

Taiwan-Cyprus-Kosovo Cases: Differences And Similarities

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Abstract

There are different types of states in the international system and each has its own historical and political development. Taiwan, Cyprus and Kosovo are the three examples of disputes in international relations. The three states are in different geographic locations and their history and content of the disputes that they come through are different. However, there are also similarities among Taiwan-Cyprus-Kosovo examples which makes them valuable to evaluate. This study aims to analyze Taiwan-Cyprus and Kosovo cases in order to illustrate possible solution of disputes. This study will also evaluate each case concerning the developments in international system to shed a light the regional and international implications of these cases.

Key words: *Taiwan, Cyprus, TRNC, Kosovo, Security, Conflict*

Tayvan, Kıbrıs, Kosova Meseleleri: Farklılıklar ve Benzerlikler

Özet

Uluslararası sistemde her biri farklı tarihi geçmişi ve politik gelişimi bulunan farklı devlet tipleri bulunmaktadır. Tayvan, Kıbrıs ve Kosova uluslararası ilişkilerde sorun olarak adlandırılan örneklerdir. Üç örneğin de birbirinden farklı coğrafi konumları bulunmaktadır. Tayvan, Kıbrıs ve Kosova'nın tarihleri ve yaşadıkları sorunun içerikleri de farklıdır. Bununla birlikte bu üç örnek arasında onları incelemeye değer kılan benzerlikler de mevcuttur. Bu çalışmada Tayvan, Kıbrıs ve Kosova sorunları analiz edilerek olası çözüm yolları konusuna değinilecektir. Çalışmada ayrıca her üç örnek uluslararası sistemdeki gelişmeler çerçevesinde değerlendirilerek Tayvan, Kıbrıs ve Kosova sorunlarının bölgesel ve uluslararası etkilerine ışık tutulacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Tayvan, Kıbrıs, KKTC, Kosova, Güvenlik, Çatışma*

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INTRODUCTION

In the international system there are different types of states and some of them have limited recognition and/or no recognition. However, they have all the capacity of independent states. These states generally are created after major political events. Although these states would also be analyzed according to the international law, politics play a major role for their evaluation and the view of the international community towards them. In many aspects the three examples of Taiwan, Cyprus and Kosovo are unique cases. However, in terms of international law and international politics all these three cases have some commonalities.

Analyzing similarities and differences of Taiwan, Cyprus and Kosovo cases would provide arguments about how to solve disputes involving these entities. Among them, Taiwan with its official name of Republic of China (ROC) was representing China in the United Nations Security Council as a permanent member until 1971. After the policy change of the West and most of the countries' "One China" policy, People's Republic of China (PRC) had permanent seat in the UN Security Council. However, Taiwan continued its existence and created miracle regarding economic development. Taiwan's rapid economic growth was a success story and Taiwan proofed that it is possible to survive and to have economically, politically and socially stable state without official recognition of major powers in world politics. There are still discussions regarding Taiwan considering its position *vis a vis* PRC and the US policy towards the region.

The main aim of this research is to analyze differences and similarities of Taiwan, Cyprus and Kosovo models. Through this analysis, it is expected to find a way to shed a light of possible solutions of problems concerning these examples. Taiwan's situation *vis a vis* PRC, the two communities of Cyprus and position of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) regarding the EU, Kosovo's problematic independence regarding its position *vis a vis* Serbia should be searched in order to find sustainable solution or formulation of these cases. To have a constructive analysis of these models we cannot disregard the international dimension. In the case of Taiwan; cross-strait relations, in the case of south and north Cyprus; the EU, relations between Turkey and Greece, in the case of Kosovo; the EU relations with Serbia draws parameters to impact on future of these models.

GENERAL VIEW ABOUT THE CONCEPT OF STATEHOOD

Despite the fact that there is no consensus about the definition of the statehood, 1933 Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States is being considered as primary document about the concept of statehood. According to the Montevideo Convention states must have a defined territory, a permanent population, government and the capacity to enter into relations with the other states. There is also a concept of quasi states, which have control over certain territories, have a permanent population and ability to govern the population and territory. However quasi states are unable to achieve widespread recognition of their sovereignty.

In terms of recognition, there are differences among quasi states. In fact the circumstances and historical backgrounds of the existence of quasi states are also differentiates. Taiwan, TRNC and Kosovo are not exceptions, which will be examined in this research. It should be noted that 1933 Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States article 3 stated that *“the political existence of the state is independent of recognition by the other states. Even before recognition the state has the right to defend its integrity and independence, to provide for its conservation and prosperity, and consequently to organize itself as it sees fit, to legislate upon its interests, administer its services, and to define the jurisdiction and competence of its courts.”*¹

This does not mean that quasi states definitely would get recognition and be a member of the UN. The principle of territorial integrity is widely emphasized in this matter. Later democracy and human rights became criteria for the acceptance of states by the international community. This was widely voiced during Kosovo’s declaration of independence.

The existence of quasi states might be considered by some as a problem for international system. Therefore how to handle the issue and to normalize the situation have been discussed. International organizations’ position rejecting to accommodate quasi states contributed to prolonging the current positions. There is argument that the option of international recognition for quasi states should be open and if they manage to build efficient state structure, try to prevent criminal activities, establish democratic regime, they would get recognition in the international system.²

Differences in historical backgrounds and state structure required separate look at each quasi state. However, they have also similarities in terms of their role in international system and arguments about their existence and how to approach them.

THE CASE OF TAIWAN: FROM INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE TO CURRENT SITUATION

Taiwan was under the control of Japan from 1895 to 1945. Just before the Japanese invasion of Taiwan, it was declared as an independent state. However, until the defeat of Japan in the Second World War, island was ruled by Japan. In the Mainland China the two important forces emerged: Kuomintang or Nationalist Party (KMT) and Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Despite the two cooperated against the Japanese occupation, after that civil war broke out between nationalists and communists. With the Cairo Declaration, on 1 December 1943 Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek pledged to return Taiwan to the Republic of China. This was also mentioned in the Potsdam Declaration on 26 July 1945. In October 1945 Chinese forces took control over Taiwan. The civil war was won by communists and Mao Zedong established PRC. Nationalist forces led by Chiang Kai-shek took refuge in Taiwan

1 <http://www.cfr.org/sovereignty/montevideo-convention-rights-duties-states/p15897> (Erişim Tarihi: 12 Ocak 2017).

