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Cyprus in a New Security Environment

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Annotation

Diploma thesis „Cyprus in a New Security Environment“ deals with security perception in The Republic of Cyprus in the aftermath of the Cold War. It brings a closer look at the new security patterns that developed after the fall of the Iron curtain and introduces the typology of states in international relations, security sectors and the threats associated as well as referent objects of security in the post-Cold War setting. Cyprus, its history, current political and economic situation provides the basis of the study for categorization of Cyprus on the basis of Sørensen’s typology and Copenhagen school’s view of security studies. Thesis classifies Cyprus as a specific example of country with outward features and security dilemma of the postmodern state. However it is rather difficult to categorize it in Sørensen’s typology of states because of unresolved dispute and its impact on Cyprus’ security environment. Copenhagen school provides a framework for examination of Cyprus security environment in accordance with five security sectors (military, political, societal, economic, environmental) and the thesis finds the conclusion that island is threatened in each security sector portrayed. The Republic of Cyprus falls within each of these sectors mainly because of the unresolved dispute between the community of Greek and Turkish Cypriots and its location in the Eastern Mediterranean region. Historical development, inter-communal tensions and political setting led to the events that dissolved island into two separate entities that nowadays try to find a solution to their dispute, while security plays an important role in this issue.

Keywords

Cyprus, Copenhagen school, securitization, security dilemma, enosis, UNFICYP, UNPOL, TRNC

Anotácia

Diplomová práca “Cyprus v novom bezpečnostnom prostredí” pojednáva o vnímaní bezpečnosti v Cyperskej republike po skončení Studenej vojny. Prináša bližší pohľad na nové bezpečnostné modely, ktoré sa vyvinuli po páde železnej opony a predstavuje typológiu štátov v medzinárodných vzťahoch, bezpečnostné sektory, hrozby s nimi spojené a referenčné objekty bezpečnosti v post-studenovojnovom prostredí. Cyprus, jeho história, aktuálna politická a ekonomická situácia poskytla bázu štúdie pre kategorizáciu Cypru na základe Sørensenovej typológie a pohľade kodaňskej školy bezpečnostných štúdií. Diplomová práca klasifikuje Cyprus ako špecifický príklad krajiny s vlastnosťami a bezpečnostnou dilemou postmoderného štátu. Je však pomerne ťažké kategorizovať ho podľa Sørensenovej typológie štátov vzhľadom k nevyriešenému sporu a jeho dopadu na cyperské bezpečnostné prostredie. Kodaňská škola poskytuje rámec pre skúmanie cyperského bezpečnostného prostredia v súlade s piatimi bezpečnostnými sektormi (vojenským, politickým, societálnym, ekonomickým, environmentálnym) a práca prichádza k záveru, že ostrov je ohrozovaný v každom z vykreslených bezpečnostných sektorov. Cyperská republika spadá pod každý z týchto sektorov vzhľadom k nevyriešenému sporu medzi komunitou cyperských Grékov a cyperských Turkov a takisto svojmu umiestneniu vo východnom Stredomorí. Historický vývin, bikomunitné napätie a politické prostredie viedlo k udalostiam, ktoré rozdelili ostrov do dvoch rôznych entít, ktoré sa dnes snažia nájsť riešenie sporu, pričom bezpečnosť hrá v tejto otázke dôležitú úlohu.

Kľúčové slová

Cyprus, Kodaňská škola, sekuritizácia, bezpečnostná dilema, enosis, UNFICYP, UNPOL, TRNC

Statement

1. I declare that I have processed the produced the thesis personally and I have used only listed sources and literature.
2. I agree that the thesis will be available for public purposes of research and study.

In Prague

Rudolf Matúš

Vote of thanks

At this point, I would like to thank to the consultants of my thesis, Doc. JUDr. PhDr. Ivo Šlosarčík, LL.M., Ph.D. for the thesis supervision as well as Mgr. Tomáš Weiss, M.A. for his advice and consultations.

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Introduction

The Diploma thesis *Cyprus in a New Security Environment* covers a spectrum of existential threats to the national security of the state. It examines the changes of threat perceptions in the security environment of the post-Cold War period. Debates over the concept of securitization and the ambiguous approach of the Copenhagen school have brought a new distinctive look at the perception of security studies in international relations. The state and its elemental functional features become the referent objects of security in the study and they provide a space for implementation of new conceptual analysis of post-Cold War existential threats to the national security. The thesis examines which of today's threats endanger the individual sectors of security on the case study of Cyprus. Illustrated typology of states provides a look at the categorization of states by Sørensen and the Copenhagen school provides a framework for sectoral division of areas potentially threatened by external or internal actors. Time range covers the period of the British occupation beginning in 1878 to the present day. Diploma thesis is going to focus on events leading to its independence, invasion of Turkish troops and the current status quo that has been lasting for decades.

Structure of the thesis

Beginning of the thesis deals with the post-Cold War security challenges, changes in the security environment and their impact on the international security relations. The second chapter reviews the typology of states, their characterization and categorization according to Sørensen's classification based on common features of the states and the intrastate factors. The third part of the thesis presents the debate over the new patterns of security and primarily discusses approach of the Copenhagen school and its impact and contribution to the theory of international relations. It analyzes the concept of securitization, security problematique and types of threats according to five sectors of security. State typology shows which features of the state can be threatened. The fifth chapter introduces the historical overview of the Cyprus dispute and the sixth part discusses current political and economic situation on the island with brief look at the history. The last chapter deals with the security situation on the island, examines Cyprus as a postmodern state on the bases of its features, political situation, international position and development. It also brings a look at the security sectors introduced by

Copenhagen school and studies their existential threats. Conclusion summarizes and reviews the main objectives of the thesis and presents research findings.

Objectives

The Diploma thesis Cyprus in a New Security Environment, I am going to assume that Cyprus is a strong postmodern type of state and it falls within this category because it is the part of multilevel governance system represented by the European Union and other transnational organisations, it has effectively functioning and stable political environment and free-market based economy linked to a global economy market. I suppose that Cyprus faces similar security dilemma as other postmodern states and existential threats imposed to the sovereign Government of the Republic of Cyprus threaten the basic features of the state in each security sector drawn by Copenhagen school mainly because of unresolved Cyprus dispute and island's location. On the basis of historical context and today's political, economic, environmental, societal and military situation on the island, I am going to show that despite of Cyprus being a postmodern country with all features of this type of state integrated in a common multilevel governance community, it still ascribes seriousness to the military sector. Its vulnerability has a higher degree unlike in other postmodern states in spite of decline of traditional security perception after the end of the Cold War.

Methodology

Since Cyprus is the member of the European Union and other international organizations, it is going to fall within the category of strong and postmodern states introduced by Georg Sørensen. Cyprus question still represents a security problem inside the European Union and I am going to suppose that referent objects of securitization and threats are going to be found in each sector introduced by Copenhagen school. I am going to implement this theory of security studies developed in the aftermath of the Cold War onto the case study of Cyprus. I am also going to show that security dimension of the Cyprus dispute influences each sector introduced by Copenhagen school through research and factual data.

Diploma thesis is going to focus on history, analysis of speeches and introduce the security dimension of Cyprus problem with aim to find out whether Cyprus falls within the mentioned categories of states and security sectors. In my research I am

going to use the Copenhagen school's approach of security as a resource for analysis and implement it on the case study of Cyprus. Copenhagen school is a mixture of realist and constructivist look at today's security and Sorensen's view is based on the realist tradition of international relations. Sorensen's typology serves as the base for the categorization of an object represented by a state and the Copenhagen school also provides the portfolio for examination of security threats to this object in the aftermath of the Cold War. The Republic of Cyprus (its southern part) and its views are going to represent the main focus of the thesis. It is going to be the referent object of study while threats to the Republic of Cyprus are going to be discussed.

Analysis of sources

In the theoretical part of my thesis, I used the publications of different theorists of security studies, mainly Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, Georg Sørensen etc. The core basis are the monographies of Georg Sørensen „State and International relations“ and Barry Buzan's monography „People, States and Fear.“ The theoretical part also uses academic journals of security scholars. These sources bring a closer look at today's security perceptions and approach in international relations. The practical part of the thesis discusses the implementation of theoretical approach onto concrete data, statistics and findings about Cyprus using sources of different international organizations like the EU, the UN as well as documents and information from the Ministries of the Republic of Cyprus and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus as well as Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Since the access to the Cypriot security and defence documents is very limited, it has been very difficult to apply the theory introduced at the beginning of the thesis onto the case study of Cyprus. Therefore I based my research on consultation with representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Cyprus and used speeches and statements of government officials in order to find out what some aspects and perceptions of security in Cyprus are today.

1. Security environment and challenges after the Cold War

The Cold War created a bipolar dimension of perception of the world order in which international security was characterized by military and ideological confrontation between the Western and Eastern block. Military threats to national security dominated national security agendas and the new century has proven that security is less concerned with political and military threats than before and that focus on response to these threats in military terms has receded. In Wilhelm N.Germann's point of view, definition of security in terms of defending the basic state features using conventional arms has become obsolete and it is not defined as the absence of war anymore, neither characterized as synonymum of defence.¹ The end of the Cold War opened a new approach to national security and pattern of international relations. Today's challenges have quite different dimensions and impact, and the framework of threats has enlarged. Although military problems still exist, non-military factors are increasingly threatening the security of states and their nations. Economic, societal and ecological issues are emphasizing their significance in international security agenda. Threats like domestic and global poverty, natural disasters, immigration, terrorism, industrial competitiveness, crime, resource shortages, energy and its transfer represent today's dangers to national security of states. These factors are also results of developments and consequences of the collapse of the politically static and relatively stable bipolar security system. The Cold War affected the level of activity and the focus of research of security. During the Cold War, attention was focused on balance of power and nuclear competition between East and West. However, today each country has a certain kind of vulnerability and development does not mean that the military dimension of security will diminish in spite of its decline.² An army remains the pillar of a national security base in spite of requirements for different responses to today's threats. There is a growing need to perceive security as a multidimensional phenomenon, in which the importance of economic, social, legal and cultural causes of conflict and insecurity is increased. Ministries of Defence and Foreign Affairs do not hold the monopoly of solving security

¹ GERMANN, Wilhelm N. Responding to Post Cold War Security challenges : Conceptualising security sector reform. *Geneva center for the democratic control of armed forces*. 2002, No.94, p. 3.

² GERMANN, Wilhelm N. Responding to Post Cold War Security challenges : Conceptualising security sector reform. *Geneva center for the democratic control of armed forces*. 2002, No.94, p. 5.

questions, but also Ministries of Interior, Finance, Education, Transport or Environment are included. Security involves societal development and requires the involvement of independent actors and elements of society, which did not happen during the Cold War. On the other hand, protection of state and its basic features remain the primary task of security agenda in most states. Barry Buzan sees security as the pursuit of freedom from threat and the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change which they see as hostile.³

According to Baldwin, the end of the Cold War brought three critical issues: the goal of national security, the means for pursuing it, and the relation between domestic affairs and national security.⁴ The post-Cold War period raised the question of the importance of military security in comparison to other goals of public policy. A trade-off perception of security specialists in this sphere is illustrated by the following example of today's tendency: „*In anarchy, security is the highest end. Only if survival is assured can states safely seek such other goals as tranquility, profit, and power.*“⁵ International political system has an anarchic model, meaning that each state must ensure its own survival as the highest priority, where profits do not matter in case an enemy is occupying a foreign country and killing its citizens. Even when neither national security, nor survival can ever be completely assured, boundaries dedicated to this purpose might be unlimited. Another explanation might be interpreted as implications that such trade-offs are admissible only after minimum threat of assurance of survival has been attained. Since the second interpretation fails to differentiate between the goal of national security and other important public policy goals, economists could prioritize economic welfare or ecologists could assert the priority of environmental concerns. States are more likely to worry about food, housing, breathable air and drinkable water for their citizens than about external military threat. A state without an army may not survive a military attack, but a state without drinkable water and breathable air will definitely not survive. Since the goal of military security is always in conflict with other goals and the pursuit of security involves opportunity costs, a rational policymaker will realize that the marginal return of costs spent on any

³ BUZAN, Barry. New patterns of global security in the twenty-first century. *International Affairs* [online]. 1991, Vol. 67, No. 3, [cit. 2010-04-15]. Available at WWW: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2621945>>. p. 432.

⁴ BALDWIN, David A. Security studies and the end of the cold war. *World politics* [online]. 1995, Vol. 48, No. 1, [cit. 2010-04-15]. Available at WWW: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25053954>>. p. 126.

⁵ KENNETH, Waltz. *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1979), 126.

other public policy goal will be greater. In order to justify this shifting, there is a need to argue that air or water provides more utility to national security than guns. The end of the Cold War made the military sector of security more abundant and the time to shift to other public policy goals has come. Debates in the post-Cold War period were more concerned with trade-offs between security and other public policy goals. More attention has been traditionally devoted to the means of security instead of goals. Previously, the field of security focused only on military assets as the means of securing the state, advocating Walt's explanation in terms of means by „*the study of the threat, use and control of military force*.“⁶ Focus on military means during the Cold War period was understandable, but non-military threats and the use of military force against them is not amenable. Even Wolfers wrote in 1952 that security „*covers a range of goals so wide that highly divergent policies can be interpreted as policies of security*“ and concluded that although armaments were often relevant, some situations called for „*greater reliance on means other than coercive power*.“⁷ In terms of talking about domestic affairs and security, Peter G. Peterson suggested in his essay „*The Primacy of Domestic Agenda*“ that American security is more threatened by domestic affairs than by external military threat.⁸ During the Cold War period, domestic problems were neglected prior to other external threats. National security specialists should broaden their view of security and focus their attention on internal affairs like education, poverty, immigration as domestic threats, because they are often sources of international conflict. However these issues were not treated as threats to national security during the Cold War and this is another visible example of the shift in security studies. Traditional view of security studies makes incorporation of new existential threats to national security difficult. Realists have emphasized the anarchy in the international system as threat rather than domestic problems of states. Also other security thinkers like Lasswell supported Peterson's idea in forming wider distinction between domestic and international security dimension spending equal amount of money on domestic policies as in foreign fields.⁹ Security studies became poorly equipped to deal with new threats

⁶ WALT, Stephen M. The search for a Science of Strategy. *International Security*. No 12. 1987.

⁷ WOLFERS, Arnold. "National Security" as an Ambiguous Symbol. *Political science quarterly* [online]. December 1952, 4, [cit. 2010-04-12]. Available at WWW: <http://institute.fsv.cuni.cz/~plech/Wolfers_BS.pdf>. p. 484, 502.

⁸ The essays by Peter G. Peterson in. Allison and Trevorton.

⁹ LASSWELL, see In BALDWIN, David A. Security studies and the end of the cold war. *World politics* [online]. 1995, Vol. 48, No. 1, [cit. 2010-04-15]. Available at WWW: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25053954>>. p. 132.

after the end of the Cold War. Preoccupation with military statecraft brought less flexibility to problem solving in issues not related to the use of military assets. Many authors started to view the security studies from a new perspective and called for a development of new security thinking.¹⁰

1.1 New patterns of security relations between center and periphery

Barry Buzan introduced in his essay *New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-first Century* three worlds: the first and the second one representing West and East form the center, and the Third World characterized as periphery. Division and tensions between the Western and Eastern Soviet block caused the agenda to be fully occupied by potential of political and military danger. Third World was influenced by this competition of two superpowers. The New era could be characterized by four different features for the new pattern of great-power relations. The term superpower dominated the language of politics during the Cold War but is no longer appropriate in a multipolar world with many centres of power and fewer spheres of influence. Global multipolarity is the new phenomenon that we are facing today. These great powers are spread across several regions, which means that local rivalries will most likely have more autonomy. Local powers will find themselves with increased regional influence. Another feature that we can sense is the reduction in the level of ideological conflict. Liberal capitalism has become the main philosophy of developed states and has formed the most efficient system of political economy available. Emphasis on a security community has become another important feature in international relations meaning that a group of states does not expect, or prepare for, the use of military force in their relations with each other.¹¹ Capitalist states developed increasingly dominant reasons for eliminating the use of military force in relations within their community. A capitalist security community provides these states with the possibility to meet other challenges more easily because they do not have to compete with each other militarily. It also acts

¹⁰ BALDWIN, David A. Security studies and the end of the cold war. *World politics* [online]. 1995, Vol. 48, No. 1, [cit. 2010-04-15]. Available at WWW: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25053954>>. p. 132.

¹¹ Karl Deutsch and S.A.Burrell, *Political community and the North Atlantic area* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957).

as a moderator of the multipolar power structure. Existence of security community does not allow the creation of a dominant coalition that would govern international relations. The last feature regards the strengthening of an international society based on the recognition of each other's sovereignty claims. Groups of states coordinate their behaviour in pursuit of common goals or strategies in which some institutions are universal as in the case of the UN. Interdependence of twenty-first century capitalism swept away the argument of common unity formed by a fear of communism. These four features and developments described have an influence on the periphery.

