ARISING CRISIS MANAGEMENT CHALLENGES IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN: THE CASE OF CYPRUS*
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Abstract

Crisis is a dimension of the relations between two countries and it denotes a major change in quality or grade of this relationship. Every crisis acts as the instability of the system; therefore, crisis is separated into many small groups in order to find more consistent choices. In this study, undoubtedly the subject is not the definition of crisis but the Cyprus issue and crisis management in The Eastern Mediterranean. This issue is also the sum of direct measures with the purpose to limit the tense situation, provocation and conflict. Due to the location of Cyprus, controlling the entire Eastern Mediterranean, not only the littoral countries but all major powers will compete for the future of the island and its hydrocarbon resources. In this context the issue of Cyprus and the importance of the Eastern Mediterranean is no longer a topic between Turks and Greeks living on the island but also between international actors. The dispute between Turkey-Greek Cypriot has been defined as the most challenging issue for the future of region. When the regional equation has been reestablishing, unstable situation of the Eastern Mediterranean is more crucial regarding the energy security and actors are trying to reevaluate their status progressively.

Keywords: Eastern Mediterranean, Security, Crisis Management, Cyprus.

DOĞU AKDENİZ’DE ÖNE ÇIKAN KRİZ YÖNETİMİ SORUNLARI: KIBRIS ÖRNEĞİ

Özet


Anahtar Kelimeler: Doğu Akdeniz, Güvenlik, Kriz Yönetimi, Kıbrıs.

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Introduction

Eastern Mediterranean provides the opportunity to transform to springboard for monitoring the events in Middle East from military perspective and for the operations if required as like the case of Libya. On the other side, Eastern Mediterranean have been creating barrier belt in its own backyard against growing threats and these are some of the characteristics around the region; proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), extending instability from Afghanistan to Sub-Saharan Africa, unstable governments, poverty, terrorism, international organized crime, irregular migration, human trafficking (illegal migration), migrant smuggling, drug trafficking, arms smuggling.

Beyond the geopolitical equation in the region, technical specialties intended to drilling and transportation of the gas have been creating new challenges. Hydrocarbon fields in the Eastern Mediterranean, which are significant but limited by having only four percentage of the natural gas proven reserves of the world, have been putting forward the transit energy transportation as a necessity and also developing the nature of the relations between the coastal states in addition to increasing the strategic importance of the region. However, it has been complex to be exploiting these gas fields due to environmental situation. (Şeker, 2017b, p. 184)

East Med Project, supported by EU, has become concrete growingly with Israel-Greece-Greek Cypriot trilateral meetings and the dispute between Turkey-Greek Cypriot has been defined as the most challenging issue for the future of region. Today, when the regional equation has been reestablishing, unstable situation of the Eastern Mediterranean has been more crucial regarding the energy security and actors have been in a situation to reevaluate their status progressively.

First of all, crisis is a dimension of the relations between two countries and it denotes a major change in quality or grade of this relationship. In fact, this definition is a description from McClelland, considered a veteran in the study of crisis analysis. Crisis, is a short reaction that exhibits a high danger in an important value and it is a condition that occurs abruptly. After this brief description of crisis, we can define the Cyprus Crisis as an international one, a crisis between two or more countries’ governments in which a series of interactions are possible. In fact, these relations occur in a period where there is little likelihood of war and where serious conflict of interest arises. Basically, this aspect of the crisis may mean nothing but if the status changes in the international system, then raised tensions in the negotiations could increase the possibility of military action and structure of the system may be illustrated as a destruction of itself. (McClelland, 1960, 307)

