



## **FES CYPRUS NEWSLETTER**

## Nr. 51 / SEPTEMBER 2016

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# **FES NEWS**

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## 1. Cyprus Problem

After a short break in August, a new round of intensified talks has begun with Greek Cypriot leader Nicos Anastasiades and his Turkish Cypriot counterpart Mustafa Akinci having scheduled three meetings on the 23<sup>rd</sup>, 29<sup>th</sup>, and 31<sup>st</sup> of the month. The aim is to bridge the gaps on certain chapters including the economy, property, security and territory and for the first time discuss issues such as guarantees and the rotating presidency in the chapter of governance, thus moving towards the final substantive phase of the negotiations.

The two leaders are also set to meet on the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> of September when the current intensified phase is expected to be concluded with the issuance of a joint statement by the two leaders, determining whether progress has been achieved or not. Statements will not be made until September 14 in order to safeguard the confidentiality of the talks.

In the meantime, whether a multilateral or a three party conference eventually takes place seems to be a matter of disagreement between the two sides. On the one hand, Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot side opt for a three-party meeting with Ban Ki-moon in New York on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly later in September followed by a five-party meeting with the guarantors, Greece, Turkey and the UK. The Greek Cypriot side however, has clarified that a three-party meeting with the Turkish Cypriot leader and the UN Secretary-General would only take place if progress was achieved in the reunification talks by September 14. Touching on the possibility of a multilateral conference including the guarantor powers, Anastasiades pointed out that this will not take place "if I don't feel there is progress that would allow such a meeting,".

The UN Secretary General's Special Adviser to Cyprus, Espen Barth Eide said that the two leaders would be venturing into all aspects of the Cyprus Problem during the current round of talks, including those chapters that have yet to be addressed or put on the table. "Both leaders seem more certain now on what needs to be done in concrete terms" Eide added. He said that the intensive phase of the talks should be seen not as seven separate meetings, but as seven sessions of one meeting, in an attempt to consolidate what the leaders have achieved over the past 14 months. "There is a key commitment which is shared and that is that time is of the essence. The solutions to which they are working on need to last be sustainable. "Stating that he had great expectations from the current round of talks, Eide said that for the first time all issues were on the table without them being taboo. "What is new compared to previous intensified periods is that all issues are on the table. We are not necessarily negotiating all the issues but we are at least in a brainstorming mode and we can make reference to those issues, which have been left to the end of the process. It's good to be in a place where there are no taboos, no issues which cannot be touched upon but we have certain agreements

such as not discussing maps and figures," he said. The UN Special Advisor also pointed out that four of the chapters were largely completed but that there were several areas where the two sides retained their positions.

On August 30, Turkey's Foreign Minister, Mevlut Cavusoglu, held meetings with TRNC<sup>1</sup> prime minister Huseyin Ozgurgun and with the Turkish Cypriot leader Mustafa Akinci in the north where he pledged Ankara's support to the Turkish Cypriots. Following his meeting with Akinci, Cavusoglu, stated that Turkey would continue to do its best to support the negotiations for a fair and lasting solution for the Turkish Cypriots, within the framework of the Joint Statement dated on February 11, 2014. He added that there were difficult issues, such as property, territory, and guarantees, some of which would be discussed in a five-party meeting.

The Cyprus problem was among the issues which UN Under Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Jeffrey Feltman discussed with Turkish Prime Minister, Binali Yildirim during a visit to Ankara on August 30-31.

Moreover, Cyprus was also discussed during an informal meeting in Crete on August 28, between the Greek Foreign Minister, Nicos Kotzias and his Turkish counterpart, Mevlut Cavusoglu. At a joint press conference following their meeting, Kotzias reiterated his government's position on the issue of guarantees, stating that Athens supports the abolition of the anachronistic system of guarantees. The Turkish FM on the other hand confirmed that Ankara supports "the efforts that are underway in the negotiations to find a solution to the Cyprus issue," and expressed hope that both parties would seize the opportunity to come to a solution. The Cyprus problem and specifically the issue of guarantees was also discussed between US Vice President Joe Biden and Turkish President Recep Tayip Erdogan during a meeting in Ankara on August 25.