2 Pal Kolstoe, “The Sustainability and Future of Unrecognized Quasi States”, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 43, No. 6, 2006, p. 723-740.

with the hope of to control all China one day. The Peace Treaty with Japan was signed in 1951 with the participation of allied powers. With this Treaty, Japan renounced all rights, title and claim to Formosa (Taiwan) and the Pescadores. However without any Chinese participation, the Treaty did not mention which would succeed Japan in terms of control over Taiwan.³ However, the Republic of China-Japan Peace Treaty signed in Taipei in 1952 and several Japanese court decisions supported the case of ROC.⁴ The Treaty of Peace between the Republic of China and Japan recognized that under Article 2 of the Treaty of Peace which Japan signed at the city of San Francisco in 1951, Japan has renounced all rights, title, and claim to Taiwan (Formosa) and Penghu (the Pescadores) as well as the Spratley Islands and Parcel Islands. With the Article 1 of the Treaty of Peace between the Republic of China and Japan, the state of war between the Republic of China and Japan ended.⁵

Taiwan with 23 million populations and 36,191 kilometer square territory is one of the most densely populated countries in the world. After the civil war in the mainland China, PRC and ROC emerged as two separate governments. Although both sides agreed that there is only one China, there is great difference regarding who represent the One China. While Taipei considers the ROC as legitimate authority, Beijing refers to China as PRC. The differences of regimes reflected the policies of world powers during the Cold War and until 1971 West and most states recognized ROC as sole legitimate government of all China. After the US and Western countries changed their foreign policy toward China. One important consequences of this came as PRC took the seat in the UN. This impacted on Taiwan's position in some other international organizations and Taiwan faced effective blockage from the PRC. Despite this Taiwan is still a member of some important international organization like World Trade Organization and Asian Development Bank. Taiwan's official recognition process as state was further affected after the US switched official recognition from ROC to PRC.⁶ Since ROC had a permanent seat in the UN Security Council and widely recognized state until 1971, Taiwan's status becomes a special case in international law.

BASIC PARAMETERS OF THE US POLICY TOWARDS TAIWAN

The United States' position provided special case regarding Taiwan, since without the US support, the existence and acceptance of Taiwan in the international arena would be difficult. Taiwan located strategic place in South China and East China Sea

3 Hans Kuijper, "Is Taiwan a Part of China?", Jean-Marie Henckaerts (Ed), *The International Status of Taiwan in the New World Order, Legal and Political Considerations*, (London: The Hague and Boston: Kluwer Law International Ltd, 1996), p. 10-13.

4 Hungdah Chiu, "The International Legal Status of Taiwan", Jean-Marie Henckaerts (Ed), *The International Status of Taiwan in the New World Order, Legal and Political Considerations*, (London: The Hague and Boston: Kluwer Law International Ltd, 1996), p. 7.

5 For the Treaty of Peace between the Republic of China and Japan see <http://www.taiwandocuments.org/taipei01.htm> (Erişim Tarihi: 22 Aralık 2016).

6 Eric Tinglun Huang, *The Status of Taiwan Under International Law and in a Changing World*, 2007, p. 282-283.

and the existence of ROC became important for the US security during the Cold War. As General Douglas MacArthur described Taiwan in 1950 as unsinkable aircraft carrier.⁷ Despite Taiwan's strategic importance at the beginning of 1950, the US came up with inconsistent strategies. Truman first wanted to split between PRC and the Soviet Union, prevent Taiwan to be under communist control. While the US recognized ROC as legitimate Chinese government, Truman administration opposed Chiang Kai-shek's initiative to retake the mainland.⁸ The US policy toward Taiwan was impacted by the war in Korean Peninsula. The US could not tolerate PRC's control over Taiwan, which would mean communist expansion in Asia.⁹

The US policy towards Taiwan changed with the ping pong diplomacy between the US and PRC. American ping pong team, which was in Japan for 31st World Table Tennis Championship, received invitation from Chinese team to visit PRC. The group was the first one to enter PRC after communist control in mainland China. After this visit in 1971, Henry Kissinger visited PRC, which followed President Nixon's visit in February 1972. The process led to the US recognition of PRC during Carter's Presidency in the US in January 1979.¹⁰ The US did not accept PRC's claim over Taiwan. Considering the status of Taiwan as unsettled, the US policy supported the solution is based on consent of the people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. The US policy is guided by the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979, Public Law 96-8 with the absence of a diplomatic relations with ROC.¹¹ The Taiwan Relations Act clearly stated that "to consider any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means, including by boycotts or embargoes, a threat to the peace and security of the Western Pacific area and of grave concern to the United States." The US also stated that with this act the US will "provide Taiwan with arms of a defensive character" and the US will "maintain the capacity of the US to resist any resort to force or other forms of coercion that would jeopardize the security, or the social or economic system, of the people on Taiwan."¹² The US policy towards Taiwan continued with the parameters described in Taiwan Relations Act.

THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND THE CROSS STRAIT RELATIONS

Considering the fact that unstable relations between the PRC and the Soviet Union, the disintegration of the Soviet Union changed the PRC's threat perceptions

7 Peter Kien-hong Yu, "The Republic of China and the United States: Official Relations Prior to 1979", in Yu San Wang (Ed.), *Foreign Policy of the Republic of China on Taiwan, An Unorthodox Approach*, (New York: Praeger Publisher, 1990), p. 10.

8 Dean P. Chen, *US Taiwan Strait Policy, The Origins of Strategic Ambiguity*, (Boulder & London: First Forum Press, 2012), p. 4.

9 See Richard C. Bush, *Untying the Knot: Making Peace in the Taiwan Strait*, (Brookings Institution Press, 2005).

10 For Ping Pong Diplomacy see, Nicholas Griffin, *Ping-Pong Diplomacy: The Secret History Behind the Game that Changed the World*, (Simon&Schuster, 2014).

11 Shirley A. Kan and Wayne M. Morrison, *US-Taiwan Relationship: Overview of Policy Issues*, Congressional Research Service, CRS Report, 18 November 2013, p. 4. See Dean P. Chen, *US Taiwan Strait Policy, The Origins of Strategic Ambiguity*, (Boulder & London: First Forum Press, 2012).

