Turkey, Greece, Italy and Security in the Mediterranean Sea Area

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Abstract

The research object of the paper is the NATO's "Southern Wing" contribution to the security policy in the Mediterranean Sea area during and after the Cold War period of time. The research countries taken into consideration are Turkey, Greece and Italy. A crucial aim of the article is to investigate a role and contribution of these countries to a broader security framework of the NATO pact in the Mediterranean Sea area. An additional aim of the paper is to present potential challenges for the future security question within both the NATO and the Mediterranean Sea area. In order to realize our task we used a relevant research results presented in the scientific literature including the sources dealing with the question of the security issue in the Mediterranean Sea area from different points of view.

An Importance of the Mediterranean Sea Area in Global Security During and After the Cold War (1949–1989)

An importance of the Mediterranean Sea area in geopolitical and geostrategic standpoint one can understand from the very fact that this area is situated at the cross-roads between three continents and making *de facto* a bridge between Europe, Asia and Africa.[2]

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[2] On geopolitics, see: Klaus Dodds, Geopolitics: A Very Short Introduction, Oxford–New York: Oxford University Press, 2007; Jeremy Black, Geopolitics, London: The Social Affairs Unit, 2009; Saul Bernard Cohen, Geopolitics: The Geography of International Relations, Lanham, Maryland: The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc., 2009; Eric Walberg, Postmodern Imperialism: Geopolitics and the Great Games, Atlanta, GA: Clarity Press, 2011; Colin Flint, Introduction to

The Mediterranean Sea area as well as connects two oceans - the Atlantic and Indian. It is a true fact that the lands around the Mediterranean Sea were the core of the Ancient World's culture, civilization and history which gave basis for the present-day modernity and especially the background of the western civilization.[3] An economic importance of the area is in the fact that the Mediterranean was and is on the way of vital world trade routes.

The Mediterranean Seae area is actually the demarcation line between several "worlds": Judeo-Christian and Islamic; developed and underdeveloped; democracy and authoritarianism, etc. It is important to notice that this area was faced with the highest number of the wars in whole history. In modern time, the Mediterranean was one of the most significant places of the Cold War (1949–1989), between the NATO and the Warsaw Pact. In addition, the first two post-Cold War crisis all over the world, the First Gulf War (1991)[4] and the dissolution of ex-Yugoslavia (1991–1995) followed by the Kosovo War (1998–1999)[5] involved the Mediterranean Sea area and had a direct implications on the political life on the area.

Today, in the area can be distinguished five military-political-economic influential groups:

1) The European Unity, the Council of Europe and the NATO.
2) The Russian Federation.
3) The League of Arab States.
4) Independent countries (Israel, Albania and the group of the newly formed states on the soil of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia).
5) China.

Geopolitics, New York: Routledge, 2012; Harvey Starr, On Geopolitics: Space, Place, and International Relations, Paradigm Publishers, 2014.

[3] On this issue, see: Robin W. Winks, Susan P. Mattern-Parkes, The Ancient Meditteranean World: From the Stone Age to A.D. 600, New York–Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; Ralph W. Mathisen, Ancient Mediterranean Civilizations: From Prehistory to 640 CE, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011; Thomas S. Parker (ed.), History of The Ancient Mediterranean World, Kendall Hunt Publishing, 2011.

[4] See: Alastair Finlan, The Gulf War 1991, Osprey Publishing, 2003; Richard S. Lowry, The Gulf War Chronicles: A Military History of the First War with Iraq, Lincoln, NE: Iuniverse, 2008.

[5] See: Tim Judah, Kosovo: War and Revenge, New Haven–London, Yale University Press, 2002; Alastair Finlan, The Collapse of Yugoslavia 1991–1999, Ospray Publishing, 2004.

During the Cold War period the world's security system was grounded on the concept of the "Balance of Fear".[6] According to the NATO strategy, the main danger was expected in both the Central Europe and the "Western Wing" of the NATO.[7] Subsequently, the Mediterranean Sea area, as the "Southern Wing" of the NATO was considered as of a lesser importance in general NATO's war strategy during the Cold War time. Further, parts of the area outside the NATO was called as "Out of Area".[8] The whole region was considered in fact as a part of the key Central-European frontline toward the Warsaw Pact at least till 1960's when the USSR fleet was present in the Mediterranean Sea. The US "Sixth Fleet" in the Mediterranean Sea was also supposed to symbolise the support to the allies within the global confrontation.[9]

The fact of importance is that within the NATO Mediterranean segment there were and still are political fragmentations and even the conflicts (Cyprus crisis in 1974). On one side, Turkey, Italy and Portugal are completely integrated into the NATO while Greece's involvement into the organisation was and is strictly determined by the conflict with Turkey over Cyprus, Aegean islands and Trace at the Balkan Peninsula. France and Spain do not participate fully in the NATO's military structure.

In general, the conflict between Greece and Turkey was and is the most significant one within the NATO serving as both: 1) as the crucial source of fragmentation within the NATO's "Southern Wing", and 2) as a source for destabilizing security of the Mediterranean Sea area.[10]

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[6] See: John Lamberton Harper, Cold War, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011; Carole K. Fink, Cold War: An International History, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2014; William T. Walker, America in the Cold War: A Reference Guide, ABC-CLIO, 2014.

[7] On the NATO Cold War strategy, see: Mark Smith, NATO Enlargement During the Cold War: Strategy and System in the Western Alliance, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000.

[8] Luigi Caligaris, "Security Challenges in Alliance: The Southern Periphery", International Spectator, No. 4, 1992, p. 5.

[9] On the US navy presence in the Mediterranean Sea area, see: Importance of United States Naval Forward Presence in Mediterranean Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School: Pennyhill Press, 2014.

[10] On the post-Cold War Mediterranean security challenges, see: Nikolaos A. Stavrou (ed.), Mediterranean Security at the Crossroads: A Reader, Duke University Press, 1999; Stephen C. Calleya, Security Challenges in the Euro-Med Area in the 21st Century: Mare nostrum, New York: Routledge, 2013.

