

Ramazan SAFA

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland

ORCID: 0000-0002-1629-5283

Analysis of the International Isolation Policy Against Northern Cyprus

Abstract: The conflict in Cyprus remains unresolved in the realm of international conflict resolution. Following Turkey's military intervention and the establishment of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), the international community, particularly the European Union, implemented isolation and embargo measures against the TRNC. These policies have persisted for over 40 years, causing the Turkish Cypriot community to live under isolation. Only Turkey recognizes Northern Cyprus as an independent nation, and since its declaration in 1983. Many international institutions, such as the Universal Postal Union, the International Civil Aviation Organization, and the International Air Transport Association, refuse to engage with the Turkish Cypriot community. Exports and flights from Northern Cyprus are dependent on Turkey, and direct international flights are banned. Additionally, Turkish Cypriots encounter embargoes in sports and cultural fields, where they are prohibited from playing in international matches or competitions, and some international musicians' concerts in Northern Cyprus have been canceled.

This study aims to explore the impact of the isolation and embargo policies enforced after the 1974 intervention on Northern Cyprus and peace negotiations. It argues that the isolation policies target the community rather than political actors and these long-term strict isolation is not good for any actor in the region.

Key words: Cyprus, conflict, conflict resolution, North Cyprus, TRNC, Turkey's foreign policy, Embargos, Isolation

Introduction

One issue that must be resolved in the context of international conflict resolution is the Cyprus Dilemma. The international world, particularly the European Union, isolated and embargoed the TRNC following Turkey's military involvement and the declaration of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC).

The Turkish Cypriot community was cut off from the outside world for over 40 years because of embargoes and isolation. Since its unilateral proclamation of independence in 1983, Northern Cyprus, a nation exclusively recognized by Turkey, has been under severe embargoes. The International Civil Aviation Organization, International Air Transport Association, and Universal Postal Union are among the organizations that refuse to do business with the Turkish Cypriot. Direct international flights are not permitted, and all exports and flights from Northern Cyprus must go through Turkey. Turkish Cypriots are also subject to embargoes in the realms of sports and culture; Turkish Cypriot teams are prohibited from competing in international competitions; Turkish Cypriot athletes are not permitted to compete internationally unless they compete on behalf of another nation; and some international performers have had their performances in Northern Cyprus canceled.

International isolation refers to a situation in which a country is cut off from the rest of the international community, often as a result of political, economic, or diplomatic

action taken by other countries. Isolation can take various forms, including trade embargoes, travel bans, restrictions on financial transactions, and exclusion from international organizations and events.

Conditions that may lead to international isolation include the following.

- Human rights violations: When a country is accused of violating human rights, other countries may choose to isolate it to put pressure on the government to change its behavior.
- Political instability: In the case of political instability or civil conflict, other countries may choose to isolate a country to prevent the spread of violence or to protect their own interests.
- Security concerns: Countries may isolate another country if they perceive it as a security threat, such as in the case of states that support terrorism or pursue weapons of mass destruction.
- Economic sanctions: Economic sanctions are a common form of isolation and are often used by countries as a means of putting pressure on another country to change its behavior.
- Territorial disputes: Countries may isolate a country that is involved in a territorial dispute, such as disputes over borders or control of resources.

International isolation can have far-reaching effects on a country's economy, politics, and society. For example, it can limit access to markets, investment, and technology, which can hurt economic growth, and can make it difficult for the country to participate in international organizations and events, which can limit its ability to pursue its interests and defend its position.

In addition to not committing any human rights violations, Turkish Cypriots took a peaceful stance, as in the Annan Plan. The Turkish Cypriots did not give in to ethnic cleansing attempts and stood against it many times. There is no political instability in Northern Cyprus. Simultaneously, no security concerns have emerged on the island since 1974. The basis of these sanctions against the Turkish Cypriot people are economic and regional sanctions. However, the fact that these sanctions have been accepted worldwide has resulted in differing results. States that have built their existence on a cultural basis based on ideology have developed various methods and tools to spread the ideology they have and the culture from which this ideology originates. One of these methods is policies of oppression and isolation against those who are outside their own ideologies (Yetkin, 1970). At this point, it is useful to focus on the Enosis discourse in Cyprus. Makarios, who was elected Archbishop on October 20, 1950, started his duty by swearing that he would work for the Greek national values for the sake of Enosis and would never renounce this policy (Oberling, 1988). In this context, the pressure of Southern Cyprus that causes these isolations can be perceived as a threat to Turkish presence in Cyprus. The Turkish Cypriots on the island have faced many threats in this context over the years. These isolations for more than 40 years also caused difficulties in preserving the culture of Turkish Cypriots. Turkish Cypriots are moving away from their Cypriot identity daily and towards their ethnic identity. The bond between the two communities weakens daily.