Changes in security relations always effect the security of periphery states and in spite of the existence of many similarities, many aspects of relations between the centre and periphery change in each of the five sectors. In the political sector, the value of periphery countries as ideological or strategic places is reduced. During the Cold War, the Third World represented a symbolic success of powers in competition for influence. These states were exposed to destabilizing intervention in their internal affairs. Twentieth century was an era of decolonization and the twenty-first century brought the era of so called post-decolonization period in the periphery. However the end of the Cold War also opened up the question of boundaries as can be understood in the example of German reunification. Another concern in the political sector is Islam's expansionistic tendency toward the Western hegemony. While Islam is weakened by internal splits and rivalries, it still represents a threat to countries that share a territorial boundary with it. This aspect will mainly have a societal character of the threat. In the military sector, militarization in the periphery recorded decline as well. The ending of the Cold War reduces incentives to use army supply. Domestic and regional rivalries became of less interest to great powers than in the past. Previously in the bipolar balance of power, peripheries were seen as an ideological assets of the West and East. Lessening of great powers engagement has diminished their interest in local disputes increasing the leverage of local powers. Economic security has not recorded many changes concerning trade, power on the global market and innovative evolution are dependent on the centre. Welfare standards and development standards have to be kept alive in order to meet environmental criteria and to avoid uncontrolled migration to the North. Societal security has gained much more importance since it is about threats and vulnerabilities that affect identity and cultures. Migration has a direct effect on preservation of identity and culture by threatening the ethnic, religious or linguistic

composition of the population. Developed industries face low birth rate and a high standard of living as opposed to the periphery. The center seeks a cheap labour and immigrants migrate for economic reasons. Also, many immigrant communities already exist within the Western culture and they do not represent the threat or the threat of the periphery. This sector relates to the clash of the West and Islam, secular versus religious values, historical rivalry between Christianity and Islam etc. Such development would put Turkey into a very central and important position. Turkey represents the insulator between Europe and the Middle East because of its geographical and cultural significance. It is ideologically Islamic, however with strong secular tradition and cultural a non-Arab country. Countries vulnerable to rises in sea level, hurricanes or volcanos are threatened by the environmental issues. This importance of this area of security study increases. Only a few periphery states would be able to cope with environmental changes, causing for instance mass migration, and to be able to prevent political breakdown or maintain their boundaries. Environmental issues have become a regular agenda topic in centre-periphery dialogues, increasing their importance along with political and societal issues. Military and economic aspects have recorded decline, but their agenda remained similar with some new tendencies.¹²

¹² BUZAN, Barry. New patterns of global security in the twenty-first century. *International Affairs* [online]. 1991, Vol. 67, No. 3, [cit. 2010-04-15]. Available at WWW: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2621945>>.

2. Three types of states and their interstate security dilemma

The sovereign state is the invention of humans. States develop and change on daily basis and most of these changes are uninteresting in the long perspective. However as they accumulate, they gain importance. Change in structures is essential and the ideal state of search is to capture the key characteristics with regard to historical status of the state. Ideal types of states have a common basis. Sørensen differentiates three types of states in the current international system on the basis of their interstate structures, system, ideology, social cohesion and other features: modern state, colonial state and postmodern state.¹³ All of them retain defined territory, population and certain kind of government. These states are internationally recognized as members of the international community of states in accordance with international law. Each of them exhibits a specific behaviour in international relations and deals with the questions of security in different way. Every day we can identify and analyze interactions among entities and private individuals whose actions have an effect on national borders or affect the functioning of the international system. These actors, their functioning and acting in international politics create international relations. Diversity of interactions is various.¹⁴ Since the end of the Cold War, the tendency toward utilizing the security dilemma in relations to the intrastate level exists.

The term security dilemma is relatively new in international relations and it was first used by John Herz in his „*Political Realism and Political Idealism*“ book in 1951.¹⁵ Sovereign states take measures to increase their security and protection however due to the anarchic system of international relations, this activity leads to the increased insecurity of other states. Herz stated that: „*In an attempt to reach security from attack, states are forced to permanently increase their own power to escape the power of others. This strenghtens the insecurity of others that have to prepare for the worst. Due to the fact that in the world of permanently competing units, noone can feel safe, competition lasts and the never-ending roundabout of security increase and power*

¹³ SØRENSEN, Georg. *Stát a mezinárodní vztahy*. London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. p.91.

¹⁴ SØRENSEN, Georg. *Stát a mezinárodní vztahy*. London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. p. 90.

¹⁵ ROE, Paul. The Intrastate Security Dilemma : Ethnic Conflict as a "Tragedy"?. *Journal of Peace Research* [online]. 1999, Vol. 36, No. 2, [cit. 2010-04-19]. Available at WWW: <<http://jstor.org/stable/424669>>. p. 183.

*accumulation occurs.*¹⁶ People form states in order to escape the fear. States provide protection from threats, possibilities for development and protection of welfare. Instruments increasing the security of a state strengthen the security of individuals at the same time. In case the social contract did not exist, the security dilemma would have a different nature, because the increase of state power would not be associated with protection of population. It would cause the increase of insecurity on international and interstate level. According to Hobbes security comes from the state that has to be able to ensure the sufficient level of protection of population from external and internal threats, where power becomes an instrument of this ability.¹⁷ However power is the source of threat. Protection that state has to guarantee is the one from the external threats represented by power of other states. In Sorensen's view a security dilemma in international relations is importantly based on specific interstate structures.¹⁸ Security dilemma is a symbolical mean to express the internal problem of the sovereign state. It is also a link between „*international*“ and „*interstate*“ because it depends on the form of both. Different states face different types of security dilemmas. The theory of international relations did not discuss the question of interstate base of security dilemma except for a few exceptions like Buzan etc. We have to consider the interstate structures in order to fully analyze the security dilemma. We can suppose that security dilemma was different in earlier forms of state unlike in current postmodern and postcolonial states whose interstate structures differ from each other. It possesses international and interstate preconditions.¹⁹

2.1 Security dilemma in modern state

The main features of the *modern state* have the following common characteristics: The centralized system of rules based on the administrative, police and military institutions, confirmed by legal norms that make a claim to the legitimate use of force. People living in the certain territory form the cohesive community that links together both nation and state. Concerning economic aspect of this type the state has the self-sufficient economy that includes basic sectors which fulfil needs for its own

¹⁶ HERZ, John. Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma. *World Politics*. Vol. II. No. 2. 1950.

¹⁷ HOBBS, Thomas. *Leviathan*. Oxford. 1946. p. 101.

¹⁸ SØRENSEN, Georg. *Stát a mezinárodní vztahy*. London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. p. 111.

¹⁹ SØRENSEN, Georg. *Stát a mezinárodní vztahy*. London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. p. 114.

reproduction. The ideal types of the modern state were liberal industrial states in the Western Europe, North America etc. They developed over the years transforming from the absolutist regimes into the modern form of governance and became the bases for transformation to postmodern states.

Security dilemma in modern states characteristic by high degree of social cohesion, whose elements (existence and cohesion of government, national feeling and economy) are the conditions that link the national security with security of population. Such states are also regarded as strong states. Modern states creates the environment for a decent life, where the centralized system of government legitimized by the population forms the base of interstate peace and order to provide protection to citizens from the external threats.²⁰ Buzan defined economic security as „*an access to sources, finances and markets necessary to ensure acceptable level of welfare and state power.*“²¹ It is possible to determine the economic power and economic security since economies of this type of states are not self-sufficient, but they need access of external actors to enter their markets. State identity is strong in modern states and security of nation represents one the basic aspects of national security.

2.2 Security dilemma in postmodern state

The Postmodern state is one of the two next most common types of states in today's international system. Some modern states transformed themselves into *postmodern states* in the second half of the 20th century.²² Modern states responded to the situation that occurred after the end of the WW II. by deepening their cooperation by means of creating different types of institutions with regional or universal character. The changes in the system of international relations are concerned with three different aspects of the sovereign state, namely governance, national sentiment and economy. The change of governance was associated with the creation of multilevel governance promoting the growth of the common regulatory power. The European Union is the model of such governance. Its legal norms and principles are binding for all of the

²⁰ SØRENSEN, Georg. *Stát a mezinárodní vztahy*. London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. p. 114.

²¹ BUZAN, Barry. *People, states & fear : An agenda for international security studies in the post-Cold War era*. Padstow : TJ International Ltd., 1991. p. 19.

²² SØRENSEN, Georg. *Stát a mezinárodní vztahy*. London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. p. 100.

member states and their compliance is controlled by transnational institutions. European union represents an example that changes the aspects of the sovereign state, while preserving it as the key actor in the framework of interstate political networks. States formally act as independent actors, but at the same time, they become deeply integrated in a cross-border community. European Union constitutes the system of multilevel governance between different actors in three political areas: transnational, national and subnational. Distribution of power to transnational and subnational level creates the strengthening as well as weakening the state's sovereignty. There is a tendency to emphasize and strengthen the civic identity from national to transnational level. Postmodern states function on the basis of interconnected economies while the relationship between economic and political cooperation deepens and develops.²³

Postmodern states have overcome the traditional security dilemma in the forms of violent conflicts. They are members of a coordinated security community which means that threat of an external character does not exist between them. Instead, problems of efficient governance have appeared, caused by different features of postmodern states. These problems do not have the sense of traditional security, but deal with different aspects of political assets – legal order, justice, welfare and freedom. In the quest for these values, postmodern states cooperate to the extent that has created a high level of common integration. The framework of state's support and providing of political assets has been transformed in this type of states and this transformation relates to economy, governance or identity. Economic and political coherence has been decreased in comparison with modern type of state. Economies of postmodern states are not divided by national or territorial boundaries. Multilevel governance and protection of political institutions has an international approach. Countries continue to be formally independent, but at the same time, they become deeply integrated in a transnational community. However in case of identity development that undermines the coherence between state and nation, strengthening of such identities might weaken the idea of state. Traditional security dilemma has been replaced by problems related to efficient assurance of decent life ensured by order, justice, welfare and freedom. On the other hand, a postmodern type of state offers an opportunity to ensure peace and cooperation. Relations between postmodern states have elements of legitimate international and

²³ SØRENSEN, Georg. *Stát a mezinárodní vztahy*. London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. p. 104-108.

multinational governance. The development of governance structures in context with postmodern statehood implemented order in relations between these states. Postmodern states implemented these elements of order into their national identities. Growth and development requires the participation on economic globalization. Modern states created national markets and economic globalization as well as formed a framework for multinational level.²⁴

Transformation of relations after the end of the Cold War created coordinated security community. It brings and links together four elements – republican liberalism, institutional liberalism, liberalism of interdependence and sociological liberalism.²⁵ Members of community are consolidated liberal democracies.²⁶ Institutional element is based on a dense network of institutions facilitating cooperation.²⁷ Element of mutual dependence is present by high level of economic interdependence and generally said interconnection between states and societies.²⁸ Sociological element comes from the multinational network of various subnational actors.²⁹ Institutional framework of the EU is in terms of depth and width the most developed one and it is valid also for the economic relations within it. However coordinated security environment of postmodern states is not clearly bounded since postmodern statehood is different in each state. All states have in common the consolidated democracy, dense network of international institutions, integrated economic structures, common values and attitudes. Postmodern states do not threaten themselves, but we can still find the elements of security dilemma since they can be threatened by conventional threats of modern or postcolonial states.

²⁴ SØRENSEN, Georg. *Stát a mezinárodní vztahy*. London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. p. 147-149.

²⁵ ZACHER, Mark V. – MATHEW, R. A. (1995). Liberal International Theory: Common Threads, Divergent Strands, in C. W. Kegley, Jr. (ed.), *Controversies in International Relations: Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge*, New York? St.Martin's Press, 107-150.

²⁶ SØRENSEN, Georg (1992). Kant and Process of Democratization: Consequences for Neorealist Thought, *Journal of Peace Research*, 29: 4, 397-414.

²⁷ KEOHANE, Robert O. – HOFFMANN, Stanley (eds.) – (1993). *After the Cold War: International Institutions and State Strategies in Europe, 1989-1991*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

²⁸ KEOHANE, Robert O. (1995). Hobbe's Dilemma and Institutional Change in World Politics: Sovereignty in International Society, in Hans-Henrik Holm – Georg Sørensen (eds.), *Whose World Order? Uneven Globalization and the End of the Cold War*, Boulder, Co.? Westview, 165-187.

²⁹ RISSE-KAPPEN, Thomas (ed.) – (1995). *Bringing Transnational Relations Back In*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DEUDNEY, Daniel-IKENBERRY, John g. (1999). The nature and sources of liberal international order, *Review of International Studies*, 25, 179-196.

Economic globalization emphasizes tension between vulnerability and efficiency, which is the core of all economic security areas.³⁰ Vulnerability is increased in case the national economies are integrated in such degree that withdrawal from the world market is impossible. In global economy, simple relationship between measures acting in favor of national economy does not exist, because national producers could often be foreign companies and such companies can also be national corporations. Efficiency of instruments for protection of national economy is also limited. Hence the level of economic welfare and economic power depends on the success of economic integration across the borders of postmodern states. Political representations adopt the acceptable legislature for markets. Context of economic security brings new problems in spite of the opportunities that economic globalization creates. Whole economic space becomes the object of economic security. Territorially limited measures cannot effectively cover the whole socioeconomic space. It increases a demand for closer international cooperation.³¹ Multilevel governance creates a new framework of policy forming. Member states adopt legislation and cooperate in order to achieve the efficiency of regulations. Intensive cooperation creates multinational level, in which members can determine rules applicable in whole community. External intervention is the consequence of multilevel governance. Member states allow other members influence their internal affairs and they expect the same in their mutual relationship. According to Buzan, political security emphasizes „*organizational stability of states, systems, governments and ideologies that give them legitimacy.*“³² However multilevel governance proves that organizational stability faces changes. National security also includes the transnational level of governance, because it is a part of the governing system and its institutions created by member states. The core of postmodern states policy is to ensure the political assets resulting from efficient form of governance. However postmodern states face number of other threats. Postmodern societies are densely interconnected between themselves and other types of states. Problems and risks existing in societies can be easily transferred. Diseases, environmental pollution, ecologic instability, criminality, drugs, migration, economic crises, terrorism are examples of such threats. Efficient governance must therefore deal with such risk

³⁰ BUZAN, Barry. *People, states & fear : An agenda for international security studies in the post-Cold War era*. Padstow : TJ International Ltd., 1991. p. 237.

³¹ SØRENSEN, Georg. *Stát a mezinárodní vztahy*. London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. p. 151-155.

³² BUZAN, Barry. *People, states & fear : An agenda for international security studies in the post-Cold War era*. Padstow : TJ International Ltd., 1991. p. 19.

environment. On the other hand, threats derived from this interdependence are overbalanced by number of positive opportunities.³³ Efficient multilevel governance requires overlapping of political society and its citizens and even European union itself, despite being the best example of multilevel governance, faces democratic deficit. The sense of political security is to ensure the most efficient governance and democratic relationship between political representation and citizens of member states. Transnational cooperation creates new limitations to democracy, but also opens many new opportunities. Modern state is characterized by high degree of coherence between nation and state. Society, legitimacy and solidarity form elements of this relationship. National security is linked to a group of people that share a strong national identity. People living in linked societies are exposed to number of systems and symbols of identification and might accept more of them at once. Local, regional, national and multinational identity might coexist within one person and might be combined with number of religious and other identities. Process of identity creation requires emphasis of some symbols and values at the expense of others. Interconnected plurality of postmodern statehood does not remove difference. Two different tendencies might be found in such complex system – integration or fragmentation. Tendency related to integration is the result of identity sensation as political and economic changes occur. In postmodern states, the common „civic identity“, that is cohesive in a sense that it supports and shares the same key values and norms, has developed.³⁴ Educational exchange programmes, travelling, political and economic cooperations help forming a support to common value system. Equalization of differences between identities might on the other hand create a demand for further emphasis of their distinction. Identities might be under pressure of competition, for example from immigrant groups, which might lead to violence or increase of radicalism. Another aspect of fragmentation creates a tendency to form a regional autonomy on the base of the tendency that strenghtens the cultural distinction. Strenghtening of collective identities does not have to support the idea of state. Radicalism seeks the disintegration from social, political and economic networks.

³³ SØRENSEN, Georg. *Stát a mezinárodní vztahy*. London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. p. 156.

³⁴ DEUDNEY, Daniel – IKENBERRY, John G. (1999). The nature and sources of liberal international rder, *Review of International Studies*, 25, 179-196.

2.3 Security dilemma in postcolonial state

Many states that gained legal independence in the relation to decolonization were not the modern states. Decolonization formed a new framework for building the sovereign *postcolonial states*. The modern state is the result of the long lasting process and the framework of decolonisation gave the former colonies the legal right to gain independence. We can observe many different aspects and forms of state structures in the process of decolonization. The colonial rule was not an obstacle of the economic development in some of them (for instance Tchaiwan, South Korea). However many rulers focused on their own profit and consequently the cultural, ethnical, religious and other partition processes developed. The ruler gathered the elites and ethnic groups with objective to get rid of colonizers. However after gaining independence only a little space for creating the real unity was left. It was extremely difficult to connect different ethnic groups with different languages practising other religions. Administrative and institutional strucutres were very weak and they missed the basic skillsets, qualification and sources. The system of the governance of one man was established. Such state could not be the source of security, order and justice for citizens. State became the threat for its own citizens. These states had autonomous status and they did not fall into any stronger external apparatus. Legitimity of state was low because a part of population did not support the government and institutions. Government did not possess any authority and the population did not respect it and its ruling. Consequently the population turns to its communities and the links exist mostly in the local or ethnic groups. They compete each other in political approaches to gain the power and control. The low level of cohesion of nation and state is another feature of this type of state. Economies are weak and their import and export is dependent on the world market.³⁵

The specific features of the postcolonial state created security dilemma that differs from the security dilemmas of two other types of states. In postcolonial states, the security of elites is dependent on the norms of international system formed after the process of decolonization. Elites support these international norms in order to ensure their own security internally and externally. People often suffer from social and economic insecurity. International community intervned in internal affairs of these states to support the civic society and transform these states economically and

³⁵ SØRENSEN, Georg. *Stát a mezinárodní vztahy*. London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. p. 100-104.

politically. The strengthening of the security of citizens often failed and elites preserved their status of the dominant internal actor. Postcolonial states can function, because international community adopted the right to their self-determination and refused the system of colonization. It preserved the colonial boundaries and their constancy. Right to self-determination was the right of former colonies to sovereignty. Existence of the new independent weak states was upheld by the compliance of international norms. Any request to change the boundaries from the opposition would not gain any international support meaning that elites obtained the monopoly of power. Recognition of sovereignty excluded intervention into interstate affairs. These states sought for the economic support of their former colonizers and they requested an equal status in international system, but asked for the privileged treatment as well. State ensures the political assets, at least it should. However this is not the case in postcolonial countries. Only a few states of this type managed to transform and create a functioning and democratic rule of law. International system is the one, in which each state has to rely on its own power and means. The use of force might appear in any moment and it is the last mean of problem solution between states. States unable to ensure their own existence risk their own survival.³⁶ It creates the pressure on elites to ensure the order in internal affairs and against external threats. Intrastate order is the prerequisite for the accumulation of resources. Elites have a platform to ensure their own interests in case of existence of weaker external threats. Decolonization period and weak external threats created the opportunity for Third world leaders to strengthen the regimes. „*Some governments have such low legitimacy and they are such inefficient that their existence markedly depends on the use of force*“.³⁷ The lack of public services, inefficient state administration and corruption created the environment, where economic growth was hard to achieve. The access to material advantages became the matter of ethnic group that increased the competition and inequality that can provoke a conflict. The argument that violent conflicts are the results of the Cold War is not valid.³⁸ The new potential conflicts can erupt from the struggle between ethnic groups. International community tries to take measures in order to weaken the role of state in economy, take liberalization steps and enlarge export. However elites as the officials of state institutions are viewed as part of the problem and not a part of its solution. They have their own program with

³⁶ SØRENSEN, Georg. *Stát a mezinárodní vztahy*. London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. p. 127.