12 For The Taiwan Relations Act see Web site of American Institute in Taiwan, <http://www.ait.org.tw/en/taiwan-relations-act.html>, (Erişim Tarihi: 12 Aralık 2016).

and the PRC had opportunity to concentrate to Asia-Pacific region. In that atmosphere the PRC published the white paper: "Taiwan Question and the Reunification of China" indicated the PRC's stance the use of force against Taiwan. To defend Taiwan, Taiwanese military strategy based on countering blockade operations via maintaining air and sea control around the main island. Anti-landing operations and air defense also important in that context the PRC forces exercises and missile launches in 1995 and 1996 were further reminded Taiwan for the importance of strong defense.¹³ With the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and Presidency of Chen Shui-bian cross-strait relations entered rather tense atmosphere in 2000. Taiwanese President called a referendum on Taiwan's future and he stated that "... with Taiwan and China on each side of the Taiwan Strait, each side is a country." He added: "Our Taiwan is not something that belongs to someone else, Our Taiwan is not someone else's local government. Our Taiwan is not someone else's province."¹⁴

Regarding cross-strait relations the victory of KMT and Presidency of Ma Ying-jeou in 2008 opened a new stage. He supported to resume negotiations with PRC under the 1992 consensus. Ma stated that he would not sacrifice Taiwan's sovereignty and national interests.¹⁵ He put list of priorities as persuading China to loosen its grip on "Taiwan's international space", or diplomatic liberty of action, a cross-strait peace accord, initial steps such as liberalized travel and trade.¹⁶

There were some actions which eased cross-strait relations before the new chapter starts in cross-strait relations; like Taiwan citizens were allowed to visit their relatives in Mainland China in 1987. Association for Relations across the Taiwan Strait (ARATS) officials came to Taiwan for negotiations in 1993.¹⁷ First direct charter flights started between Taiwan and PRC in 2005. However after 2008 both sides get closer through better transportation links and trade. Direct regular flights started in 2008, which boost tourism. Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement was signed in 2010. First official talks held between Taiwan and PRC in February 2014 since the 1949 civil war in Mainland China. Taiwan's Head of Mainland Affairs Council, Wang Yu-chi met with Director of Mainland's Taiwan Affairs Office, Zhang Zhijun in Nanjing.¹⁸

Among the Taiwanese population particularly university students skeptical about cross-strait negotiations and they particularly opposed cross-strait service trade agreement and organized demonstrations against it and even occupied the

13 <https://www.fas.org/irp/nic/battilega/taiwan.pdf> (Erişim Tarihi: 16 Kasım 2016)

14 <http://www.taiwandc.org/twcom/tc102-int.pdf>, (Erişim Tarihi: 14 Aralık 2016).

15 Francis Yi-hua Kan, "Taiwan's New Foreign Relations and National Security", <http://www.mcsstw.org/web/content.php?PID=5&Nid=947>, 30 May 2012 (Erişim Tarihi: 15 Kasım 2016).

16 James R. Holmes, "The 2008 Elections and Asia's Maritime Future: A Clausewitzian Prognosis", in I Yuan (Ed.), *Cross-Strait at the Turning Point: Institution, Identity and Democracy*, Institute of International Relations English Series No.34, Institute of International Relations, National Chengchi University, Taipei, 2008, p. 327-328.

17 See Su Chi, *Taiwan's Relations with Mainland China, A Tail Wagging Two Dogs*, (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 1-30.

18 Michael Pizzi, "What is next for China-Taiwan Relations?", <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2014/2/15/what-s-next-for-chinataiwanrelations.html>, 15 February 2014 (Erişim Tarihi: 16 Kasım 2016).

Parliament.¹⁹ 2000 protestors launched inside and outside the Legislative Yuan, the Parliament of Taiwan, and there were injuries from protestors and police as well. The demonstrators demanded that President Ma Ying-jeou should withdraw from the controversial trade agreement.²⁰ Taiwan's democratic regime and its difference with the mainland China in that aspect is the main reason for the skepticism of particularly the young Taiwanese regarding PRC.

Student demonstrations and their occupation of the Parliament ended three weeks later. The leader of protesting students, Chen Wei-ting stated that *"The occupation of the Legislative Yuan has reached its mission for this stage, and made significant progress."* Chen added that ending the occupation is not end the student movement. Parliament's Speaker Wang Jin-pyng promised to students an oversight bill to supervise the relations with PRC.²¹ On the other hand, PRC has not expressed any opinion regarding possibility of renegotiation of the agreement. Taiwan's Mainland Affairs Council Minister Wang Yu-chi said *"if the pact is revised by the Legislature, the administration will have to either have to scrap it, or renegotiate it with China."*²²

Change of political climate in Taiwan resulted DPP's election victory in 2016. DPP's candidate Tsai Ing-wen won Presidential elections on 16th January 2016. She sworn in as Taiwan's President on 20th May 2016. Question raised about the future of the cross-strait relations. Although Tsai-Ing-wen stated that Taiwan maintains the existing mechanisms for dialogue and communication across the Taiwan Strait in her inauguration speech, the PRC suspended the cross-strait dialogue in June 2016.²³ Taiwan demanded the restart of the cross-strait talks. President Tsai Ing-wen said that pledged given her inaugural speech would remain unchanged. She emphasized continuation of relations in accordance with the Constitution, the Act Governing Relations Between the People of the Taiwan Area and the Mainland Area and other legislation.²⁴