Subsequently, Turkish Cypriot daily, Kibris postasi, citing the minutes of meetings (which it claims to have) between Turkish Cypriot leader Mustafa Akinci and US assistant Secretary of State, Victoria Nuland, and Greek and Turkish Cypriot negotiators Andreas Mavroyiannis and Ozdil Nami respectively, reported on August 19, that the World Bank estimates the cost for compensating properties in the context of a comprehensive solution to the Cyprus problem prohibitive as it would bring the unified island's economy to its knees. The World Bank report that was titled "The Property Component" and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) is only recognised by the Republic of Turkey. While for Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots, Mustafa Akinci serves as President of the TRNC, the international community considers him the communal leader of the Turkish Cypriots. As the government of the Republic of Cyprus remains internationally recognised as the government of the whole of the island, the entire island is now considered to be a member of the European Union. However, the acquis communautaire is suspended in northern Cyprus pending a political settlement to the Cyprus problem (see Protocol no. 10 of the Accession Treaty).

dated June 27, 2016, estimated that the "net compensation cost", that is, after subtracting the cost of properties lost by Turkish Cypriots in the south, estimated at €8 billion, from the cost of properties lost by Greek Cypriots in the north, estimated at €21 billion, are approximately €13 billion. The report concluded that, should compensation be paid out in today's prices, total cost would amount roughly to 60% of GDP, which would mean the bankruptcy of the economy of a unified Cyprus.

On August 17, Turkish Cypriot Leader Mustafa Akinci visited Turkish President Recep Tayip Erdogan in Ankara. Speaking after the meeting, Akinci and Erdogan stressed that a solution would have to ensure the rights and security of the Turkish Cypriots.

In a column article Basaran Duzgun of daily Havadis referred to Akinci's meeting with Turkish president Erdogan in Ankara as "probably a turning point". According to Duzgun, the mood of the Turkish Cypriot team was very positive upon conclusion of their meeting in Turkey where the Turkish side's stance on the security and guarantees issues were discussed and clarified. Duzgun argues that there were two formulas discussed in diplomatic circles. According to the first one, the abolition of the Treaty of Alliance and Guarantees will be accepted in case a base is given to Turkey in which a small number of troops will be maintained. The second formula suggests that the Treaty of Alliance and Guarantees will be abolished and Turkey will guarantee only the security of the Turkish Cypriot state of the United Republic. The right of intervention will depend on some conditions. For example, intervention could be made after the approval and invitation by the two thirds of the deputies of the Turkish Cypriot parliament. That is, there could be no unilateral intervention only with a decision by Turkey.

August 14 marked the 42<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of the second phase of the Turkish invasion during which Turkish troops advanced from the island's north to seize 37% of the island. Turkey had first invaded on July 20, 1974, five days after the government of Archbishop Makarios was toppled by a military coup orchestrated by the military junta then ruling Greece.

A total of 1,015 Turkish Cypriots travelled to the Kokkina enclave on August 8, to commemorate the 53<sup>rd</sup> anniversary of the Tylliria bombing by Turkish warplanes in 1964. Following intercommunal violence which erupted in December 1963, Turkish Cypriots established a bridgehead at Kokkina in 1964, providing them with arms, volunteers and materials from Turkey. Seeing this incursion of foreign weapons and troops as a major threat, the Cypriot government launched an attack on the bridgehead. Turkey retaliated by dispatching its fighter jets to bomb Greek positions.

## 2. Hydrocarbons

On August 31, Energy Minister Yiorgos Lakkotrypis and Egypt's minister of Mineral Resources, Tarek El Molla, signed an agreement for the transport of Cypriot natural gas via pipeline to offshore and onshore installations in Idku and Damietta, Egypt.

The agreement, which governs gas exports to the Arab country for domestic consumption and re-export, "is one of a series of legal arrangements which will further support the sale of Cypriot natural gas to buyers in Egypt, provide certainty to investors, and complement the relevant commercial discussions which are underway," the ministers said in a joint statement. The governments of the two countries also decided to speed up talks on an agreement regarding the construction of a pipeline linking Cyprus with Egypt, "which will facilitate the implementation of the project within the two countries' maritime areas." The completion of the pipeline construction is placed somewhere between 2020 and 2022 according to the Cypriot energy minister.

Meanwhile, Turkish Cypriot leader Mustafa Akinci criticised the Greek Cypriot side for proceeding with the hydrocarbon exploration programme, and called for abstention from behaviours that could make things more difficult for the negotiations. "It was not right" he said, "for steps to be taken that would jeopardise the process. There should be instead, a joint planning to share this common wealth" Akinci stated.

On August 2, in response to the announcement of the third licencing round by the Republic of

Cyprus the Turkish Foreign ministry issued a statement warning energy companies bidding for offshore Block 6, that any exploratory activity was unauthorized as part of the block falls within the Turkish continental shelf. Turkey, on the basis of its own maps, lays claim to part of Block 6 in Cyprus' Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), as it does not recognise the Republic's EEZ. More broadly, Turkey's claims partly overlap with Cyprus' blocks 1, 4, 6 and 7. In line with this policy on August 28, a Turkish navy frigate approached a Cyprus-flagged vessel carrying out dolphin research on behalf of the agriculture ministry some 12 miles off the Akamas coast on the western tip of the island. The frigate reportedly contacted the vessel and demanded that it abandoned the area because it was violating "Turkish territory".