In fact, every crisis, acts as the instability of the system, therefore, crisis is separated into many small groups in order to find more consistent choices. For example, according to US; it is defined as a situation which poses a threat to its soil, citizens, military forces and vital interests. A threat to US can even be transformed into a diplomatic, economic and political crisis in which cases are evaluated as a whole. In this study, undoubtedly the subject is not the definition of crisis but the Cyprus issue and crisis management in The Eastern Mediterranean. In fact, crisis management in The Eastern Mediterranean issue is the sum of direct measures with the purpose to limit the tense situation, drive and the conflict. In other words, crisis management is a diplomatic effort supported by military forces. (Ari, 1999, p. 43) However, it should be mentioned that crisis management is also to for see competition of all kinds against the related party. Due to the location of Cyprus it controls the entire eastern Mediterranean, and not only the littoral countries are a fact that all major powers know and they will compete for the island and hydrocarbon resources. (Tamçelik, 2016, p. 249-255)
In this sense, with the Cyprus’s strategic importance, we will need to assess the rapidly changing conditions in the future not only in terms of history. Accordingly, the European Union and the Council of Europe, on the other hand, Greece, Britain, the US and Russia, from 1974 till now they have been destabilizing the island and The Eastern Mediterranean. (Şeker, 2013b, p. 771-774) In this context the issue of Cyprus and the importance of Eastern Mediterranean is no longer an issue between Turks and Greeks living on the island but also between the US-Israel-Russia-China-Turkey-Greece. Therefore, this issue may touch the process of membership of Turkey to the European Union and the operational effectiveness of NATO as well. It can even be said that the problem evaluates as an integration of Islamic civilization with Western European values and institutions. In fact, this interaction takes place in the opposite direction, so, the EU’s security and sovereignty issues in the Eastern Mediterranean, Caspian oil, pipelines and so many factors as like economic and energy contents affects the development progress in the region. In fact, what Turkey needs is to be dominant in every line of government policy and in all areas of this hydrocarbon policy.

**Crisis Management in Cyprus and Security Chaos**

Crisis, is a short reaction that exhibits a high danger in an important value and it is a condition that occurs abruptly. (Hermann, 1963, pp.61-82) For example, in USA, crisis is defined as a situation which poses a threat to its soil, citizens to the military forces and vital interests. A threat to USA can even be transformed into a diplomatic, an economic and political crisis, the cases are evaluated as a whole. (Limberis, 1997, p. 73) In other words crisis management is a diplomatic effort supported by military forces. However, it should be mentioned that crisis management is also to foresee competition of all kinds against the related party.

Considering this aspect, the Balkans, the Aegean Sea, the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea are strategic areas of interest for Greece and are directly related to crisis management and national security. (Limberis, 1997, p. 82) History has shown that, in the crisis times, particularly Greece has gone to Turkey periodically with the intention of creating tension in their relations and creating destabilizing activities. (Clutterbuck, 1993, p. 247-248) This is why both sides want to intervene any possible crisis in a case of any other international situation, have to be ready in terms of crisis management and need the necessary organizational structure in order to protect its own interest. Apparently, the future of Turkish and Greek diplomats and soldiers will be busy on a case of crisis or crisis management.

Ole Holst, in his work on the theory of decision-making during crisis, explains that the main method of handling a crisis for both sides is to stop deceiving calculations by outlining and analyzing from all perspectives of interests and the disclosure of demands. Thus, the opposite side will refrain from provocation or escalate the issue until the crisis ends. Therefore, in this case, the involved parties won’t be able to drag the opposing party into unwanted mutual conflict. (Holst, 1972, p. 42-49)

Actually, in a crisis, the focal point emerges when one side inflicts damage and causes a reaction from the other side whilst hoping to achieve the desired changes. For example, in a Turkey-Cyprus Crisis it is quite normal for Turkey to target concrete goals in order to promote its aims. (Stragis, 2001, p. 75-95) However, in the management of a crisis, it is a desirable thing for both sides to spend considerable efforts to soften one another. This is due to the fact that in crisis management the taking of tough decisions comprises a fine setting. However, Limberis observed that in a crisis, emotional decision making does not take place. (Limberis, 1997, p. 74) That’s because decisions are always taken by people working in the shadow of suspicious, with under pressure and growth potential. In 1962, after the Cuban Missile Crisis, former US Defense Secretary Robert McNamara
in the form of statement said “the only available strategy in crisis, is crisis management”. (Limberis, 1997, p. 74) The element of exaggeration in this statement is indeed high, however in terms of crisis management is enough to reveal to what extent it was important because the crisis, between the United States and the Soviet Union in 1962, has been qualified as a successful one and strategic crisis management preserved the peace between the parties. (Tamçelik, 2011, p. 391-396)

Without a doubt, if both sides gave up on their objectives, the crisis in bilateral relations wouldn’t have happened. In fact, the meaning of crisis management is incompatible with the meaning conflict resolution or coercive diplomacy.

