Gisela Welz

Modernity is a contested topic in contemporary Cyprus. Against the backdrop of the accession course to the European Union and the impact of globalisation processes on economic, political and social life, public debates on the pace and direction of social change in Cyprus are intensifying today. Based on qualitative interviews with opinion leaders and decision makers from politics and the media, state institutions, academia, and non-governmental organisations, the article explores how historical legacies, the present political situation, and contemporary social experiences both strengthen and limit the ability of Greek-Cypriot society to define its own path to modernity. In this context, the article places special emphasis on the potential of Civil society institutions to function as an arena of "moral communication".

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Ann-Sofi Jakobsson Hatay

European integration is held to be one major element in the development of peace and prosperity in post-war Europe. (Neo-)functional integration is also often held up as a model to be emulated in other situations of violent conflict, including ethnic conflicts. After an analysis of the posited mechanisms between integration and peace, this assumption is first examined in the light of one particular instance of ethnic conflict, that of Northern Ireland. It is argued that the main contribution of the European integration process to the settlement efforts was to help improve interstate relations between the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland. In a subsequent analysis of the Cyprus case, it is concluded that the prospect of EU membership has as of yet failed to contribute positively to the settlement efforts. Finally, the implications of these findings for integration theory and ethnic conflict resolution are extrapolated.

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Cynthia Cockburn

This article introduces the concept of gender relations and cognate terms such as gender order, gender regime and gender complementarity. It applies them to militarisation and armed conflict, war-resistance and the pursuit of peace. A perceived link between militarism, nationalism and patriarchy is considered as prompting women-only antimilitarist organisation. A distinction

is made between peace making and peace building, and women's contribution to the latter is illustrated. Women's life experience, rather than women's nature, is proposed as a source of the social courage and social intelligence that are specially productive in peace building.

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*This paper focuses on the meeting between a two-member delegation from AKEL, the Cyprus communist party, and Nikos Zakhariadis, the leader of KKE, which took place in November 1948. In particular, it considers the impact of this meeting upon AKEL's strategy in relation to the Greek Cypriot campaign for self-determination which was equivalent to **enosis**, the union of Cyprus with Greece. This paper argues that the meeting was instrumental in persuading AKEL's leadership to revert to an uncompromising stance towards British colonial rule and to embark on a political campaign in favour of immediate **enosis**.*

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Upon Cypriot independence, in 1960, the British were relieved about having a troublesome policy issue out of the way. Their reaction was to relax and – in the eyes of U.S. officials – not to be overly concerned about either the Communist danger or the intercommunal problems on the island. The Americans were thus injected into the limelight of Cyprus diplomacy as a consequence of British withdrawal from their role as Western security interest guard in early 1964, leaving the U.K. on the sidelines. At least the U.S. diplomats could usually count on British moral support in their attempts to solve the Cyprus issue, including support for some of their conspiratorial schemes in 1964. Only after the Greek coup d'état on Cyprus, in July 1974, were the British pushed back into frontline diplomacy by their status as a Guarantor Power. The different policy parameters produced sharp disagreements between the U.S. and the British. At the end, the two blamed each other for having failed to prevent the Turkish invasion.

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Countries have to make decisions as to where to invest in diplomatic representations. Diplomatic representations are especially important for small countries, as they frequently lack military and economic

power to influence the world in their favour and often have limited means. In this study, the author looks into how Cyprus decides to allocate its resources to send diplomatic representation to countries. The author performs a logistic regression on 149 countries and finds that there is evidence that Cyprus allocates resources to maximise its influence on the most powerful countries and EU member states, allocates resources to other countries in the Middle East region, and seeks to invest in relationship building with fellow Christian Orthodox countries. However, the findings do not support the notion that building relationships with Commonwealth states is a priority.

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