminals to respective police force of TRNC or GCA. The liaison is established between police forces in order to provide timely communication to prevent any crime. UNPOL also supports UNFICYP by maintaining public order during any civilian demonstrations and disturbances inside and adjacent to the IZ. As the disputes are ongoing and there are many pro-settlement gatherings all over the island, this

08.02.2018).

²⁹ http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2017/586, (Access Date: 08.02.2018)

³⁰ Ibid.

effort constitutes great amount of time for UNPOL. Sometimes, UNPOL, together with TRNC Police or GCA Police, performs investigations within the IZ.

UNFICYP Civilian Branch is, although not as big as military formation, much more politically influential. Instead of just being the head of mission, the SRSB is responsible of all aspects of UN's involvement in the island, either through UNFICYP or through the UN sponsored occasions for settlement negotiations. On the one hand, these developments can be interpreted as the mission having succeeded in its goals of de-escalation of conflict and promotion of civilian efforts to reach a peaceful solution. However, they can also be interpreted as the struggles of an underfunded and undermanned organization trying to make ends meet by shirking from some of its harder responsibilities. Nevertheless, nature of the organization of UNFICYP is ever changing to meet the contemporary challenges it faces. As of July 2017, the total human resources capability, divided in main components can be seen in Table-3. Temporary national staff (contractors) is excluded from this calculation. With all these personnel, approximately 1000 individuals from many different nations might be serving in UNFICYP in a given time. It has been claimed that, in general, most UN peacekeepers come from the emerging powers and developing states.³¹ In UNFICYP, as in the case in military force and UNPOL structure, a balanced distribution among different countries and regions has been nearly pursued. The biggest deficiency in this distribution is scarcity of Muslim countries' peacekeepers in the island. Even though current force commander is from a Muslim country and there are very limited Muslim individuals in the organization, the ratio should be increased considering the fact that a great majority of Turkish Cypriot community are Muslim. As stated by some scholars, cultural considerations, in which peacekeeping

³¹ Philip Cunliffe, *Legions of Peace: UN Peacekeepers from the Global South*, 1st Edition, London, 2013, pp. 12-16.

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operations take place, are “key elements”³² for the success of the mission. As the religion is one of the main pillars of cultural framework, the inclusion of more Muslim countries and soldiers in the organization of UNFICYP would have positive affect for the cultural influence on Turkish Cypriot community. As regards to number issue, overall manning figures of UNFICYP might change in actual record without being too much different from the current status.

Component	Strength
Military	887
UNPOL	69
International Staff in Civilian Branch	16
Total:972	

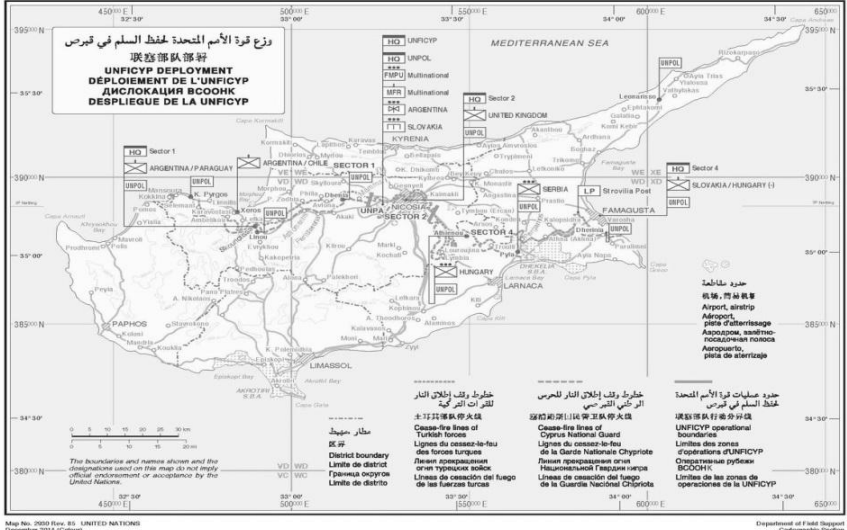
Table 3. Mission Strength of UNFICYP, as of July 2017³³

In order to comprehend explicitly and grasp the nature of mission from a bigger perspective, overall UNFICYP deployment in the Island of Cyprus is shown in Map-3. In this visual map, every geographical detail about component locations can be clearly seen.