³⁷ SANDBROOK, Richard (1985). *The Politics of Africa's Economic Stagnation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

³⁸ SØRENSEN, Georg. *Stát a mezinárodní vztahy*. London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. p. 130.

goal of preserving the largest political and economic autonomy in interstate relations. Regarding elections elites abuse the system for their own profit and the existence of variety of political parties is not based on political orientation, but ethnicity. The elementary value of international community is the retention of status quo and the immutability of state borders. However could new rules of secession possibly enable an easier establishment of new states?³⁹ According to Herbst, international community should not recognize the sovereignty of highly inefficient states and could provide help to regions, not states with aim of gaining efficient control over population, not territory.⁴⁰ Real dilemma comes from the long-lasting state borders that maintain the groups that fight each other, because they cannot agree on establishment of political society. The outcome is always the insecurity and lag. The secession causes precedent and the value of gains must overbalance the value of losses.⁴¹

Postcolonial states have different character in comparison with modern states, which brings a different security dilemma. State elites in post-colonial states do not face serious external threats. Weak states and their regimes are under the protection of international norms. The lack of restrictions on internal and external level enable elites to promote their own interests. This has led to the formation of such state structures that have become the source of the threat and insecurity instead of creating the secured environment for the population. The economic and political conditions have been created with aim of forming more efficient forms of government. However state elites have number of possibilities to influence the negotiation with international community. Therefore increase in the security of population has been minimal. Current borders are often advantageous for elites and international community as border helps maintain security threats and it is a guarantee of sources and autonomy of officials, however for ordinary people, the borders are sources of insecurity.⁴²

³⁹ SØRENSEN, Georg. *Stát a mezinárodní vztahy*. London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. p. 142.

⁴⁰ HERBST, Jeffrey (1996-1997). Responding to State Failure in Africa, *International Security*, 21: 3, 120-144.

⁴¹ SØRENSEN, Georg. *Stát a mezinárodní vztahy*. London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. p. 143.

⁴² SØRENSEN, Georg. *Stát a mezinárodní vztahy*. London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. p. 144-145.

3. New security thinking and its approaches in the aftermath of the Cold War

Since the security perception has changed after the end of the Cold War, the traditional view of security studies has been enlarged. During the Cold War period, realism was the dominant theory in international relations, because it provided explanation to war, alliances, imperialism with emphasis on competition etc.⁴³ New critical security studies have developed since the middle of 1990's. They have brought a new look and have made an important impact on discussions about the theory of international relations. These schools have reduced the dominant military perception of security and further examined new challenges of post-Cold War era. Their research has been concentrated around the work of three main intellectual schools: Aberystwyth, Copenhagen and Paris.⁴⁴ The Aberystwyth school (also known as Critical Security Studies) has more specific focus mainly on individual security. The Paris school is concerned with the construction of insecurity, and it does not consider security as an exceptional speech act as Copenhagen school does. Paris school is more concerned with socio-political approach and analyzes how officials construct security practice routine use of definitions and categories. Copenhagen school has worked out the theory of securitization that examines who securitizes, from what threats, for which referent objects, under what conditions etc. It emphasizes the importance of speech-acts, political construction of insecurity and danger of threat.⁴⁵ It also deals with the security of state as the referent object for the analysis of international relations security. Beside widening security agenda to five sectors, Barry Buzan further divided security to three levels: substate, state and international one.⁴⁶ However emerging security agenda in the aftermath of the Cold War caused the shift of security perception. Societal security dealing with identity, interests, language, culture, religion and customs gained more importance and attention and the referent objects of study have been enlarged since the

⁴³ WALT, Stephen M. *International Relations : One World, Many Theories. Foreign policy*. 1998, 110, s. 29-46. p. 31.

⁴⁴ WÆVER, Ole (2004) 'Aberystwyth, Paris, Copenhagen: New "Schools" in Security Theory and Origins Between Core and Periphery'. Paper presented at the 45th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Montreal, Canada, 17-20 March.

⁴⁵ VAN MUNSTER, Rens. *Security on a shoestring : A Hitchker's Guide to Schools of Security in Europe. Cooperation and conflict* [online]. 2007, 42, 235, [cit. 2010-04-19]. Available at WWW: <<http://cac.sagepub.com>>. p. 2-3.

⁴⁶ VAN MUNSTER, Rens. *Security on a shoestring : A Hitchker's Guide to Schools of Security in Europe. Cooperation and conflict* [online]. 2007, 42, 235, [cit. 2010-04-19]. Available at WWW: <<http://cac.sagepub.com>>. p. 2.

state was not the sole object of examination anymore.⁴⁷ These three schools have formed an elementary part of current critical security studies. They function as pointers for security studies scholars.

What is then security? The answer to this question can be found in different approaches of understanding what the security means. There is no single version of explanation that would lead to correct meaning or standard use. Generally said security is something that gives or assures safety. According to Arnold Wolfers's definition „security, in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked”.⁴⁸ David Baldwin expands this view considering security to be a situation in which there is a “low probability of damage to acquired values.”⁴⁹ Traditional view of security in international relations is perceived as the military and political power of state and state used to be automatically recognized as the referent object of security in international relations. In this context, security is characterized as the maintenance of existence or survival. Such situation occurs when the existential threat to the object exists. Object can be represented by one of the features of the state (state, territory, political independence or its population). Security provides the excuse for the legitimate use of force. There are different sectors that existential threats jeopardize. Debates over meaning of „the security“ term nowadays have been challenged by new existential threats that do not have the traditional military perception, but include many more actors today. Copenhagen school has developed a distinctive position with wider sense of securitization theory. Not only the realm of potential threats enlarged, but also referent objects of security. Copenhagen school categorized security sectors into five different areas.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ SMITH, Steve. The Concept of Security Before and After September 11 : The Contested Concept of Security. *IDSS Working Papers*. 2002, 23, p. 2.

⁴⁸ WOLFERS, Arnold. "National Security" as an Ambiguous Symbol. *Political science quarterly* [online]. December 1952, 4, [cit. 2010-04-12]. Available at WWW: <http://instituty.fsv.cuni.cz/~plech/Wolfers_BS.pdf>.

⁴⁹ BALDWIN, David A. The concept of security. *Review of International Studies* [online]. 1997, 23, [cit. 2010-04-04]. Available at WWW: <<http://tau.ac.il/~daniel/pdf/37.pdf>>. p. 13.

⁵⁰ MICHAEL C., Williams . Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics. *International studies quarterly* [online]. 2003, 4, [cit. 2010-03-29]. Available at WWW: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3693634>>. p. 513.

3.1 The concept of securitization

Over the past two decades, security studies have become one of the most dynamic areas in international relations. Barry Buzan's and Ole Waever's approach of theory of „securitization“ from the Copenhagen school belongs to one of the most influential views. Its approach is a mixture of social constructivism and realist tradition. A basic claim of securitization theory is a speech-act. Waever summarizes it: *„What then is security? We can regard security as a speech-act. In this usage, security is not of interest as a sign that refers to something more real, the utterance itself is the act. By saying it, something is done (as in betting, giving a promise, naming a ship). By uttering security a state-representative moves a particular development to particular area, and thereby claims a special right to use whatever means are necessary to block it.“*⁵¹ Security is treated as the result of a specific social process and speech-acts through which the threats become represented and recognized. In order to be recognized they must convince the relevant audience. The classical concept of security is either explicitly defined as national security or implicitly draws upon this connection with the state. This occurs not because a state is an immortal entity or because security is objectively provided by the state, but the meaning of security is historically bound to political community. The specific community, developed in the past 400 years, is the sovereign state and the national security gained a prerogative as the concept of security.⁵² When something or someone is constructed as a threat to national security or as in our strategic interests, it takes on an objective character. To constitute something as a threat, in Ole Wæver's words, to „*securitize it*“, means to present it as an existential threat to designated object (traditionally, but not necessarily the state including its features).⁵³ To construct it as existential implies that security problem has a high priority and in case it is not addressed, it will have fatal consequences.⁵⁴ A move of policy crossing the Rubicon and playing outside the rules of the game above the

⁵¹ WÆVER, Ole. "Securitization and Desecuritization". In *On Security*, edited by R. Lipschutz, pp. 46-86. New York. 1995. p. 55.

⁵² WALKER. In HANSEN, Lene. *Security as practice : Discourse analysis and the Bosnian war* [online]. Abingdon : Routledge, 2006 [cit. 2010-05-01]. Available at WWW: <<http://books.google.cz/books?id=QNdbxyNIOsYC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>>. p. 34.

⁵³ WÆVER, Ole. In HANSEN, Lene. *Security as practice : Discourse analysis and the Bosnian war* [online]. Abingdon : Routledge, 2006 [cit. 2010-05-01]. Available at WWW: <<http://books.google.cz/books?id=QNdbxyNIOsYC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>>. p. 35.

⁵⁴ BUZAN, Barry. In HANSEN, Lene. *Security as practice : Discourse analysis and the Bosnian war* [online]. Abingdon : Routledge, 2006 [cit. 2010-05-01]. Available at WWW: <<http://books.google.cz/books?id=QNdbxyNIOsYC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>>. p. 35.

standard policy-making can be also characterized as security. Therefore securitization is treated as a more radical form of politicization. We have to differentiate between the process of politicization and securitization. In general any public topic can be placed on the scale ranging from depoliticized, where state does not intervene, through politicized, when it becomes the subject of the public debates and political decision-making, to securitized, when the topic is perceived as the existential threat. These topics can be differentiated according to circumstances. The link between politicization and securitization does not mean that only state must approach it, but both categories can be activated by independent actors. The topic becomes international security problem in case it is possible to argue that it is more important than other issues and therefore it should be discussed with high priority. Exact definition and criteria of securitization rise from the structure of existential threat and its potential political impact. Discussion presenting existential threat does not create the securitization itself considering it is only the securitization motion, but public has to perceive the existence of threat and only afterwards it is fully regarded as a security problem. Copenhagen school shows that existential threat must be defended and publicly perceived and on the basis of these assumptions, it is possible to legitimate the measures taken against them. Criteria of securitization are not fulfilled by violation of standard rules or by formation of threat, which always does not have to cause consequences, but through the threats that legitimize the transgression of rules. However it is rather difficult to differentiate between the importance and impact of threats. Copenhagen school does not classify potential threats into sectors according to their significance. Security act is born in the interaction between actor of securitization and public. In case of war eruption, the act of transgression of rules is excused and the actor adapts its behaviour according to the procedure of its own highest priorities. Therefore the securitization consists of three factors: existential threats, emergency measures and impact of transgression of rules on relations between subjects. Preservation of own existence and prioritized negotiation highlight the security issue as a question of the highest priority. Topic classified as a security issue claims the right to deal with using a special measures.⁵⁵

One of the most influential and criticized Copenhagen school's approaches is the one regarding societal security. It emphasizes the role of identity in international

⁵⁵ BUZAN, Barry; WÆVER, Ole; WILDE, Jaap de. *Bezpečnost: Nový rámec pro analýzu*. Boulder : Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc., 1998.

security relations. Here it is the identity of society that can be threatened and can become the source of conflict in the same way as the ethnic tensions. State has a sovereignty and society has an identity and the state losing sovereignty is equal to society that has fear from non-existence as the social entity. Buzan and Wæver objectify both society and identity.⁵⁶ The problem lies in whether identity can be viewed as either an object or process meaning whether it's solid or changing. Dr. McSweeney argues that Copenhagen school links and reifies society and identity, which is politically dangerous and untenable. He also argues that its concept of societal security defines society as having a single identity which is impossible.⁵⁷ In the process of securitizing the identities and division between „us“ and „them“, it determinates who is a friend and who is the enemy. In extreme cases it can lead to political threat beginning with violent secessionist movements within states and upgrade it to conflict over sovereignty. Dr. McSweeney considers economic concerns of individuals to be more threatening than societal ones, however economic well-being is not a security threat unless it is placed within the five categories.⁵⁸ Also, the stress on decision what the securitized issue will be highlights a focus on political nature of such choice. It is always evident that securitization itself is political decision and act. Another major criticism of Copenhagen school is based on ethics of securitization meaning that anything can be securitized and treated as a security issue while the objectivity of the consequences is questionable.⁵⁹ Buzan and Wæver state that *„if one studies only the processes by which identities are formed, then identity never becomes a 'thing' at all: there is never a product a such... Why can one not think of identities as definitively bein constructed by people and groups through numerous processes and practices, and when an identity is thus constructed... it becomes a possible referent object for security.“*⁶⁰ Identities once constructed can be

⁵⁶ ROE, Paul. The Intrastate Security Dilemma : Ethnic Conflict as a Tragedy?. *Journal of Peace Research* [online]. March 1999, Vol. 36, No. 2, [cit. 2010-03-29]. Available at WWW: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/424669>>. p. 193.

⁵⁷ McSWEENEY, Bill. *Security, Identity and Interests*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. 1997. p. 72.

⁵⁸ McSWEENEY, Bill. *Security, Identity and Interests*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge. 1997. p. 72.

⁵⁹ MICHAEL C., Williams . Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics. *International studies quarterly* [online]. 2003, 4, [cit. 2010-03-29]. Available at WWW: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3693634>>. p. 521.

⁶⁰ BUZAN, Barry and WÆVER, Ole, 1997. 'Slippery, Contradictory? Sociologically Untenable: The Copenhagen School Replies', *Review of International Studies* 23: 241-250.

regarded as temporarily fixed for a certain period and therefore they can be considered as objects around which security processes might occur.⁶¹

3.2 Specifications of security problematique

Barry Buzan and Richard Ullman link conceptual analysis of security with empirical observations. In their point of view, individual security is directly related to the one of the state and international system.⁶² Contradictions resulting from the contestability of security include those between individual and the state, national and international security, violent acts and peaceful ends etc. In the Cold-war period, two military blocks on both side of the iron curtain (NATO, the Warsaw Pact) could represent such contradiction. However, as a result, security is more discutable, inadequately described and explained concept than a contested one.

National security as Wolfers suggested might have an ambiguous meaning without further specifications.⁶³ According to his and Baldwin's definition of security and further developed by Ullman, it allows to include, for example, natural disasters as threats of security.⁶⁴ In ecological sector, states adopt building codes, which won't stop natural catastrophies to happen, but it lowers the probability of damage to aquired values. In military sector, state adopts the policy of deterrence in order to lower the risk of attack. His formulation of security can be defined in terms of several specifications. Buzan argues that security has to specify the referent object (state, individual etc.).⁶⁵ Specification of values is also significant factor, but often brings confusion to a concept of national security. The former American Secretary of Defense Harold Brown, for example, includes the maintenance of „*economic relations with the rest of the world on*

⁶¹ ROE, Paul. The Intrastate Security Dilemma : Ethnic Conflict as a Tragedy?. *Journal of Peace Research* [online]. March 1999, Vol. 36, No. 2, [cit. 2010-03-29]. Available at WWW: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/424669>>. p. 193.

⁶² BALDWIN, David A. The concept of security. *Review of International Studies* [online]. 1997, 23, [cit. 2010-04-04]. Available at WWW: <<http://tau.ac.il/~daniel/pdf/37.pdf>>. p. 7.

⁶³ WOLFERS, Arnold. "National Security" as an Ambiguous Symbol. *Political science quarterly* [online]. December 1952, 4, [cit. 2010-04-12]. Available at WWW: <http://instituty.fsv.cuni.cz/~plech/Wolfers_BS.pdf>. p. 485.

⁶⁴ ULLMAN, Redefining security in BALDWIN, David A. The concept of security. *Review of International Studies* [online]. 1997, 23, [cit. 2010-04-04]. Available at WWW: <<http://tau.ac.il/~daniel/pdf/37.pdf>>. p.13.

⁶⁵ BUZAN, Barry. *People, states & fear : An agenda for international security studies in the post-Cold War era*. Padstow : TJ International Ltd., 1991. p. 26.

reasonable terms“ in his concept.⁶⁶ Wolfers suggested that it is important to distinguish between objective and subjective dimensions of security, because states can overestimate or underestimate the probability of damage by threat.⁶⁷ Another dispute that debate points out is the question of how much security is needed. Bernard Brodie observed that not everyone considers security to be a matter of degree. He criticized views such as General Jacob L. Devers's who said that „*national security is a condition that cannot be qualified. We shall either be secure, or we shall be insecure. We cannot have partial security. If we are only half secure, we have not secure at all.*“⁶⁸ However it is important to specify what degree of security is needed in order to find out how much security is sufficient. What are the threats of the security? In international system threats to national security are usually considered to be other states. In the Cold War period communism was considered to be the threat. Its ideology, economy, military or their combination, but the security dimension of threats has been modified nowadays. Natural disasters or migration are considered to be threats as well, so it is clear that the concept of security has expanded. Many policies might be adopted in order to ensure security. First analysis of threat is needed to decide what measure and what kind of policy can be applied in spite of prejudice and tendency of scholars to slip to the dimension of military solution to security problems. It is also important to estimate the costs of threat pursuit. Costs always matter in spite of the view that security costs are not important in case it's the matter of national security. Nothing is for free and during the past decade no closer attention has been given to this aspect. Financial means spent on the armaments could be much more effectively used for the well-being of the states and their citizens. Short-run security policies are less expensive and handled more easily than long-run ones and in this case it is advantageous to befriend the rival or find the solution to the problem the sooner the better. On the basis of research provided it can be drawn that security is specified with concern to an actor, whose values are being secured, degree of security, kinds of threats, the means using to prevent them and costs

⁶⁶ BROWN, Harold. *Thinking About National Security: Defense and Foreign Policy in a Dangerous World*. (Boulder, CO, 1983), p. 4.