However, with the dissolution of the USSR, unification of Germany and abolishment of the Warsaw Pact (1989–1991) a period of the Cold War became over with a clear western military-political victory primarily by the USA. The post-Cold War era is firstly characterized by the disappearance of the balance of super-powers, the "clash of civilizations" and with the international relations within the framework of the "West against the rest".[11] The most significant outcome of those events is the fact that the block division of Europe so far disappeared. Moreover, instead of being the main rival to the USA and the NATO, the post-Soviet Russia turned into its main partner in attempts to establish a new global security system known as "The New Order" lead by the US administration.[12] This term was used by the US President Bush (Senior) in November 1990 in his address to the US Congress. The US is using this maxim in order to inform all the world actors that it has reserved for itself the leading role in the new international relations. The fact is that after the period of bipolar world division, the dominant East-West confrontations now are replaced by crossing and mixing in the Mediterranean Sea area with tensions and conflicts of the North-South relations.

Disappearance of one out of two Cold War superpowers eliminated the "global threat" in the area of the Mediterranean at least until 9/11 2001.

Instead of the bipolar struggles, the Mediterranean Sea area became in strategic point of view the so-called a "Grey Zone".[13] Concerning the security of the Mediterranean area, after the removing of the Iron Curtain in 1989/1990 the new challenge reflected through focus shifted from the East-West toward the political, economic even and cultural confrontations and friction between the North and the South, between the developed and underdeveloped areas of the world, with regard to the demographic explosion of the South (i.e., the North and Central Africa in the case

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[11] Francis Fukuyama, The End of History and the Last Man, New York: Avon Books, Inc., 1992; Samuel P. Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order, New York, NY: Touchstone Rockfeller Center, 1997; Susanne Peters, The "West" Against the "Rest": Geopolitics After the End of the Cold War, Geopolitics, 1999; Kanayo Nwankwo, The West and the Rest: In the Wells of Hell, Charleston, SC: BookSurge Publishing, 2008; The Clash of Civilizations? The Debate: Twentieth Anniversary Edition, Foreign Affairs, 2013.

[12] Richard Rosencrance: A New Concept of Powers, Foreign Affairs, New York, 1992. However, more accurate term for the post-Cold War international relations framework is "The NATO World Order" (Vladislav B. Sotirović, "The NATO World Order, The Balkans and The Russian National Interest", Vladislav B. Sotirović, Balcania. Scientific Articles in English, Vilnius: Lithuanian University of Educational Sciences Press "Edukologija", 2013, pp. 110–129).

[13] Richard Falk: "In Search of a New World Model", Current History, Philadelphia, April 1993, p. 145.

of the Mediterranean Sea area) and the problems of an unemployment followed by the illegal migration waves from the South to the North.[14]

A security issue of the last decade of the Cold War period followed by the post-Cold War time in the area of the Mediterranean Sea was and is characterised and challenged by increased regional nationalism in many cases, but not exclusively connected with the Islamic fundamentalism, like during the time of the "Arab Spring" started on December 17th, 2010.[15] It is important to notice that many Mediterranean countries have almost 100% Islamic population, what means that political life is mainly based on Islamic values.[16] An influence of Islam on the political life in those countries is day by day in the process of increasing what is very visible, for instance, in Egypt and Libya after the successful street-style revolutions in which Hosni Mubarak and Muamer el Gadafi lost power or even more visible in the case of Syrian civil war.[17] The objective of Islamic fundamentalists is to establish pure Islamic states based on Koran like it was a case with the Taliban Afghanistan before the US military intervention after 9/11.[18]

The model of such kind of theocratic state gave the Islamic revolution in Persia in 1979 when the pro-western regime of Shah Pahlavi (directly supported by the US) was abolished and removed with the model of Islamic fundamentalist regime in the Republic of Iran.[19]

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[14] On the problem of migration and security, see: Elspeth Guild, Security and Migration in the 21st Century, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009; Thanh-Dam Truong, Des Gasper (eds.), Transnational Migration and Human Security, Berlin–Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag, 2011.

[15] On the "Arab Spring", see: Brynen Rex, Pete W. Moore, Bassel F. Salloukh, Marie-Joelle Zahar, Beyond the Arab Spring: Authoritarianism & Democratization in the Arab World, Lynne Rienner Publisher, 2012; Paul Danahar, The New Middle East: The World After the Arab Spring, New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013; Fawas A. Gerges, The New Middle East: Protest and Revolution in the Arab World, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

[16] Mark Gasiorowski (ed.), The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa, Boulder, Co: Westview Press, 2014.

[17] On this issue, see: Bruce K. Rutherford, Egypt after Mubarak: Liberalism, Islam, and Democracy in the Arab World, Princeton–Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013; John McHugo, Syria: From the Great War to Civil War, Saqi Books, 2014.

[18] On Taliban case, see: Robert D. Crews, Amin Tarzi (eds.), *The Taliban and the Crisis of Afghanistan*, Harvard University Press, 2008; Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: The Power of Militant Islam in Afghanistan and Beyond*, London–New York: I.B.Tauris, 2010.

[19] On Islamic Republic of Iran and Islamic fundamentalism, see: Ray Takeyh, Hidden Iran: Paradox and Power in the Islamic Republic, New York: Times Books–Henri Holt and Company, 2006;

This example was and is followed by several ultra Islamic parties, movements and organisations all over the Islamic world as it is case, for instance, with the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) in Algeria. Speaking about the regional nationalism of Arabic and Islamic countries it is necessary to mention, alongside with Homeini's Islamic fundamentalism in Iran, and the pan-Arabism of Gammal Abdel Nasser supported by the society-organization of "Muslim Brothers"[20] or Saddam Hussein's neo-pan-Arabism, etc.

There is no doubt that the Mediterranean region was and is, and probably will be, one of the most conflict-prone areas all over the world. There is virtually no one country in the region whose state boundaries were not or are not questioned by their neighbours or cannot be questioned from historical point of view. After the end of the bipolar confrontation between the NATO and the Warsaw Pact there were two military struggles in direct relations with the Mediterranean region. There are the Gulf War, in which one of the Mediterranean country (Turkey) was strongly involved, and the civil war in former Yugoslavia as one of the Mediterranean countries. In addition, there are several conflict sources in the region. The most important of them are:

1) Israeli-Palestinian friction.
2) The question of the Kurds, who are living in four countries - Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran.
3) Friction between Libya and Egypt and Libya and Algeria.
4) The local conflicts in Sudan, Chad and Southern Sahara.
Finally, its eastern part is of the enormous conflict potential out of the whole area of the Mediterranean Sea region.