- 19 Chris Wang, "Opposition, Groups Protests Trade Pact", *Taipei Times*, <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2014/03/19/2003586009>, 19 March 2014 (Eriřim Tarihi: 16 Kasım 2016). Michelle FlorCruz, "Taiwan Student Protests Escalate: Economic Trade Agreement With Beijing Reflects Annexation Fears", *International Business Times*, <http://www.ibtimes.com/taiwan-student-protests-escalate-economic-trade-agreement-beijing-reflects-annexation-fears-photos>, 24 March 2014 (Eriřim Tarihi: 16 Kasım 2016).
- 20 Ray Sanchez and Zoe Li, "Taiwan Legislature occupiers' ultimatum passes without response from government", <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/03/19/world/asia/taiwan-student-protests/>, 21 March 2014 (Eriřim Tarihi: 16 Kasım 2016).
- 21 Lu Chen, "Taiwan Protesters End Occupation of Parliament", *Epoch Times*, <http://www.theepochtimes.com/n3/607903-taiwan-protesters-end-occupation-of-parliament/>, 7 April 2014 (Eriřim Tarihi:10 Aralık 2016).
- 22 "Beijing Exerts no Pressure on Trade Pact: MAC Chief", *The China Post*, <http://www.chinapost.com.tw/taiwan/china-taiwan-relations/2014/04/12/405138/Beijing-exerts.htm>, 12 April 2014 (Eriřim Tarihi: 10 Aralık 2016).
- 23 Richard C. Bush, "Taiwan's Election Results, Explained", <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2016/01/16/taiwans-election-results-explained/>, 16 January 2016. (Eriřim Tarihi: 9 Mart 2017). Prashant Kumar Singh, "Cross-Strait Relations: The Lull before the Storm?", http://www.idsa.in/issuebrief/cross-strait-relations_pksingh_231116, 23 November 2016 (Eriřim Tarihi: 9 Mart 2017).
- 24 "Restart of Cross-Strait Dialogue Possible", *Taipei Times*, <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2016/12/04/2003660547>, 4 December 2016 (Eriřim Tarihi: 9 Mart 2017).

It might be argued that as long as the US commitment to Taiwan continues, status quo regarding the cross-strait relations will not change. However, this does not mean that the risk of increased tension even the possibility of armed conflict does not exist. The US policy during Obama era focused on Asia-Pacific described as rebalancing. Obama wanted to strengthen the US ties with regional allies, he supported Trans Pacific Partnership as an economic dimensions of the strategy. The US also signed military agreements with its allies to strengthen its military presence.²⁵ This strategy required close ties with Taiwan. However, unpredictability of the US policy with the election of Trump raised questions about the US commitment of its allies in the region. Trump's idea of the US allies in the region should provide their own security and claim to withdraw the US troops from Japan and South Korea will open space to China to increase its regional influence. The US lack of commitment to its allies would make the US allies to rethink their position regarding China and this would impact on cross-strait relations and future of Taiwan. China's reaction against power shift in Taiwan after 2016 elections would create difficulties for Taiwan. For example China's diplomatic efforts towards the countries which recognized Taiwan to persuade them to change their diplomatic recognition of Taiwan had resulted China restored diplomatic relations with Gambia in March 2016. São Tomé and Príncipe's reestablished of diplomatic ties with Mainland China 26 December 2016. Panama also cut its ties with Taiwan and switched its diplomatic relations from Taiwan to mainland China in June 2017.²⁶

CYPRUS CASE: DIVIDED ISLAND

Cyprus question is one of the world's long standing disputes, which continued through change in structure and framework. Cyprus was ruled by the Ottoman Empire from 1571 to 1878. De-facto British control started in 1878 and British Empire annexed the island in 1914 and this situation formally confirmed with the Lausanne Treaty in 1923. The discussion about the future of Cyprus started during the process of Britain's losing colonial territories after the Second World War. There were two major communities in Cyprus; Greeks and Turks. Greeks wanted the island to be united with Greece. Turks did not approve that. Turkey arguing that if Britain leaves from Cyprus, the island should become a part of Turkey since its very close to Turkey and Cyprus was never ruled by Greeks in history. EOKA was established as a terrorist organization aimed to unite island with Greece (ENOSIS) and started to attack British forces as well as Turkish community in the island. Britain organized London Conference without success. Suez Canal incident and Britain's losing ground in Mediterranean increased Cyprus's strategic importance for Britain.

25 For Obama's rebalancing policy see Kamer Kasim, "The Impact of the US Rebalancing Policy toward Asia Pacific on International Relations", *LEAM*, 12. *Lodz East Asia Meeting, Overwhelming Contraversies in East Asia*, Lodz/Polonya, 2-3 June 2016.

26 See Kamer Kasim, "Power Shift in Taiwan and Its Implications on Cross-Strait Relations", *LEAM* 13. *Lodz East Asia Meeting, Power Shift in East Asia: Prospects for Developing Asian-European Ties*, Lodz/Poland, 1-2 June 2017.

The terrorist attacks towards the Turkish community alarmed Turkish foreign policy makers. Turkey started to support division of the island between Greece and Turkey against Greek argument of unification of Cyprus with Greece. Increasing destabilization of Cyprus and its impact on Turkey-Greece relations worried the US due to the Cold War atmosphere. Possible conflict between Turkey and Greece because of Cyprus would damage the southern wing of NATO. The US insisted on solution based on common state representing Turks and Greeks in Cyprus. This effort resulted with the establishment of 1960 Cyprus Republic. The Republic would have parliament with the two chambers. President would be a Greek and Vice President would be a Turk. Officials would be partition according to the proportion of the population of each ethnic group. However, the Cyprus Republic de facto collapsed in 1963 with increasing attacks against the Turks in order to eliminate them to unite the island with Greece. Turmoil continued until 1974 when President of Cyprus Makarios was overthrown by groups supported by military government in Greece. This gave right to Turkey to intervene since constitutional structure of Cyprus collapsed in 1974 with the coup.²⁷

After Turkey sent troops to Cyprus using its rights given by the Treaty of Guarantee of 1960, de facto separation became real one. In 1975 Federal Republic of Cyprus was established and negotiations to find the solution did not produce result. In 1983 Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) was founded. The parameters in Cyprus question changed with the application of the Southern Cyprus of Greek Administration (SCGA) to the membership of the EU. Although application has very problematic since the EU considered Cyprus Republic as representing all island and reality was quite different. SCGA has no authority in the north. The EU leadership hoped that until the membership of Cyprus, the problem would be solved. Another problem was that Treaty of Guarantee Article I and II and the 1960 Constitution of Cyprus contradicted the EU membership. Treaty of Guarantee Article I (2) stated that Cyprus undertook *"not to participate, in whole or in part, in any political or economic union with any State whatever or partition of the Island"*. According to the Article II (2) Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom agreed *"to prohibit, so far as concerns them, any activity aimed at promoting, directly or indirectly, either union of Cyprus with any other State or partition of the Island"*. The Constitution of 1960 gave President and Vice-President separately and conjointly has a right of veto in decisions concerning, *inter alia*, *"foreign affairs, except the participation of the Republic in international organizations and pacts of alliance in which the Kingdom of Greece and the Republic of Turkey both participate"*.²⁸

Despite this legal structure, the EU continued SCGA's integration process with the EU and in 2004 "Republic of Cyprus" became a member of the EU. It was obvious that without Turkey's membership of the EU, this would change the character

27 For Cyprus question in history see Clement H. Dodd, *The Cyprus Imbroglia*, (Huntingdon: The Eothen Press, 1998). Necati Eregün, *The Cyprus Dispute*, (Nicosia: Rüstem and Brother, 1984).