According to Limberis, the meaning of coercive diplomacy is broader than the meaning of crisis management because the management of a crisis is modern, scientific and technical. (Limberis, 1997, p. 74) Therefore it is necessary to be examined and studied. If the military actions of the counterparty do not stop, then it will not be able to think about the end of crisis management. In crisis management, if we find a deeper meaning to crisis then it includes all the objectives and priorities of an international conflict. Finally, just after this point, crisis management to be considered as successful. (Pfaltzgraff, 1997, p. 174)

Cyprus’ Basic Paradox (Contradiction) and Political Dilemma

In an international crisis like Cyprus, if at least one side will see damages to its interests or when one side losses grounds then it’s assumed that the crisis will end. In fact, this situation is a fundamental contradiction of crisis management. As a matter of fact, Cyprus Crisis has not reached a conclusion for the two countries’ relations due to the conflict of interests from the parties’ involved in this matter. Therefore, there is a need to take a proper political decision in order to eliminate the conflict of interest in Cyprus Crisis. Still a crisis like this on Cyprus, when thinking of wining the time to accept the losses and retreat, reveals a paradoxical situation. (Pfaltzgraff, 1997, p. 167-169)

Though, from that moment, the Cyprus Crisis have become the main objective of the political leaders who managed the crisis, while avoiding activities that fuel the escalation of the crisis and trying to progress the goals of country/society as much as possible. Indeed, when it is approached to the issue with the thought of winning or with the purpose of not losing, then, political dilemma regarding the Cyprus crisis management has been created. Therefore, elimination of this dilemma in Cyprus, is possible with the implementation of an appropriate political and military strategy to counter. (Şeker, 2013a, p. 1132-1136)

Intrinsically, the largest political dilemma regarding Cyprus, emerged with the July 15, 1974 attack. At this point, duress or symptoms and consequences could be seen in an emerging crisis. Moreover, this crisis was a war harbinger which on July 20, 1974 has been transformed into an intervention. Furthermore, this crisis turned into many crises whilst resulting in different parties turning into enemies. However, at the same time the concerned parties have taken lessons from this crisis and gained experience. Indeed, this experience has been helpful to reduce the suspicion for future crises or at least reduce the likelihood of war. For instance, small crises related to the Cyprus Crisis are like small earthquakes in relation to the discharge of kinetic energy. In the same way in Cyprus, large earthquakes, so they provide to avoidance to war.

Taking into consideration the above historic approach and the design of the future relationship between both nations, what is the possibility of a future Greek-Turkish war? Starting from this assessment there are three main actors that have a direct impact on Turkish-Greek crisis: These are the Greeks, the Turks and the Global Powers (US-EU). In general, and especially in Cyprus, they are known to protect all the time against the potential for Hellenic expansion and conflict in the
direction of Turkish blocks. (Richardson, 1971, p. 113)

Thus, the position of the US and the EU may damage the interests of the related parties. Therefore, in the Turkish-Greek crisis, it is certain that the US and the EU is not reliable deterrent. However, it is obvious that crisis will result in crippling and/or injuring both sides’ regimes. So, under these circumstances, the conflict can only be prevented by the deterrent credibility of Turks and Greeks.

Crisis Management in Cyprus and Concerning Principles

It should be mentioned that demands about Cyprus must be thought with the principles. If the demands can be satisfied in advance, then a relaxation in the main objective can be obtained. Indeed, the result of any crisis in Cyprus is being determined beyond the acts of opposite side and implementation of the principles of another side. So, what does this situation show? In fact, in this situation, it makes leeway for both sides, cooperation mutual limitation of objectives and an effective crisis management. (Pfaltzgraff, 1997, p. 169) In particular, from the analysis of the issue on the Cyprus Crisis, continues to help in the ongoing management of crises and it’s certain that the results are issued from it. Even this analysis, regarding the Cyprus issue and all its criteria bares great importance from the aspect how it works and how it affects the results. Fundamentally, the parties involved must take lessons, analyze and know every mistake from these crises management.

However, the crises’ analysis that have taken place in Cyprus since 1960 are not yet of public knowledge. Therefore, for both societies, the lack of analysis of these crises leads to weakness in security detection. For example, in 1974, Turkish Naval Forces gained useful results from the analysis from the recovery of sunken destroyer, TCG KOCATEPE. In reality every country has deficiencies in its defense system because the lack of personnel or the means are not enough. Hence, the interested parties, at every opportunity, must evaluate its method, personnel, means and doctrine so not to commit the same mistakes and gain experiences from them.