The Turkish Position and a Role at the "Southern Wing" of the NATO

Turkey has geopolitically and from geostrategic point of view the most important role on the "Southern Wing" of the NATO from the very beginning when both Turkey and Greece became the members of this military pact in 1952 as Turkish Asia Minor together with the Balkans is a bridge between Europe and Asia.

Lawrence Davidson, Islamic Fundamentalism: An Introduction, Santa Barbara, California: Praeger, 2013.
[20] See: Hesham Al-Awadi, The Muslim Brothers in Pursuit of Legitimacy: Power and Political Islam in Egypt under Mubarak, I.B.Tauris, 2014.

Turkey is both European and Asian country having exit to two seas being a part of both Near and Middle East. The geostrategic and geopolitical advantages of Turkey have been very visible and of extreme use by the US administration in both Gulf Wars in 1990–1991 and 2003[21] after which the position of Turkey among the other NATO's European allies became much stronger and respectable.[22] Finally, Turkey's great importance for both the US administration and NATO is and in the very fact that this country is becoming a pivotal state in the Muslim world – the only one involved into the western political and military structures.[23] Turkey's NATO's membership, in turn, is of the crucial security importance for the country and its bridge towards further Euro-Atlantic integration.[24]

However, during the Cold War time the Greek-Turkish relations became the main problem on the "Southern Wing" of the NATO for Washington and Brussels. It was exactly Turkish clash with Greece over the Cyprus issue in 1974 to be the only open friction between two member states of the NATO pact during its history (est. in 1949). The US attitude toward both countries in conflict during the period of the Iron Curtain was officially equal. Nevertheless, Turkey became much more privileged by both the USA and Great Britain in comparison to Greece or much more "equal".[25]

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[21] Isa Eraslan, Turkey-NATO Relations After the Cold War: Ascending Importance of Turkey Within the Changing Mission of NATO After 9/11, Saarbrücken: LAP Lambert Academic Publishing, 2013.
[22] Janne Haaland Matláry, Magnus Petersson, NATO's European Allies: Military Capability and Political Will, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
[23] Graham E. Fuller, The New Turkish Republic: Turkey as a Pivotal State in the Muslim World, Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 2008; Soner Cagaptay, The Rise of Turkey: The Twenty-First Century's First Muslim Power, Potomac Books, 2014.
[24] Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (http://www.mfa.gov.tr/nato.en.mfa).
[25] On this issue, see: Maria Hadjipaulou, "The Cyprus Conflict: Root Causes and Implications for Peacebuilding", Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 44, No. 3, 2007, pp. 349–365; Jan Asmussen, Cyprus at War: Diplomacy and Conflict During the 1974 Crisis, I.B.Tauris, 2008; Andreas Constandinos, America, Britain and the Cyprus Crisis of 1974: Calculated Conspiracy of Foreign Policy Failure?, Central Milton Keynes: Authors House, 2009; Clement Dodd, The History and Politics of the Cyprus Conflict, New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2010; Andreas Constandidos, Britain and the Cyprus Crisis of 1974: "Responsibility Without Power", Saarbrücken: LAP Lambert Academic Publishing, 2011.

The reason was and is of a simple nature: Turkey was and is much more important in strategic point of view for the "Southern Wing" of the NATO than Greece. In fact, according to the NATO Cold War strategy, in the case of Soviet (today Russian) expansion in the Mediterranean Sea area through the Black Sea and the Straits the crucial defensive military action should play Turkey because of its geographical position. In addition, Turkey could be useful very well against the Arab and Iranian challenges in the area of the Middle East.[26] It is a fact that Turkey's position within the "Southern Wing" of NATO seriously increased after the Islamic revolution in Iran at the end of 1970s.

Ankara's foreign policy was and is pointed toward both the East and the West. In regard to the Turkish western policy the crucial aim by Ankara is to include Turkey as an equal member into the European Union. However, in this respect the crucial EU requirement to Turkey during the process of accession negotiations from 1999 onward is to radically change its Cyprus policy. It means that Ankara is obliged to recognize territorial integrity of whole Cyprus island and to open sea and air borders to it. Of course, in this case the price is abolishment of the self-proclaimed Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in 1981 that is recognized only by Turkey.[27] The Turkish eastern foreign policy is dealing primarily with the Middle East and with the Islamic and Arab countries in the region. Turkey formally applied for entrance into the EU in 1987 and received a status of candidate state in 1999. However, up today the process of Turkey-EU accession negotiations are going very slowly for different economic, political, demographic, cultural, financial, minority rights, the question of democracy and religious reasons.[28] From the western political-military point of view, Turkey has to be a NATO's member, but regarding the western economic point of view, Turkey should stay not completely incorporated into the western structures.

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[26] John Redmond, "Security Implications of the Accesion of Cyprus to the European Union", International Spectator, Roma, 1995, No. 3, p. 34.

[27] On this issue, see: Mirela Bogdan, Turkey and the Dillema of EU Accession: When Religion Meets Politics, I.B.Tauris, 2010; Kenan Aksu (ed.), Turkey-EU Relations: Power, Politics and the Future, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012; CRC Report for Congress: European Union Enlargement: A Status Report on Turkey's Accession Negotiations, March 15, 2011-RS22517, BiblioGov, 2013.

[28] On the question of democratization of the Turkish society and policy and the accession to the EU, see: Binnaz Toprak, "Islam and Democracy in Turkey", Turkish Studies, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2005, pp. 167–186; Cigdem Kentmen, "Determinants of Support for EU Membership in Turkey", European Union Politics, Vol. 9, No. 4, 2008, pp. 487–510; Alper Kaliber, "Contextual and Contested: Reassessing Europeanization in the Case of Turkey", International Relations, Vol. 27, No 1, 2012, pp. 52–73.

In fact, several internal armed conflicts in Turkey, the military cups and a strengthening of the parties with Islamic fundamentalist orientations are the most significant reasons why Turkey is not accepted to the EU yet.

The Gulf Wars were the crucial military-political events after the dissolution of the bipolar world for the Turkish emancipation within the NATO, particularly in regard with its relations with the USA. Giving its territory for the military actions against Iraq, Ankara made stronger her relations with the USA and the UK and made firmer Turkey's position within the NATO. Generally, the strategic position of Turkey during and after the Gulf Wars was and is more consolidated, particularly in the American eyes. Turkey is encircled with both the unstable regions and the regions of the "high risk": the Balkans, the Caucuses, the Central Asia, the Middle East and the Central East. A value of Turkey is and for the reason that this country can be a good example for the other Islamic states as a prosperous, secularised, modern and above all pro-western orientated country, what means a country which creates its economic and political development on the western values. In the other words, there is no other example like Turkey of so westernized country among the Islamic world.