⁶⁷ WOLFERS, Arnold. "National Security" as an Ambiguous Symbol. *Political science quarterly* [online]. December 1952, 4, [cit. 2010-04-12]. Available at WWW: <http://instituty.fsv.cuni.cz/~plech/Wolfers_BS.pdf>.

⁶⁸ BRODIE, Bernard. National Security Policy and Economic Stability. *Yale Institute for International Studies Memorandum* No. 33 (New Haven, CT, 1950). p. 5.

over the time period. There is still a need to figure out how much specification of security is needed? At least means of security, costs and time period must be specified for purposes of comparison and meaningful scientific communication. Security is valued by different actors as families, individuals, states. However how important is security in relation to other values? The prime value approach considers security to be a prerequisite for the enjoyment of other values as freedom, prosperity etc. On the other hand absolute security is sacrificed in comparison to value of other preferred things. The core value approach considers security to be the one of several important values and the marginal value approach sees security as one of many policy objectives competing for scarce resources and diminishing the marginal utility.⁶⁹

Urgency and intensity of security of threat is considered by Buzan as defining characteristics of threat.⁷⁰ The dimensions of security did not change after the end of the Cold War, however its specifications as which values to protect, from which threats, by what means and at what costs have changed. Today's economic, environmental, identity, social or military security have different forms, but not necessarily different concepts. Changing the globe circumstances, new political order and conditions of living do not require new concepts. Wolfers' National security article from 1952 provided conceptual tools for changing the security understanding and pointed out the need for specification of security. Conceptualizing security is not new and although Wolfers focused on national security, he argued that matters of security could be discussed on different levels and not only nation-state one.⁷¹

3.3 Types of threats according to sector

3.3.1 Military sector

Military threats represent the vulnerable sector of national security concerns. In this area the referent object is the territorial integrity of the state. Military action endangers the foundation of the state and all of its components. It threatens its

⁶⁹ BALDWIN, David A. The concept of security. *Review of International Studies* [online]. 1997, 23, [cit. 2010-04-04]. Available at WWW: <<http://tau.ac.il/~daniel/pdf/37.pdf>>. p. 19.

⁷⁰ BUZAN, Barry. see In BALDWIN, David A. The concept of security. *Review of International Studies* [online]. 1997, 23, [cit. 2010-04-04]. Available at WWW: <<http://tau.ac.il/~daniel/pdf/37.pdf>>. p. 20.

⁷¹ WOLFERS, Arnold. "National Security" as an Ambiguous Symbol. *Political science quarterly* [online]. December 1952, 4, [cit. 2010-04-12]. Available at WWW: <http://instituty.fsv.cuni.cz/~plech/Wolfers_BS.pdf>.

sovereignty by physical means and it has a power to destruct the institutions, repress, subvert or obliterate the idea of the state. Military strike can destroy state's basic protective functions, its structure, but also damage the layers of social and individual interest. It brings high human and economic cost. Military threats are usually considered as the highest priority to defense and national security concerns. Important accomplishments can be destroyed by its force. Politics, art, industry, culture, heritage and other human activities can be lost. Society of the defeated state is very weak and vulnerable as the conqueror's power and influence can be implemented on the wide scale. It includes the unwanted change of the government that might turn to bloodshed, massacre or resettlement of the territory. History proves that conquests and eventual colonisation result in a great fear of military threat. The levels of military threats are different and they are differentiated on the basis of actions taken. Those can be assaults on the population by blockades or bombardment, invasions and territorial seizures, pursuits etc. They can be minor (planes fly above the territory without the permission) or more serious and targeted directly or indirectly. Military threats are represented by the use of force. The use of physical force causes disruption of diplomatic and peaceful relations. Most of the nations maintain a military force ready to mobilize and protect the state and its population in case of potential danger.⁷²

3.3.2 Political sector

Existential threats are traditionally defined in the *political sector* as the threats to the sovereignty of the state or its ideology. Sovereignty can be threatened by the events that challenge its recognition, legitimacy or authority of its government. Political threats are targeted at the organizational structure and stability of the state. Even the U.S. was afraid and concerned with the communist influence in its political life. The objective of political threats can be to create the pressure on the government or specific policy, to overthrow it, to form the secession or disrupt its political structure to weaken the state and to provide the space for the potential military attack. History shows that different regimes, ideologies and political systems contradicted each other and the ideas represented by others formed the potential threat to political stability. Sometimes it is hard to differentiate what is the threat serious enough to endanger the national security.

⁷² BUZAN, Barry. *People, states & fear : An agenda for international security studies in the post-Cold War era*. Padstow : TJ International Ltd., 1991. p. 116-118.

Threats to national identity exist as well and fall into this category. Their aim is to separate ethno-cultural activities within the state and disrupt it from inside. It can be represented by the support of secession within the state and preparation for its annexation by a stronger neighbour that seeks to include it in its expansionistic policy. We also have to differentiate between intentional threats and threats arising from the impact of foreign alternatives on the legitimacy of other states. Intentional threats could be shown on the example of supporting the anti-communist movements, coups or political assassinations. Structural political threats are represented by the movements of various persuasions and the relations between Soviet Union and China in 1960's, ideological and national relations between North and South Korea or the indirect impact of Western democratic and free market prospering economies on Eastern Europe can be used as an example. This ideological fight has a tendency to lead to the intentional type of political threat and creates the political vulnerability in mutual relations of two states.⁷³

3.3.3 Societal sector

Objects targeted at the *societal sector* are presented by collective identities that can function independently on the state. They form the threats of the attacks on national identity and can easily fall within the category of political threats. Societal threats are usually followed by political and military package. National cultural heritage and symbols of national identity (language, religion, culture) need protection against the disruption. It is very usual that they mostly occur inside the state. The intensity of such threat depends on the acceptable conditions for new elements of language, culture or identity within the state and this is the reason why societal threats usually occur within the borders of the state. The Baltic states fear influence of Russification and some Balkan states suppress the minorities. The support of migration can be a form of societal threat. They do not represent such a serious threat as military or political ones for the national security of countries, but can be still a cause of the potential conflict. According to Ole Wæver's concept of security societal security is "*the ability of a society to persist in its essential character under changing conditions and possible or actual threats. More specifically, it is about the sustainability, within acceptable*

⁷³ BUZAN, Barry. *People, states & fear : An agenda for international security studies in the post-Cold War era*. Padstow : TJ International Ltd., 1991. p. 118-122.

conditions for evolution, of traditional patterns of language, culture, association, and religious and national identity and custom."⁷⁴ Societal threats range from the suppression of society's expression and can lead to the interference of its ability to reproduce itself. In Buzan's view, it might include „...*forbidding the use of language, names and dress, through closure of places of education and worship, to the deportation or killing of members of the community.*“⁷⁵ Rapid population growth is a major and serious problem for the decades ahead of time. Non-balance between resources available for consumption and increasing number of consumers exists. Location and access to sources are one of the factors influencing this sector and migration for sources and better conditions from South to North and from East to West might cause security problems to receiving states. Cultural and ethnic clashes resulting from the migration are another form of societal threat. According to Paul Roe „the actions of one society, in trying to increase its societal security (strengthen its own identity), causes a reaction in a second society, which, in the end, decreases the first society's own societal security (weakens its identity).“⁷⁶ This might form the societal fragmentation to very small political units and open the question of secession in small states. Suppressed, exploited or disadvantaged groups with nationalistic aspirations might create a risk that unresolved territorial disputes will be evoked.⁷⁷

3.3.4 Economic sector

The most difficult threat to examine are the *economic threats* to the national security of the state. In the environment of the free market, it is usual that companies open and close. Free market economy is risky and based on the principle of free competition and insecurity. Market-based economy has proved to be the profitable type of economic system. It is the most efficient mechanism of economy that has been

⁷⁴ WÆVER, Ole. 'Societal Security: the Concept', in idem et al.: *op. cit.* (note 6), pp. 17-40 (quote from p. 23).

⁷⁵ BUZAN, Barry, 1993. 'Societal Security, State Security, and Internationalisation', in Ole Wæver, Barry Buzan, Morten Kelstrup & Pierre Lemaitre, eds, *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe*. London: Pinter (41-58).

⁷⁶ ROE, Paul. The Intrastate Security Dilemma : Ethnic Conflict as a "Tragedy"?. *Journal of Peace Research* [online]. 1999, Vol. 36, No. 2, [cit. 2010-04-15]. Available at WWW: <<http://jstor.org/stable/424669>>. p. 194.

⁷⁷ BUZAN, Barry. *People, states & fear : An agenda for international security studies in the post-Cold War era*. Padstow : TJ International Ltd., 1991. p. 122-123.

invented. Markets are always threatened by bankruptcy as the financial crises have shown. Actors in the capitalist type of economy are always insecure. In case the economy is imposed to a threat, government can intervene for example imposing reforms in order to preserve the stability and further development. It is rather difficult to recognize the state's responsibilities or interests in this sector apart from political and military one. Many debates regarding the intensivity and deepness of government's interventions into economy with objective to minimize risk and preserve the development and national wealth occur especially nowadays as the financial crisis has recently impacted world economy. State economy is connected to the ideology and institutional components of each country. Its sensitivity to fluctuations and changes in today's global world provides a space for the threats that are less concrete than those concerning territory or government organizations. It is difficult to estimate and calculate the economic threat. Embargoes or increase in prices might bring positive results in a long run instead of harming the economy. Competition, restrictions against exports, prices or interest rates can have serious effects on the economies. Global market and interconnected economies cause their vulnerability. However in case the consequences of economic threat cross the border of the military and political spheres, than they can emerge into national security threat. The connection between economic and military capability exists as state's military capability is dependent on the supply of strategic materials needed for building and functioning of the armed forces. Major powers therefore can produce up-to-date weapons machinery and strong economy can supply them in a long run in case of the conflict. If the strategic materials of any other kind must be obtained outside of the boundaries of state, we can classify the supply as well as a chain of supply being a threat to national security. Also the relative economic expansion of the rival might be considered as a threat to the whole national security position of the state. State has to spend much more money on the defense and these means could be used more efficiently in other sectors of economy. Interdependence in the interconnected economies and their markets in a global world where the flow of material and supply exists can present a threat and makes national economies more dependent on fluctuations of others. Another issue being discussed is the economic threat to the domestic stability of the state. This depends on the economic indicators regarding exports and imports. Such countries become locked in the structure of global economy. Hence some countries have a power to use their strong economic positions to cause fears of extortion and have an opportunity to extract political concessions and use

the economic pressure. Nowadays there is no known solution to this national security problem. Capitalism itself is a threat to both participating and non-participating countries which stay outside of this linkage. Economic threats might result in material loss, pressure on institutions of the states, and eventually can cause damage to the population. As military attack might follow, it is considered as the direct aggressive behaviour apart from economic pressure.⁷⁸

3.3.5 Environmental sector

Environmental or ecological threats to national security were discovered only several years ago. They can damage the physical base of the state or threaten the institutions. At least three different approaches in which environment can be included as a security issue are categorized. Ecological problems might be caused by preparation for war or war itself. For instance nuclear testing has a negative effect on the environment and even the outbreak of small nuclear war could cause climatic or ecological disaster and change the conditions of living on a whole globe. Wars might also be caused by the demand for resources. It is expected that water scarcity is going to be one of the crucial issues in the upcoming decades. Countries sharing the same river or water supply could easily fall into war conflict. Earthquakes, storms, floods, droughts etc. constitute the ecological threat directly and might cause damage to the state as recently happened in Haiti or China, which might end up with high number of casualties on population. These threats result from the struggle of humans against nature unlike national security issues constituted by humans threatening and fighting each other. Human activity increased the damage to nature and affects living conditions on the planet. Decomposition of the ozone-layer, acid rains or greenhouse gasses are results of man's irresponsible treatment of nature. These issues take on the importance and become more and more the agenda of wise political decisions and international summits. These threats might be regional or world-scale. However they are unintentional, but their consequences may be catastrophic. Low-lying countries or cities like Netherlands, Bangladesh, Shanghai might be easily and quickly flooded in case of minor sea level increases. Warming would affect the distribution of rainfall besides rising the sea levels. Cooling would start the return to the period of ice-age. Any of these events would change the geography of

⁷⁸ BUZAN, Barry. *People, states & fear : An agenda for international security studies in the post-Cold War era*. Padstow : TJ International Ltd., 1991. p. 123-131.

human life. The only way how to fight these natural disasters that threaten the national security is to be linked together and take a collective action that must be initiated by the states on the political level. Although some countries might benefit from either cooling (Mauritania) or global warming effects (Canada), they must be responsible and take an action in order to minimize the potential risks of ecological threats in favor of the global balance.⁷⁹

Military security will always keep a vital interest and importance to states, but their relevance is declining in comparison with threats from other sectors introduced. Military security is traditionally linked to political and societal threats. Today's concerns are directed to economic and environmental ones. As the global interdependence deepens in the post-Cold War period, ecologic, environmental and societal threats are becoming more visible. Sources of threat must be revealed in advance and exactly defined in order to maintain the maximal secure environment of international relations and minimize the costs of potential threats.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ BUZAN, Barry. *People, states & fear : An agenda for international security studies in the post-Cold War era*. Padstow : TJ International Ltd., 1991. p. 131-133.

⁸⁰ BUZAN, Barry. *People, states & fear : An agenda for international security studies in the post-Cold War era*. Padstow : TJ International Ltd., 1991. p. 133-134.

4. The character of states in the current international system

4.1 Essential features of state

The next passage brings a closer look at the attributes of states in international environment.

Sovereignty is a legal concept. We must emphasize in our thesis that sovereign state is not immune to political pressures or interference and is not a subject to any superior authority. Its government has an exclusive jurisdiction over state's territory and the citizens who live within its national borders. There is no power with authority over a sovereign state. The term sovereignty itself was originally invented by the French philosopher Jean Bodin (1530-1596), who defined it as „*the supreme power over citizens and subjects, unrestrained by law.*“⁸¹ Sovereignty provides a legal shield against unwanted interference and intervention of other governments or international actors. However state sovereignty might be abused by the acts of the violence of the sovereign state's government, but international community can do little to prevent such emergence.

Territory is a boundary of a state within which the government supervises its power. Existence, possession and control of defined territory is a prerequisite for the existence of the state. In case a state disappears as a legal entity or gives up control over legally owned territory, the land is passed to another actor of international relations. The termination of the colonial rule behind the borders of the powers formed new sovereign states. It is important to note that the governments of the sovereign states are extremely conscious of the importance of territory and regard their state's territorial integrity worth defending against acts of violation at all costs. Territory has been one of the crucial objectives of states seeing the vision of profit and strengthening their power position from enlargement. Major conflicts and disputes that occurred in Europe in past 300 years have had the character of the territorial possession. Historically until the end of the 19th century, territorial conquests by powers using force had been an acceptable behavior in international relations. Even in the first half of the 20th century during the

⁸¹ KOUSOULAS, D.G. *Power and Influence: An Introduction to International Relations*. Monterey, California : Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1985. p. 29.

bloodshed of two World Wars the vision of territorial conquest was still alive, but League of Nations outlawed it.⁸² Nowadays the conquest of territory belonging to another state is considered to be the violation of international law order. The United Nations Charter especially Article 2, Paragraph 4 stating that „*All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations establishes that the use of force for the acquisition of territory is prohibited.*”⁸³ However the United Nations has no efficient means to enforce the ban on such conquest.

State cannot exist without **population**. It is not set what number of inhabitants living on the territory justifies the existence of a sovereign state. The size of population varies widely from state to state. The presence of the community proves the ability of state to create and have relations with other members of the international system. In the past 300 years, we have witnessed the creation of the nation-state.⁸⁴ Developing globalization, improved communications, political socialization, using language as a unifying element brought fragmented communities into the blocks of the nation. National culture formed the one of the basis for the existence of the sovereign state. People are in each sovereign state connected to the state through a legal relationship meaning that they are citizens of the state.

Sovereign state enters and acts in the international system through the authority of **government** representatives who hold the competences to speak for the state and make commitments in its name. Decisions taken by state officials are legally binding for a whole community/population of the state. State officials are accepted by authorities in other sovereign states as decision makers. These decisions are usually taken by a small group of representatives even in democratic type of rule. That's why they have to consider and respect the views of the majority of the population.⁸⁵

⁸² KOUSOULAS, D.G. *Power and Influence: An Introduction to International Relations*. Monterey, California : Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1985. p. 30.

⁸³ CHAPTER 1: PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES [online]. 2010 [cit. 2010-03-24]. CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS. Available at WWW: <<http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter1.shtml>>.

⁸⁴ KOUSOULAS, D.G. *Power and Influence: An Introduction to International Relations*. Monterey, California : Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1985. p. 30.

⁸⁵ KOUSOULAS, D.G. *Power and Influence: An Introduction to International Relations*. Monterey, California : Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1985. p. 31.