## 3. Greek Cypriots

### **Economic Developments**

According to the Central Bank of Cyprus (CBC), deposits in the Cypriot banking system recorded a net rise in July for the fourth consecutive month, increasing by  $\leq 1.13$  billion since March 2015, the lowest point in the past nine years. According to the CBC, total deposits rose by  $\leq 269$  million in July compared to the previous month reaching a total  $\leq 47.03$  bn. In March last year, deposits dropped to  $\leq 45.73$  bn. The rise was attributed to third country and EU nationals as well as Cypriot residents. A team of troika<sup>2</sup> technocrats are due in Cyprus from September 26<sup>th</sup> to 30<sup>th</sup>, to investigate any outstanding matters from the island's adjustment programme, particularly with regard to reforms. This will be the first visit of troika technocrats since Cyprus exited its €10bn bailout programme in March this year. Under the programme such visits will take place every six months until Cyprus pays back 73% of its loan. The technocrats will monitor progress on specific issues related to the financial sector, fiscal, macroeconomic issues and reforms at the end of every mission and prepare separate reports on progress achieved.

The Cypriot economy grew 2.7% year-on-year in the second quarter of 2016, according to a flash estimate published by the statistical service on August 12. According to the service, GDP growth rate in real terms is estimated at 2.7%, based on seasonally and working day adjusted data. Compared with the previous quarter, the economy grew 0.7%. In the first quarter, the economy grew by 1%. Finance Minister Harris Georgiades voiced satisfaction, adding that the growth rate "confirms our economy's positive prospects and the effectiveness of the economic policy in recent years."

More than €6 million was spent in the north and in Turkey on credit cards issued in the government controlled areas of the Republic of Cyprus so far this year, according to figures released on August 4 by JCC. According to JCC from the total of  $\notin$ 6.04 million, some  $\notin$ 4.2million was spent in the north of the island and  $\notin$ 1.76m in Turkey. The sectors with the biggest value of transactions were hotels, with transactions of  $\notin$ 2.09 million, entertainment with  $\notin$ 1.11 million and airlines with  $\notin$ 1.07 million. In July the value of transactions reached  $\notin$ 867,850, of which  $\notin$ 644,441 was spent in the north and  $\notin$ 223,408 in Turkey.

Meanwhile, transactions using Turkish credit cards used in the government controlled areas exceeded  $\leq 14$  million between January and July. The highest number of transactions worth  $\leq 3.3$ million was in supermarkets,  $\leq 2.8$  million in clothing shops,  $\leq 1.85$  million on transport and  $\leq 1.67$  million in DIY and household stores. In July, only  $\leq 2.43$  million was spent on Turkish credit cards in the south of the island.

On August 1, Moody's ratings agency changed its outlook on the Cypriot banking system to positive from stable, reflecting its view that the country's economic recovery will restore banks to profitability and improve their weak asset quality. The outlook expresses Moody's expectation of how bank creditworthiness will evolve in Cyprus over the next 12-18 months.

According to Cyprus Mail, a Greek Cypriot businessman who made a deal with a Turkish Cypriot counterpart to bring over potatoes to the south for export under the Green Line Regulation has been the victim of harassment and has had threats made to burn down his packaging

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The troika is comprised by the European Commission, the International Monetary Fund and the European Central Bank

plant by other local farmers, potato exporters and seven members of parliament of the Republic of Cyprus. A group of around 200 protesters appeared on the premises and were stopped from entering the plant by British Bases police.

### **Labour Relations and Trade Unions**

Yearly raises might be returning to the broader public in 2017 simultaneously with the end of the special contribution that is enforced since 2011 because the law that stipulated the end of the pay raises and the special contribution expires on 31st December 2016. The government is attempting to avert that through a bill that is now in parliament linking wage rates in the public sector automatically with GDP growth in the context of the public sector reform. The government according to the Finance Minister is not opposed to raises per se, but wants to have them subsumed within the general performance of the economy.

According to Eurostat, the purchasing power of per capita GDP stands now at 81% with Cypriots being on average 19% poorer in 2015 compared to 2009.

The conflict concerning the operational time in retail trade continued as many big stores and supermarkets opened during the public holiday of 15<sup>th</sup>August, despite the warnings issued by the Labour Ministry, claiming that the Supreme Court decision cancels the existing legislation. PEO and POVEK (the small businesses' union)

claimed that this is the result of the Ministry of Labour's policy since 2013 to keep all shops open 7 days per week, while the Minister of Labour responded that it is the parliament's fault as it removed her authority to regulate the operational time in retail trade through decrees.

22.2% of young persons between the age of 20 and 24 in Cyprus are neither in education nor employed according to Eurostat figures for 2015 placing Cyprus in the 6<sup>th</sup> position in the EU.