An external political situation of Turkey after the collapse of the USSR is better than it was during the Cold War time. The neighbouring Iraq's military power is weakened after two lost wars, with Iran in the 1980s and the western coalition during the Gulf Wars. Syria without Soviet support is not also a dangerous military threat for Turkey especially during the time of a civil war. With Russia Turkey has not even the common state borders and Russia is not posing any security challenge to Turkey. With Greece Turkey has all the time bad relations, but Greece cannot be a firm military danger for Turkey without support by some of the great powers what Greece today does not have.

However, the internal political problems are the crucial challenge to Turkey's state security and even territorial integrity and one of the fundamental barriers on the Turkish road to the EU. A large scale of the state economy alongside with enormous corruption are making time to time a high inflation and unemployment in Turkey.

Probably, the crucial internal political problem which is the barrier for Turkey to became a full member of the EU is its military friction with the Kurds, lead by their own national PKK party,[29] who are not recognised as a national minority by the Turkish authorities.[30] Actually, the question of the Kurds is seen by the EU throughout a prism of the question of the people's self-determination and protection of the human and minority rights.[31] However, any western anti-Turkish attitude is surely inclining Ankara's foreign policy toward the East and the Muslim world.

A rising challenge of the Islamic fundamentalism is another internal problem for Turkey's security. This problem became visible after the electoral win of the pro-Islamic Party of Prosperity in 1995. On the one hand, this problem became one of several pivotal obstacles for Turkey's EU accession, but on the other hand, the EU is forced to enlarge and make stronger its own market in a competition with the US, Japanese and Chinese economy. It means that Turkey for the EU (and all Mediterranean Sea area countries) is very important and highly acceptable for the cooperation.

The eastern Turkey's foreign policy is actually of alternative nature and a kind of Ankara's blackmailing instrument on Turkey's way to the EU. First of all, Ankara is trying to establish as stronger as position in the Black Sea region. In fact, Turkey is the initiator for creation of the regional Organisation of the Black See Economic Cooperation (the BSEC) with intended Turkish leading role.[32]

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[29] On the question of PKK party, see: Ali Kemal Özcan, Turkey's Kurds: A Theoretical Analysis of the PKK and Abdullah Öcalan, London–New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006; Aliza Marcus, Blood and Belief: The Kurdish Fight for Independence, New York–London: New York University Press, 2007; Abdullah Öcalan, Prison Writings: The PKK and the Kurdish Question in the 21st Century, London: Transmedia Publishing Ltd, 2011; Charles Strozier, James Frank, The PKK: Financial Sources, Social and Political Dimensions, VDM-Verlag Dr. Müller, 2011.

[30] On the Kurdish question in Turkey, see: Metin Heper, The State and Kurds in Turkey: The Question of Assimilation, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007; Cenk Saraçoglu, Kurds of Modern Turkey: Migration, Neoliberalism and Exclusion in Turkish Society, Tauris Academic Studies, 2010; Michael M. Gunter, The Kurds: The Evolving Solution to the Kurdish Problem in Iraq and Turkey, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011; Noah Beratsky (ed.), The Kurds, Greenhaven Press, 2013; Ramazan Aras, The Formation of Kurdishness in Turkey: Political Violence, Fear and Pain, London–New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2014.

[31] Doygu Bazoglu Sezer, "Turkey in the Post-Cold War Era: Evolving Domestic and Foreign Policy Trends and Challenges", The Southeast European Year Book, 1994–1995, p. 527; Kerim Yildiz, The Kurds in Turkey: EU Accession and Human Rights, Pluto Press, 2005.

[32] Lambert M. Surhone, Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation, Betascript Publishing, 2011; Markus Philipp Vogtenhuber, Analyse der Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC), GRIN Verlag, 2012.

It is of extreme importance for Turkish foreign policy an attempt to establish some kind of the Turkish Commonwealth in which the former Soviet republics from the Central Asia and Caucasus with predominant Turkic population would be assembled with a leadership of Ankara. At the Balkans Ankara is creating a sort of the Ottoman Commonwealth with the Muslim states based on the common Ottoman cultural and political inheritance (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Albania). The Turkish relations with the Islamic Conference are made stronger during the last two decades, particularly during the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992–1995) and the Kosovo War (1998–1999). Finally, it cannot be forget that Turkey at the same time is working on creation of the common market of the Middle East region, which is, needless to say, an alternative option for the EU market for the Turkish economy.

In conclusion, by nature of Turkey's geostrategic location at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, this country plays a pivotal role in the post-Cold War system of states. It lies at the epicentre of a series of conflicts, real and potential, in both continents. This very fact gives Turkey a special geopolitical value. It also has enjoyed noticeable growth in both economic prosperity and democracy since 1980. For the reason that Turkey has been, and remains, a faithful US and NATO ally, Washington and Brussels have called upon it to play an important role in the Balkans, Near East, and former Soviet Union republics commensurate with its new-found political and economic development.[33]

Greece in the Mediterranean Security System

An end of the Cold War and Iron Curtain period in the European and Mediterranean security system was not so profitable for Greece as it was in the case of Turkey.[34] In fact, the dissolution of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact for Greece were not so important as for instance it was for the Central and East European countries or for Turkey.

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[33] Stephen J. Blank, Stephen C. Pelletiere, William T. Johnsen, Turkey's Strategic Position at the Crossroads of World Affairs, Strategic Studies Institute: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2012.
[34] On this issue, see: Ruud van Dijk (ed.), Encyclopedia of the Cold War, New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2008; Keith Lowe, Savage Continent: Europe in the Aftermath of World War II, New York: St. Martin's Press, 2012; Anne Applebaum, Iron Curtain: The Crushing of Eastern Europe 1944–1956, New York: Anchor Books, A Division of Random House, Inc., 2012.