28 See <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/treaty-concerning-the-establishment-of-the-republic-of-cyprus.en.mfa>. For international law dimension see Kudret Özersay, *Kıbrıs Sorunu Hukuksal Bir İnceleme*, (Ankara: ASAM Yayınları, 2002).

of negotiations and would be the violation of 1960 Constitution of Cyprus and the Treaty of Guarantee. Although the big powers in the EU knew the fact that membership of divided island would aggravate problems, due to the blackmail of Greece to blockade the EU enlargement to the Eastern Europe, they did not stop the SCGA's membership process.²⁹

THE ANNAN PLAN AND AFTERWARDS

The EU established a strategy based on finding solution of Cyprus question before finalize the membership of the EU. The EU leadership worried that before the SCGA membership, the problem would not be solved. With the EU's initiative the UN Secretary General Annan prepared a plan, which has similarities of the previous plans with more comprehensive structure. After the some revisions, plan was asked for the people of the both sides with referendum on 24th of April 2004. The Greek side rejected with 75.8 % no vote and the Turkish side supported with 64.5 % yes vote.

The Annan Plan envisaged federal and united Cyprus Republic composed of the two constituent states, Turkish State in the north and Greek State in the south. Under its constitution, the united Cyprus Republic is organized in accordance with political equality, bi-zonality, and the equal status of the constituent states. According to the plan, the Federal Parliament composed of two chambers, The Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. While each chamber will have 48 members, Turkish and Greek Cypriots will have equally represented in Senate and proportional representation in the Chamber of Deputies, the number of members of parliament for each side in the Chamber of Deputies would be attributed a minimum of one quarter of the seats.³⁰ In order to protect the bi-zonal and bi-communal character of the island, the Annan Plan introduced derogations. However, these derogations did not become a primary law within the EU before the referendum. Despite the rejection of the plan from the Greek side, SCGA entered the EU. The Greek voters knew that even if they say no the Greek side would be a member of the EU under the name of the Republic of Cyprus. The SCGA's leadership thought that they would get much more than the Annan Plan offered for the Greek side since Turkey wanted to be a member of the EU and the Greek side hoped that Turkey would compromise and change its stand in order to join the EU. The SCGA even blocked the EU aid package to the north. Turkey and TRNC were also disappointed with the approach of the EU.³¹

Currently TRNC was only recognized by Turkey. Turkey hoped that solution would be found in the base of bi-communal and bi-zonal federation. Turkey sup-

29 See Kamer Kasım, "Kıbrıs Sorunu ve Doğu Akdeniz'de Güvenlik", Kamer Kasım and Zerrin A. Bakan (Der.), *Uluslararası Güvenlik Sorunları*, (Ankara: ASAM Yayınları, 2004), p. 125-140.

30 See Ertan Efeğil, *Temel Konular Işığında Annan Belgesi'nin Analizi*, (Ankara: Gündoğan Yayınları, 2003).

31 See Kamer Kasım, "Kıbrıs Sorunu ve Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliği'ne Üyelik Süreci", in Harun Arıkan and Muhsin Kar (Ed.), *Türkiye-Avrupa Birliği İlişkileri, Siyasal, Bölgesel ve Ekonomik Boyutlar*, (Ankara: Seçkin Yayıncılık, 2005), p. 259-273. Kamer Kasım, "Soğuk Savaş Dönemi Sonrası Kıbrıs Sorunu", *Akademik Bakış*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Winter, 2007, p. 57-72.

ported the Annan Plan expecting the process led Turkey's membership of the EU. Despite negotiations process with Turkey started after December 2004 Brussels Summit, negotiations did not go well and Cyprus question was put as an obstacle to Turkey. Turkey did not recognize SCGA and currently Southern Cyprus vehicles cannot use Turkey's ports and airports. The EU demanded from Turkey to accept the additional protocol and to open its ports and airports for the new members. While Turkey signed the additional protocols extending the Ankara agreement to the new members of the EU, it made a 6 paragraph declaration in which Turkey stated that: it will continue to commit to finding a political settlement of the Cyprus issue. The Republic of Cyprus referred in the protocol is not the original partnership state founded in 1960. Turkey will continue to consider the Greek Cypriot as exercising authority and control only in the south and they do not represent the Turkish Cypriot people. Signature, ratification and implementation of this protocol neither amount to any form of recognition of the Republic of Cyprus referred to in the Protocol; nor prejudice Turkey's rights and obligations emanating from the Treaty of Guarantee, the Treaty of Alliance, and the Treaty of Establishment of 1960. Turkey reaffirmed that its existing relationship with the TRNC remained unchanged by becoming a party to the Protocol. Turkey also expressed its readiness to establish relations with the new Partnership State which will emerge following a comprehensive settlement in Cyprus. The EU stated that recognizing a member country is an indispensable part of negotiation process and asked Turkey to open its ports and airports.³²

Turkey has still argued that solutions should be found through negotiations and solution should be based on bi-communality and bi-zonality. However endless negotiation process caused disappointment not only in Turkey and TRNC and also in international community. International environment also changed after the Annan Plan. The most important development to impact on the Cyprus question came with the independence of Kosovo in 2008. In fact, independence of Kosovo was not the first example of separation for its kind. Montenegro was separated from Serbia through the referendum in 2006. The independence of Kosovo and the Cyprus question have been discussed together in many platforms. Even Russian President Putin stated that countries to recognize Kosovo why not recognize the TRNC. Putin was angry with the policies of Western countries towards Kosovo and Russia was in the Serbian side. However, mentioning Kosovo and Cyprus together, Putin indicated the similarities of the both cases. Another case came after August 2008 conflict between Abkhazia and South Ossetia and both entities declaration of independence changed the regional parameters.³³

Rejecting the plan the Greek side refused to have bi-zonal and bi-communal federation. In fact some Greek politicians were argued that ethnic partition would be preferable to any form of bi-zonal and bi-communal federation. For example Marios

32 For the text of the declaration see <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/NR!rdonlyres/CFIDE678-FA554B98-9E39-23D34C343EA5/0/DEKLARASYONMETNi.doc>. Kamer Kasım, "Soğuk Savaş Dönemi Sonrası Kıbrıs Sorunu", *Akademik Bakış*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Winter, 2007, p. 57-72.