The Turkish Cypriot community in Northern Cyprus is seen as a 'separatist' by many segments. The term 'separation' mostly refers to the withdrawal from a state by estab-

lishing a new sovereign and independent state, as well as the demand to establish a larger autonomous region within the existing state (Coppeters, Bruno, Sakwa, 2003). While demanding autonomy under an equal bi-communal federation, the general policy of the Turkish Cypriots after 2021 focused on two separate sovereign states. One of the reasons for this separatism stands out as the experiences of Turkish Cypriots from past to present, and the lack of acceptance of peace efforts by Greek Cypriots. Whatever the reason, these separatist policies form the basis of international isolation (Evre, 2011). However, it is clear that a pro-solution community does not deserve such a long period of isolation. This long-term isolation policy reveals the double standards of the European Union and the international community towards the Turkish Cypriot community (Arık, 2011).

Examining the consequences of the isolation and embargo measures taken following the 1974 intervention on Northern Cyprus and peace talks is the goal of this study. The militaristic and meddling activities of the Republic of Turkey are the primary cause of these measures, yet the majority of the people they affect live in Northern Cyprus.

Owing to Turkey's actions, the international community has taken steps to keep the Turkish Cypriot community apart from the rest of the world. Unfortunately, while the international community worked with Turkey on many topics throughout this period, including EU accession talks, Turkey's Cyprus policy was limited to rhetorical criticism. This paper makes the case that Cyprus is not the proper target of the embargo and the isolation strategies of international institutions' and actors.'

This isolation, with its impact on politics, economy, and social life in the north of the island, has caused Turkey's role to reach a critical point in Northern Cyprus. While Northern Cyprus is becoming increasingly dependent on Turkey each passing day, Turkey has become an element of pressure for the implementation of its own policies in the north of the island. In the past, the emotional bond created with the 'Motherland' discourse has left its place to economic, cultural, social and political pressures.

Many protocols were signed within the framework of the integration of Turkey and Northern Cyprus, and the Turkish Cypriot people had to submit to these pressures because of international isolation. At this point, the position of the Republic of Cyprus, the European Union, and the United Nations has caused the Turkish Cypriot people to become more dependent on Turkey on each passing day. The loneliness of Northern Cyprus, both economically and politically, has revealed that Turkey is the only solution that can maintain its connection with the world.

In this paper, the decisions taken by the UN and the EU on Northern Cyprus are analyzed. How these decisions shaped the economic structure of Northern Cyprus is discussed using statistics from official TRNC sources. The effect of these decisions on the perception of peace in the Turkish Cypriot community was examined. The effect of these embargoes on Northern Cyprus-Turkey relations was revealed.

The Basis of Embargos and Isolation

The basis of the isolations and embargoes against Northern Cyprus is the claim that Turkish Cypriots are "separatists" (Evre, 2011). In this section, we analyze whether the Turkish Cypriots exhibit separatist behavior.

Four types of separatist movement have been described in the literature. The first is complete separation, the second is separation from an inactive state, the third is separation that occurs despite the resistance of the existing active state, and finally, the fourth is unsuccessful attempts at separation (Marsh, 2002). Examples of complete separation are Norway's secession from Sweden and Eritrea's secession from Ethiopia (Evre, 2011). Although the Turkish Cypriots did not have such a demand for many years, it started to be brought to the agenda in 2020, when the pro-Turkey National Unity Party Chairman Ersin Tatar assumed the Presidency of the TRNC. Although such a demand was put forward during Tatar's tenure, it should be seen as a move to strengthen the hands of the Turkish Cypriot side at the negotiation table. This possibility is not even on the agenda of the Turkish Cypriots, UN, or international community.

An example of the second type of separation is the new state that emerged following the collapse of the Soviet Union. Demand for Turkish Cypriots cannot be evaluated in this section. The Republic of Cyprus continues its active existence and effectiveness in the presence of the UN, even with the Turkish Cypriots. So much so that this state was included in the European Union without Turkish Cypriots. The third type of separation is a type of separation that takes place despite the reaction and resistance of the state. Although this is a rare case, Bangladesh's separation from Pakistan can be considered an example. The separation of the Turkish Cypriots from the Republic of Cyprus and the establishment of the TRNC can be included in this type of separation. However, it should not be forgotten that Turkish Cypriots have never closed their doors to negotiations and federation. Many decisions stand out as steps taken to make the status quo in the region more livable. The fourth type of breakup is unsuccessful breakups. Although international law does not prohibit separatism, no laws allow it. Many separatist masses demand separation using their right to self-determination in their own regions. The Greek Cypriots also held a church-led self-determination vote against the British. These efforts have not been recognized by the state in many countries, such as in Cyprus.