In substance, this analysis of the issue on the Cyprus Crisis will reveal and shed light on; the thickness of the dilemmas faced, the production and offering of different alternatives, the difficulties in cooperation between politicians-military-diplomats, the problem of escalation in tensions, the connection of communications and the role of the media among others. An analysis like this, one of the issue on the Cyprus Crisis, must be done objectively and must be up for debate. First of all, in order to discourage war during the period of the Cyprus Crisis, clarity of interests, threats and opportunities is needed. (Farson, Satfford ve Wark, 1991, p. 109-111)

According to this, the followings are the essential necessities; the group that will manage the crisis must be experienced and knowledgeable, a degree of cooperation and coordination between the various agencies and individuals, a competent-reliable-fast communication, a readiness for crisis management system, a teaching method, the intervention rules, the media usage, the support for the work done by the crisis management group in the form of means, facilities and others.

From these principles, it could also be implied that these ones provide the crisis management scientific work with experience regarding the following two points: avoiding wide-range objectives as they are decisive and challenging, limiting the situation up to the required level resources that make the crisis more complex.

As a matter of fact, following the principles and monitoring the Cyprus Crisis management will allow a successful management of the crisis.

Political Control in the Application of the Cyprus Policy

In Cyprus military actions of the parties are always supporting the political goals. For example, the development of the military force, exercises, alarms, timing of the military operation, modification
in calibration of weapons and others in Cyprus can either cause escalation or relaxation. Furthermore, new technology can help obtain political control in Cyprus. However, during the Cyprus Crisis, the interested parties must examine the conditions of application of plans, characteristics, advantages and take into careful consideration. Yet in 1963, 1964, 1967 and 1974, both sides in Cyprus have applied closed policies in times of crisis. All military movements in this period, made by the National Defense Minister of Greece and Undersecretary of the Ministry of National Defense, were monitored by decision of the Council of Defense (SAM). In Turkey, these decisions were made under the control of and established by the Turkish General Staff and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

**Deliberately rate reduction regarding military action in Cyprus**

Regarding this situation in Cyprus; recognition of the diplomatic activity, status of the assessment of decisions taken and the reaction to proposals were evaluated. However, media of the both sides have put pressure on the public opinion towards a negative direction. Moreover, the number of options is limited under pressure in moments of crisis. As an instance, in his book about the crisis in Cuba in 1962 Robert Kennedy writes that J. F. Kennedy, president of the Unites States of America at that time, despite the suggestions of his advisers decided to give time to Khrushchev. (Kennedy, 1969, p. 53-61) The same situation occurred in the coup of the 15th of July 1974 and after the acquaintance of a certain time on the 20th of July Turkey intervened in the island.

**Coordination of military and diplomatic activities in Cyprus**

In point of fact, with this method, as part of an overall strategy, not by military means during crisis but by means of interviews, the desired immediate solution gives a sign. However, in Cyprus the increasing complexity of coordination makes this situation more difficult. For this reason, through mutual education and communication on both sides, they would be able to eliminate the complexity and ensure coordination.

The truth is that in Cyprus against the threat of use of force and in order to reach the main political goals, it will be needed to adapt to the political initiative of the movement of troops. Hence the idea of preventive assault against the related parties is constant, giving the impression that every movement that expected from the other side is an attack and should be avoided. This is the case almost every day in Cyprus. Especially in the diplomatic and military activities in Cyprus, trying to avoid military solution is on the one hand and on the other hand there is a desire to continue negotiations for a way out of the crisis. In fact, all of them, the other party to the diplomatic and military activities is to leave a way out of the crisis. Actually, all of these diplomatic and military actions for the other party are ways out of the crisis.

**Some Important Aspects That Must be Highlighted Related to The Cyprus Issue**

First and foremost, the information that support the decisions regarding the Cyprus issue should be compared. At the same time in order to create a dialog with the opposite side, a communication line must be established. Beside this, if measures adopted by the interested parties are unsuccessful, parties should own the “what happens” algorithm. Moreover, in terms of the Cyprus issue, if provisions are given to the opposite side, then, the response should be received in a logical flexibility because this flexibility encompasses within the logic of political and military movements. However, when the questions are being asked, soldiers give precise and clear answers and on the
other hand politicians do the exact opposite, they make assessments with criteria rather than the military approach.