³² Robert A. Rubinstein, *Peacekeeping Under Fire: Culture and Intervention*, 1st Edition, Paradigm Publishers, London and New York, 2008, pp. 3-13.

³³ Calculated according to information accessed in UNFICYP Official Webpage, <https://unficy.unmissions.org/unpol>, (Access Date: 08.02.2018).

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Map 3. Overall UNFICYP Deployment³⁴

3. The Effectiveness of UNFICYP in Maintaining Peace and Order

UNFICYP has many different components, which have different roles and responsibilities for the UN mandate. An intensified integration, coordination, and cooperation are crucial factors for the success of the mission. In Figure-3, the modality of interaction among different components is shown. SRSB, together with her/his advisors, stands in the center of this interaction. With her/his coordination and leadership, different components carry out their responsibilities pursuant to the UN mission mandate. SRSB can be described as a “choir master”. S/he is assumed to be well aware of political atmosphere and priorities of the UNSG and directs the mission accordingly. Three main components

³⁴ <https://unficy.unmissions.org/map-unficy-deployment>, (Access Date: 23.01.2018).

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maintain their separate external liaison systems with relative Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot authorities. Civil Affairs component has more freedom in terms of liaison. They can interact with any civilian authorities, governmental, non-governmental, religious, trading, media, and political entities, even individuals from each side. UNFICYP has also internal liaison links among components. Therefore, liaison officers of different components constitute a relatively large number of organizational posts. In addition to official UNFICYP components, United Nations Protected Area (UNPA), the old Nicosia Airport Zone, hosts some other UN agencies related to the island, such as UN Development program (UNDP), Committee on Missing Persons (CMP), and Office of Special Adviser to secretary General (OSASG). The mandate of this office is to support settlement negotiations between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot leaders. UNDP carries out some development programs supported by the UN for the sake of protecting cultural heritage of island, improving economic conditions, supporting individual enterprise, and, above all, fostering inter-communal relations. The European Union (EU) has also some other development initiatives and funding programs in this regard, but there is no official relation between UNFICYP and the EU. CPM is operating with its laboratory in UNPA, together with two offices in North and South. OSASG is also performing its good offices in UNPA, getting all administrative and logistic support and technical assistance from UNFICYP.

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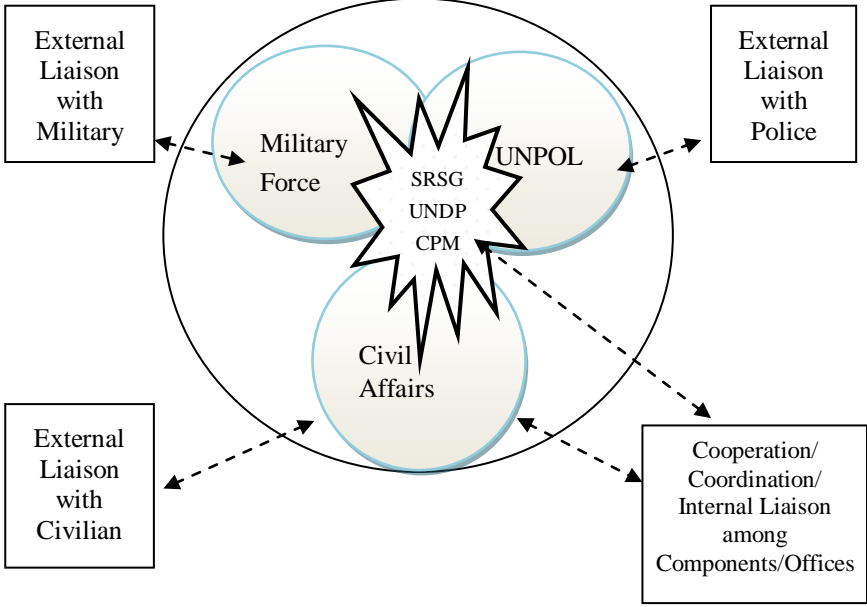


Figure 3. Interaction among UNFICYP Components³⁵

The main focus of UNFICYP military force is to support directly or indirectly the political process (by facilitating meetings, mapping, doing niche expertise, maintaining calm situation), control the IZ, support CBMs (especially demining issue and new crossings), continue good custody within the IZ, and plan for future contingency options. Military personnel sometimes provide support to humanitarian aid convoys, sent by GCA to the Greek Cypriot and Maronites citizens residing in TRNC every 15 days. Military personnel usually do not carry weapons in normal conditions. In case of self-defense or in time of increased tension period, they arm with weapons and are authorized to use them,