On this basis, Northern Cyprus is exposed to many isolations by the international community. While these isolations manifest themselves in the political, diplomatic, military, and sociocultural fields, the connection of Northern Cyprus with the outside world is only its connection with Turkey. Taiwan has been highlighted as the most isolated state in literature (Geldenhuis, 1990). However, in these studies, the TRNC was often neglected. While Taiwan is recognized by 15 sovereign states, it can also establish de facto bilateral relations with other states such as EU members and the USA. Taiwan also has membership in 19 international organizations, and recognized by 12 countries (Wisevoter, 2024). On the other hand, TRNC is not recognized by any country other than the Republic of Turkey. Apart from this, relations with all clan countries are at an informal level (Evre, 2011). The TRNC has no international agreement with any country other than Turkey. At the same time, Taiwan has many advantages in commercial terms compared to TRNC. As a country that is open to foreign direct investment and has signed many trade agreements, Taiwan is much less isolated than the TRNC. Export imports are not possible in Northern Cyprus. Northern Cyprus received foreign investment through Turkey. Taiwanese citizens can travel to many countries, including visa-free, and international flights to Taiwan are allowed (Geldenhuis, 1990). TRNC citizens, on the other hand, can travel abroad, provided that they either obtain a passport from the Republic

of Cyprus or the Turkish Republic. International flights are only possible when Turkey is used for transit. Due to the “entry ban” that Turkey has recently imposed on some dissident Turkish Cypriot journalists and politicians, Southern Cyprus has remained the only connection between these people and the world. While Taiwan can be represented in sporting events and appear in international events, Turkish Cypriot athletes are often forced to represent Turkey. Simultaneously, no international sports events were allowed in the region. Even when compared to Taiwan, which is the most isolated country in the world, Northern Cyprus is exposed to very heavy isolation (Evre, 2011). These isolations were neither fair nor ethical.

Economic Isolation

First, it should be emphasized that the policies towards Northern Cyprus are not economic sanctions or decisions taken by only a few countries. Sanction decisions against Northern Cyprus were taken by the UN and they have been implemented for 40 years by all UN countries except Turkey. Undoubtedly, economic isolation comes first among the sanctions. It should be noted that many non-economic isolation decisions (technological, travel, health, etc.) also have economic consequences. The UN Security Council must implement these isolation decisions based on the UN agreement in accordance with Articles 39 and 41. In addition to these articles, the EU can also make a decision on economic isolation in case of weapons of mass destruction and human rights violations. According to Article 39 of the UN Charter, the Security Council determines that peace has been threatened, disrupted, or an act of aggression, and makes recommendations for the maintenance or restoration of international peace and security. According to Article 41, these measures may include the complete or partial interruption of economic relations and railway, sea, air, post, telegraph, radio, and other means of communication and transportation, as well as the severing of diplomatic relations (United Nations, 1945). The economic sanctions decisions taken according to these articles caused Northern Cyprus to separate from Southern Cyprus, both with its 40-year history and breadth. It is also debatable whether isolation achieves this purpose. In the last 40 years, it can be seen that Northern Cyprus has fallen behind economically compared to the South of the island.

Isolation decisions cause various problems for both the target country and the surrounding countries. While making these decisions, the target of the isolation decision should not be the public, and the purpose of the isolation should be determined (Fisunoğlu, 2011). Although it is known that the decisions that caused the isolation were taken by the separatist leaders of the Republic of Turkey and Northern Cyprus, economic isolation mostly affects the Turkish Cypriot people in terms of both length and breadth. Thus, while the Gross National Product per capita is \$31,551 in the south of the island, according to World Bank data, this figure is \$14,942 in the north (The World Bank, 2021). This statistic reveals the height of the gap between the two regions. Of course, income differences can be observed between every region of the world, but the reason for this economic gap between two regions that are so close to each other is international isolation. Businesses in the TRNC are shallow, small, and minimal. These businesses are

also deprived of opportunities for enhanced cooperation and international partnerships. Limited access to opportunities provided by international financing and the inability to provide cheap and secure financing create many obstacles for companies producing TRNC. The TRNC economy lags behind the Republic of Cyprus in terms of per capita income, growth, and employment (Fisunoğlu, 2011).