In reality, in order to facilitate the understanding of the Cyprus issue we must address it and understand it as theater play. (Pfaltzgraff, 1997, 178) By being carried out in this manner it will provide the following benefits: Firstly, the Cyprus issue and related crises will be pointed to the dynamic part, secondly to resolve the arising crises in Cyprus encourage all initiatives while offering both logic and sentiment, thirdly facilitate the debate and development Cyprus Crisis and finally it should not be forgotten that both the screenwriter (leader) in line with the players play the same game in Cyprus, but it is played in different ways.

It is understood that in the Cyprus Crisis the authority of the rules of engagement is very sensible and considered to be configured under a certain balance. For example, is the presence of the Greek Navy in South Cyprus territorial waters disturbing or not? Will or will not South Cyprus attack be passing Greek planes or commando helicopters along its territorial borders? Is any military boat approaching Cyprus’ coast will be destroyed or otherwise? Finally, according to the rules of engagement, authority of a commander, captain or pilot will interpret correctly or not? This the spool of knotted analytical questions.

Factors Affecting Crisis Management in Cyprus Issue

As all crises, the Cyprus issue is also a dynamic one. As time passes, the gathering of intelligence increases as well as information. Therefore, to show a proper military reaction to provocations and demands, a method must exist. In fact, this method should show short term reactions, evaluate existing plans and forms of communications. (Brecher, 1993, p. 27)

Still in Cyprus the crisis management methods will face with opposing forces and are follows: (Augustine, 2000, p. 48) Formation of the crisis in Cyprus, the situation in Cyprus and evaluation of the crisis, formation of an alternative operational style in Cyprus, selection of course of action in Cyprus, the development of action plans in Cyprus, the implementation of the response plan in Cyprus. (Morrow, 1997, p. 12)

This situation can be decided by the Greek Government Council for Foreign Affairs and Defense (KYSEA), whether it’s military action, economic and political assessment or diplomatic conflict. The general shape of the military operations is chosen by KYSEA. With a joint help from the Chief of Staff and the Supreme Military Council (SAGE) decisions and commands are given in order to execute operations by the military, which include Navy Command, Land Forces Command, Supreme Military Command of the Interior/Islands and the Tactical Air Command. (Limberis, 1997, p. 86) In Turkey, with the recommendation from the National Security Council, the Turkish Parliament’s decisions and Government implementations may go into operation.

However, both powers, overall military choices, would go ahead with the estimated follows: The presence of military forces on the Cyprus crisis, the show of force on both sides, the implementation of psychological operations, mutual blockade, finally forces clash on a reciprocal basis. (Jablonsky, 1997, p. 34-35)

Therefore, in order for the Cyprus Crisis Management Centre to function in a healthy dynamic way the application of the scheme bellow is needed.
Indeed, during the crisis, explaining the role of the political power is important. From this point, Greece’s crisis management and the major role of political institutions during the planning stage are as follows:

First stage: Consists of the situation of crisis in Cyprus. Let’s suppose a violation of the existing borders in Cyprus. In such situation Greece’s National Crisis Administration will report it to the Operation’s Center. From that moment the problem carries an irregular feature. In this stage, information will be gathered and assessments will be made. (Limberis, 1997:78) The government will inform the Chief of Defense and the Command Headquarters related and will monitor the situation. This stage will end with the release of the situation’s assessment by the crisis management center. (Farson, Satfford and Wark, 1991, p. 45-78)

Second stage: Assessment of the crisis in Cyprus. Military intervention will be evaluated and it will be engaged in the issue if desired by the KYSEA. Meanwhile, the Chief of Defense and the Supreme Military Council will give military advice. KYSEA will identify Greek interests being threatened and it will decide if the crisis requires military intervention. The Chief of Defense and SAGE will provide KYSEA with information in the subject of the possibilities and capabilities regarding the military activities, and this stage will be completed with KYSEA’s decision about military preparations. The time and features of setting limitations on the use of military force, volume of work and the expansion area will reveal the chances of the future.

Third stage: This is the stage where military activities are carefully prepared. Despite KYSEA’s specific instructions, in this stage it is not allowed to intervene in any way. In particular, the Chief of Defense and the Command Headquarters prepare alternative military operational plans. (Richardson, 1971, p. 17.)

Fourth stage: Here, the selection of the operation mode or course of action is determined. The Chief of Defense or the SAGE, hierarchically, prepare the military operational plans within their

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*Table 1: Scheme for The Cyprus Crisis Management Centre to Function in A Healthy Dynamic Way*
own criteria that will serve as the basis for KYSEA’s final decision. From these plans KYSEA can order a more detailed plan for the preparation.