It was for the reason that security of Greece and Greek national interest were never challenged by the Warsaw Pact or the USSR, but they were challenged within the NATO as from 1974 Greece had a crucial Cold War time friction with Turkey over Cyprus. Both Greece and Turkey at that time were the member states of the NATO and this clash of interests over Cyprus is so far solved at the Turkish favour. The relations with Turkey are aggravating constantly from 1990, when for the last time two prime ministers met each other in London, in every point of view. During the First Gulf War in 1990–1991 the Greek politicians, for instance, made equality between the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait with Turkey's occupation of the northern parts of Cyprus (40% out of all Cyprus territory) in 1974.[35] However, an additional blow to the Greek policy toward Cyprus and position in the EU came from 2008 when Greece became bankrupted as a state and subsequently fully depended on the EU financial support and policy.[36]

The Greek attitude toward the NATO after 1974 is mainly framed by the problem of Cyprus. The fact is that Greece did not resolve this problem within the NATO for the reason that the US administration supported the Turkish side. This fact became the crucial political reason for the Greek accession to the European Community in 1981 (from 1992 Union) as Athens hoped to solve the Cyprus question in the Greek favour by the help of the EU – the organization in which Turkey is not a member state. The main idea of the Greek new policy toward Turkey after 1981 is to use a veto right as the EU member state against the Turkish accession to the EU as a political instrument of pressure in order to force Ankara to recognize a territorial integrity of Cyprus as one of two national states of the Greeks. However, even within the EU, the Greek position in regard to the Cyprus problem was radically reduced as Greece was not a member state of the Western European Union (the WEU, 1955–2011) until 1995. The Greek standpoint toward a policy of the WEU is that this defence organisation, having the most important voice in creation of the EU foreign policy, was marginalizing the Greek position within both the EU and the NATO by indirectly supporting the Turkish side.[37]

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[35] On the post-Cold War Greek identity and politics, see: Vangelis Calotychos, The Balkan Prospect: Identity, Culture, and Politics in Greece after 1989, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

[36] Gregory Zorzos, The Greek Debts 1821–2010 and the New Seventh Bankruptcy, CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2010 (Greek edition).

[37] Yannis G. Valinakis, "Southern Europe between detante and new threats: The view from Greece", Roberto Aliboni (ed.), Southern European Security in the 1990s, Pinter Pub Ltd, 1992, pp. 62–63.

A decision that Greece can be accepted as the WEU member state was done in Maastricht in December 1991 and this decision was realised in March 1995. However, according to the Article 5 of the founding act of the WEU (the "Brussels Contract") the member states of the WEU are not obliged to intervene in the case of a conflict between two or more members of the NATO. The Article 5 was confirmed in Petersberg in June 1992, by the Ministerial Council of the WEU. Nevertheless, the Greeks explained this article as a "non-solidarity" policy within the WEU membership as "a giving support to Ankara for military action" against Greece in the case of deepening of the Cyprus conflict in the future. During the Yugoslav civil wars of the 1999s, because of the pro-Turkish policy by the NATO and giving non-support to Greece in the conflict with Turkey by the WEU and the EU, Athens decisively supported territorial integrity of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from the very beginning of the war and later the Serb side and Serb national interests especially in the case of the Kosovo crisis and war in 1998–1999.[38] The Greek support for the Yugoslav state integrity and the Greek pro-Serb policy were against the German pressure in December 1991 that the EU should recognize Slovenia and Croatia as the independent countries. From the one hand, Athens was understanding Slovene and Croat independence as an unsupportable secession from a legal point of view. From the another hand, the Greek pro-Yugoslav policy had and a very practical reason as the Greek diplomacy was scared that the conflict in the former Yugoslavia can spill over the whole region including and the neighbouring Socialist Republic of Macedonia (from November 1991 an independent state) in which the ethnic conflict with the local Albanian population could escalate in the new Balkan civil war (what actually happened in 2001 for several months). In fact, the so-called "New Macedonian Question" became from 1991 the crucial problem for the Greek diplomacy at the Balkans including the questions of 1) the state independence, 2) the Albanian position in the country, 3) the state emblems, 4) the state constitution, 5) the national identity, and 6) the state name.[39]

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[38] See, for instance: Costis Hadjimichalis, "Kosovo, 82 Days of an Undeclared and Unjust War: A Geopolitical Comment", *European Urban and Regional Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 2000, pp. 175–180.
[39] On this issue, see: Loring M. Danforth, *The Macedonian Conflict: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995; Hugh Poulton, *Who Are the Macedonians?*, Hong Kong, 2000; James Pettifer (ed.), *The New Macedonian Question*, London: 2001; Victor Rounometof, *Collective Memory, National Identity, and Ethnic Conflict: Greece, Bulgaria, and the Macedonian Question*, Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2002; P. H. Liotta, Cindy R. Jebb, *Mapping Macedonia: Idea and Identity*, Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2004; George C. Papavizas, *Claiming Macedonia: The Struggle for the Heritage, Territory and Name of the Historic Hellenic Land, 1862–2004*, Jefferson, NC: Mc Farland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2006; Andrew Rossos, *Macedonia and the Macedonians: A History*, Stanford:

The "Macedonian Question" historically was one of the most nebulous, complex, and brutal of all conflicts at the Balkan Peninsula. It is divided into the "Old Macedonian Question" (1870–1945) and the "New Macedonian Question" (from 1991 onward). It is basically a question of destiny of "Macedonians" and survival of the "Republic of Macedonia" or the "Former Republic of Macedonia" in the region and is connected with a national self-determination and nationalism of the Macedonian Slavs on the one hand and the nationalism of all five Macedonia's neighbours (remains of Serbia, Kosovo, Greece, Albania and Bulgaria) on the other hand. The Greek authorities today do not recognize existence of any ethnic Macedonians in the so-called "Aegean Macedonia" (after 1913 a part of Greece) as on this territory the Slavic speakers are officially called as the "Slavophone Greeks".[40] Nevertheless, the point of the Macedonian position is primarily based on a concrete *de facto* political reality in the country that the majority of the Slavic population of the FYROM is firmly convinced that they are Macedonian nation and speaks a Macedonian language separate from both Serbian and Bulgarian. However, regarding this question the Greek and Bulgarian academicians and politicians are saying that self-identification means only what the people themselves say – irrespective of whether they are scientifically correct or not.

The Greek, like Bulgarian, academicians share, in general, the same opinion that the "Macedonians" are an artificial "political" nation not based on the ethnolinguistic reality especially from historical perspective. Greeks refute the main Skopje's claim that there is the "link" of the present-day Macedonian Slavic speakers with the ancient Macedonians of Philip II and his son Alexander the Great. However, the Greek academia claims that the ancient Macedonians either have been of a Greek origin or became very much Hellenized, i.e. became the Greeks (Hellenes) by their culture and used language.[41]

Hoover Institution Press, 2008;Ernest N. Damianopoulos, The Macedonians: Their Past and Present, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012; Zhidas Daskalovski, Marija Risteska (eds.), The Macedonian Question: 20 Years of Political Struggle Into European Integration Structures, Rangendingen: Libertas, 2012.