³⁵ Designed according to information accessed in UNFICYP Official Webpage, <https://unficyc.unmissions.org/unpol>, (Access Date: 08.02.2018).

if required. 183 service members³⁶ of UNFICYP suffered injuries since 1964, mostly from the period between 1964 and 1974. Although most of these injuries occurred because of accidents, diseases, or individual incidents, some of UNFICYP personnel have been killed in action indeed. The overall military situation in the IZ is very calm, but tensions remain and might come to surface very fast, as lastly experienced in 1996 in Gazimağusa. Because of limited human resources, UN military does not man all observation positions along contact line, but conduct patrol on routes or carry out flight operations over the IZ in order to record any violations.

Over the time, components and structure of UNFICYP changed. As a reaction to Turkey's "Cyprus Peace Operation" on 20 July 1974, UNFICYP saw a temporary surge in military personnel. Even though the mission has started its life under military branch's dominance, over time, the civilian branch has taken over the former one. This has been reflected by gradual reduction of the military personnel of the mission after the cessation of conflict between Turkish and Greek Cypriot, leading to a reduced UNFICYP personnel presence all along the IZ. This has finally culminated in the abandonment of the previous UNFICYP strategy of maintaining bases along the IZ in favor of relying on mobile patrols.

Measuring the success and failures of a UN mission in an objective manner and with an analytical methodology, let alone effectiveness of peacekeeping forces, is quite difficult. What is exactly the threshold number of acceptable casualties, refugees and other kinds of victims to claim that peace and order has been restored in a region? Although there have been some doctrinal studies on evaluating success or failure of UN peacekeeping operations³⁷ and practices which identify gaps between practice and doctrine on several UN peacekeeping

³⁶ <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/fatalities>, (Access Date: 23.01.2018).

³⁷ *The Oxford Handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*, Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. 93-105.

mission,³⁸ the criteria for success or failure have been subjective in many cases. Organization's ability to conduct peacekeeping operations has been generally analyzed and questioned from military perspective.³⁹ In order to try to make a thorough assessment about effectiveness of UNFICYP's effectiveness, one must focus on the mandate of the UNFICYP, which is stated by Resolution 186, as shown below:

- to prevent a recurrence of fighting,
- to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order, and,
- to contribute to a return to normal conditions.

Looking at UNFICYP's performance from its deployment until 1974, it can be deemed as a total and absolute failure. In broader terms, some scholars believe that the history of UN peacekeeping operations is full of failures and this weakness can only be remedied through some radical efforts.⁴⁰ Nadin emphasizes the role of UN in engaging armed groups and the challenges which UN deals with while conducting peacekeeping missions.⁴¹ As for Cyprus Issue, the mission UNFICYP has been proportionally easier for peacekeeping environment. There was a constitutional order, which promoted all basic rights for communities. UNFICYP could have identified EOKA and prevented its attack on modest citizens of both sides. Instead, clashes between both communities did not stop and atrocities, massacres, and violence against Turkish Cypriots continued. They were driven out of their lands and forced to live in 30 distinctive enclaves⁴² in tents throughout the country, even in

³⁸ *UN Peacekeeping Doctrine in a New Era: Adapting to Stabilisation, Protection and New Threats*, 1st Edition, Routledge, 2017, p.3.

³⁹ John Hillen, *Blue Helmets: The Strategy of UN Military Operations*, Brassey's, 1st Edition, 1998.

⁴⁰ Malcolm H. Patterson, *Privatising Peace: A Corporate Adjunct to United Nations Peacekeeping and Humanitarian Operations*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2009, p.1.

⁴¹ Peter Nadin, et al., *Spoiler Groups and UN Peacekeeping*, 1st Edition, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Routledge, 2015, pp.57-66.

⁴² Leonard W. Doob, "Cypriot Patriotism and Nationalism", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 1986, Vol. 30, No: 2, 383-396, p. 384.

caves in mountains. UNFICYP was given the task of protecting Turkish enclaves and of providing security.⁴³ While UNFICYP was occasionally helping by bringing food supplies to Turkish civilians and arranging for their safe evacuations, these were far inefficient and sporadic to be of any meaningful help. If UNFICYP had been robust and decisive in stopping EOKA attacks on innocent Turkish citizens, it might have prevented the recurrence of fighting. Robustness has been presented, as “a solution to the credibility gap” of UN peace operations, albeit partially.⁴⁴ Above all, if UN had been successful in this first mandate, “Happy Peace Operation”⁴⁵ by Turkey would not have been required in the first place.