Fifth stage: At this stage, crisis-related planning is done. The Chief of Defense will determine the router information and the task in the operational control principles. Subsequently, operational orders will be issued and the operation will be performed. Nevertheless, the use of force in the region will only be determined as a political decision.

Sixth stage: It is the performance of operation. After all these stages, the start of military operations, can be decided by KYSEA.

Factors Affecting Crisis Management in Cyprus

These factors are expected to be effective in directing a crisis to occur in Cyprus: (George, 1991, p. 396-397) The selection of the crisis management strategy on the Cyprus issue, the role of the intelligence related to the Cyprus crisis, the status board of the other party, the level of fatigue and stress of the Parties, the adoption of diplomatic and military action of interested parties. (Farson, Satfford ve Wark, 1991, p. 138)

These factors will be effective while directing the Cyprus Issue crisis, therefore, personal perception (Limberis, 1997, p. 83) and initiatives like corporate strategy within crisis management and collected intelligence may be greatly disturbed due to being emerged as part of a whole. (Pfaltzgraff, 1997:165-168) However while creating the crisis management/pacification center, special attention must be taken in the formation of intelligence analysts, military and political correspondents, experts and scientists from different areas. (George, 1991, p. 397-398)

Cyprus Related Crisis Management Strategies

Regarding the Cyprus issue, it is known that the current strategy is reflected in game theory strategy. So, the best movements of one player are dependent on the movements of the other. The implementation of this strategy brings the desire that the other party will not be able to make another move. Pursuant to this fact, the decision of the one side will be still convenient to the other side. But of course, the types of negotiations taken will affect this strategy.

For Greece, the truth about crisis management has been analyzed by KYSEA and Prime Minister makes the decision. Thus, a crisis on the Cyprus issue, because of conflict of interest, rapid development of events, time pressure, stress and table of uncertainty, a timely and reliable form of identification of details, will help to make accurate assessments of the possible reactions and intentions of the other party. (Farson, Satfford ve Wark, 1991, p. 131) The image in itself of these is a real crisis. Accordingly, in Cyprus, determining the political objectives, entering a high priority and diagnosis of the situation suggests the following question. By evaluating which military and diplomatic activities and strategy will manage Cyprus crisis?

The overall objective is avoiding conflict and for each part to satisfy their own goals. Therefore, this target has emerged as an overall strategy. Even parties that want to reach the overall objective, also try to determine the tactics and strategies related to crisis management. (Pfaltzgraff, 1997, 167-169) However, at this point, the political dilemma should be avoided is protection of interests and the avoidance of movements that could lead to military conflict. Therefore, this case must be balanced in a scale. Actually, herein, the selection of a crisis management strategy concerning Cyprus is very sensitive. Because the Cyprus issue should be determined with a viable stra-
strategy, during any crisis while taking into account the data changes, the presence of an appropriate tactic and the action plan.

Substantially, crisis management strategies regarding the Cyprus issue, are based on two main categories. Offensive strategies, the changes desired over the opposite side, are based on the current situation. Defensive strategies are available through them whilst related developments are obtained or used in order to prevent counteractions. (Kissinger, 2003, p. 19-21)

**Attack Strategies Related to the Cyprus Issue**

The most serious example is here the blackmail strategy. From this point of the blackmail strategy, desired demands to be fulfilled are requested by the opposite. These demands come with the threat of punishment in case of failure to satisfy. Generally, this strategy tries to change the status quo, such as Greece’s case, and is used by countries with sobering ambitions. In fact, the side using the blackmail strategy, in proportion to the reaction of the parties being blackmailed, owns the advantage of deciding the subsequent steps. Raising the raid or the implementation of the penalty is clear. Therefore, the blackmail strategy covers the escalation of the crisis in Cyprus and shows the strong reaction of the counterparty. Also, for the side exposed to pressure it is necessary to disregard the first raid and otherwise ignore the possibility of a crisis. From this point in Cyprus, the performance of this strategy is expected to be affected by the following factors: Blackmail threats’ safety in Cyprus, the legality or consistency of the blackmailing demands in Cyprus, both sides will affect the importance given to the current conflict in Cyprus.