[40] After the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913 "geographic-historical" Macedonia was divided up among Greece (51%, "Aegean Macedonia"), Serbia (39%, "Vardar Macedonia" – from 1991 the FYROM) and Bulgaria (10%, "Pirin Macedonia"). On the Balkan Wars, see: Richard C. Hall, The Balkan Wars 1912–1913: Prelude to the First World War, London–New York, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2000; Jacob Gould Schurman, The Balkan Wars: 1912–1913, A Public Domain Book, 2013.

[41] See, for instance the book "The Falsification of Macedonian History, which with reliable proofs clearly demonstrates the Hellenic origin and national feeling of the Macedonians" as it is noticed in the prize for the book of the Academy of Athens. The prize was awarded to the author at the Festive

It means that if ancient Macedonians were the Greeks, then no one other that contemporary Greeks has the right to use the Macedonian name, symbols and legacy. For that reason the Greek diplomacy rejected to recognize Macedonia's independence until Macedonian authorities changed the state flag, a part of the Constitution and even accepted to become the UN member state under the official name of the "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia". In general, Athens was and is in opinion that a state with the name of "Macedonia" can be permanent source of conflicts and instability at the Balkan Peninsula and for the reason of the regional security the Greek proposal for the name of the present-day FYROM is the "Republic of Skopje" what is for the Macedonian authorities in Skopje so far unacceptable.

Greece was in diplomatic conflict with Turkey as well as during the 1990s in regard to the question of Yugoslavia's succession. Differently from Greece, Turkey understood the civil war in former Yugoslavia as Serbia's aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, respectively. The process of bloody destruction of the former Yugoslavia in 1991–1995 in Turkey's eyes was an attempt of Serbian aggressive nationalism to include Bosnia-Herzegovina with 44% of the Muslim Bosniak population into the Greater Serbia.[42] Very soon, during the Kosovo War in 1998–1999 Ankara also supported the local Muslim Albanian population and the Albanian Kosovo Liberation Army against the central authorities in Belgrade. A true face of Turkey's policy toward Kosovo issue Ankara showed in 2008 when became one of the first diplomacies to recognize self-proclaimed Kosovo independence. Moreover, Turkish policy in this matter became much more radicalized in 2013 when Turkey's PM openly told in Kosovo's capital Prishtina during the official state's visit that "Kosovo is Turkey!" During the Yugoslav civil war, the Turkish President Turgut Ozal had a great deal to create an anti-Serbian coalition at the Balkans by the regional Muslim nations who traditionally supported the idea of the Ottoman commonwealth. However, this newly reborn political concept of the Turkish foreign policy at the Balkans is aimed and to marginalise a political role of Athens in the region.

Finally, Macedonia became already the new source of deterioration of relations between Turkey and Greece.

Plenary Session of the March 25th, 1985 (Nicolaos K. Martis, *The Falsification of Macedonian History*, Athens: Graphic Arts of Athanassiades Bros. S.A., 1984).
[42] Sabri Sayari, "La Turque et la crise Yugoslave", *Politique Etrangere*, Paris, No. 2, 1992, p. 315.

Turkey recognised Macedonia as an independent state in February 1992, only several hours after the Greek minister of foreign affairs applied to his Turkish colleague to wait for final decision about this question by the European Community.[43] A great victory of Turkey's Balkan diplomacy in the 1990s was the UN decision that among other troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina can participate and the Turkish soldiers as the UN peace-keepers. This decision was understood by Greece as Turkey's intention to play a role of "American supervisor at the Balkans". The Greek side even after the end of the Gulf Wars felt that a strengthening of the Turkish position in the Balkan affairs is a serious threat for both the peace process in the region and a regional political stability.

The Italian Position in the Mediterranean Sea Area

Italy is in position, looking from a geographic and geostrategic points of view, to play one of the most significant roles in the Mediterranean Sea area. Italy, together with Sicily, is dividing the Mediterranean Sea area into two parts: the eastern and the western one. According to Sergio Romano, this fact was and is giving to Italy a real possibility to play a role of "the most important factor of naval balance of powers in the region".[44] This truth became an important reason for the decision to establish in Italy the southern NATO's headquarters – a fact which emphasises at the best an importance of Italy for the NATO's strategy in the Mediterranean Sea area.

The Mediterranean Sea area is actually divided into four sections, according to the Italian defence strategy. These sub-regions are as following: 1) Northern Africa, 2) the Middle East, 3) the Balkans and 4) the NATO countries. It has to be stressed that the Italian military forces were participating in all multinational operations in the Mediterranean Sea area after 1981 up today. Currently, the most important Italian military involvement in the region is a participation in Kosovo mission under the umbrella of the (UN-NATO) "Kosovo Forces" (KFOR) from June 1999 onward.

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[43] Ekavi Athanassopoulou, "Turkey and the Balkans", *The International Spectator*, Roma, No. 4, 1994, p. 57.
[44] Sergio Romano, "Italy's New Course in the Mediterranean", *Australian Outlook*, Canbera, No.2, 1987, p. 101.

A real importance of the Italian position within, and a role in the NATO's Mediterranean strategy can be seen and from the fact that Italy received a separate military-police-administrative region in Kosovo together with a Great Brittany, France, Germany and the USA. The Italian administrative sector in Kosovo is in the western part of the region with the headquarters in Peć/Pejë.[45]

During the 1980s Italy tried to develop more comprehensive policy concerning the Mediterranean Sea area which should be a ground for a broader security concept. Subsequently, the Italian-Spanish military co-operation in the Mediterranean Sea area was in direct connection with a new Italian policy concerning the region in the last decade of the Cold War.[46] A priority of the Italian Mediterranean policy is focused toward the south-western NATO's member states from Europe: Spain, Portugal and France. As a part of such policy, Italy and France reached an agreement on the air-naval cooperation and defence and Italy signed a similar treaty with Spain, but without provisions on the air-defence. These contracts between France, Italy and Spain are reached within the NATO having technological, naval and intelligence character.