However, following 1974, UNFICYP has seen some limited success on its mandates. Some of these successes can be directly credited to the mission where as others can be attributed to its indirect influences. After 1974, UNFICYP’s efforts to prevent a recurrence of fighting and to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order had become an indirect one. After the establishment of borders and separation of both communities, Turkish Cypriot community could rely on Turkish soldiers for security and thus UN Peacekeeper’s efforts were diverted to instead focus on preventing escalation of conflict between armed forces at the island. While there have been sporadic events that have unfortunately caused loss of lives after 1974, there has been no major and systematic outbreak of hostilities or hot conflict in the island. Turkish soldiers’ presence in the island assured safety and security in daily life for Turkish Cypriot Community, which had not been ensured by UNFICYP before 1974. Even though this can’t be wholly attributed to UNFICYP efforts, it can at least take some credit in the role of a mediator between both sides. In conclusion, it can be

⁴³ Alan James, “The UN Force in Cyprus”, *International Affairs*, Summer 1989, Vol. 65, No. 3, pp. 481-500.

⁴⁴ Thierry Tardy, “A Critique of Robust Peacekeeping in Contemporary Peace Operations”, *International Peacekeeping*, April 2011, Vol.18, No.2, pp. 152-167.

⁴⁵ Definition of “Cyprus Peace Operation” by Turkish Cypriot Community.

asserted that misery of Turkish Cypriot Community came to end and peace was established in the island, not because of timely intervention of UNFICYP, but for Happy Peace Operation.

Howard opposes the conventional wisdom that UN habitually fails and affirms that it achieved a number of important success stories in peacekeeping.⁴⁶ Organization's achievements, "albeit" below expectations, have been presented as "a basis for consideration" on increasing its capability as a problem solver and facilitator.⁴⁷ In this context, UNFICYP has also showed some successful performance in the island. The area UNFICYP has been most successful has been on the mandate of contributing to a return to normal conditions. The mission has long supported any bi-communal activities to normalize relations between communities. For this end, it has often organized or hosted such events to encourage people from both communities to meet and interact with each other. Such UNFICYP efforts were the only way people from both sides of the island could interact with each other until the formal opening of border crossing points. This is the greatest work done by UNFICYP for the goal of returning to normal conditions. Any hope of a return to "*status quo ante bellum*" is futile, thus reaching a settlement is the only way to return to any resemblance of normal conditions on island. In this regard, the role and mandate of UNFICYP has been naturally oriented for "returning to normal conditions". And, this is the sole area, which UNFICYP knows very well that its main effectiveness could be really felt in daily life of both communities.

What is expected from UNFICYP and its perceptions on the eyes of two communities are quite different. For the Turkish Cypriot perception, UNFICYP is expected to maintain status quo of contact lines and IZ. The expectation is to prevent any conflict between communities. For Greek Cypriot point of view, they intend to use IZ on

⁴⁶ Lise M. Howard, *UN Peacekeeping in Civil Wars*, 1st Edition, Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp 358-391.

⁴⁷ Mary Allsebrook, *Prototypes of Peacemaking: The First Forty Years of the United Nations*, Chicago, St. James Press, 1986, pp. xv-66.

the ground that civilian use of this zone promotes to the normalization between communities and it is part of UNFICYP mandate. In this regard, Turkish Cypriots usually think that Greek side is trying to erode status quo of Intermediate Zone (under the cover of innocuous civilian activities and exercise of property rights, such as solar panels, wind turbines, waste treatment, etc.) and steer UNFICYP in this direction, which sometimes provide military, psychological and economic advantage for Greek side and UNFICYP shows partial stance in favor of Greek side by letting the changes in status quo. Greek side thinks that IZ is natural part of their republic and they have inherent right to use it comprehensively. In contrary, Turkish side thinks that IZ shall not be used for civilian purposes and status quo should be maintained until a final and lasting political agreement has been reached in the island. Afterwards, it will able to be used in full scale for the benefit of all communities. In this regard, Turkish side follows a status quo policy for IZ and expects UNFICYP to maintain it, not to allow any erosion or unilateral change by Greek Cypriot side. Otherwise, any opposite stance to this policy or lack of movement or any inefficacy of UNFICYP shall be considered as violation of principle of “impartiality”, which constitutes, together with “consent of the parties” and “non-use of force except in self-defense and defense of the mandate”, one of the basic principles of UN peacekeeping operations.⁴⁸ The idea of impartiality is believed to involve two different elements, as such robust mandate implementation and humanitarian projection, while the former has been preferred over the latter.⁴⁹ Impartiality has been also reassessed in the framework of “human security” and “responsibility to protect”.⁵⁰ Impartiality is vital for any peacekeeping mission, certainly for UNFICYP