4.2 The goals of sovereign states

Experience shows that most of the sovereign governments share certain basic goals and national interests. The preservation of *the state* is the central goal of government's foreign policy. Each government will make as much effort as possible in order to resist a threat to its country's existence. Disputes like Cyprus face challenge of threat by their neighbouring countries nowadays, when a threat is made against country's territorial integrity. Preserving *the territory* of the state is one of the basic goals of each state's political representation. The territory is mostly inhabited by people who are considered to be a nation or part of a nation. The islands in the Aegean sea are inhabited by ethnically Greek populations and Athens will resist any attempt to capture or detach them from their sovereignty. Piece of territory might be considered to be important because of security reasons. For example Golan Heights in Syria are essential for Israel's defense as water resource. Even though the territorial integrity of the state is protected under the international law, its violations still exist nowadays. There are some international conflicts that have resulted from the territorial disputes despite the UN's sanctity of country's territorial integrity. Territory defense is one of the basis goals of countries' foreign policy. Another important goal of state's foreign policy is the preservation of its *independence* against the possible threats of intervention or interference. *Prestige* is another goal of country's foreign policy. Country's influence in international politics is affected by its prestige. State officials stay in charge of the country for a limited period of time, but their actions often have long lasting effects. The last goal is the preservation of country's *prosperity* and wealth. Foreign entities might seize the material and wealth of other nations and neighbors in order to increase their own prosperity. Economic transactions and sanctions play important role in today's international relations.⁸⁶

4.3 State and its features as an object of security

State (its institutions and physical base) as a referent object of concept of security is going to be the main focus of further examination. The institutions of state are formed by machinery apparatus including all the executive, legislative, administrative and

⁸⁶ KOUSOULAS, D.G. *Power and Influence: An Introduction to International Relations*. Monterey, California : Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1985. p. 32-33.

judicial bodies. The interaction between institutions and ideas must exist since the ideas and the institutional bodies are inseparable and institutions cannot operate without definition and purpose. This interdependence causes that institutions and ideologies fall together within the state and has the influence on the security. Institutions have a physical existence, they are more vulnerable to physical threats than ideas and they can be destroyed more easily than ideology. They can be threatened by force and overpowered or political action. Opposing ideas endanger their legitimacy. The threat to institutions might come more often from within the state represented by group of militans, coup-makers or guerilla movements. They can change without the interruption of continuity of the state. Fusion between government and state exists especially at the international level and transferrs to domestic politics. Governments as legitimate representatives of nations determine the international activity of the state and they interfere in other's domestic politics. There is whole spectrum of actions that governments can take to influence the development in other countries ranging from encouragement of armed revolts or assassinations to external economic pressures and sanctions. Another state's physical object of security consists of population and territory. It includes all the wealth and resources withing the borders of the state. Unlike ideas and institutions of the state, the territory and populations as objects of security and the threats to the state's physical base are more direct, obvious and common in type to all states. States claim a specified territory as their own and this action might or might not be recognized by other states and its territorial integrity guaranteed by the UN. State's territory can be threatened externally with damage or seizure by other states or internally by secessionist movements. Secessionists' objective is to establish their own state or to join another country. However states will take all the effort to preserve the territorial integrity. Some pieces of land may be more valuable and have higher priority than others. They might concentrate the wealth of the state, natural resources or they might dispose of transferr access or to be an important strategic point. The value of the territory might arise with resource potential or changes in technological, strategic or economic development. States possesing or representing a territory with international strategic significance may easily be threatened by the fact that they become a source of threat. Threats to territory are usually associated with the threats to the population. Threats of annexation and damage usually threaten both the population and territorial integrity. More complex threat to population primarily in societal sector may arise from migrations especially in case the migrating population posseses different cultural or

ethnic background from their mother land. This phenomenon might be directly reconnected with ecological sector if newcomers settle the fragile territory. Immigration might be seen as a threat and raise fears about preservation of cultural and ethnic values. There are more incentives of movement and the gaps enlarge as the quality of life in states differs. Immigrants usually seek for a better life in wealthier states or seek for political asylum and they are either welcomed in case of shortage in labour force or opposed as threats to national identity depending on a range of local conditions. Protection of territory and its population are fundamental elements of national security. They can be damaged even without endangering the institutions of the idea of the state. They can be threatened by destroying the representatives who carry this idea. However many boundaries are disputed nowadays. Sea-boundary problems are less crucial than violations of land boundaries. More serious anomaly exists in case the state defines its security in terms of territory and population that does not control. This situation might occur if members of nation are occupying territory outside the bounds of the nation-state. In such situation, the security dimension of the physical base takes up much more attention and possesses higher priority.⁸⁷

4.4 Weak states and strong states

The most obvious observation is that states vary despite their fundamental similarities. Each of the state features as well as nature of national security problem might vary from state to state in a manner. All states have in common the vulnerability to military and ecological threats. Almost all of them might be threatened by economic threats and many suffer from political and societal insecurities. Different features of the state appear vulnerable to different kinds of threat and this causes the variety of natural security dimensions. According to Barry Buzan: „The distinction between weak and strong states is vital to any analysis of national security. Weak or strong states will refer to the degree of sociopolitical cohesion, weak or strong powers will refer to the traditional distinction among states in respect of their military and economic capability in relation to each other.“⁸⁸ Weak powers are all strong states, but have serious

⁸⁷ BUZAN, Barry. *People, states & fear : An agenda for international security studies in the post-Cold War era*. Padstow : TJ International Ltd., 1991. p. 82-96.

⁸⁸ BUZAN, Barry. *People, states & fear : An agenda for international security studies in the post-Cold War era*. Padstow : TJ International Ltd., 1991. p. 97.

weaknesses as states. The strength of the state is influenced by its history during which the state had time to consolidate and develop. Many weak states are found in the Third World and decolonized countries. Decolonization process created a number of new established states, but often with no respect to ethnic and cultural boundaries, which meant that nations did not fit straight into them. Nationalism formed by occupying powers did not act as unification element, but the only thing that ethnic groups had in common, was the opposition to foreign powers. As soon as the enthusiasm from gaining the independence died, disintegration followed since no firm political foundation existed. Their governments represented either fragmented states without nation or states with many nations or ethnic groups within their boundaries. These were the causes of problems of weak states. Domestic violence is the feature that often goes with the daily life of population. Weak states are characterized by historical pattern of economic development and political power that caused their underdevelopment in these areas. The role of external actors is very influential in this case. However one of their key features is the high possibility of creation of internal threats to the government which shows that we would not find common political and societal consensus within the weak states. Large and significant differences of power and socio-political cohesion exist among states.⁸⁹

No indicator adequately defines clearly the differences between weak and strong states. Weak states are usually attributed with following features: high levels of political violence, a conspicuous role for political police, political conflict over the ideology of state's organization, lack of coherent national identity, clear and observed hierarchy of political authority and a finally a high degree of state control over the media.⁹⁰ In weak states, security of government is often confused with the security of state. Strong states and their national security is considered to be as a protection element against outside threat or interference. The idea of the state, institutions, territory, population are clearly defined and stable in this type of state. Mechanisms for change and transfer of power function efficiently in order to prevent the domestic threats. Weak states absent the coherent idea of the state and they do not possess such governing power that would preserve the unity and majority consensus. Strong governments of dictatorial type usually

⁸⁹ BUZAN, Barry. *People, states & fear : An agenda for international security studies in the post-Cold War era*. Padstow : TJ International Ltd., 1991. p. 99.

⁹⁰ BUZAN, Barry. *People, states & fear : An agenda for international security studies in the post-Cold War era*. Padstow : TJ International Ltd., 1991. p. 100.

function in a weak states and they preserve their rule by force. They exist and are officially recognized because they possess national symbols, have representatives in the UN and other states recognized their statehood, but internally, they might be anarchic without control of whole territory of the state with potential tensions and fight using force within its borders. The concept of national security requires existence of national objects as points of reference.⁹¹ This means that for instance helping guerilla fighters during the Cold War would not be described as threat to the national security of the state if no socio-political entity existed there.

Distinction between weak states with domestic problems and strong states potentially threatened by external actor is crucial for understanding the dimension of national security. Both weak and strong states look and act like similar sovereign entities from external perspective. This outside view covers the domestic security dimensions. It is important to note that national security cannot be separated from the internal structure of the state. That is why in weak states the objects are so tenuous that national security lacks coherent referents and the concept of security is easier to apply to the strong states that provide much clearer referent objects for national security. For a strong state the concept of security implies the protection of its independence, political identity from external threats rather than those potentially arising from inside the state. Strong governments of dictatorial type usually function in a weak states. What is the boundary of the concept of national security? Governments in weak states have concerns about domestic threats (secessionist movements, uprisings, coups). Are these threats part of national security problem or do they threaten only the ruling group of the state?⁹² If domestic threats are accepted as national security problem, government can legitimize the use of force against opposition. In this case there is a difference between the security of state or nation and the security of government. Weak states and their fragmented political ground and internal cohesion can be easily influenced by external powers and they become permanently insecure by definition. The presence of weak states makes the international security environment less stable and secure as it rises the risk of conflict eruption. Building a strong states improves the security in international system, but it is not guarantee of peace either.

⁹¹ BUZAN, Barry. *People, states & fear : An agenda for international security studies in the post-Cold War era*. Padstow : TJ International Ltd., 1991. p. 101.

⁹² BUZAN, Barry. *People, states & fear : An agenda for international security studies in the post-Cold War era*. Padstow : TJ International Ltd., 1991. p. 105.

5. Background and historical overview of the Cyprus dispute

5.1 Religious and ethnic distinction

The history of Cyprus, an island state located in the Mediterranean sea, has been the history of a colony, base for foreign powers and island's division satisfying the political game of powers in the era of Cyprus independence. Cyprus, the colonial state inhabited predominantly by Greek Cypriot population was governed by the Ottoman Empire. The power was concentrated in the hands of the Turkish governor who had a military support. Cyprus as a hellenic country wished to reunite with Greece since ancient times which was regarded in Athens with appreciation. Cyprus was historically part of the Turkish empire, however since 1878, it has found itself under the British occupation. Turks were different in language they spoke and the religion they practiced apart from Greeks practising Christian faith. Turkish minority consists of descendants from Turkish mainland that came during the Ottoman colonisation and they were not natives of Cyprus itself. Turks supported immigration on the island from the region of Anatolia. Both nationalities consider the island to be their homeland and identify themselves with this fact. The Cypriot Greeks are Greek in their language, religion history and their culture is part of the Byzantine christianity that unites them all. Turks speak the different language and practice Islam religion. Psychologically they feel since they were the conquerors of Greeks that they do not account themselves to be equal to Greeks. Therefore confrontations between these two entities do not have religious meaning, but the ethnic and cultural one. This is the reason why the dispute has only ethnic and territorial character, not the religious one, which explains that religion does not have the influence on unity and the ethnic difference is so huge that confrontation between both communities was the question of time. Turks have always had a vision to form a separate state and have persisted in this effort till today. However they were never satisfied with cultural and economic autonomy within the colony and were exposed by danger of outnumbered Greek majority. Cyprus is located close to the Turkish shores and Cypriot Greeks have the similar fears originating from Turkish close distance.⁹³

⁹³ VANEZIS N.P.: *Cyprus: Crime without punishment*. Hong Kong 1997. p. 1-10.

5.2 History of dispute

British occupation of Cyprus from 1878 led to its annexation by London in 1914.⁹⁴ The British pattern of colonial administration was also implemented to Cyprus. British supported both communities in their ethnic ties and they were given the national characteristics shown for example in The Legislative Council represented proportionally in addition to the appointed representatives of the Governor. During the British colonial rule, the political partition was established since the British tried to politicise the Cypriots and Council became one of the means of presenting the nationalist rivalries. However Cyprus missed the national integration motor and processes as well as national symbols of identification. Deepening of existing religious, linguistic, cultural and ethnic differences, creation of national elites, promoting and protection of national interests, which gave rise to separated political alliances, was the result of the deliberate British colonial rule. Another aspect that contributed to the formation of the Cyprus problem was the Greek Cypriot promotion of enosis. No other option was considered despite the Greek weakness to absorb the island into motherland. The beginning of the WW I. provided the UK with opportunity to extend their colonial rule in the Middle East. In 1915 Britain offered Cyprus to Greece with intention to bring Athens on the side of Allies. After the end of the World War I., Britain promised to fulfill the vision of reunification with Greece. This promise remained unfulfilled and Cyprus found itself under the British rule in 1931.⁹⁵ By Letters Patent from this date, the Governor gained power to legislate and rule by decree meaning that Cyprus became a country with absolutist regime. Political parties were made illegal, the Constitution was not applied, the Legislative Council was cancelled and press fell under strict censorship. Elections were not held for the period of 12 years. It was not possible to publish and express opinions on national or constitutional issues on the island. Freedom of assembly was forbidden and no national manifestation was allowed. Teaching of Greek and Turkish history was restrained. These attempts were supposed to bring both communities to the process of denationalisation. World War II. did not bring any change in British politics on Cyprus in spite of Greek involvement in it. The Greek Cypriot leadership tried to persuade the British governments to consider the idea of national self-determination for the Greek population of Cyprus, and establishing the union with Greece as well as restoring the democratic constitutional regime taken away by Letters Patent. This anti-

⁹⁴ PEČENKA, Marek, LUŇÁK, Petr a kol. *Encyklopedie moderní historie*. Praha 1999. p. 268.

⁹⁵ VANEZIS N.P.: *Cyprus: Crime without punishment*. Hong Kong 1997. p. Xv.

colonialist leader, Archbishop Makarios III. of Cyprus acted as a leading edge in this unification process. The phase of 1950-1959 was the period of time characterized by anti-colonialist struggle in Cyprus. Makarios refused all proposals of London in forming the common British-Greek-Turkish control of island and stood for obtaining the independence of Cyprus that island gained signing the Cypriot agreement in Zurich and London in 1960.⁹⁶ Turkish minority became dependent on Ankara and even if Greek Cypriots tried to form enosis, they never represented political views of Athens. Tensions, suspicious co-existence and mistrust between two communities henceforth persisted.

Inefficient practising of the Constitution of 1960 that laid down basis for the territorial partition brought Cyprus to events of 1963 and conflict eruption. Archbishop Makarios was faced with a *fait accompli* and he had to decide whether he accepts the proposal or rejects the deal. In the period of continuing bloodshed caused by the partition of two communities on the island, Makarios surrendered. President Makarios proposed to Turkish Vice-President, Dr.Kutchuk, to revise provisions of the Constitution, which prevented the Republic from smooth functioning and development of the state. Vice-President Kutchuk accepted them and passed the proposals to Turkish Government that rejected them. This situation worsened the relations between the communities and an armed session started. When Turkish minority seized certain areas of Cyprus, it carried out a partition by establishing Turkish territory in many localities of the island. The first enclave organised was the Turkish quarter in Nicosia that divides both communities by so called „Green line“. Turkish Cypriots pushed Greek Cypriots away while being supported by Ankara. Fighting lasted till 1964, when the United Nations sent its troops on the island.

Since 1964, Turkish Cypriot seats in the House of Representatives remain vacant and in 1970, Turkish Cypriots established their own parliament body in the north of the island. After the abortive attempt on the life of Archbishop Makarios in 1974, Turks used the protection of their minority as a pretext and sent troops to the island, profiting from inaction of Greece and Britain, occupying its 2/5.⁹⁷ The invasion brought the colonisation back to Cyprus. The Turkish minority claimed 50% of the territory of

⁹⁶ JOSEPH, S., Joseph. *Cyprus Ethnic Conflict and International Politics*. London 1997. p. 116.

⁹⁷ PEČENKA, Marek, LUŇÁK, Petr a kol. *Encyklopedie moderní historie*. Praha 1999. p. 268.

Cyprus for the creation of their own Turkish state.⁹⁸ Turks pushed away the Greek population from the north seizing all of their immovable and most movable property and established the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in 1983 whose existence was recognized only by Turkey. State within the state was established. Properties were destroyed and looted and 200 000 Greek refugees were pushed to the southern part of the island. The UN troops are presently situated on the island and TRNC is currently occupied by 35 000 Turkish troops.⁹⁹ Turkey also displaced about 170 000 inhabitants from the region of Anatolia to northern part of occupied Cyprus which caused a serious demographic problems to island. This could definitely be characterized as societal threat to the population of inhabitants living on the island. Cyprus government argued that intervention was proceeded in direct violation of the Charter of UN and asked the Security Council to take adequate measures in order to preserve the interest of international peace and security. External threat to the security interests of Cyprus has been represented by Turkey as strong neighboring power. On the other hand three guarantor powers: Greece, Great Britain and Turkey granted themselves the right to intervene in Cyprus according to the Treaty of guarantee to preserve status quo created by the Zurich and London agreements adopted in 1959 and 1960.¹⁰⁰ They also gained the right to station the troops on the island and intervene in its internal affairs.

During the era of the Cold War and, the area of the Eastern Mediterranean was under the influence of the U.S. and except the Turkish invasion of Cyprus the period from 1949-1989 has been relatively peaceful in the region. Soviet Union was supportive of the Government of Republic especially after the Turkish secession in 1963 provided that Cyprus would not become the territory of NATO. After the right-wing military junta overtook the power in Greece in 1967, relations between Nicosia and Moscow were deepened. However Soviet Union did not want to risk any confrontation on behalf of Cyprus. Soviet Union considered Cyprus to be the NATO army base since Turkish troops are part of NATO army. Alltogether the Cold War did not affect confrontation between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus or Cyprus itself. Cyprus was not considered to be a Third World country and the only issue being discussed was the one regarding conflict between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot community.

⁹⁸ VANEZIS N.P.: *Cyprus: Crime without punishment*. Hong Kong 1997. p. Xix.

⁹⁹ JENKINS, Gareth. *TURKISH CHIEF OF STAFF RULES OUT TROOP WITHDRAWAL FROM CYPRUS* [online]. 2008 [cit. 2009-04-27]. Available at WWW:

<[http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews\[tt_news\]=33507](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=33507)>.

¹⁰⁰ JOSEPH, S., Joseph. *Cyprus Ethnic Conflict and International Politics*. London 1997. p. 116.

6. Political and economic situation on the island

6.1 Cyprus – political structure

Cyprus transformed to presidential republic with the head of state and government represented by the president elected for five years time period. Constitution of 1960 created unitary republic with features of federal system. Executive power is exercised by government chaired by president, Greek Cypriot Dimitris Christofias, and Council of Ministers. Legislative power is exercised by the House of Representatives. Judiciary power is independent from both executive and legislature. Constitution of 1960 created system of checks and balances preserving rights of Turkish Cypriots and weighted power-sharing for both communities. The position of the Vice-president belonged to Turkish Cypriot. The House of Representatives currently has 59 members, 56 seats belonging to Greek Cypriots and allocating 3 seats for observers from Armenian, Manorite and Latin minority. 24 seats for Turkish Cypriots that remain vacant since 1964. State administration also exercises principle of proportionality. However since 1963 Turkish Cypriots do not serve in Cypriot offices. In spite of this fact, political environment of southern part of Cyprus exercises its power efficiently and declares sovereignty over whole island.