A role of Italy in forming the "Group 9" was one of the most significant part of the Italian security policy in the Mediterranean Sea area. This organisation was formed in October 1990, encompassing four West European countries (France, Italy, Portugal and Spain), and five countries of the Arab Maghreb Union (Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Mauritania and Tunisia)[47] while Malta became an associated member state later on. The Italian Mediterranean Sea area policy depends on the attitude by Rome on political-security importance of these regions for the Italian foreign policy. From this point of view, these countries are divided into three groups:

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[45] On the issue of the Kosovo crisis and war, the NATO's military involvement in the conflict and the present-day US/NATO peace-keeping mission in the region, see: Hannes Hofbauer, Eksperiment Kosovo: Povratak kolonijalizma, Beograd: 2009 (original title: Experiment Kosovo: Die Rückkehr des Kolonialismus).

[46] On this issue, see: John A. Agnew, Place and Politics in Modern Italy, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002.

[47] On the politics in the Maghreb, see: Michael J. Willis, Politics and Power in the Maghreb: Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco from Independence to the Arab Spring, London: C. Hurst & Co. (Publishers) Ltd, 2012.

1. The first group are the "key actors" states of Morocco, Algeria, Egypt, Israel and Jordan as the countries which are playing the crucial role in their respective sub-regions.
2. The second group is composed by the "old friends" of Tunisia and Egypt.
3. To the third group are going the "problem countries" of Libya, Lebanon, Syria and Iran.

With Tunisia and Egypt Italy has significant the contract on economic and political relations. Italy and Tunisia are linked by territorial closeness that is a significant reason for the cooperation in security area. Even during the Cold War time Egypt was the first among non-EU Mediterranean countries to sign with Italy a bilateral agreement on anti-terrorist activities in 1986 after the hijacking case of the Italian ship "Achille Lauro".[48] At that time Italy has with Malta and Morocco and formal agreements on military co-operation. However, Italy used to export military equipment to Libya and especially to Iraq during the Iraq-Iran War in 1980–1988.[49] During this conflict in the Middle East happened that the Italian territory was bombed in 1986 by Libyan air-forces after the US bombing of Tripoli as a matter of reciprocity as two Libyan SCUD missiles reached the Italian island of Lampedusa, where the US military base was situated. It was the first case after the WWII that the Italian territory was directly military attacked.

A contemporary Italian security policy is still based on the "new defence model" developed in the 1980s which brought the Italian peace-keeping forces to Lebanon. Probably, the most important document with regard to this new Italian defence policy is the White Book, issued by Defence Ministry in 1985. An importance of the book is in the fact that it was for the first time that Italy openly spelled out that Rome had other national security interests alongside with those within the NATO what meant that the Italian national security was not seen only within the NATO umbrella. Three the most important Italian national interests out of the NATO's protection framework from that time onward are:

1) Defence of the southern parts of the national state territory.
2) Protection of free trade of strategic products.

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[48] On this case, see: Michael K. Bohn, The Achille Lauro Hijacking: Lessons in the Politics and Prejudice of Terrorism, Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, Inc., 2004.
[49] On Iraq-Iran War, see: Dilip Hiro, The Longest War: The Iran-Iraq Military Conflict, New York: Routledge, 1991; Efraim Karsa, The Iran-Iraq War 1980–1988, Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2002.

3) Protection of the Italian citizens abroad.

In fact, the new Italian security policy in the Mediterranean Sea area is oriented toward re-emergency of Italy as the strongest Mediterranean Sea naval power. It is the most important reason that Italy officially supports the US stand to refuse any talk about naval disarmament, and about any connection between naval disarmament with the other aspects of disarmament. It is important to notice that the Italian navy very much profited during the (First) Gulf War against Iraq for the reason that around 95% of the NATO's war equipment was shipped by the sea.

The Balkans remained one of the crucial regions of importance for the Italian security policy within the Mediterranean Sea area what was very visible during the process of destruction of the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s.[50] In fact, Italy played one of the most decisive roles in the policy of breaking up of ex-Yugoslavia in 1991 as Rome was directly supporting Slovenia's and Croatia's policy of secession and independence. The same policy Italy had and in the case of secession and proclamation of the independence by Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992 or during the Kosovo War in 1998–1999 by supporting Albanian secessionists and even taking direct military action against Serbia and Montenegro during the NATO's air war for Kosovo (March-June 1999).[51] Italy was one of the EC countries supporting the common foreign and security policy of the future EU according to 1992 Maastricht Treaty. That was a reason that Italy followed a common EC/EU policy on the question of Yugoslavia's succession. Thus, in January 1992 Italy recognised Slovenia and Croatia as an independent states, however with a note that they are "the countries that under Yugoslavia expended their territories at the expense of Italy".[52]

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[50] On the Italian Balkan policy, see: Paolini Margharita, Italy and the Balkans, Center for Strategic & International Studies, 1998.

[51] On the NATO's air war for Kosovo in 1999, see: Ted Galen Carpenter (ed.), NATO's Empty Victory: A Postmortem on the Balkan War, Cato Institute, 2000; Banjamin S. Lambeth, NATO's Air War for Kosovo: A Strategic and Operational Assessment, Santa Monica, CA, RAND, 2001; Dag Henrikson, NATO's Gamble: Combining Diplomacy and Airpower in the Kosovo Crisis 1998–1999, Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 2007.

[52] John Zametica, "Italijansko iskustvo sa Balkana", Politika, Belgrade, November 13th, 1992.

The question of Slovenia's and Croatia's reparations to Italy for the expulsion of the ethnic Italians from Istria, Dalmatia and Venezia Giulia from 1943 to 1956[53] by the Yugoslav communist authorities (headed by half Slovene, half Croat Josip Broz Tito)[54] is still formally not solved as Italy requires that all Italian real estate property in Istria and Dalmatia, nationalized after 1945, has to be returned back to the families of their real (Italian) owners including and the land. This issue can be a destabilizing factor in the future relations between Italy on the one hand and Slovenia and Croatia on the other. As an additional factor of the regional insecurity can be and the "Piran Bay" question between Slovenia and Croatia.