⁴⁸ UN Official Web Page, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/principles.shtml>, (Access Date: 19.02.2018)

⁴⁹ Hikaru Yamashita, “Impartial Use of Force in United Nations Peacekeeping”, *International Peacekeeping*, November 2008, Vol.15, No.5, pp. 615-630.

⁵⁰ Yuka Hasegawa, “The United Nations Assistance in Afghanistan: Impartiality in New UN Peace Operations”, *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, June 2008, Vol.2, No.2, pp.209-226.

as well. In overall manner, the impartiality of UNFICYP is dubious on the eyes of individuals, especially for Turkish Cypriots. Unfortunately, some of its manner breeds this perception. While UNFICYP allows innocuous civilian activities within IZ, for instance, it doesn't persuade GCA to allow the construction of Pile-Yiğitler road to pass through Pile Plateau, which will shorten the travel distances of local people and is a real humanitarian issue in that regard.⁵¹ This kind of one-sided approach breeds the suspicion of Turkish Cypriot about UNFICYP double standard.

Previously, UNFICYP's approach was overlapping mainly with Turkish view and strongly monitoring the unauthorized civilian activities and mostly prohibiting this kind of initiatives. In this context, IZ was perceived as a "dead zone". Therefore, civilian activity was limited against the possibility of a confrontation or hostility between groups. It was essential as in some parts of IZ, the distance to both contact lines varies in width from seven kilometers to even four meters in some urban areas along the 180 km-long distance. The exact delineation of ceasefire lines are contested among parties. This causes some disputes for the control of IZ. However, all sides avoid increasing tension and find a common way. As an indirect result of the opening of border gates, intensified interaction and bi-communal events, this mentioned confrontation was considered less possible on each year. In addition, international pressure has increased to transform IZ accessible to more farming and any other civilian activities, preferably bi-communal. The rationale was that this strategy was a means of reaching out of each community to the other. Since 2008, the activities intensified and UNFICYP's approach changed accordingly and for their perspective it is no longer a "dead zone". The terrain in IZ varies enormously. There are many unobserved areas. Eastern Sovereign Base of UK in Dhekelia and Ayios Nikolaos has borders with two sides. There are seven official crossings in IZ (two more planned and in progress), but the fences in other areas are mostly porous. UNFICYP might authorize some civilian

⁵¹ Ata Atun, Pile'de Rumların Yanlış Uygulaması (1/2), <http://www.ataatun.org/pilede-rumların-yanlış-uygulaması-12.html>, (Access Date: 19.02.2018).

activities, such as farming, construction, visits, and religious pilgrimages, as long as this doesn't confer military advantages to either side and beneficiaries follow the guidelines. In addition, there are some unauthorized civilian activities, such as hunting, farming, smuggling, etc. UNFICYP check the IZ and contact lines in order not to allow any over-manning, improvements to current observation points, additional cameras, move forward of military personnel, ill-discipline, exercise or training activities, which are too close to contact line.

In reality, it is quite difficult for UNFICYP to control with limited resources. In short, although military side of UNFICYP has some security concerns about these civilian activities within IZ, civilian side pushes forward to enhance these attempts. The UN HQ persists that the security situation on the island and along the IZ should remain stable, and urges all sides to avoid any action, including violations of the military status quo, which could lead to an increase in tension, undermine the progress achieved so far, or damage the goodwill on the island.⁵² However, in the ground, UNFICYP does not resist these kinds of attempts, as long as they do not confer military advantage for either side. Greek side explored this approach and sensitivity and intensifies her attempts to exploit it on humanitarian requirement grounds. They usually transform these events to huge public relations shows and propaganda assets, while organizing opening ceremonies with participation of senior politicians and statesmen, religious blessing and services. The most current example of that was seen in Athienou Sewage Treatment Plant inauguration ceremony in June 2017.⁵³ These kind of exaggerated shows disturb the majority of Turkish public opinion, and considered as a process of smooth Hellenization process of IZ.