The use of Turkish Lira by the TRNC also caused it to be more affected by the crises in Turkey. The two sectors stand out in sustaining the economy under isolation. The first is tourism, and the second is the higher education sector. Under the yoke of isolation, the TRNC economy is looking for ways. Although isolation hinders the trade of commodities, the TRNC economy survives with the contribution of tourists and foreign students coming to the country.

It is naturally expected that the tourism sector will have an impact on the economy of a Mediterranean country that receives sunlight for at least 300 days a year. The number of passengers entering the TRNC by sea and air in 2022 is 1,415,066. 1,117,675 of these passengers were Turkish Republic citizens. Considering the density of the Turkish population on the island, it can be argued that 1/3 of this figure comes to the island for tourism activities with the most optimistic probability. The number of citizens from other countries coming to the island by air and sea in 2022 was determined to be 297,391. Tourists outside the Republic of Turkey mostly crossed the north of the island using checkpoints with Southern Cyprus. The entry of foreign nationals from the South to the North of the island is 1,836,630 as of 2022, and the exit is 1,830,677 (KKTC Turizm Planlama Dairesi Planlama, İstatistik ve Araştırma Şubesi, 2023). An important point here is that this number is not the number of people but the number of passes. Unfortunately, there are no data on the number of people. As can be understood from these figures, the TRNC tourism sector is dependent on Turkey on the one hand and Southern Cyprus. The inability to make direct flights to Northern Cyprus increases the cost of tourists. The tourism sector in TRNC remains below its potential. In the South of the island, the situation is much different. In 2022, 3,201,080 citizens from other countries visited Southern Cyprus for tourism purposes. This figure is to 6–7 times the number of tourists the TRNC receives outside of Southern Cyprus. The reason for this difference between the two countries is the isolation. Many of the economic problems of the TRNC could be solved if tourists from various countries could come directly to Northern Cyprus. At this point, the Republic of Cyprus is lobbying to prevent the opening of direct flights to prevent the economic development of the north of the island and prevent this within the EU.

Another prominent economic sector in Northern Cyprus is the higher education sector. In recent years, the TRNC has hosted students from many parts of the world, especially Africa, Central Asia, and Arab countries. The higher education sector is constantly evolving both qualitatively and quantitatively. Since the end of the 2000s, every government has implemented policies to increase the student population on the island. This not only contributed to science in an academic sense but also gave life to the economy on the island. In the 2021–2022 academic year, 107,936 university students were actively studying in the country. Of these, 13,821 were TRNC citizens, 43,740 were citizens of the Republic of Turkey, and 50,375 were citizens of other countries (YOBIS, 2023). The 2021 year-end population of the TRNC was calculated as 390,745. As can be seen here, in addition to the population of the country, 94,115 students who are not TRNC citizens

reside on the island. This figure corresponds to one-quarter of the local population. Students not only make great contributions to the economy in the north of the island but also cause the separation of the north of the island from the south in a socio-cultural sense. Although employment conditions for students are insufficient, informal employment is one of the biggest problems in the country. 63 percent of working international students state that they work without a student work permit (VOIS CYPRUS, 2022). Simultaneously, due to this demographic change that took place in a short time, problems such as racism and xenophobia emerged in the country. There are 27 active higher education institutions in the TRNC, 21 of which are locally based, four of which are abroad-based, with a total of 25 universities and two vocational schools. Most of the time, students brought to the country by international agencies see a country in crisis in the north of the island, and not what was promised to them because of isolation. According to the report of VOIS, founded by international students in Northern Cyprus, 60% of the students who came to the island used a third party (agency). Although these students generally evaluated their experiences in the TRNC as 'neutral' based on the information provided by the agencies, 14.9 percent rated their experiences as similar or very similar, and 49.8 percent rated their experiences as either very different or different (VOIS CYPRUS, 2022).

Owing to these isolations, the TRNC state is becoming increasingly dependent on Turkey on each passing day. Due to this unsustainable economic structure, the TRNC survives every year with Turkey's grants and loans. Turkey's economic support enabled Ankara to have a say in TRNC politics daily. Turkish Cypriot leaders have to follow orders from Turkey in the political, cultural, economic, religious, and social areas to extract money from Ankara. These isolations both distance the north of the island from the EU culturally and politically and cause Turkey to increase its influence over the Turkish Cypriot leaders in peace talks.