It is a fact that the Italian diplomacy had together with Germany a crucial impact at a most decisive moment (December 16th, 1991) when a decision on Slovenia's and Croatia's recognition of self-proclaimed state independence was discussed at the EC (the EU from 1992) summit in Brussels. This fact confirms a very important role of the Italian diplomacy in a creation of a common EU foreign policy. In regard to the nature of the Yugoslav conflicts in 1991–1995 the Italian diplomats shared the same standpoint as their Turkish colleagues – the core of the problem was "Serbia's aggression", and for that reason Italy supported Slovenia's and Croatia's UN's and CSCE' (today OSCE) membership. An additional area of activity for the Italian diplomacy after the collapse of the former Yugoslavia became Montenegro and Kosovo. Italy openly supported international recognition of self-proclaimed independence by both Montenegro (in 2006) and Kosovo (in 2008) and it is known that Italy has traditionally "protective" policy toward Albania and ethnic Albanians from the region. The Italian pro-Albanian policy became fully expressed during the Kosovo crisis in 1998 when Italian diplomacy required that international (including and the Italian) troops had to be sent on the Yugoslav-Albanian border in order to protect Albania from possible Yugoslav military intervention and even to intervene against Serbia in the case that the conflict will escalate to the open war in Kosovo. Italy, as the EU member state, is giving a full support to Montenegro, Albania and Kosovo on their way to the EU likewise to Serbia, but as a country without Kosovo province.

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[53] On this issue, see: Arrigo Petacco, A Tragedy Revealed: The Story of Italians from Istria, Damatia, and Venezia Guilia 1943–1956, Toronto–Buffalo–London: University of Toronto Press, 2005.
[54] On Tito's biography, see: Перо Симић, Тито: *Феномен 20. века*, Београд: Службени гласник–Сведоци епохе, 2011.

In the future, the Italian foreign policy in the Mediterranean Sea area, more precisely at the Balkan Peninsula, can face a problem of a re-establishing of the Italian state borders with Slovenia and Croatia as several Italian political parties, as the Italian Liberal Party, Socialist Party, the right wing Forza Italia, were demanding and can demand a cancellation of the "Ossimo Agreements" signed with a Communist regime of the former Yugoslavia in 1975 according to which, Italy lost a part of its state pre-war territory to Yugoslavia (Slovenia and Croatia). A legal bases for such demand is that these "Ossimo Agreements" have been signed with the former Yugoslavia, but not with Slovenia and Croatia. In this case the legal subject is the former Yugoslavia which does not exist and because of this fact a treaty between Italy and Yugoslavia from 1975 is already legally over.[55] Finally, Italy's state security can be faced and with the question of its own territorial integrity as there are several separatist political parties and movements in Italy which are propagating a political independence of their own regions for different reasons of the economic, historical, financial or identity backgrounds.[56] In this respect, it cannot also be forgotten that Italy's central authorities are traditionally weak in their fight against corruption and the Mafia.[57]

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[55] It has to be stressed that the so-called "Trieste Crisis" between Italy and Yugoslavia, which was finally solved by the "Ossimo Agreements", was a part of the Cold War confrontation between the East and the West (on this issue, see: Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*, New York: Penguin Books, 2005). The postwar 1947 "Treaty of Paris recognized Yugoslavia's acquisition of all former Italian territory on the eastern side of the Adriatic. This included the Dalmatian city of Zadar/Zara and the islands of Cres/Cherso, Lošinj/Lusino, and Lastovo/Lagosta, as well as the formerly contentious city of Rijeka/Fiume, and, further north, western Slovenia and part of Istria. The fate of Trieste and its immediate hinterland remained undecided. Consequently, it was transformed into a Free Territory administered by Anglo-American forces in the north and by Yugoslav forces in the south" (Paul Robert Magocsi, *Historical Atlas of Central Europe. Revised and Expanded Edition*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002, p. 187).

[56] On this issue, see: Anna Cento Bull, Mark Gilbert, *The Lega Nord and the Northern Question in Italian Politics*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001; Thomas W. Gold, *The Lega Nord and Contemporary Politics in Italy*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003; Manlio Graziano, *The Failure of Italian Nationhood: The Geopolitics of a Troubled Identity*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010; Andrej Zaslove, *The Re-Invention of the European Radical Right: Populism, Regionalism, and the Italian Lega Nord*, Montreal & Kingston–London–Ithaca: McGill-Queens University Press, 2011.

[57] Paul Ginsborg, *Italy and its Discontents 1980–2001*, London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 2001, pp. 179–212.

Conclusion

         A security policy of Turkey, Greece and Italy primarily depends on general security strategy of the NATO pact which is determined by geopolitical and military interest of the alliance whose member states are they. The area of the Mediterranean Sea was and is one of the key strategic points of interest for the NATO from the very time of creation of this military organization in 1949 during the Cold War in order to challenge a real or potential threats for its own security. Within a global concept of the NATO's security system, Turkey, Greece and Italy compose a sub-system of countries which belong to its "Southern Wing". The main areas of activities by these countries are the Middle East and the Balkans.

         However, regardless a fact that Turkey, Greece and Italy belong to the same security umbrella system offering by the NATO, there are serious differences in regard to the NATO's regional policy, especially between Turkey and Greece, which brought these two countries almost to the open war conflict in 1974 over the Cyprus question. They also had different policies toward the question of succession of the former Yugoslavia in 1991–1995 followed by the Kosovo War of 1998–1999. The future of their mutual cooperation within security model offered by the NATO primarily depends on the question how Turkey and Greece can settle their bilateral problems in particular connected with the question of the future of Cyprus.

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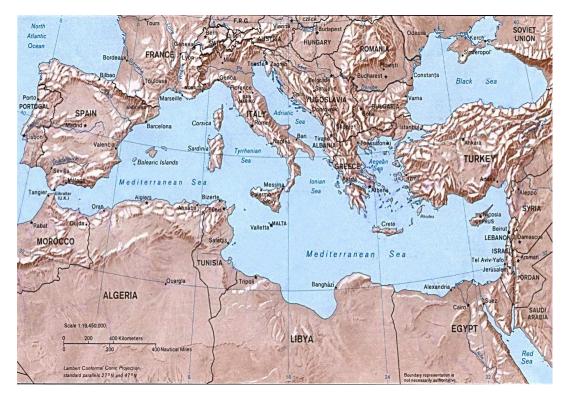Keith Lowe, Savage Continent: Europe in the Aftermath of World War II, New York: St. Martin's Press, 2012.

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Appendices

Political map of the Mediterranean Sea area during the Cold War

The Balkans with Italy – a phisycal map

Flag of geographic-historical Macedonia used by the Macedonian Slav rebels in 1903 agains the Ottoman rule

Istria, Trieste Gulf with Piran Bay and the Kvarner Islands