Civilian and military construction and any military improvements,

⁵² https://unficy.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/unscr_2338.pdf, (Access Date: 21.01.2018).

⁵³ <http://www.euromarket-cy.com/index.php/ske-news/205-athienou-inauguration-ceremony>, (Access Date: 21.04.2018).

intruders, and hunters, moves forward, cocking, and pointing of weapons, shooting, and military over-flights are the main challenges, which UNFICYP faces inside IZ. For outside of IZ, over-manning of positions, weapons discharges, explosions or maneuvering within 1000 meters of ceasefire lines, which is against mutual understanding, restriction of movement of UNFICYP personnel, and additional construction of observation post are the main challenges.

The work of the CMP is commendable for all parties. The UN highlights the importance of intensifying its activities, urging the opening up of access to all areas expeditiously to allow CMP to carry out its work, and trusting that this process will promote reconciliation between the communities. UNFICYP also works on any possible transition planning in relation to the settlement, including recommendations to UNFICYP's mandate, force structure and numbers and other resources and concept of operations, taking into account developments on the ground and the views of the parties.

GCA and the Government of Greece provide voluntary contributions to the funding of UNFICYP. One-third funding of UNFICYP is covered by GCA and \$6.5 million from the Government of Greece.⁵⁴ This is highly critical in terms of impartiality of UNFICYP, while it relies on heavily on funding for GCA and Greece. Not the organization but the individuals can be affected by this approach and their neutrality might be hampered naturally. The UN, towards this critique, states that it is open to any other further voluntary contributions from other countries and organizations. Above all, keeping individual (not the organizational) impartiality is against the natural flow of life, while funding is provided by one side of dispute.

Most UN officials, from senior to junior ones, including civilians, military personnel, and police officers, believe that UN's first and foremost responsibility for the island is to find a solution, while

⁵⁴ http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2017/586, (Access Date: 21.04.2018).

reaffirming the primary role of the UN in assisting the parties to bring the Cyprus issue and division of the island to a comprehensive and lasting settlement.⁵⁵ At the beginning of their tenure, most of them are usually so eager to find a solution, mediate the efforts, be called as real peace builders and then they ultimately witness the history.

The roles of UNFICYP and the Office of the Special Adviser are completely different. While UNFICYP conducts its mission of peacekeeping pursuant to UNSC Resolution 186 of 1964, Office of the Special Adviser facilitates the ongoing negotiation process. Although UNFICYP supports the peace negotiations, there is no overlap between the two missions. However, UNFICYP plays a vital support by ensuring a stable environment conducive to the negotiation process. The Office of the Special Adviser has been provided with political affairs officers and subject matter experts, whose main task are to provide expertise and facilitate the negotiation process, especially in working groups and technical committees. The Office of Special Adviser relies on the support of UNFICYP in communication, logistics and administration and this Office is located in main UNFICYP HQ, which is called UN Protected Area (UNPA). In addition, the SRSG and the Head of UNFICYP mission serves as the Deputy Special Adviser to the Secretary-General. In this context, it can be commented that these two UN organization, despite different conducts, act coherently in pursuing for the same overall goal of UN: a just settlement based on a bi-communal, bi-zonal federation with political equality, as set out in relevant Security Council resolutions in the island.

UNFICYP has always been invested in the efforts to negotiate a peaceful solution to reach a final peace treaty between both sides, instead of the current situation of a de facto cease-fire. The UN, in general, has been mediating these efforts. The “Cyprus Talks” have been going on for almost half a century and, since the beginning,

⁵⁵ UNFICYP Official Webpage, https://unficy.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/unscr_2338.pdf, (Access Date: 21.01.2018).

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UNFICYP has been providing both material and non-material support to them. Due to requirements of a neutral ground and logistical difficulties of establishing such a place out of the island, the UNFICYP HQ at the UNPA near the old Nicosia Airport that is located in the IZ between the borders of both communities has served as neutral ground, where both community leaders and recently technical committees, whether ad hoc or permanent, can often meet up for peace talks. In addition to that, UNFICYP has worked on fostering inter-communal interactions with its civilian, police, and military branches. These were often the only opportunity for people from both sides to meet and interact with each other. On the military side, during times of tension between the sides, UNFICYP has often served a role to reduce prevent conflict and, when it failed to do so, it has worked to stop these conflicts escalate into full-blown armed clashes. Despite of loss of lives, of both soldiers and civilians, due to border tensions at 1990s, UNFICYP has managed to ensure that these incidents were isolated and tempers were kept in check.