33 "Kosovo Breakaway Illegal Says Putin", *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/feb/15/russia.kosovo>, 15 February 2008 (Erişim Tarihi 17 Eylül 2016).

Matsakis clearly mentioned that he preferred “the option of a clean, two-state solution than bi-zonal, bi-communal federation that was the Annan Plan”.³⁴ In the case of Cyprus even the proposals are based on bi-zonality and bi-communality, the both sides’ understanding of bi-zonality and bi-communality is quite different. For the Turkish side, bi-zonality and bi-communality in the Annan Plan meant that the two ethnically defined constituent states. However, for the Greek side these constituent states will not be defined ethnically.³⁵

Negotiations continued during Talat-Christofias in 2008-2010 and later Eroğlu-Christofias eras. The recent Cyprus negotiation process was resumed after the Joint Declaration on 11 February 2014. Full-fledged negotiations started on 15 May 2015 after the election of Mustafa Akıncı as the President of the TRNC on 25 April 2015.³⁶ An important point that the both sides reached in Geneva in January 2017. Each side presented their maps in the negotiations and the differences between the both sides regarding the territorial demands, security guarantees and Turkey’s military presence in the island stuck the process. However, the most important obstacle for the negotiation process came with the decision of Greek Cypriot House of Representative to commemorate the plebiscite for ENOSIS in Greek Cypriot schools. The decision taken on 14 February 2017 indicated the fact that Greek Cypriot administration is still ignores identity of the Turks in the island and the Greek side has no respect Turks’ rights in Cyprus. In fact the TRNC Legislative Assembly condemned the decision taken by the Greek side.³⁷ It might be argued that the Greek side does not want to share power with the Turkish side and they ignore Turkish side’s right of existence with security.

People in the island identified themselves as Turks and Greeks. Without enough number of people to identify themselves as Cypriot, it would be impossible to have Cyprus State composed of the two ethnic groups. Turks and Greeks of Cyprus have strong attachments to their motherland countries.³⁸ Separation in this case prevents more complications and bloodshed between the ethnic groups. Negotiations to find a solution in Cyprus continued and even if some kind of plan similar to the Annan Plan imposed on both sides and if it approved due to the pressure from international community, it is doubtful that Cyprus would be more peaceful than today since there was no major conflict in the island after 1974 Turkey’s intervention.

34 Harry Anastasiou, *The Broken Olive Branch: Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict and the Quest for Peace in Cyprus*, Vol. 1, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2008), p. 189.

35 Mete Hatay and Rebecca Bryant, *Negotiating the Cyprus Problem(s)*, (İstanbul: TESEV Publications, 2011), p. 16.

36 See Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, <http://mfa.gov.ct.tr/cyprus-negotiation-process/recent-developments/>

37 See Embassy of TRNC in Turkey, <http://ankara.mfa.gov.ct.tr/joint-declaration-by-the-trnc-legislative-assembly-condemning-the-decision-of-the-greek-cypriot-house-of-representatives-to-commemorate-the-plebiscite-for-enosis-in-greek-cypriot-schools/>

38 See Muzaffer Ercan Yılmaz, “Ethnic Identity and Ethnic Conflicts”, *Akademik Bakış Dergisi*, No. 21, 2010, p. 1-22.

KOSOVO CASE: PROCESS OF DISINTEGRATION OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Kosovo is one of the places where regional disputes turned into the international one and at the end an independent state joined the international community. Kosovo may be considered a part of the process of the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia. Kosovo located in the Balkan region has the baggage of history. Kosovo was an Ottoman Empire's territory from 1389 to 1912. Serbia got most parts of Kosovo in 1912. Although Albania also became an independent state, Kosovo was within the border of Serbia. After the Second World War, Kosovo came under the Republic of Serbia within Yugoslavia. Kosovo was considered as autonomous province by the Yugoslav Constitution of 1963 however, its constitutional status was still to be determined by Serbia. In November 1968 Kosovo Albanians revolted against the Serbian rule. Many demonstrators were imprisoned. With the Yugoslav Constitution of 1974 Kosovo became constituent components of the Federation.

In 1981, students' demonstrations followed with riots and they demanded Kosovo to be given republic status and rights of secession and thousands were imprisoned. With the Presidency of Milosevic, Serbia followed policy of suppression against Kosovo Albanians. In 1989, Parliament of Serbia passed constitutional amendments abolished Kosovo's autonomy. Serbia closed or purged main Kosovo newspapers run by Kosovo Albanians and Albanian cultural symbols were also under attack. Kosovo Albanians non-violent resistance started in 1990 under the leadership of Ibrahim Rugova of Democratic League of Kosovo. They organized unofficial referendum. However, continuation of Serbian authorities' rigid stand and in 1995 Dayton agreement about Bosnia with which sanctions of Serbia lifted without discussions about situation in Kosovo disappointed the Kosovo's Albanian population.³⁹

Albanian armed resistance organized by Kosovo Liberation Army started and Serbia responded it with comprehensive operation in Kosovo. However, human rights violations and deportation of Albanian population of Kosovo aggravated the situation. Against Kosovo Liberation Army's offensive, Serbian forces conducted operations resulted in mass killings of Albanians.⁴⁰ Serbia faced new international sanctions. Albanians and Serbs came together to find a solution in Rambouillet in 1999. After the failure of the talks, NATO operation conducted against Serbia starting on 24 March 1999 without the UN decision. NATO launched 78 days of air strikes against Serbia. After this, Milosevic agreed to withdraw its troops and NATO peace-keeping force stationed in Kosovo.⁴¹ United Nations Missions in Kosovo (UNMIK) founded and exercised all legislative and executive authority with respect to Kosovo,

39 See Robert Bideleux, "Kosovo's Conflict", *History Today*, Vol. 48, Issue. 11, <http://www.historytoday.com/robert-bideleux/kosovos-conflict>, 1998 (Erişim Tarihi: 25 Eylül 2016).