As a result, the economy of Northern Cyprus has become dependent on these two sectors due to international isolation. These sectors have been the main reason for the development of other economic activities in the country, such as construction and transportation. While the tourism sector remains far below its potential, higher education and universities have become new economic areas. This has both demographic and socio-cultural consequences. The international community's isolation policy deeply affects the economic structure of the TRNC, increases Turkey's influence over the Turkish Cypriots, and negatively affects the lives of individuals. It should not be forgotten that isolation decisions should not significantly affect individuals' lives. As a result of these isolations, federal peace on the island is becoming increasingly impossible with each passing day.

Cultural Isolation

Culture can be defined in a variety of ways, but in general, social scientists tend to view culture as the shared beliefs, values, customs, behaviors, and artifacts that characterize a group or society. Some social scientists define culture as a system of meaning that provides people with a framework for understanding and interpreting the world around them. This can include language, symbols, and norms that drive social behavior.

Culture is a set of practices and behaviors that are passed down from generation to generation, usually through socialization and education. These practices and behaviors include everything from religious rituals and family traditions to political institutions and artistic expression.

Edward Tylor defined culture as a complex whole that includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and other abilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (Tylor, 1871). In the process of creating this complex whole, many elements such as religion, language and region are important. Clifford Geertz, on the other hand, argues that culture is the fabric of meaning through which human beings interpret their experiences and guide their actions (Geertz, 1973). This texture of meaning is a texture created by societies living together. Ruth Benedict defined culture as the inherited concepts and habits that we feel, think, and act (Benedict, 1934). According to him, culture is the main guide to successful living. James Clifford and George Marcus pointed out that culture refers to the common practices, values, and beliefs of groups and societies that make them distinctive (Marcus & Marcus, 1986).

Within the framework of these definitions, when we consider the half-century division in Cyprus, we can assume that the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities have been thrown in different directions. The island is no longer just politically divided into North and South. This separation also increases the cultural diversity. Despite their different languages and beliefs, the Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots created a new Cypriot culture, both in the Ottoman and British periods. So much so that a Greek Cypriot now feels like a foreigner in Athens. On the other hand, Turkish Cypriots are aware of being in a region far from their own culture in Ankara. However, this Cypriotness no longer appears as a single element. With the admission of the Republic of Cyprus to the European Union, the South's ties with Europe tightened, while the North, which was isolated from the whole world, found a solution to strengthen its ties with Turkey.

There are many features of the two societies that differ from each other. The Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots have different cultures shaped by their own histories, traditions, and interactions with other cultures. Greek Cypriot culture has been strongly influenced by Greek culture as well as the Eastern Orthodox Church. Greek Cypriot, known as Greek Cypriot, is a dialect of the Greek language, and Greek Cypriots celebrate many of the same religious and cultural holidays as Greeks, such as Easter and the annual Carnival. On the other hand, the Turkish Cypriot culture has been strongly influenced by both Turkish culture and Islam. The Turkish Cypriot language, known as Turkish Cypriot, is a dialect of the Turkish language, and Turkish Cypriots celebrate many of the same religious and cultural holidays as Turks, such as Eid al-Fitr and annual Eid al-Adha. The national and cultural ties between the two Cypriot Ethnic groups and their homeland are further strengthened by the celebration of common national holidays and the use of common symbols. Both societies are heavily influenced by the traditions and institutions of their homeland. When it comes to 1974, Hellenism and Kemalism appear as two opposite views on the island (Mallinson, 2008). In addition, there are new differences brought about by the last 50 years. This division contributed to the preservation of different cultural identities and made interaction between Greek and Turkish Cypriots difficult. The preservation of a common culture is becoming increasingly difficult each passing day.

There are already many features of the two societies that differ from each other. Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots have different cultures shaped by their own histories, traditions and interactions with other cultures. Greek Cypriot culture has been strongly influenced by Greek culture as well as the Eastern Orthodox Church. Greek Cypriot, known as Greek Cypriot, is a dialect of the Greek language, and Greek Cypriots celebrate many of the same religious and cultural holidays as Greeks, such as Easter and the annual Carnival. On the other hand, Turkish Cypriot culture has been strongly influenced by Turkish culture as well as Islam. The Turkish Cypriot language, known as Turkish Cypriot, is a dialect of the Turkish language, and Turkish Cypriots celebrate many of the same religious and cultural holidays as Turks, such as Eid al-Fitr and the annual Eid al-Adha. With the rise of the political Islamist AKP in Turkey, with Islam dominating social, political, and educational policies, the AKP aims to strengthen a similar religious framework in Northern Cyprus. These policies caused a reaction from the secular Turkish Cypriots. The education and religious policies that the AKP government tried to impose on Northern Cyprus led to fear about the rise of Islamization and religious conservatism in Northern Cyprus, especially after 2009 (Latif, 2021). The introduction of compulsory religion classes in schools since 2009, summer Quran courses in mosques, and the growth of religious associations, networks and mosques are examples of these policies. Turkey is trying to highlight the religious dimension of the national identity of the Turkish Cypriot community (Ioannides, Latif, 2023). Although this was met with the reaction of the secular Turkish Cypriots, the economic and political ties of Northern Cyprus with Ankara caused these reactions to be inconclusive. Undoubtedly, if a country is highly dependent on another country, both economically and politically, it will have to submit to many policies to be desired by society.