UNFICYP has been supported totally by voluntary contributions. This resulted in a shortfall in 1993, when the UN General Assembly decreed that the costs not covered by voluntary contributions would be borne by Member States in accordance with Article 17 of the UN Charter (Resolution 47/236). Currently, one-third of UNFICYP's budget is financed by the GCA, while the Government of Greece contributes \$6.5 million annually. The rest of cost is financed from contributions of the United Nations, as decreed in 1993.⁵⁶ Considering the economic hardships experienced by the Greek Cypriots and the increasingly isolationist policies of the USA, it can be said that paying the bills for an organization that has failed to obtain concrete result in about 50 years seems less and less defensible. However, it seems that the calm situation on land may not be reflected in the waters surrounding the island. Attempts by Greek Cypriots to unilaterally explore underwater natural gas reserves at disputed waters have increased tensions once more.

⁵⁶ UNFICYP Official Webpage, <https://unficyp.unmissions.org/about>, (Access Date: 21.01.2018).

Even though a military confrontation is seen as unlikely, any kind of increased hostility between both communities may increase the lifespan of the UNFICYP due to its inherent role as a preventive measure against escalation and as a catalyst for negotiations.

Conclusion

Eastern Mediterranean can be described as “crossroad of civilizations” due to its geographical and strategic location. All global powers trying to extend their influence and national interests towards the Middle East shall try to control the Eastern Mediterranean as well. There is a direct linkage between the emerging new world order, global security, and the Eastern Mediterranean. In recent years, there have been important developments in the mentioned region, which affect the global security and international relations. Cyprus Issue, Arab Spring, Syrian Civil War, Palestine-Israel tension, political trends in Iraq and Iran, and terrorist networks are the major issues in the region. However, Cyprus Issue and Syrian Civil War are by far the most devastating and important ones, in terms of their immense economic, political, and military impacts in international affairs. International actors increase their influence both on Turkish and Greek Cypriots for reaching an agreement. Turkey and TRNC should not position themselves in unfavorable conditions and give in to the international and internal pressures; they should pursue their own national interests in the region indeed.

The Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East security and stability are directly linked with global peace and security, which has an impact on international relations, not exclusively on regional relations, but in broader terms. The conflicts in this region might trigger much more devastating and bloodier conflicts or proxy wars. More global players might engage with regional groups or ethnicities in accordance with their sole interest rather than basic humanistic values. That means exactly the acceleration of the notion of “Balkanization” of the region. All humanity should be aware of this possibility and shall not be dragged into the same miseries experienced in Balkans. This region has been regarded as “the crossroad of civilizations” for centuries. However, recent conflicts, civil wars, and proxy wars are transforming it into “crossroad of clashes”. What is

required in this region are stability, peace, strong but democratic central state organizations, integrity of the countries' territories, fair distribution of welfare and economic resources, and peaceful interaction among cultures and faiths, the latter being the most important.

The UN, UNFICYP in specific, has been one of the main actors in the Island of Cyprus and naturally in the Eastern Mediterranean, in terms of promoting peace and security in the region. Regarding the mandate of “prevent a recurrence of fighting”, UNFICYP was totally unsuccessful. It is not actually the mission, UNFICYP, to blame for this failure; but the founding mentality of the UN not to be successful. Historically, the UN was not able to succeed in peacekeeping missions without full consensus of the UNSC's five permanent members. This failure was experienced in Bosnia and Kosovo Wars, even in Syrian Civil War. The UN always showed reluctance to intervene positively and decisively into crises. For Cyprus Issue, from 1964 to 1974, the UN wasn't successful in terms of stopping the bloodshed, atrocities, and massacres aimed at Turkish Cypriot community. If there has been no conflict since 1974, it is not because of UNFICYP, but because of Turkish military presence in the island.

But for “normalization” mandate, although the core disputes between the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots have not been solved, UNFICYP is quite efficient and successful with interaction of bi-communal events, festivals, concerts, games, etc. The two community members can meet on social occasions and on these meetings, peace songs are sung, although seemingly for most of them. This effort continues in this direction, UNFICYP gets credits for these developments.