40 Kosovo's history see, Noel Molcolm, *Kosovo: A Short History*, (New York: University Press, 1999).

41 "Kosovo: Operation 'Allied Force' ", *House of Commons Research Paper 99/48*, 29 Nisan 1999, <http://www.parliament.uk/commons/lib/research/rp99/rp99-048.pdf>. *Operation Allied Force*, <http://www.defenselink.mil/specials/kosovo/>, 21 Haziran 1999 (Erişim Tarihi: 25 Eylül 2016).

including the administration of judiciary. In May 2001 certain powers to be given to Kosovo Assembly by Constitutional Framework for Provisional Self-Government.⁴²

United Nations Special Envoy Ahtisaari presented a plan to define the status of Kosovo. According to the Ahtisaari Plan Kosovo would be a multi-ethnic society governing itself democratically and with full respect for the rule of law. Kosovo respects human rights and fundamental freedoms and promotes peaceful and prosperous existence of all its population. Kosovo would have right to negotiate and conclude international agreements. Kosovo would be responsible for its own affairs and for fulfilling its obligations under the settlement. Ahtisaari Plan called Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement created base for the declaration of independence for Kosovo in February 2008. Ahtisaari Plan proposed Kosovo should be govern according to the rule of law and arranged the framework for it and also for the security of Kosovo. According to the plan EU would establish a European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) Mission in the field. The ESDP mission would assist Kosovo authorities in their progress towards sustainability and accountability and in further developing and strengthening an independent judiciary, police and customs service, ensuring that these institutions are free from political interference and in accordance with internationally recognized standards and European best practices. NATO shall establish an International Military Presence to support implementation of this settlement. NATO force shall have overall responsibility for the development and training of the Kosovo Security Force and NATO shall overall responsibility for the development and establishment of a civilian-led organization of the Government to exercise civilian control over this force.⁴³

In October 2008 Serbia requested from UN General Assembly to ask advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) about the legality under international law of the declaration of independence of Kosovo in 20 February 2008. Although ICJ cannot cancel the declaration of independence, it would have political impact.⁴⁴ ICJ had its advisory opinion on 22 July 2010 and stated that Kosovo's declaration of independence was not in violation of international law. Although ICJ talked about specific and unique circumstances of Kosovo, it is certainly would impact on territorial struggles in other parts of the world. Many European states thought that the peaceful reintegration of Kosovo into Serbia was impossible and independent Kosovo is the only solution.⁴⁵ One impact of ICJ opinion was increase the number of countries recognized Kosovo, which is currently reached 114.⁴⁶

42 Demola Okeowo, "Statehood, Effectiveness and the Kosovo Declaration of Independence", http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1316445, 3 November 2008 (Erişim Tarihi: 25 Eylül 2016).

43 For the Ahtisaari Plan see http://www.unosek.org/docref/Comprehensive_proposal-english.pdf

44 Demola Okeowo, "Statehood, Effectiveness and the Kosovo Declaration of Independence", http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1316445, 3 November 2008 (Erişim tarihi: 25 Eylül 2016).

45 Richard Caplan, "ICT's Advisory Opinion on Kosovo", <http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/PB55%20The%20ICJs%20Advisory%20Opinion%20on%20Kosovo.pdf>, 17 September 2010 (Erişim Tarihi: 25 Eylül 2016).

46 <http://www.kosovothankyou.com>, (Erişim Tarihi: 17 Haziran 2017).

Kosovo before the declaration of its independence had some special arrangements backed by UN Security Council decisions. The UN Security Council resolution 1244 authorized the UN Secretary General with the assistance of relevant international organizations, to establish an international civil presence in Kosovo in order to provide an interim administration for Kosovo. Kosovo Provisional Institutions of Self Government was established and gained more responsibilities by the time. Kosovo is more integrated in the international system and reached a certain stage by the time. Kosovo is not a party to the Chicago Convention. However, Pristina international airport handled millions of passengers.⁴⁷

COMPARISON

In the international system each case has its own specific features. However they have also similarities, which make them comparable. Taiwan, Cyprus and Kosovo located in different geographies and as we discussed above they have quite different historical and political backgrounds. Taiwan is in the Asia-Pacific region and its historical, cultural and political environment developed accordingly. Taiwan with 23 million populations and 986 billion US Dollar GDP have an important player in world economy. Taiwan as Republic of China had also seat in the UN Security Council until 1971. This information and unique historical background make Taiwan as special case.

Taiwan is also an example of in the absence of the prospect for settlement at least in the short term, finding ways to achieve détente and create atmosphere for economic development in both PRC and Taiwan. Social and cultural contacts continued between the two sides and both sides thought that they serve their interest. In that framework Taiwan developed non-political relations with many states and international organizations.⁴⁸ In international environment with different wording like Taiwan, Taiwan China, Taipei China, Taiwan conduct relations and participation. In February 1986 Asian Development Bank admitted PRC as a member and asked Taiwan to change its name from ROC to Taipei China. In 1986 and 1987 Taiwan boycotted the Asian Development Bank Annual meetings but retained its membership and in 1988 returned full cooperation with the organization. Taiwan continues its close relations with the US in the framework of Taiwan Relations Act. In the absence of the diplomatic recognition American Institute in Taiwan continue contacts with the State Department. Taipei Economic and Cultural Representatives continue Taiwan's relations with other countries.⁴⁹

47 Eiki Berg and Raul Toomla, "Forms of Normalisation in the Quest for De Facto Statehood", *International Spectator*, Vol. 44, No. 4, December 2009, p. 35-36.

48 Bruno Coppieters, "Conflict Resolution after 2008 Georgia-Russia War: The Taiwan and Kosovo Models as Tools for Mobilization and Comparison", *Nationalities Paper: Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, Vol. 42, No. 5, September 2012, p. 681-683

49 Scott Pegg, "The Taiwan of the Balkans? The De Facto State Option for Kosovo", *Southern European Politics*, Vol. 1, No. 2, December 2000, p. 94-95.

Taiwan case shows an example of high level economic and cultural ties with states that not recognized it. In the case of Taiwan the two entity claims right in the same territory agreeing that there is "One China". Of course there is a big difference of what One China means in the both sides.⁵⁰ Both China's and Taiwan's interest requires continuation of closer ties. Therefore despite tension between China and Taiwan after 2016 elections and as a result 30 % drop number of tourists visits Taiwan from mainland China in 2016 and 9.8 % drop in bilateral trade volume, China and Taiwan will continue high level economic and cultural ties. Ethnic and religious differences contributed tension in Cyprus and Kosovo cases does not exist in the case of Taiwan.