On the other hand, another factor that paved the way for the differentiation of the two societies in the past 50 years is demographic changes. The island of Cyprus stands out as an island that has received immigration throughout history. However, in the last 50 years, the South and North of the island have begun to receive immigration from different countries and cultures. While 193,300 foreign nationals live in Southern Cyprus, this figure corresponds to 21 percent of the country's population (Sava, 2022). Of the foreigners living in Southern Cyprus, 29,000 were Greek citizens, 24,046 were the United Kingdom, 23,706 were Romanian, 18,536 were Bulgarian, and 8,164 were Russian citizens. However, in Northern Cyprus, where 390,745 TRNC citizens live, there are 94,115 foreign students as of 2022. 43,740 of these students are Turkish citizens. A total of 50,375 students came from other countries and continue their education in Northern Cyprus. Most of these students, who came to Northern Cyprus from 140 different countries, were citizens of Nigeria, Jordan, Syria, Cameroon, Iran, Iraq, Zimbabwe, Pakistan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Libya, Egypt, and Palestine. Most of these students were from African and Arab countries. On the other hand, nearly 100,000 foreigners reside in Northern Cyprus with work or residence permits. Considering the nationalities of these people, Turkey, Pakistan, Turkmenistan, the United Kingdom, and Ukraine have come to the fore. Considering the demographic structure of the migrations, the cultural differences between Northern Cyprus and Southern Cyprus are increasing daily. It should be noted that culture is a dynamic structure. Before 1974, Cypriots, who already

had problems in creating a different and common culture in many ways, proceeded in two separate ways.

While Northern Cyprus is increasingly blended with Turkish and Islamic cultures owing to its isolation, Southern Cyprus is becoming a part of the European mainland with the influence of the European Union. In the cultural sense, isolation causes these two societies to distance themselves from each other. Even if the open control points make interactions possible, this interaction takes place in a limited manner. It is necessary to open dialogue on the road to peace in Northern Cyprus and to unite the two communities around a common culture. The passion of Greek Cypriots, Europe and the international community to punish Turkish Cypriots is harming peace on the island with each passing day. Thus, Cypriots' belief in peace is constantly decreasing.

Isolation is to show itself in sports, health, music, and environmental problems, as well as in a political and economic sense. The extent of unfair isolation applied to the TRNC negatively affects the lives of individuals in Northern Cyprus, not only economically but also socially.

In the field of sports, Turkish Cypriots cannot be represented in the international arena either individually or as a team due to the isolation. These obstacles cause limited sports activities in Northern Cyprus. As TRNC institutions cannot be represented in international federations, they cannot participate in international competitions. World and Europe champions, as well as hosting any international organization as a result of the lobbying activities and pressures of Southern Cyprus. Sports in Northern Cyprus have been forced to continue in isolation from the world. So much so that it is canceled with various inhibitions and pressures, including friendly competitions. Examples of these are the prevention of the Çetinkaya-SV Huthrum and Çetinkaya- Waldkirchen friendly matches, the removal of the Northern Cyprus leg of the Eastern Mediterranean Rally, and the prevention of the entry of the Olympic torch, which traveled around the countries for the Olympic games in 2004, to Northern Cyprus (Poyraz, 2011). In 2014, an agreement was signed in Zurich for the Cyprus Turkish Football Federation to become a member of the Greek Cypriot Football Federation. However, this agreement was shelved because of the stagnation of negotiations.

Owing to these obstacles, Turkish Cypriot athletes must continue their activities under the flag of another country. For example, Meliz Redif, who was the first Turkish Cypriot to qualify for the Olympics, took the citizenship of the Republic of Turkey and represented Turkey in order to achieve this success. Many Turkish Cypriot athletes acquire citizenship of different countries in order to circumvent these bans and continue their sports activities on behalf of those countries. Sports consist of a series of physical activities performed at an amateur level, rather than being a sector in Northern Cyprus.