6.2 Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus – political structure

Turkish Cypriots formed their own de facto state and declared independence in 1983 in the northern part of the island TRNC (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus) that is recognized only by Turkey. According to the Constitution from 1985, TRNC is a parliamentary democracy governed by president, Derviş Eroğlu, directly elected for five years period of time. President is the head of state and Prime Minister is the head of government. Executive, legislative and judiciary branches hold the political power in the region. Assembly is formed by 50 elected representatives. However Turkey is the only one state that recognizes TRNC.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ www.trncinfo.com [online]. 2010 [cit. 2010-05-15]. State. Available at WWW: <<http://www.trncinfo.com/tanitmadairesi/2002/ENGLISH/ALLaboutTRNC/Page01.htm>>.

6.3 Cyprus – economy

Free-based market system linked to international economic trade is one of the conditions for considering country as postmodern state. Cyprus is a small, flexible, stable and growing economy that is able to adapt quickly to changing conditions and it is a part of global economic market. In 1960 the Cyprus government took over the underdeveloped and backward colonial economy. Agriculture's contribution to the national economy was never more than 18% employing 45% of the labour force. 32% of exports consisted of agricultural products and only 19% were industrial products, which also processed materials from agricultural sector.¹⁰² Cypriot per capita income increased steadily through period from 1950's to 1973.¹⁰³ The economy diversified and ceased to be that of a Third World colony. This success was achieved despite widespread turmoil stemming from shaking off British rule in the 1950s and intercommunal warfare during the 1960s. After the invasion in 1974, both communities have followed different economic, social and political development. It is important to note that occupied territory of the island by the Turkish forces allocated most of the island's wealth. It produced the highest value of country's GDP and included 70% of the national wealth. 65% of hotels were located in the north. Today GDP in the area administered and controlled by the Government of the Republic of Cyprus is fifteen times higher than the one in TRNC.¹⁰⁴ Economic policy of the governments, adoption of market-oriented system, quality and educated labour force, consolidation of democratic institutions, building social and physical infrastructure, close cooperation between public sector and the social partners contributed to fast development. Cyprus economy transformed itself from exporter of agricultural products, minerals and processed goods to attractive tourist destination and services centre. Tourism constituted 15-20% of GDP of Cyprus economy in the period from 1990-2003 and Cypriot economy has shown the

¹⁰² www.cyprus.gov.cy [online]. 2008 [cit. 2010-05-14]. Republic of Cyprus from 1960 to the Present Day. Available at WWW:

<[http://www.cyprus.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/0631B636524AEF43C22575940025272C/\\$file/Republic%20of%20Cyprus,%20From%201960%20to%20the%20Present%20Day%20%281.06%20MB,%202008%209.pdf](http://www.cyprus.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/0631B636524AEF43C22575940025272C/$file/Republic%20of%20Cyprus,%20From%201960%20to%20the%20Present%20Day%20%281.06%20MB,%202008%209.pdf)>.

¹⁰³ www.mongabay.com [online]. 2010 [cit. 2010-05-14]. Cyprus - The Economy. Available at WWW:

<http://www.mongabay.com/reference/country_studies/cyprus/ECONOMY.html>.

¹⁰⁴ THEOPHANOUS, Andreas. Necessary Conditions for Stability in the Eastern Mediterranean: The Case of Cyprus. In THEOPHANOUS, Andreas, COUFOUDAKIS, Van. *Security and Cooperation in the Eastern Mediterranean*, 1997. p. 73.

average annual rate growth of 5,1% GDP over the period of 1961-2003.¹⁰⁵ Cyprus gained economic importance throughout the period of post-independence reflected in rapid growth, full employment and stability. The weak colonial economy was transformed to modern liberal system.

Recently Cyprus economy has recorded 3,6% growth, inflation of 2,5% and high unemployment rate of 4,6%.¹⁰⁶ Nowadays Cyprus is classified as high income country. Islands's specific geographical position, continuous building of necessary infrastructure, education, high standard of living contributed to this well-being that classifies Cyprus as a strong state. Economic globalization and euro adoption contributed to the further economic development and awareness that Cyprus belongs to family of European nations. Involvement in global economic system made another major impact. As an offshore base for international operations, island has attracted lots of foreign companies creating profit from transit transactions. Income per capita amounted to 500 dollars in 1960 and almost 31 000 dollars in 2008.¹⁰⁷ The successful integration to the European Union, infrastructure improvement, latest technology contributed significantly to broader region. Accession to the EU brought structural and economic reforms. Trade and international rates have been liberalised and telecommunication monopoly was abolished. EU as a main trading partner absorbs 56% of Cyprus export provides 68% of imports.¹⁰⁸ Cyprus joined the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM II.) in 2005 and adopted the euro as its national currency on 1 January 2008 replacing Cyprus pound.¹⁰⁹ Joining the Eurozone was a major accomplishment for the Cypriot economy, resulting in such benefits as a higher degree of price stability, lower interest rates, reduction of currency conversion costs and exchange rate risk, and increased

¹⁰⁵ www.cyprusnet.com [online]. 2004 [cit. 2010-05-14]. Structure of the Cyprus Economy. Available at WWW: <http://www.cyprusnet.com/article_structure-of-the-cyprus-economy>.

¹⁰⁶ www.cyprus.gov.cy [online]. 2008 [cit. 2010-05-14]. Republic of Cyprus from 1960 to the Present Day. Available at WWW: <[http://www.cyprus.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/0631B636524AEF43C22575940025272C/\\$file/Republic%20of%20Cyprus,%20From%201960%20to%20the%20Present%20Day%20%281.06%20MB,%202008%29.pdf](http://www.cyprus.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/0631B636524AEF43C22575940025272C/$file/Republic%20of%20Cyprus,%20From%201960%20to%20the%20Present%20Day%20%281.06%20MB,%202008%29.pdf)>.

¹⁰⁷ www.state.gov [online]. 2009 [cit. 2010-05-14]. U.S.Department of State. Available at WWW: <<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5376.htm>>.

¹⁰⁸ www.cyprus.gov.cy [online]. 2008 [cit. 2010-05-14]. Republic of Cyprus from 1960 to the Present Day. Available at WWW: <[http://www.cyprus.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/0631B636524AEF43C22575940025272C/\\$file/Republic%20of%20Cyprus,%20From%201960%20to%20the%20Present%20Day%20%281.06%20MB,%202008%29.pdf](http://www.cyprus.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/0631B636524AEF43C22575940025272C/$file/Republic%20of%20Cyprus,%20From%201960%20to%20the%20Present%20Day%20%281.06%20MB,%202008%29.pdf)>.

¹⁰⁹ www.cia.gov/index.html [online]. 2007 [cit. 2010-05-14]. Europe: Cyprus. Available at WWW: <<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cy.html>>.

competition through greater price transparency. Cyprus and its strategic economic position serves as a bridge of the EU to Middle East markets. These economic figures prove that Cyprus and its liberal economic system have found their place in the global economic infrastructure.

6.4 Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus - economy

The economy of TRNC operates on free-market basis, but it is handicapped due to the unresolved political situation on the island. It is dominated by the services including tourism, trade, small agriculture and light manufacture. However since TRNC is not officially recognized and Cyprus imposed embargo on its harbors and airports, it is difficult for TRNC to trade on the international market. There is lack of investment and shortages of qualified labour. TRNC uses as its currency the Turkish Lira, but euro is also accepted. In spite of these obstacles, economy of TRNC was slowly growing after 2000. Around 18 000 Turkish Cypriots work in the southern part of the island and bring capital back through the border that has been opened since 2004.¹¹⁰ The EU continues to be the second major trading partner after Turkey that financially supports TRNC. Turkish economic help is crucial for economy of the northern part of the island. Ankara has provided approximately 4 billion of dollars to Turkish Cypriots since the invasion.¹¹¹

6.5 Cyprus - international organisations

After Cyprus became independent and sovereign country, it soon became active member of number of international organisations, which gives implications that Cyprus transformed itself to postmodern state. Postmodern states transformed part of their sovereignty onto transnational institutions, that adopt measures on scale of different policy areas eventually being implemented in each member state, and participate at common policy making. Cyprus signed the Association treaty with European Economic Community in 1972. The customs union agreement was signed in 1987 and its building

¹¹⁰ As stated by the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Cyprus by personal interview.

¹¹¹ www.state.gov [online]. 2009 [cit. 2010-05-14]. U.S.Department of State. Available at WWW: <<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5376.htm>>.

was finished in 2003.¹¹² The negotiation process was finally completed in 2003 signing the Accession treaty to the EU and Cyprus became its full member in 2004. Cyprus joined the United Nations in 1960 and it contributes to the promotion of the purposes and principles of this organisation. It is also a member of the UN agencies and bodies (FAO, IMO, IMF, UNESCO, WHO, WTO, IBRD etc.). Cyprus is also an active member of Council of Europe since 1961 and promotes Council's principles and values especially in fields of safeguarding, human and social rights. It has presided four times in its Committee of Ministers. Cyprus is also one of the 35 signatory states of the Helsinki 'Final Act' from 1975 that transformed to CSCE and finally became international organisation known as OSCE in 1995. As a member of the EU, Cyprus continues its active involvement in the work of the OSCE. It is supportive of the need for implementation of the commitments of member states and recognizes the significant role of the OSCE in dedicating traditional as well as new challenges and threats to security. Having a specific geographical location and longtime experience, Cyprus efficiently practises reinforcing the OSCE - Mediterranean Partnership.¹¹³ Republic of Cyprus also supports the institutional structure of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership that has transformed into Union for the Mediterranean in 2008. It is also member of Commonwealth since 1961.¹¹⁴

¹¹² COUFOUDAKIS, Van, MILTIADOU, Miltos. *The Cyprus question*. Nicosia 2006. p. 17.

¹¹³ www.mfa.gov.cy [online]. June 2008 [cit. 2010-05-11]. Cyprus and the OSCE. Available at WWW: <<http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/All/656B8870587F3451C22571B100211F1A?OpenDocument>>.

¹¹⁴ www.cyprusnet.com [online]. 2004 [cit. 2010-05-14]. International Position of Cyprus. Available at WWW: <http://www.cyprusnet.com/content.php?article_id=2796&subject=standalone>.

7. Security environment in Cyprus and its classification

The 35 year history of the Republic of Cyprus can often be considered as the time period of the continuous search for security and unity. All countries in the world look at security as their most important priority and objective. Security today is seen or considered not only by power of weapons and their number, but the new threats of energy security, migration, and climate change come to the attention. This is logical since the international system links all countries through its globalization process into integrated structure. Situation of Cyprus is somehow peculiar. Island faces unusual security problems that deal with geographical location, demographical development and its history. Location of the island in the Eastern Mediterranean, the threshold of the Middle East and the crossroads of three continents, has caused that this region has not been considered as the safe one. Cyprus and its specific positioning as the only island in the region close to its neighboring countries give another dimension to its security concerns. Its historical development as a colonial state and independence establishment turned out to be a paralytic one. Deadlocks caused by ethnic tensions broke into the fight and Cyprus has sought the solution in order to bring stability, peace and security on the island.

7.1 Security concerns in Cyprus today

Decades lasting problem of island's division caused that most of the issues in political, economic, military and cultural life in Cyprus have a security concern. Each area of public policy is somehow interconnected with Cyprus dispute. New threats do not possess such significance than in other states, particularly in environmental sector. Economic crises, weapons of mass destruction, natural disasters, catastrophies, terrorism, human and drug trafficking, crime, illegal immigration are areas of today's security concerns. According to the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus, *„One of the main features of the post Cold War world is the increased interaction and interdependence between international actors in the political, economic, social and cultural fields. It is no longer possible to view most of the issues that concern us in geographical or national isolation. Unsurprisingly perhaps, this newfound openness has been received with mixed feelings: in some cases, it has been viewed as a source of potential progress and development; in others, as a*

threat to security and stability“.¹¹⁵ Globalization brought openness and interdependence of states and since Cyprus is the member of number of international organizations, it also participates in this process and is vulnerable to such threats. However each state faces different challenges and ascribes different significance to the new threats. Ambassador Alexandros N.Zenon also states that „...*For at the same time, as significant threats to security and stability undeniably exist... one inherent aspect of a «threat» is its subjective nature. Whether and to what extent a situation poses a threat is largely a matter of perception.*“¹¹⁶ Threat perception is different from state to state and their security dilemma differs. However Cyprus is mainly concerned with finding the solution to the Cyprus dispute and its eventual reunification.

According to Andreas Theophanous, it is still questionable whether it is possible to create more secure atmosphere of stability in the region of Eastern Mediterranean than the existing one and for creating such environment certain conditions must be met:

- Territorial integrity
- A code of conduct to address minority issues
- Economic cooperation and development
- Intercultural understanding and cooperation¹¹⁷

These conditions also show that security sectors introduced by Copenhagen school have relevancy in Cyprus dispute and policy of Cyprus government. However the main significance in each security sector still lies within the Cyprus dispute. Condition of territorial integrity has been violated several times as stated in the United Nations Charter, particularly its Article 2, Paragraph 4. With reference to this rule, the takeover of the portion of territory of sovereign Cyprus by Turkish forces in 1974 was illegitimate. However Treaty of Guarantee left provision for such action. By continuous

¹¹⁵ ZENON, Alexandros N. *www.mfa.gov.cy* [online]. 2006-2010 [cit. 2010-05-15]. THREATS TO SECURITY AND STABILITY IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. Available at WWW: <<http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/All/B97836FC212225A3C225739A003B0C76?OpenDocument>>.

¹¹⁶ ZENON, Alexandros N. *www.mfa.gov.cy* [online]. 2006-2010 [cit. 2010-05-15]. THREATS TO SECURITY AND STABILITY IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. Available at WWW: <<http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/All/B97836FC212225A3C225739A003B0C76?OpenDocument>>.

¹¹⁷ THEOPHANOUS, Andreas. Necessary Conditions for Stability in the Eastern Mediterranean: The Case of Cyprus. In THEOPHANOUS, Andreas, COUFOUDAKIS, Van. *Security and Cooperation in the Eastern Mediterranean*, 1997. p. 76-79.

occupation, the lack of respect and the violation of independence and territorial integrity persist. The solution must not violate the independence and territorial integrity of the island state. A code of conduct should provide a framework for mechanisms that prevent the possibility of conflict escalation leading to potential threat of frictions and armed conflict between ethnic groups and guidelines of this framework must be respected.¹¹⁸

7.1.1 Security concerns in unification process

Despite the failure of promoted Annan plan, Greek and Turkish Cypriots did not lose their faith in bringing the solution to the dispute. The last elected president Dimitris Christofias met his counterpart Mehmet Ali Talat in 2008 for the first time and ongoing initiatives from both sides are a perspective sign of settling the dispute down. After four years, a new attempt to reunite the island started. The recent election in TRNC, where Derviş Eroğlu became the third president, might affect whole reunification process, but now a real prospect of reunification exists and both sides negotiate the plan that would satisfy both parts. Nowadays the role of the United Nations as a traditional mediator is diminished; however it provides technical advice and assistance in finding the best plan possible. The negotiation process was officially launched in September 2008.¹¹⁹ Almost every key issue can be resolved without major difficulties, although there is one area that both sides cannot agree on easily which is security. Violent past has left its traces on both sides of the community. According to Treaty of guarantee, three powers have direct influence in this field and security area requires involvement of international actors. This area was one of the reasons of Annan plan's failure. Annan plan in fact addressed to continuation of Treaty of guarantee, which left three external powers a possibility to station their troops on the island. 75% of Greek Cypriots voted against the UN proposal for reunification in spite of Turkish Cypriot approval.¹²⁰ Greek Cypriots do not accept the presence of Turkish military on the island and ask for their full

¹¹⁸ THEOPHANOUS, Andreas. Necessary Conditions for Stability in the Eastern Mediterranean: The Case of Cyprus. In THEOPHANOUS, Andreas, COUFOUDAKIS, Van. *Security and Cooperation in the Eastern Mediterranean*, 1997. p. 76-79.

¹¹⁹ KEN-LINDSAY, James. The Security Dimensions of a Cyprus Solution. *Hellenic Observatory Papers on Greece and Southeast Europe* [online]. October 2008, 19, [cit. 2010-03-03]. Available at WWW: <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/22027/1/GreeSE_No19.pdf>. p. 2.

¹²⁰ KEN-LINDSAY, James. The Security Dimensions of a Cyprus Solution. *Hellenic Observatory Papers on Greece and Southeast Europe* [online]. October 2008, 19, [cit. 2010-03-03]. Available at WWW: <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/22027/1/GreeSE_No19.pdf>. p. 3.

withdrawal considering that Turkish military undermines the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. Turkish Cypriot side considers military as the only one mean of security provider on the island as this community forms 18% of island's population, which is considered to be a security threat on the side of Greek Cypriots. Greek Cypriots also fear the regional power represented by Turkey as a supporter of TRNC and threat in the region with expansionistic views. Turkish military force is considered to be the foreign occupation force of the sovereign state by the Cypriot government. This is one of the reasons why trust on both sides is one of the fundamental requirements. However demilitarization of the island opens up other topics that deal with ensuring the security of the island itself. Turkish side would accept Greek Cypriot military presence, but preserving part of the Turkish military force, which would have to be accepted on Greek Cypriot side. Even Annan plan proposed the reduction of armed forces on both sides preserving their presence on the island. The withdrawal of forces was supposed to be continuous although Greek Cypriot side preferred its fast realization. This possibility still opens up a space for further discussion nowadays. Military force stationed on the island with international supervision could constitute the part of the solution regarding security and military sector. On the contrary the presence of even reduced Greek Cypriot and Turkish military might be a potential threat to internal security of the island. Both sides need to realize that stationed forces would preserve their existence on the basis of providing island's security as a whole in contrast with protection of the individual communities. Troops could act as a guarantor of internal security in case tensions between communities would possibly occur.