Cyprus as a Mediterranean island with its size and populations and in some point with its history more similarity with Kosovo case than Taiwan. Cyprus was ruled by the two big empires; Ottoman and British. The end of British rule raised the question of who would control the island. Greeks demanded island unification with Greece. Turkey first demanding Cyprus's integration with Turkey and then it supported partition of the island between Greece and Turkey. At the end Turks and Greeks established federation called Cyprus Republic. But this did not work and Turkey had to intervene in order to protect right of Turks in the island. The EU involved the dispute accepting the Greek side of the island to be a member without solution of the problem. Two different ethnic, religious and cultural communities live separately in Cyprus.

TRNC faced embargoes and sanctions. International organizations including the Universal Postal Union, the International Civil Aviation Organization and the International Air Transport Association have refused to deal with the North of Cyprus. However later international community and particularly Europe realized that ignoring Turkish Cypriots would not help to find solution.⁵¹ In fact later the reality of the separate existence of Turkish Cypriots was recognized and 24 April 2004 referendum conducted in the north and south at the same time and it was accepted that one side of the island if rejected the Annan Plan, it would not be implemented. Later the different solution scenarios have been discussed. Taiwan model for TRNC was offered. TRNC has lack of recognition can improve economic and cultural relations with other states like Taiwan through representative system. There are already representatives of various countries in TRNC and with some effort this number might be increased.⁵² However Kosovo case impacted on Cyprus question. Despite ICJ stated that Kosovo has special case not to be an example of Cyprus, it was obvious that ICJ's opinion even acknowledged the fact that many might underlined the similarities. In Cyprus, Turks and Greeks separated de facto in 1963 and the two sides have their own administration and structural development since 1974. Like Serbian abol-

50 Eiki Berg and Raul Toomla, "Forms of Normalisation in the Quest for De Facto Statehood", *International Spectator*, Vol. 44, No. 4, December 2009, p. 33-34.

51 Scott Pegg, "The Taiwan of the Balkans? The De Facto State Option for Kosovo", *Southern European Politics*, December 2000, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 92-93.

52 "Bağış Offers Taiwan Model for Cyprus", *Hürriyet Daily News*, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/bagis-offers-taiwan-model-for-northern-cyprus.aspx?pageID=238&nID=7927&NewsCategoryId=338>, 28 November 2011 (Erişim Tarihi: 26 Eylül 2016).

ishment of Kosovo's autonomy, Makarios and the Greek side of Cyprus generally wanted to change the 1960 Constitution in order to limit the right of the Turks given to them with London-Zurich Treaties. The deadlock of negotiations resulted in the declaration of independence of TRNC in 1983. Despite this declaration, Turkish side continues negotiations to create bi-zonal and bi-communal federal state. TRNC has all the elements of state and functional democracy. Compare with Kosovo regarding the state structure, TRNC is far better position. Democratic TRNC has been existed since 1983. In that atmosphere to recognize Kosovo and not to recognize TRNC creates moral dilemma for the EU. This is clearly double standards and saying Kosovo is a sui generis case does not change the fact that TRNC has much more a capacity to be an independent state that Kosovo and proofed this since 1983.

Kosovo among these examples constitutes a case that 114 countries recognized it as an independent state. Kosovo became independent with unilateral declaration of independence as a result of absence of prospects finding a solution regarding status issue. Kosovo is a part of the process of disintegration of the former Yugoslavia. Serbian administration's extreme human rights violations are being used as justification to conduct NATO operation to save people in Kosovo.

While in Taiwan case is based on balance of power politics regarding big powers relations with the PRC and cross strait relations, Kosovo model is based on "1. Using the just-cause argument of a massive breach of human rights by the central government as justification for recognizing a unilateral declaration of independence. 2. Using the last-resort argument of the lack of a reasonable expectation that further status negotiations could lead to a settlement. 3. The willingness of an outside power to supervise the strengthening of the institutions of the breakaway state. 4. The prospect of resolving the conflict between the parties through their joint integration within a broader framework on the basis of sovereign equality."⁵³

CONCLUSION

Among the three examples which were analyzed in this research, Kosovo and Cyprus cases had more similarities than Taiwan case. Kosovo and Cyprus includes two major ethnic groups, two religion, two languages and culture claiming right of the same territory. In both cases history was also used as an argument. In the case of ethnically based conflicts, identity issue becomes dominant and individual loyalties are quite rigid. Identity issue is particularly important in the case of Cyprus. The differences of the sides of the conflict will be widening while their separation time gets longer. In the post-Cold War era developments and particularly the independence of Kosovo changed the parameters in the process of the Cyprus question. The EU decision to accept Southern Cyprus as a member state as "Cyprus Republic" also

53 Bruno Coppieters, "Conflict Resolution after 2008 Georgia-Russia War: The Taiwan and Kosovo Models as Tools for Mobilization and Comparison", Nationalities Paper: Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity, Vol. 42, No. 5, September 2012, p. 683.

contradicted the EU's practice. In Europe Czechoslovakia divided and the two states emerged as Czech Republic and Slovakia and both of them became the EU member.

If parties have the history of conflict, to force or encourage population to live and share the same territory (disregarding bizonal solution) create security dilemmas which intensify violence. Kaufmann stated that "*restoring civil politics in multi-ethnic states shattered by war is impossible because the war itself destroys the possibilities for ethnic cooperation*".⁵⁴ Both in Kosovo and Cyprus there were conflict and bloodshed in recent history among major ethnic groups.

Post-Cold War international environment helped Kosovo to be an independent state and after Kosovo case, two state solutions started to be discussed in Cyprus also. August 2008 Russia-Georgia conflict and following Russian recognition of Abkhazia and South Ossetia's independence indicated that even the states of population of less than 200.000 and in the case of South Ossetia less than 100.000 can become independent.

In the case of Taiwan, The future prospect is very much dependent on how cross-strait relations would be developed. Despite the fact that ethnic, cultural and historical ties between mainland China and Taiwan, the differences of regimes in the both sides of the strait and also public opinion particularly in Taiwan would define the relations and possible outcomes. Confidence building measures if becomes successful might help at least continuation of peaceful negotiation and further economic integration.

54 Chaim Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars", *International Security*, Vol. 20, No. 4, Spring, 1996, p. 137.

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