The effect of isolation can also be observed in the music. For example, while the Republic of Cyprus can be represented in the Eurovision song contest, Northern Cypriot artists do not have this opportunity. At the same time, concerts of many international musicians planned to be held in Northern Cyprus were canceled under the pressure of Southern Cyprus. Examples of these cancellations are the cancellation of the concerts of the famous Spanish singer Julio Iglesias, Jennifer Lopez, Rihanna and Justin Timberlake in 2010 and the cancellation of DJ Hardwell's concert in 2016 (VATAN, 2010). Undoubtedly, this widening of the framework of isolation does not affect the life of every individual living in

Cyprus. It should be noted that this isolation decision was not taken to punish society. However, isolation has negatively affected everyone living in Northern Cyprus.

Conclusion

Northern Cyprus is exposed to a 40-year isolation due to UN decisions taken rightly or unjustly. These isolations not only affect every individual living in the North of the island, but also negatively affect the peace talks. As a region isolated by the world, Northern Cyprus has been forced to submit to Turkey's economic and cultural influence.

Due to the isolations, the economy of Northern Cyprus continues to be dependent on Turkey. In addition, the economic sectors of the island have also been shaped by the effect of this isolation. With the change in the demographic structure of Northern Cyprus, the cultural closeness with Southern Cyprus started to disappear day by day. Therefore, isolations provide a complete separation on the island.

At the same time, isolation includes interventions in the social, economic, and cultural lives of individuals living in Northern Cyprus. Individuals living on the island cannot reveal their full potential in areas such as sports, music and education. Many athletes or musicians are forced to stay local and carry out activities far from what the EU and the global world can provide.

Therefore, it is possible to say that isolation no longer serves its purpose. International isolations are unjust and strengthen the hand of either side at the negotiating table. At the same time, in a possible peace situation, as Northern Cyprus lags far behind the South in terms of economic, social, and development, the newly established bi-communal federal state will be left alone with many problems. The inequality between these two regions may also pave the way for new conflicts in the future. International isolations should target international actors rather than Turkish Cypriot individuals.

Author Contributions

Conceptualization (Konceptualizacja): Ramazan Safa

Data curation (Zestawienie danych): Ramazan Safa

Formal analysis (Analiza formalna): Ramazan Safa

Writing – original draft (Piśmiennictwo – oryginalny projekt): Ramazan Safa

Writing – review & editing (Piśmiennictwo – sprawdzenie i edytowanie): Ramazan Safa

Competing interests: The author have declared that no competing interests exist
(**Sprzeczne interesy:** Autor oświadczył, że nie istnieją żadne sprzeczne interesy)

Bibliography

- Ank U. (2011), *Cyprus, Turkey And Europe: A Tale of Double Standards*, in: M. Hasgüler, O. Şafaklı, & U. Özkaleli, *Uluslararası İzolasyonlar* (pp. 181–195), Alfa Basım Yayım, Lefkoşa.
- Benedict R. (1934), *Patterns Of Culture*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston.