**Limitation Strategies and Prevention of Infiltration in Cyprus**

Wherein the nature of limitation and attrition movements may also represent the attempts of the parties to change the status quo, e.g. the borderline between Turkey and Iraq is profundity of infiltration. Primarily, the purpose of the infiltration is either for defense, retreat, or an approach to strike the opposite side. (Limberis, 199, p. 79) In other words, this limitation movement is a pilot plan, however, in spite of the intentions of incitement the main objective is to escape from escalation due to the possibility of the miscalculations, misunderstandings and difficulties in communication may lead to dangers.

Even in the side of the defense in Cyprus, without warning, for the purpose of maintaining the status quo, making military operations is likely. In this case, events and the intention of the parties to discuss the status quo will develop in a different way. But the defending side’s delay in response may cause the opposite side to further infiltrate or the lack of defensive movements will lead to adverse situations. Is this case the defensive side generally recurs to military deterrence?

For example, continues airspace violation of the Greek Cypriot Administration would cause to weigh the possible reactions from parties and a constant adoption of regulations in Cyprus and further application of pressure may arise.

**Controlled Pressure Strategy Regarding the Cyprus Issue**

With this strategy, it is explained that even though the defense of the status quo in Cyprus is at the expense of the other party, a situation change is clearly desirable. Parties who wish to change the status quo, hoping the opposite side show a response initiated by applying small pressure. Because the other related party has no possibilities or is hesitant to use this, therefore, the success
of the strategy is proportional to the force applied. Moreover, based on the lack of balance force can lead to provocation. In this case, the controlled pressure and the areas of interest regarding strategies will be focused on the island nation, limited water resources and others. In parallel, the defending side, to be able to fight against provocation, is obliged without willingness to follow the path to retreat. Otherwise the position will be destroyed. Pursuant to this, Turkish strategy, usage of a controlled pressure strategy, in the Aegean Sea and Cyprus is clear. In fact, this strategy, has applied for many years successfully, reveals Greece’s weakness. Therefore, Greece has preferred the use of military force in the Aegean Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean to counter the Turkish military operations in the same area. (Şeker, 2011, p. 118-119)

**Fait Accompli Strategy Related to The Cyprus Issue**

In Cyprus, at the expense of the opposing side the fait accompli strategy has provide with quick and decisive actions. It was the case in the seizure of Northern Cyprus. The usage of the fait accompli strategy has favorable conditions due to the other parties’ reluctance to defend the status quo, however, serious indicators of deficiencies are present. The previous attempt (George, 1991, p. 379-381) and failure of the attack strategy by the aggressive Greek Cypriots have left them with no choice but the fait accompli strategy.

Essentially, the danger arising from the implementation of this strategy in Cyprus is that party should attract attention to another direction. However, if it is required it may enter direct conflict and it stems from the possibility of immediate strong reaction, then, the probability of the situation to turn against the other party is not impossible. Admittedly, the defensive elements of such a strategy is to obtain; intelligence from the opposing party, (Farson, Satfford ve Wark, 1991, p. 141-143) effective response, acknowledgement of the decisive political demands of quick military presence capabilities and the fait accompli scenario.

History is full with examples of the applications of the fait accompli strategy. The joint Israeli-British-French attack on Egypt over the Suez, (Tamçelik and Kurt, 2015, p. 445-450) 1962 Khrushchev’s plan for the placement of missiles in Cuba, (Kennedy, 1969, p. 53-61) in 1974 the abolition of the current presidential system targeting creation of a new Hellenic nation and the case of Turkey in March 1987 are examples of this application. (George, 1991, p. 383-409)

**Attrition Strategy on the Cyprus Issue**

As with the Cyprus issue, between two countries there is also an opposing power. Aggressive states who want to change the status quo select the attrition strategy against small countries. (Pfaltzgraff, 1997:171) For example: guerrilla warfare, sabotage, lightning operations, etc. Just like the use of force in Cyprus and having lack of power (Ari, 1999, p. 43) against the threats require an initial tolerance to advance the phases gradually through military operations and finally of course it shows a strong response to this situation.

In 1965-71 the Vietcong in the Vietnam War and in 1963-1967 by the Greek Cypriots in the Cyprus crisis are good examples of the implementation of attrition strategy.

**Conclusion**

Cyprus, is one of the most important issues that have marked Turkey’s foreign policy in the last 60 years. Cyprus emerges as one of Turkey’s strategic objectives.

