

**Defense and Security of Small States**  
**– The Case of Cyprus**  
**[Άμυνα και Ασφάλεια Μικρών Κρατών**  
**– Η Περίπτωση της Κύπρου]**

**Petros Savvides ed.**  
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The collective volume *Defense and Security of Small States – The Case of Cyprus* constitutes a writing project that, using the theoretical tools of the broader subject of international relations (more specifically the part that relates to grand strategy and the security of small state actors), seeks, in a methodologically sound way, to identify, highlight, and analyze the nature of the security challenges faced by the Republic of Cyprus at a military, diplomatic, and communicative level.

In more detail, this collective volume is divided into three thematic sections. In the first chapter of the first section, Dr Vasilis Kappis sets the theoretical foundations on which the collective volume will be written. More specifically, the first chapter does a bibliographical review of the very definition of grand strategy, while at the same time analyzing its separation from concepts such as military strategy, foreign policy and diplomacy, which, according to the author, are parts of grand strategy. Finally, to additionally clarify things, the first chapter also provides a list of cases of grand strategy planning at the level of major, medium and small powers.

The second chapter of the first section analyses the new challenges that emerge in the security environment of the Republic of Cyprus, as well as how the qualitatively and quantitatively increasing imbalance of power between Cyprus and the occupying power create ever greater strategic deadlocks for Nicosia. At the same time, Dr Petros Savvides draws conclusions and lessons from recent military conflicts (Nagorno-Karabakh, Libya), based on which he proposes the reconsideration and adaptation to the modern operational reality of the Republic of Cyprus military strategy.

The second section of the volume deals with diplomatic issues in which Turkey has taken direct revisionist actions that question the very statehood of the Republic of Cyprus. More specifically, in the first chapter of the second section, Dr Ioannides

makes a specific reference to the legal means that the Republic of Cyprus can use to defend its statehood against Turkish aggression, while at the same time integrating, into the above framework, the diplomatic initiatives already taken in the field of exercising its jurisdiction in maritime zones, which aim at the improvement of the Republic of Cyprus at an economic, political and strategic level. Correspondingly, Panagiotis Hatzipavlis, in the second chapter, continues to raise the issue of the applicability and binding nature of the rules of international law under conditions of significant imbalance of power, while also adding airspace as a new field that Turkey can exploit in order to impinge on the sovereign rights of the Republic of Cyprus. Finally, beyond the new fields in which Turkish revisionist policy is encroaching, in the third chapter of the second section of this volume, Professor Michalis Kontos, using Alexander George's theory of 'Coercive Diplomacy', attempts to define and thoroughly demonstrate the strategic vision/targeting, ergo the means and the manner in which Ankara attempts to coerce Nicosia to suspend its oil and gas exploration and exploitation plans, without actually having to resort to any direct use of military force.

The last section mainly deals with the ways of internally balancing the Turkish threat. More specifically, Marios Poullados, in the first chapter of this section, initially proceeds to present the legislative framework governing the country's defense spending and then proceeds to the relationship between the amount of defense spending and the impact that it has on the growth of the combat capability of the Cypriot National Guard. Closing, the author presents a comparative study of the defense spending of Turkey, Greece, and Cyprus, which demonstrates the growth of the Turkish military threat over the years. The last chapter of this unit examines the role played by the mass and social media in conducting information operations, in disinforming the international public opinion, and, finally, in undermining the morale of defense and security, especially in cases of states that are faced with a tangible security threat. Specifically, in this unit is examined the use of Turkish television series as a means of propaganda, promoting the Neo-Ottoman Turkish narrative, and as an intimidation method. At the same time, the author proposes solutions for Greece and Cyprus to deal with this kind of Turkish propaganda. In the second part of the chapter, Dr Konstantinos Konstantinou examines the way Cypriot mass media approach issues related to national security and the distortion of news concerning military issues in order to serve party and other ideological interests.

In conclusion, proceeding to a holistic assessment of this collective volume, one can claim that it constitutes a particularly important and original bibliographical contribution in the field of international relations and strategic studies. The contributors

of this book, by using in each case their theoretical background in an expert way, succeed in identifying, highlighting, and presenting a series of traditional and non-traditional threats to national security and state sovereignty. At the same time, based on international experience and practice, the authors proceed on a case-by-case basis to formulate specific proposals for a better understanding and response by state officials of the above complex challenges. Finally, although the subject of the book in question requires readers to be familiar with it and the related terminology, the structure of the thematic sections, the comprehensible formulation and the analysis of the arguments and hypotheses made by the authors, combined with the systematic use of the case study method, make this collective volume particularly useful for professionals in this particular field, and at the same time accessible and understandable for a casual reader interested in Cypriot national security.

**Georgios Siachamis**