7.2. Security in Cyprus according to sectors

7.2.1 Military sector

„The Ministry of Defence is responsible for putting into effect Government Policy regarding the security and territorial integrity of Cyprus. In the framework of this policy, the Ministry of Defence has been promoting a series of measures which aim at strengthening the defence forces and the capability of the Republic to thwart any foreign threat and at the same time boost the negotiating ability. With consistency and high feeling of responsibility, the Ministry of Defence promotes the application of this

policy.¹²¹ Cyprus defence is mainly concerned with physical division of island and its occupation by foreign forces. Cyprus sovereignty and territorial integrity was violated by invasion of Turkish troops in 1974. Two British army bases and UN troops are also stationed on the island. According to the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Cyprus, „*the main and the only one threat to the security of the Republic of Cyprus is Turkey, its expansionistic policy against the sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus. It is not pathetic, but the areal one. The main threat is being constituted by the invasion in 1974 and the maintenance of 45 000 well-trained special forces on the island equipped with the modiest military devices with the support of Turkish navy, air force while having an offensive deployment.*“¹²² Cyprus National Guard accounts only to about 9000 soldiers with very light armament and each man compulsory serves in the army for the period of two years. The Republic of Cyprus does not dispose of any navy or air-force. The imbalance of power exists. Turkey is located only 70 kms to the north of the island and it takes only couple of minutes to reach borders of Cyprus by plane and only 6 hours in case of navy. Turkish military power counts to 514 000 active military personnel and 380 000 soldiers in reserves.¹²³ Green line or so called buffer zone 178 kms long is currently protected by 860 international UN troops UNFICYP serving on a rotating basis, which have been stationed on the island since 1964.¹²⁴

In the Copenhagen school's view, the existence of the threat, transgression of rules and emergency measure securitize an issue. The existential threat existed in the form of such provisions and existence of stronger neighbour. Transgression of rules occurred by violation of the UN Charter and emergency measures were taken, are still present and characterized on the basis of physical attack and foreign troops presence on the island. Territorial integrity of Cyprus as the subject of security has been violated. Cyprus is the 34th country in the world in terms of annual spending on armaments with

¹²¹ [www.mod.gov.cy : Mission](http://www.mod.gov.cy/mod/mod.nsf/dmlmission_en/dmlmission_en?OpenDocument) [online]. 2006-2010 [cit. 2010-05-15]. Ministry of Defence. Available at WWW: <http://www.mod.gov.cy/mod/mod.nsf/dmlmission_en/dmlmission_en?OpenDocument>.

¹²² As stated by the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Cyprus by personal interview.

¹²³ www.globalfirepower.com [online]. 2005-2010 [cit. 2010-05-17]. Military strength of Turkey. Available at WWW: <http://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=Turkey>.

¹²⁴ www.unficy.org [online]. 2010 [cit. 2010-05-18]. Military. Available at WWW:

<[http://www.unficy.org/nqcontent.cfm?a_id=1364&tt=graphic\(=11](http://www.unficy.org/nqcontent.cfm?a_id=1364&tt=graphic(=11)>.

3.7% of its GDP.¹²⁵ In comparison, the average of the EU is 1,4% and Malta being similarly an island located in the Mediterranean sea and the member of the EU, not NATO accounts for about 1,5%.¹²⁶ Under the auspices of the UN, also UNPOL (United Nations Police) contributes to maintenance and restoration of law supporting UN military. It is evident that tensions between Greek Cypriots and Turks and Turkish Cypriots last and they complicate the mutual relationship between both parts of the island. Divided Cyprus constitutes a security problem, where the perception of security is very intensive, and has an element of traditional security viewing characterized by balance of power.

7.2.2 Political sector

London and Zurich agreements laid down the basis for the Constitution of Cyprus and were further agreed with the Treaty of Establishment, Treaty of Guarantee and Treaty of Alliance between Great Britain, Turkey, Greece, and Cypriot Community leaders. Although they were negotiated without Greek and Turkish Cypriot representation and they created untenable compromise between the interested parties. Agreements culminated into drafting the Constitution of 1960 or the Constitution that dissolved the Republic? The Treaties provided three powers a right to station their troops on „independent“ island and they are perceived as the threat to the national security and sovereignty of the state. It is generally agreed that Zurich and London agreements caused the downfall and impossible implementation of the Constitution. Constitution was drafted by the UK, Greece and Turkey. Constitution of 1960, Treaty of Establishment, Treaty of Guarantee and Treaty of Alliance and their implementation left the element of partition on ethnic basis on island. The Constitution proved to be unworkable not only because some provisions were impossible to apply, but the concept was based on the principle of separation. It can be described as the Constitution imposed by force and maintained by the threat of force. Since the Constitution consists an element of minority segregation, it is threatening the basic political principles of the sovereign Republic of Cyprus. Possibility to station the troops of three guarantor powers

¹²⁵ www.cia.gov/index.html [online]. 2007 [cit. 2010-05-14]. Europe: Cyprus. Available at WWW: <<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cy.html>>.

¹²⁶ www.worldbank.org/ [online]. 2010 [cit. 2010-05-16]. Military expenditure (% of GDP). Available at WWW: <<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/MS.MIL.XPND.GD.ZS>>.

on the island is another aspect contributing to this fact. Makarios took measures and made 13 proposals to the Turkish Cypriot Vice-president to amend the Constitution, but it was refused.¹²⁷ As an impact Constitution has not been modified since 1960, because it is impossible to bring any changes since Turkish Cypriots do not participate in the distribution of powers in the Republic of Cyprus and their seats remain vacant in the Parliament. The political system of the Republic of Cyprus is therefore paralysed, but it managed to maintain political stability. Ethno-cultural tensions between Greek and Turkish Cypriots disrupted state from inside. Partition of island therefore had a political and legislative basis resulting from provisions of the Constitution. The principle of separation is characterized by the elections of these two held separately in both communities. Vice-president could not perform president's competences in case of his inability, which meant that no Turk could represent Greek and the opposite. It is evident that constitutional partition existed before the formation of the territorial partition. Neither united nor separated cabinet existed. The President and the Vice-President could act jointly or individually. Laws imposing duties or taxes and modification of the electoral law required separated majorities in the Parliament of both communities to vote separately. Religious, educational, cultural matters etc. were voted separately as well in communal chambers. Constitution of 1960 created separated courts for both communities, constitutional partition and it laid down the basis for the territorial partition establishing areas under Turkish Cypriot control. The following armed session divided the state.¹²⁸

Treaties allowed for such provisions as intervention into internal affairs of the independent Cyprus by guarantor powers and created potential threat to its national security. Turkey used Article IV. of the Treaty of Guarantee as the legal basis for intervention, for which it had a full right.¹²⁹ By act of the invasion, sovereignty as one of basic features and principles of the existence of the state and referent objects of security, was violated. State within the state was created. Sovereignty continues to be violated nowadays as for instance the statement of the TRNC government from

¹²⁷ *Cyprus : Ethnic Conflict and International Politics*. London : Macmillan Press LTD, 1997. President Makarios' Thirteen-Point Proposal to amend the Constitution, p. 146-147.

¹²⁸ VANEZIS N.P.: *Cyprus: Crime without punishment*. Hong Kong 1997. p. 60-70.

¹²⁹ www.mfa.gov.cy [online]. 2008 [cit. 2010-05-11]. NO. 5475. TREATY OF GUARANTEE. SIGNED AT NICOSIA ON 16 AUGUST 1960. Available at WWW:
<[http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/All/484B73E4F0736CFDC22571BF00394F11/\\$file/Treaty%20of%20Guarantee.pdf](http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/All/484B73E4F0736CFDC22571BF00394F11/$file/Treaty%20of%20Guarantee.pdf)>.

December 1997 concerning the Zurich and London Agreements from 1960 “*prohibited the membership of Cyprus in international organizations, unions and pacts of alliance in which both Turkey and Greece are not members*” and the President as well as the Vice-President had the right of veto on any decision or action concerning “*the participation of the Republic of Cyprus in international organizations and pacts of alliance in which Greece and Turkey*” do not both participate. Also, Treaty of Guarantee from 1960 states that Cyprus “*undertakes not to participate in whole or in part in any political or economic union with any state whatsoever*”. Therefore „EU membership of Cyprus can only be discussed and agreed to after an overall settlement, and upon its approval by the two sides through separate referenda.“¹³⁰ Such legal framework created environment, in which basic principles of state are threatened and paralyzed by constitutional deadlock.

7.2.3 Societal sector

Cyprus is a small island state with area of 9 251 km² and population of 1,084,748 people. Ethnic groups are formed by Greek Cypriots (77%), Turkish (18%), Maronite and Armenian (1%), and other (4%) minorities.¹³¹ TRNC counts its population to 265 100 according to 2006 population census.¹³² Before 1974, 120 000 Turkish Cypriots lived on the island and today they account only to 73 000 of those, who remained. The rest was obliged or forced to immigrate. Regarding northern part of Cyprus 162 000 of Greek Cypriots lived there and they were forced to abandon their homes and flee, which counted for 1/3rd of population in 1974.¹³³ TRNC Ministry of Foreign Affairs states the same number of Greek and Turkish Cypriots missing after the eruption of intercommunal conflict since 1960 as the MFA of Cyprus. It counts to 1468 Greek Cypriots and 502 Turkish Cypriots missing altogether.¹³⁴ It is estimated that 170 000

¹³⁰ www.mfa.gov.tr [online]. 2008 [cit. 2010-05-11]. Turkish Republic Of Northern Cyprus Government Statement 14 December 1997. Available at WWW: <<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkish--republic-of-northern-cyprus-government-statement.en.mfa>>.

¹³¹ www.cia.gov/index.html [online]. 2007 [cit. 2010-05-14]. Europe: Cyprus. Available at WWW: <<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cy.html>>.

¹³² www.trncinfo.com : Population [online]. 2010 [cit. 2010-05-16]. INTRODUCTORY SURVEY. Available at WWW: <<http://www.trncinfo.com/TANITMADAIRESI/2002/ENGLISH/ALLaboutTRNC/Page02.htm>>.

¹³³ www.mfa.gov.cy [online]. 2006-2010 [cit. 2010-05-15]. Enclaved Persons. Available at WWW: <http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/cyprus04_en/cyprus04_en?OpenDocument>.

¹³⁴ www.trncinfo.com [online]. 2010 [cit. 2010-05-17]. Missing persons. Available at WWW: <<http://www.trncinfo.com/tanitmadairesi/2002/ENGLISH/MISSING/m19.htm>>.

Turks have been moved from the region of Anatolia to northern part of the island and settled down in properties pre-owned by Greek Cypriots.¹³⁵ These Turks are considered to be illegal immigrants by the Greek Cypriot government. Such immigration causes demographic problems on the island in the forms of distortion of population balance on the island, ethnical cleansing, shifting the balance of political power, control of political will of Turkish Cypriots, to buttress Turkey's military presence on the island and finally to prejudice the settlement of the dispute. Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots were living together for centuries. They are equal Cypriot people, born on the island and belonging to Cyprus. Turkish Cypriots had a right to use the Cypriot passports and had an opportunity to receive European Union passports after the Cyprus' accession to the EU. Minorities in Cyprus enjoy full respect of their rights, they have elected representatives, civil and human rights secured by the Constitution. Religious division is as follows: Greek Orthodox, Muslim, Maronite, Roman Catholic, Armenian Orthodox. Cypriot citizens have religious freedom, catholicism is spread and muslims can pray freely in mosques. However religious and cultural heritage in the north of the island was destroyed, looted or vandalized. Some were desecrated, converted into mosques or used as hospitals, dormitories, hotels and casinos or barns etc. It counts to 500 Greek Orthodox Churches and chapels as well as 17 monasteries.¹³⁶ Treasures have been stolen from museums and private collections have been sold. However TRNC portrays the period of 1963-1974 as the period of islamic persecution and destruction of over 100 mosques in 103 towns, which Turkish Cypriots were forced to abandon.¹³⁷ There are two official languages on the island: Greek and Turkish, but English is widely used as well. Both sides must realize that no win in the cultural understanding and cooperation exists.

Nowadays, the single threat that Cyprus is facing besides Turkish military occupation of northern part of the island, is an illegal immigration. Since Cyprus became the doorstep to the Middle East and bridge between the EU and this region, it is an attractive starting point on the way to Europe. Permanent Secretary of the MFA of

¹³⁵ www.mfa.gov.cy [online]. 2006-2010 [cit. 2010-05-15]. Greek Cypriot properties under Turkish military occupation. Available at WWW:

<http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/cyprus05_en/cyprus05_en?OpenDocument>.

¹³⁶ www.mfa.gov.cy [online]. 2006 [cit. 2010-05-18]. Destruction of cultural heritage. Available at WWW:

<http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/cyprus07_en/cyprus07_en?OpenDocument>.

¹³⁷ www.trncinfo.com [online]. 2010 [cit. 2010-05-18]. Religion. Available at WWW:

<<http://www.trncinfo.com/TANITMADAIRESI/2002/ENGLISH/ALLaboutTRNC/Page07.htm>>.

Cyprus declared that „*A few years ago, we faced a significant challenge in the name of illegal immigration from neighboring Middle Eastern countries...The main challenge faced now is illegal immigration originating in Turkey and arriving through the occupied part of Cyprus, over which the Republic of Cyprus cannot exercise effective control.*“¹³⁸ Green line became penetrable as many Turkish Cypriots cross the border every day. Using this policy, Cyprus government tries to support its northern part and attract the inhabitants to further initiatives to bring the solution to the problem. Official estimates count to 40 000 illegal workers on the southern part of island. According to statistics of the Cyprus policy, almost 8 000 illegal immigrants are found on the island each year, but most of them are either sent back, leave voluntarily, become asylum seekers or their stay is apprehended. This number is growing each year.¹³⁹ Representative of the MFA stated that current number of illegal immigrants counts to 120 000.¹⁴⁰ They enter through occupied part and ask for asylum. Nowadays most of them arrive from Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq. Measures against this threat are being taken and solved on legal basis, when most of the illegal immigrants are sent back to their country of origin.

Besides illegal immigration, Cyprus is facing another threat in the form of illicit drugs. CIA World Factbook states that Cyprus is a minor transit point for heroin, hashish and cocaine coming mostly from Turkey and Lebanon.¹⁴¹ According to statement by the representative of Cyprus to the 3rd Committee of the 54th session of the UN General Assembly, Mr. Demetris Hadjiargyrou stated that „*the spread of illicit substances has assumed unprecedented proportions over the past decades. Cyprus shares the view that the problem of narcotics has global implications and constitutes a grave threat to civilized societies...although Cyprus is a relatively drug-free society, the specter of the infiltration of drugs into our culture, is a threat that we do not underestimate. That is why Cyprus has already in place a pro-active national policy*

¹³⁸ ZENON, Alexandros N. www.mfa.gov.cy [online]. 2006-2010 [cit. 2010-05-15]. THREATS TO SECURITY AND STABILITY IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. Available at WWW:

<<http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/All/B97836FC212225A3C225739A003B0C76?OpenDocument>>.

¹³⁹ www.police.gov.cy [online]. 2004-2008 [cit. 2010-05-16]. Activities of aliens and immigration unit. Available at WWW:

<[http://www.police.gov.cy/police/police.nsf/All/33633E5FC74F2936C22576F0003BE052/\\$file/Immigration%20activities.pdf](http://www.police.gov.cy/police/police.nsf/All/33633E5FC74F2936C22576F0003BE052/$file/Immigration%20activities.pdf)>.

¹⁴⁰ As stated by the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Cyprus by personal interview.

¹⁴¹ www.cia.gov/index.html [online]. 2007 [cit. 2010-05-14]. Europe: Cyprus. Available at WWW: <<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cy.html>>.

*whose main focus is the prevention of drug usage. We are determined to confront the issue before it becomes a problem. To that effect a national committee for the prevention of trafficking and use of illicit drugs was established with the purpose of coordinating and providing consultation in matters of prevention and information.*¹⁴²

Measures have been taken in the form of the Cyprus Anti-Drugs Council established on the basis of the Prevention of the Use and Dissemination of Drugs and other Addictive Substances in 2000. It is the coordinating agency with concern to prevention in the area of drugs. It began its work in 2001. The main goals of the Cyprus Anti-Drugs Council were to prepare the national strategy and action plan against drugs and other addictive substances, and to promote, monitor and control its implementation. Cyprus adopted a national drug strategy which it successfully implements. Concerning criminality Cyprus is characterized as a safe state in spite of its division and according to international standards; criminality is low and does not pose any threat. Regarding national policy against terrorism, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus states that Cyprus has not been confronted with any terrorist incidents and considers that the terrorist threat for the country remains low, despite the presence of the two British military bases and the Turkish occupation of the northern part of its territory.¹⁴³ Cyprus does not face any threat of terroristic attack against its sovereignty, idea and political institutions, territorial integrity or citizens.

7.2.4 Economic sector

Continuous building of economic network and development provides means of promoting stability and cooperation. It is important to balance the gap formed over the years of separation in order to secure the economic growth of island as a whole. According to the order of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cyprus issued in 1974, ports of Famagusta, Karavostasi and Kyrenia were declared to be closed for all vessels. 3 harbors, 2 airports (Ercan and Geçitkale) at the Turkish Republic of Northern

¹⁴² HADIJARGYROU, Demetris. Statement by the Representative of Cyprus to the 3rd Committee Mr.Demetris Hadjiargyrou on Agenda Item 107: Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice and Agenda Item 108: International Drug Control. 1999 [cit. 2010-05-15]. The United Nations. Available at: <http://www.un.int/cyprus/crime54.htm>.

¹⁴³ www.mfa.gov.cy [online]. February 2008 [cit. 2010-05-11]. Measures against terrorism. Available at WWW:<<http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/All/200DAED54749D3BBC22571B100298AEB?OpenDocument>>.