Therefore, the strategy of time, place, date, and should be viewed in terms of power relationships
carefully to Cyprus with other countries. Especially in terms of strategy and history in certain regions of the country and regarding the time element of the policies pursued, in the last 130 years, it shows that the changes in Cyprus in the process are needed. In this way, the Cyprus problem is not the only problem of the Turkish-Greek but also between Europe and Asia, besides it will emerge as the issue of establishing sovereignty in the eastern Mediterranean. Thanks to the Anatolian shore, this island, Cyprus, will be able to provide security but at the same threat rate as may be from the southern direction.

Turkey wishes to maintain the peace in the region in provinces of neighboring countries with excessive proliferation of arms but errors of crisis management neutralize this desire. (Pfaltzgraff, 1997, p. 168-169) Especially in Turkey and Greece when comparing in this respect some interesting results are emerging. First, through islands in the Aegean Sea, Greece has the opportunity to control the western region of Turkey. Second, if Cyprus goes entirely to the control of the Greek Cypriot, Turkey’s southern coast, will enter the field penetration of the Greek armed forces. That is to fully understand the meaning, the Anatolian peninsula will be subject to Greek strategic pressure. For Turkey, in any crisis or in the event of armed conflict, possible strategic warfare may affect the transportation of the materials for industrial production and especially oil imports will have a vital importance.

South Anatolia harbor in the Aegean Sea is only outlet for supplying Turkey. If Cyprus becomes the only country to control both entrance of the Aegean Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean, then Turkey will be forced to ensure the safety of commercial maritime fleet, which will provide the supply routes and resupply of products. (Şeker and Dalaklis, 2017a, p. 165-169)

To be able to strong in the Eastern Mediterranean and keep the supply routes of Anatolia safe, that is why Turkey must maintain its presence around the island of Cyprus in all circumstances. Thus, for following an effective foreign policy to Cyprus and other countries, Turkey must activate the elements of national power and economy. Due to the location of Cyprus, controlling the entire Eastern Mediterranean, not only the littoral countries but all major powers will compete for the future of the island and its hydrocarbon resources. First of all, it needs to be raised that to create an effective policy in Cyprus, the level of knowledge and understanding regarding the Turkish Cypriot community is vital. In doing so, an effective defense force must be told the public as a successful one if it is supported by an effective economic power.

Decision makers should note that the states with the wrong strategic assumptions will pay the cost of this erroneous decision in the later time. Therefore, given the strategic decisions regarding Cyprus, the most important element in that strategy is the timing. Should we look at the different decisions in this regard, it is clear that cost-benefit analysis should be done. By the way, Turkey needs to put more importance on the national strategy regarding Cyprus and a crisis management tool should be developed on the future of the country. Especially, taking crucial decisions on strategic activities, international crisis management procedures and the use of strategic assessment may be the priorities in this regard. However, wars and crises will be inevitable elements of Turkey’s geopolitical future. It is very significant for Turkey, with uncertainty and the need for security in full confusion, because this part of the world is one of major conflict area between major powers.

Crisis management in The Eastern Mediterranean issue is the sum of direct measures with the purpose to limit the tense situation, drive and the conflict. In other words, crisis management is
a diplomatic effort supported by military forces. However, it should be mentioned that crisis management is also to for see competition of all kinds against the related party. Due to the location of Cyprus it controls the entire eastern Mediterranean, and not only the littoral countries are a fact that all major powers know and they will compete for the island and hydrocarbon resources. The dispute between Turkey-Greek Cypriot has been defined as the most challenging issue for the future of region. When the regional equation has been reestablishing, unstable situation of the Eastern Mediterranean is more crucial regarding the energy security and actors are trying to reevaluate their status progressively.

In this context the issue of Cyprus and the importance of Eastern Mediterranean is no longer an issue between Turks and Greeks living on the island but also between the US-Israel-Russia-China-Turkey-Greece. Therefore, this issue may touch the process of membership of Turkey to the European Union and the operational effectiveness of NATO as well. It can even be said that the problem evaluates as an integration of Islamic civilization with Western European values and institutions. In fact, this interaction takes place in the opposite direction, so, the EU’s security and sovereignty issues in the Eastern Mediterranean, Caspian oil, pipelines and so many factors as like economic and energy contents affects the development progress in the region. In fact, what Turkey needs is to be dominant in every line of government policy and in all areas of this hydrocarbon policy.
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