As for the “maintenance and restoration of law and order”, UNFICYP is partially successful. It cannot prevent illegal activities, such as farming, hunting, smuggling, etc., and control IZ. UNFICYP has limited resources in this regard. The status quo within IZ cannot continue in this way. If Cyprus Talks ended in positive result, the IZ issue would naturally be solved. But, in reverse option, UN should start an initiative and transform IZ. It can give control of some parts, except bases, to both sides. The question is how to divide IZ or delienate the future borders between two independent states. Thus, natural borders

can be established between north and south in a fair approach by sharing the IZ equally between two sides.

Özet

Kıbrıs Meselesi, 1955'ten bu yana siyasal ve bilimsel anlamda gündemdeki yerini korumuştur. Taraflar arasında çatışmaların önlenmesi, barış ve düzen ortamının sağlanması ve normal koşullara dönülmesinin desteklenmesi amacıyla, Birleşmiş Milletler (BM) Güvenlik Konseyi tarafından 1964 yılında BM Barış Gücü (BMBG) teşkil edilmiştir. Hâlihazırda BMBG en uzun süreli ve hâlâ devam eden BM Barışı Koruma kuvveti durumundadır.

BMBG'nin rolü ve adadaki barışı ve düzeni sağlamadaki etkinliğinin incelenmesi konusu, araştırmacılar ve uluslararası ilişkiler uzmanları nezdinde ilgi uyandırmaktadır. Doğu Akdeniz'de Kıbrıs Adası'nın stratejik konumu, devam eden müzakereler ve bölgedeki mevcut siyasi, ekonomik ve askerî gelişmeler ile birlikte değerlendirildiğinde, araştırma konusunun akademik önemi daha iyi anlaşılmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın genel amacı, BMBG'nin rolünü ve sorumluluklarını incelemek ve bölgedeki mevcut gelişmeler ışığında adadaki kanun ve düzeni sürdürme konusundaki etkinliğini incelemektir. Bu araştırmanın gerekçesi ve önemi, BMBG'nin teşkilat, görev ve sorumlulukları ile adadaki görevini yerine getirme konusundaki etkinliğinin kapsamlı bir yaklaşımla ele alınmasında yatmaktadır.

BMBG'nin Kıbrıs Adası'nda bulunmasının küresel hukuki temelinde, BM Güvenlik Konseyi'nin Mart 1964 tarihli ve 186 Sayılı Kararı bulunmaktadır. Bu karar oy birliği ile alınmıştır. BMBG'nin ilk birlikleri, 27 Mart 1964 tarihinde barışı koruma görevini yürütmek üzere adaya gelmeye başlamıştır. BMBG'nin görevi; uluslararası barış ve güvenliğin korunması, savaşın tekrarlanmasının önlenmesi, kanunun ve düzenin korunmasına katkıda bulunması ve normal şartlara dönülmesi olarak tanımlanmıştır.

Bu makale, BMBG'nin etkinliğini değerlendirmeyi ve analiz etmeyi ve daha geniş anlamda Kıbrıs Meselesine ilişkin değerlendirmeler yapmayı amaçlamaktadır. Araştırma sonuçları bakımından; BMBG'nin

“çatışmaların tekrarını önlemek” ana görevi kapsamında tamamıyla başarısız olduğu sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. BMBG, 1964’ten 1974’e kadar, Kıbrıs Türk toplumunu hedef alan kan dökme, zulüm ve katliamları durdurma konusunda başarılı olamamıştır. 1974’ten beri çatışma yaşanmamasının veya diğer bir ifadeyle Kıbrıs Türklerinin güven içinde hayatlarını devam ettirmesinin nedeni, BMBG’nin etkinliğinden ziyade, adadaki Türk askerî varlığıdır. Normal koşullara geri dönülmesi ana görevi konusunda, BMBG; iki toplumlu etkinlikler, festivaller, konserler, eğlenceler ve benzeri etkileşimlere bağlı olarak oldukça başarılı bir performans sergilemiştir. Bu görev açısından en önemli örnek kapsamlı Kıbrıs Müzakereleridir. BMBG, bu çerçevede, en zor konunun bile masada tartışılmasını sağlayabilmektedir. Kanun ve düzenin sağlanması ve sürdürülmesi açısından ise BMBG kısmen başarılı bulunmuştur. BMBG, ara bölge boyunca yasa dışı aktiviteleri önleyememektedir. Bunun nedenlerinden başında; BMBG’nin imkân ve kabiliyetlerin kısıtlı olması, ara bölgenin kontrolünün zorlaşması ve BMBG’nin bazı durumlarda Rumlar lehine tavır takınmasıdır.

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