- Birleşmiş Milletler Anlaşması* (2023, 02.13), inhak.adalet.gov.tr: https://inhak.adalet.gov.tr/Resimler/SayfaDokuman/2212020141836bm_01.pdf.
- Coppieters B., Sakwa R. (2003), *Contextualizing Secession: Normative Studies in Comparative Perspective*, Oxford University Press, London–Oxford.
- Evre B. (2011), *Karşılaştırmalı Perspektiflerle Kıbrıs Türk Toplumunda Ayrılıkçılık ve İzolasyonlar*, in: M. Hasgüler, O. Şafaklı, M. Özkaleli, *Uluslararası İzolasyonlar* (pp. 140–157), Alfa Basım Yayım, Lefkoşa.
- Fisunoğlu M. (2011), *Uluslararası İzolasyonlar ve KKTC Ekonomisi Üzerindeki Etkilerine Bir Yaklaşım*, in: M. Hasgüler, O. Şafaklı, U. Özkaleli, *Uluslararası İzolasyonlar* (pp. 236–243), Alfa Basım Yayım, Lefkoşa.
- Geertz C. (1973), *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, Basic Books, New York.
- Geldenhuis D. (1990), *Isolated States: A Comparative Analysis*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Ioannides I., Latif D. (2023, 02.01), *Exogenous factors underpinning the Cyprus problem: shifting political and societal ramifications*, CENTRE FOR APPLIED TURKEY STUDIES (CATS), Berlin.
- KKTC Turizm Planlama Dairesi Planlama, İstatistik ve Araştırma Şubesi (2023), *Turizm İstatistikleri 2022*, KKTC Turizm Bakanlığı, Lefkoşa.
- Latif D. (2021, 05.22), *Beyond secular? AKP's religious policies and societal polarization*, "Turkish Studies", pp. 801–823.
- Mallinson W. (2008), *Cyprus: A Modern History*, I. B. Tauris, London.
- Marcus C., Marcus G. G. (1986), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Marsh R. (2002), *National Identity and Ethnicity in Taiwan*, "Memories of the Future", pp. 144–160.
- NTV (2013, 11.05), *Kıbrıs'ta 'futbol'da birleşme için ilk adım*, İstanbul, Türkiye.
- Oberling P. (1988), *Bellapais'e Giden Yol*, Genelkurmay Basınevi, Ankara.
- Poyraz A. B. (2011), *Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti'ne Spor Alanında Uygulanan Uluslararası İzolasyonlar*, in: M. Hasgüler, O. Şafaklı, U. Özkaleli, *Uluslararası İzolasyonlar* (pp. 334–340), Alfa Basım Yayım, Lefkoşa.
- Sava A. (2022), *Cyprus population up 9.2% in 10 years to total 918,100*, Cyprus-mail.com, <https://cyprus-mail.com/2022/05/18/cyprus-population-up-9-2-in-10-years-to-total-918100/>.
- The World Bank (2021), *GDP per capita (current US\$) – Cyprus*, The World Bank, Washington DC.
- Tylor E. B. (1871), *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom*, John Murray, London.
- United Nations (1945), *Charter*, San Francisco.
- VATAN (2010), *Konserini iptal etti*, İstanbul.
- VOIS CYPRUS (2022), *2021/22 COMPREHENSIVE SURVEY REPORT Mapping International Students in the northern part*, VOIS CYPRUS, Famagusta, Mapping International Students in the Northern Part.
- Wisevoter (2024, 01.31), *Countries That Recognize Taiwan*, wisevoter.com, https://wisevoter.com/country-rankings/countries-that-recognize-taiwan/adresinden_alindi.
- Yetkin Ç. (1970), *Siyasal İktidar Savaşa Karşı*, Bilgi, Ankara.
- YOBIS (2023, 02.13), *KKTC Üniversiteleri 2021–2022 İstatistikleri*, <http://yobis.mebnet.net/>, <http://yobis.mebnet.net/download/6799d0b7-6de0-416a-be25-7297355bf8b8>.

Analiza polityki międzynarodowej izolacji wobec Północnego Cypru

Streszczenie

Konflikt na Cyprze pozostaje nierozwiązany w obszarze międzynarodowego rozwiązywania konfliktów. Po interwencji militarnej Turcji i utworzeniu Tureckiej Republiki Północnego Cypru (TRNC), społeczność międzynarodowa, zwłaszcza Unia Europejska, wprowadziła środki izolacji i embarga wobec TRNC. Te polityki utrzymują się od ponad 40 lat, sprawiając, że społeczność cypryjskich Turków żyje w izolacji. Tylko Turcja uznaje Północny Cypr za niepodległe państwo, od jego ogłoszenia w 1983 roku. Wiele międzynarodowych instytucji, takich jak Światowy Związek Pocztowy, Międzynarodowa Organizacja Lotnictwa Cywilnego i Międzynarodowe Stowarzyszenie Transportu Lotniczego, odmawia współpracy z cypryjską społecznością turecką. Eksport i loty z Północnego Cypru zależą od Turcji, a bezpośrednie loty międzynarodowe są zakazane. Dodatkowo, cypryjscy Turcy napotykać na embarga w dziedzinie sportu i kultury, gdzie jest im zabroniony udział w międzynarodowych meczach czy zawodach, a niektóre koncerty międzynarodowych muzyków na Północy Cypru zostały odwołane.

Celem tej pracy jest zbadanie wpływu polityki izolacji i embarga narzuconych po interwencji w 1974 roku na Północnym Cyprze oraz na negocjacje pokojowe. Argumentuje się, że polityki izolacji są skierowane przeciwko społeczności, a nie aktorom politycznym, i że długotrwała surowa izolacja nie jest korzystna dla żadnego aktora w regionie.

Słowa kluczowe: Cypr, konflikt, rozwiązywanie konfliktów, Północny Cypr, TRNC, polityka zagraniczna Turcji, embargo, izolacja