Cyprus and the trade traffic through the Turkish Cypriot ports are restricted as part of the embargo measures taken on Turkish Cypriot ports imposed after the invasion in 1974.¹⁴⁴ When Famagusta harbor was taken over by Turks, it was the sea port of Nicosia and one of the most important contributors to the budget. However since the opening of the Green line, Turkish Cypriots can trade through Greek Cypriot ports. Unresolved dispute blocks and limits further economic development of both parts of the island. Since TRNC is not officially recognized state, it provides space for international money laundering. Restrictions and inability to fully employ the trading potential of the island and might consider Cyprus to be economically threatened one. Invasion of 1974 and seizure of Greek Cypriot properties that are still under control of the Turkish Cypriots threaten the basic principles of territorial integrity under the UN Charter, finding the solution to the dispute as well as economic development of island. Properties seized by the Turkish Cypriots were occupied by Turkish army and mainland settlement. In 2002, Turkish government allowed sale of these properties to the third party. Judgement of the ECJ, in the case *Meletis Apostolides v. David Charles Orams and Linda Elizabeth Orams* with code C-420/07 ECJ from 2009, is for Cypriots, who lost their homes after the Turkish invasion in 1974, a very important event, because rights of Greek Cypriots to the northern part of land were officially recognized by the European Union. The integrity of Cyprus was confirmed on the legal background despite the specificity of the case, where *acquis communautaire* is applied only to the territory controlled by the Cyprus government and immovable property, which was the subject of the case, is located in the northern occupied part of island.¹⁴⁵ Based on the premise that relative economic expansion of the rival might be considered as a threat to the national security position of the state, Cyprus is besides blockade of Greek Cypriot harbors, airports, properties and land in its northern part threatened by economic power of its neighbour. Turkey is a strong regional, economic and military power and it holds an important strategic location. Ankara blocks entry of Cyprus into OECD, which is a community of 30 most developed states in the world that helps form and coordinate the foreign and economic policy of its members on the basis of exchange of mutual experience. Moreover Cyprus has to spend much more money on its defense policy and these means could be used more efficiently in other sectors of economy. Currently

¹⁴⁴ www.mfa.gov.cy [online]. 2010 [cit. 2010-05-16]. Closed ports and airports. Available at WWW: <http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/cyprus16_en/cyprus16_en?OpenDocument>.

¹⁴⁵ *JUDGMENT OF THE COURT* [online]. 2009 [cit. 2010-05-12]. Available at WWW: <<http://www.cylaw.org/62007J0420ENHTML.htm>>.

millions of euro are being spent on armaments and these sources could be used more effectively in further investments on the island. Regarding regional development and utilizing finances from the funding of the EU, 259 millions of euro were allocated for a development of infrastructure in the northern part of island, however TRNC does not want to utilize it reasoning that it feels isolated and would like to profit from direct trade and international recognition instead.¹⁴⁶ Economic development creates one of the means for island's consolidation and promoting unification progress.

7.2.5 Environmental sector

Current environmental problems in Cyprus concern water resources, seasonal disparity in rainfall, and water pollution from sewage and industrial wastes. According to the statement of Mr. Agis Loizou to the 2nd committee of the 54th session of the UN General Assembly, *“small island states have a susceptibility to risks and threats set at a relatively lower threshold than for larger states. They are exposed, among others, to serious environmental risks such as natural disasters, vulnerability to sea-level rise, marine pollution, deforestation, desertification and soil erosion, overfishing and limited availability of fresh water...as far as Cyprus is concerned, we have adopted an Environmental Action Plan designed to protect the environment, as well as a Strategic Development Plan.”*¹⁴⁷ The Ministry of Agriculture, Natural Resources and Environment has adopted legal framework for implementation of policies regarding water scarcity which is a prevailing problem in Cyprus. Cyprus and its environment, characteristic by its Mediterranean location and climate, is threatened by enhanced scarcity in available water supply and increasing desertification that has already started in certain areas. The government water policy is focusing on utilization of recycled water, which can replace equal quantities of water. The recycled water produced from the waste is used for irrigation of existing agricultural cultivations. The Water Development Department's mission at this Ministry is focused on rational development and management of the water resources in Cyprus.

¹⁴⁶ As stated by the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Cyprus by personal interview.

¹⁴⁷ LOIZOU, Agis. Statement by the Representative of Cyprus to the 2nd Committee Mr. Agis Loizou on Agenda item 100: Environment and Sustainable Development. 1999 [cit. 2010-05-15]. The United Nations. Available at: <http://www.un.int/cyprus/agis99.htm>.

As proposed, it is necessary to plan for extreme droughts, extreme flooding, safeguarding domestic water supply through increased desalination, recharge of groundwater resources and improvement of rain-fall management. Other important objectives for the future are the irrigation of selected crops with sewerage water, recharge of ground water resource by reservoirs, leakage detection, rainwater harvesting as well as reduction of water demand. The energy supply can be substituted through renewable solar-thermal energy generation. Cyprus has cooperated with the United Nations Development Programme since gaining its independence. UNDP has provided technical assistance and helped coordinate projects for island's management of water resources. It also gave consultations and assistance in areas of agriculture, protection of the environment through large-scale projects. World Bank and European Investment Fund provided financial support through loans in order to enlarge the water supply. As a result, in 1960's and 1970's Cyprus built a large number of dams to reduce loss of surface water to the sea. Until 1997 the main source of water in Cyprus was rainfall. However current demand of water exceeds its supply and the water in the dams is decreasing. Therefore, Cyprus imports water from Greece. Today two desalination plants exist and provide 112 000 m³ of water a day and 33 million m³ a year. Nowadays 14,5 million m³ of recycled water is produced. It is also expected than in 2100, the temperature in Cyprus will raise at +2,8°C and such climate changes will cause an increased desertification.¹⁴⁸ Currently Cyprus has to deal with persistent threat of droughts resulting in freshwater shortage. Also, 30% of the coastline under control of the Republic of Cyprus, is subject to erosion threat. Cyprus has not experienced severed floods in the past and it is not vulnerable to sea flooding. However coastline of 735 km is vulnerable to such threat, especially low-lying region of Larnaca. Coastal zone is inhabited by 50% of population and 90% of tourism industry takes place there. Erosion constitutes more serious threat than flooding. Currently 38% of the coastline is already now subject to erosion.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ LANGE, Manfred A. *www.waterwiki.net* [online]. 2010 [cit. 2010-05-17]. Climate Change, desertification and Water on Cyprus. Available at WWW:<http://waterwiki.net/images/a/a0/ENGAGE_Presentation_M_A_Lange_March_2010.pdf>.

¹⁴⁹ *www.ec.europa.eu* [online]. 2010 [cit. 2010-05-18]. Cyprus. Available at WWW:<http://ec.europa.eu/maritimeaffairs/climate_change/cyprus_en.pdf>.

7.2.6 Is Cyprus as a postmodern state?

The answer lies within the unresolved Cyprus dispute. Cyprus, being a full member of international organisations and participating on common European multilevel governance system, proves that it formally belongs to family of developed postmodern states in spite of the fact that it was colonized for centuries by external powers and gained independence in 1960. It faces the same security dilemma as other postmodern states that Sørensen portrayed in its typology. Threats to its national security have the forms of illegal immigration, drug trafficking, money laundering, economic limitations and current natural changes. Cyprus has managed to transform to democratic, liberal capitalistic state with an open and functioning free market. It actively participates at policy making on international level and supports the common goals of the European Union, the UN, the OSCE and other organisations. However is Cyprus itself a postmodern state? Results and findings show that Cyprus seems to be and formally acts as a strong postmodern state with all the prerequisites necessary to fulfill requirements set by Georg Sørensen in his categorization of postmodern types of states. Politically stable and economically strong country with international and global linkage are one of the basic features for considering Cyprus as such state. However unresolved status quo of the Cyprus dispute and its impact on political situation, economy and demography play such an important role in day-to-day life of Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities that assumption of Cyprus being a postmodern state is undermined. We cannot consider Cyprus as postcolonial state in spite of its special treatment since its political and economic development and transformation have been fast and successful and its institutions operate efficiently like in other postmodern states. Since it is the member of the EU, which is an ideal model of multilevel governance according to Sørensen, and other international organisations, it cannot be considered as a modern state anymore. These results provide a space for deeper categorization and considering Cyprus as a specific example that is not possible to classify according to type of states introduced by Sørensen. In spite of Cyprus having all features of sovereign state, trying to preserve the territorial integrity, protect the population and its effectively functioning state institutions with clear ideology, decades lasting conflict between Greek and Turkish Cypriot community causes that all the political, economic, societal and security aspects are concerned with the Cyprus question. Partition and threats resulting from this anomaly cause insecurity and despite the Republic of Cyprus

declaring the sovereignty over the whole island, it does not effectively control its northern part and its sovereignty and territorial integrity is impaired. Also internal connection between two communities is problematic and society is not coherent. National identity is disparate, the tensions resulting from history and division exist, and the state is fragmented. Since Turkey is considered to be the main threat to the security of Cyprus, the UN troops are permanently located on the island separating communities by border. Greek and Turkish Cypriot troops are positioned on its both sides and form permanent tensions. As a result whole political and economic structure is concerned with island's division. On the basis of these findings, Cyprus might not be characterized as postmodern state. It does not fulfill all the prerequisites of such type of state.

Conclusion

The Diploma thesis Cyprus in a New Security Environment deals with today's perception of security on this island and it classifies The Republic of Cyprus on the basis of its features and security dilemma in accordance to Sørensen's typology of states acting outwardly as a postmodern state. Thesis also examines security sectors in Cyprus introduced by Copenhagen school. Cyprus, its history, current political and economic setting provided the basis of the study. Theoretical part introduced new security thinking in the aftermath of the Cold War, where traditional view of security in the forms of weapons and ideological conflict between West and East, was abandoned and new threats in five different sectors (military, political, societal, economic and environmental) to the national security have been introduced by the distinctive view of the Copenhagen school that developed after the fall of the Iron curtain.

Sørensen's typology of states introduced types of states in current international system with link to their historical development and today's political, economic and society setting. It also viewed their interstate security dilemma and potential threats to their security that were further discussed in accordance with Copenhagen school's perception of today's security threats. Each sector of security brought a closer look at the existential threats according to sectors characterized by their impact and measures taken against them. Cyprus, its historical setting and development, as well as intercommunal dispute brought this country on the path leading to its division and occupation lasting since 1974. Cyprus gained independence from the British colonial rule in 1960, but the legal framework and tensions between Greek and Turkish Cypriots created the environment, which resulted into invasion of Turkish troops. They continue occupying the northern part of the island that declared independence in 1983 as Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, but is not recognized internationally except Turkey. The Republic of Cyprus managed to maintain the political and economic stability after the invasion and transformed the former colony into developed country with features of postmodern state. It has recorded rapid economic growth and transformed itself from agricultural state among developed and modern free-market economy based country. The Republic of Cyprus became the member of number of international organisations (UN, OSCE, Commonwealth) and multilevel governance system of the EU, in which it actively participates.

However security dimension of the dispute caused that elementary features of state became the referent objects of security. Because of island's division and its specific location, each sector of security introduced by Copenhagen school is threatened and its sovereignty and territorial integrity are violated in accordance to international law. The Republic of Cyprus operates on the legal basis from 1960 and its legal system is paralysed by division. Permanent presence of troops form tensions and threaten the basic principles of state existence. Existence of the strong rival is considered to be the main threat to the security of the Republic of Cyprus and security is one of the main focuses of unification negotiations. Bicomunal distinction and historical struggle create tensions that both communities have to overcome in order to bring solution to the problem and stability on the island. Current threats in the forms of water scarcity, climate change, drug trafficking, illegal immigration result from island's specific environment setting in the Eastern Mediterranean region. Island's division handicaps its full economic potential. Political and military threats in these sectors are concerned with the island's legal basis, invasion and continuing division at the presence of foreign troops. The results of the research did not classify Cyprus as an example of postmodern states due to its partition. Cold War did not affect island and its security aspects. However higher degree of seriousness is still assigned to perception of military security. The unresolved dispute caused that security dilemma of the Republic of Cyprus is concerned with conflict in such measure that most of the aspects of security create a linkage to the Cyprus conflict.

Cyprus faces the similar security dilemma as other postmodern states, but its political, economic and societal fragmentation have added value in security perception. The permanent presence of troops on the island, violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity, provisions of the legal framework, threat from the stronger rival and impact of the division cause that Cyprus is a specific example and cannot be considered as postmodern state in spite of having such features. Copenhagen school provided portfolio for examination of security sectors which Cyprus deals with and the results have proved that The Republic of Cyprus is threatened in each of them and the unresolved dispute has significant impact for such development.

Záver

Diplomová práca Cyprus v novom bezpečnostnom prostredí sa zaoberá dnešným vnímaním bezpečnosti na ostrove a klasifikuje Cyperskú republiku na základe jej vlastností, bezpečnostnej dilemy v súlade so Sorensenovou typológiou štátov vystupujúc navonok ako postmoderný štát. Práca takisto skúma bezpečnostne sektory na Cypre predstavené Kodaňskou školou. Cyprus, jeho história, aktuálne politické a ekonomické prostredie poskytli základ pre vytvorenie štúdie. Teoretická časť uvádza nové bezpečnostné myslenie po skončení studenej vojny, kedy bol tradičný pohľad na bezpečnosť vo forme zbraní a ideologického konfliktu medzi Západom a Východom opustený a nové hrozby v piatich rôznych sektoroch (vojenský, politický, sociálny, ekonomický a enviromentálny) národnej bezpečnosti boli predstavené distingovaným pohľadom kodaňskej školy, ktorý sa vyvinul po páde zelenej opony.

Sorensenova typológia štátov predstavila rozličné typy krajín v súčasnom medzinárodnom systéme v spojení s ich historickým vývojom a súčasným politickým, ekonomickým a sociálnym prostredím. Taktiež uviedla ich vnútroštátnu bezpečnostnú dilemu a potenciálne hrozby ich bezpečnosti, ktoré boli ďalej skúmané v súvislosti s vnímaním dnešných bezpečnostných hrozieb kodaňskou školou. Každý sektor bezpečnosti priniesol bližší pohľad na existenčné hrozby podľa jednotlivých oblastí charakterizovajúc ich dopadom a prostriedkami použitými proti nim. Cyprus, jeho historické prostredie a vývoj, takisto ako bikomunitný spor, priviedli krajinu na cestu vedúcu k jej rozdeleniu a okupácii trvajúcej od roku 1974. Cyprus získal nezávislosť spod britskej koloniálnej nadvlády v roku 1960, ale právny rámec a napätie medzi gréckymi a tureckými Cyperčanmi vytvorili podnebie, ktoré vyústilo do invázie tureckých jednotiek, ktoré stále pokračujú v okupácii severnej časti ostrova, ktorý vyhlásil nezávislosť v roku 1983 ako Severocyperská turecká republika, ale nie je medzinárodne uznávaná žiadnym štátom okrem Turecka. Cyperskej republike sa podarilo udržať politickú a ekonomickú stabilitu po invázii a bývalá kolónia sa zmenila na vyspelú krajinu s vlastnosťami postmoderného štátu. Zaznamenala rapidný ekonomický rast a transformovala sa z poľnohospodárskeho štátu na vyspelú krajinu založenú na ekonomike rešpektujúcej princípy voľného trhu. Cyperská republika sa stala členom rady medzinárodných organizácií (OSN, OBSE, Commonwealth) a viacúrovňového systému vládnutia Európskej únie, v ktorých aktívne participuje.

Napriek tomu bezpečnostný rozmer sporu spôsobil, že základné vlastnosti štátu sa stali referenčným objektom bezpečnosti. Vzhľadom k rozdeleniu ostrova a jeho špecifickej polohe, každý sektor bezpečnosti predstavený kodaňskou školou je ohrozovaný a jeho suverenita a teritoriálna celistvosť sú porušované v súlade s medzinárodným právom. Cyperská republika funguje na právnom základe z roku 1960 a jej právny systém je paralyzovaný rozdelením. Stála prítomnosť vojsk vytvára napätie a ohrozuje základné princípy existencie štátu. Prítomnosť silného rivala je považovaná za hlavnú hrozbu pre bezpečnosť ostrova a bezpečnosť je jedným z hlavných záujmov zjednocujúcich vyjednávaní. Bikomunitné rozdiely a historický zápas vytvárajú napätie, ktoré musia obe komunity prekonať, aby našli riešenie problému a zaistili stabilitu na ostrove. Súčasnú hrozbu vo formách nedostatku vody, klimatických zmien, pašovania drog a ilegálnej migrácie vyplývajú zo špecifického prostredia vo východnom Stredomorí. Rozdelenie ostrova zabraňuje jeho plnému využitiu ekonomického potenciálu. Politické a vojenské hrozby v týchto sektoroch sa týkajú právneho systému na ostrove, invázie a pokračujúceho rozdelenia za prítomnosti cudzích vojsk. Výsledky výskumu neklasifikujú Cyprus ako príklad postmoderného štátu kvôli jeho rozdeleniu. Studená vojna neovplyvnila ostrov a jeho bezpečnostné aspekty. Aj napriek tomu je vysoký stupeň vážnosti stále pripisovaný vnímaniu vojenskej bezpečnosti. Nevyriešený spor spôsobil, že bezpečnostná dilema Cyperskej republiky sa zaoberá konfliktom v takej miere, že väčšina aspektov bezpečnosti vytvára spojenie k Cyperskému konfliktu.

Cyprus čelí podobným bezpečnostným dilemám ako iné postmoderné štáty, ale jeho politická, ekonomická a spoločenská fragmentácia má pridanú hodnotu vo vnímaní bezpečnosti. Stála prítomnosť vojsk na ostrove, narušenie suverenity a teritoriálnej integrity, ustanovenia právneho rámca, hrozba silnejšieho protivníka a dopad rozdelenia spôsobujú, že Cyprus je špecifický príklad a nemôže byť považovaný za postmoderný štát aj napriek tomu, že má jeho vlastnosti. Kodaňská škola poskytla portfólio pre skúmanie bezpečnostných sektorov, s ktorými sa Cyprus stretáva a výsledky dokázali, že Cyprus je ohrozovaný v každom z nich a nevyriešený spor má podstatný dopad na tento vývoj.

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