The Central Cooperative Bank has prepared a voluntary exit scheme without informing PEO and SEK. The scheme targets 100 resignations and is similar to the previous one which led to 270 resignations. The trade unions protest for not being informed, oppose the creation of a list of persons that will be asked (and pressurized to accept) to resign, and demand to receive the list of the persons hired after 2014, (estimated at about 50) and to be informed whether those hired on a temporary basis have been evaluated with respect to the continued need to be employed. The trade unions claim that in order to accept any voluntary exit scheme, all the new hiring needs to stop and all the needs of the Bank should be covered internally. Moreover, they demand the renewal of the collective agreement that will include "low interest housing loans, unified winter operational time that does not include afternoon and Saturday work, provident and health fund, unified wage scales and a new disciplinary code".

The doctors' union has opposed the agreement made by the Ministry of Health and the University of Cyprus concerning the conversion of public hospitals to university hospitals because it includes a series of provisions that "offend the dignity and the scientific qualifications of public sector doctors".

The high school teachers' union OELMEK has threatened with a strike protesting the decision of the Ministry of Education to allocate only 11.5% of the new positions to secondary education. This decision along with others leads 90 teachers into unemployment.

Only eight businesses have expressed their interest to gain a certificate of good practices in the promotion of gender equality.

Some improvement has taken place in the wages and benefits of full time regularly employed hotel workers because of the increased demand and a change in the legislation. There has been an increase of 1,000 workers enjoying the Provident Fund, after this was legally strengthened while the legislation of the 5-day week and the increased labour inspections have led to small but significant improvements even to employees with personal contracts.

PEO, SEK and DEOK consider the phenomenon of pseudo self-employment which is on the rise, an unacceptable violation of labour rights. They accuse the state of being a bad example as an employer by employing people on the basis of sales of services, usually with low wages and forcing them to insure themselves and not be eligible to unemployment benefit, paid holidays and with reduced sick leave rights because of them being registered as "self-employed". The conversion of 2,000 teachers in the public afternoon schools into "self-employed" in 2013 is one such example which has accelerated the spread of the phenomenon in both the public and the private sector.

Cyprus is placed in the highest tier in the last report of the US State Department concerning human trafficking. Immigrants in Cyprus face extreme labour exploitation with their rights being violated by many agencies and employers and enjoy limited protection by the state. KISA, an NGO campaigning for migrant rights and against discrimination and racism, stated that the migrants' equal access to the labour market, by breaking the link between the employer and migrant's residence permit, and their equal access to the health and welfare services is a precondition for the stoppage of their over exploitation.

PEO and SEK have met the Finance Minister demanding the signing of the collective agreements in the public sector which is being delayed, the fulfillment of the government's promise about the creation of a Provident Fund to cover all those employed after 2011, who do not enjoy the benefit of a state pension and the opening of new positions to cover the permanent needs instead of outsourcing these to the private sector and thus putting a stop to the indirect privatization under way. ETYK, the banking sector union, has met the Finance Minister proposing a unified banking sector Provident Fund including the Cooperative banking sector workers, something with which the government seems to agree.

PASINO, the nurses' union is strongly opposed to the Ministry of Health's suggestion to employ nurses without a university degree to replace those that will leave in the near future. Both PASINO and PASIDY also disagree with the Ministry with respect to the needed number of nurses with the unions arguing that the public hospitals are understaffed and not only there is no need for redundancies but that new positions are needed.

## 4. Turkish Cypriots

### **Economic Developments**

According to Eurobarometer 85 results, the two most important issues facing the Turkish Cypriot community are the economic situation (37%) and rising cost of living (36%) followed by unemployment (30%). When asked about their expectation about the economic situation in the next twelve months, 38% of the respondents said they expected the situation to be worse, while 36% expected no change. As for the unemployment issue, 50% said "worse is still to come". On a more positive note, 52% of the respondents said that they tended to trust the EU; 40% said the EU meant "peace" to them. 11,960 new students from Turkey have been accepted to universities in the northern part of Cyprus. This is an 11% increase compared to last year.

In the first five months of 2016, imports to the northern part of Cyprus reached to USD 548.8 million while exports were at USD 54.9 million. This represents a decline of 5% in imports and 18% in exports compared to the same period in 2015.

According to estate agents sale of immovable properties went up following the failed coup attempt in Turkey thanks to the increasing demand from Turkish citizens.

### **Domestic Developments**

As the negotiations between the two communities have intensified, the tension between Akinci and government, which is made up of pro-status-quo parties started to go up too. Prime minister Ozgurgun blamed Akinci for "begging for a solution;" Akinci retorted saying the Turkish Cypriot side was continuing its efforts to reach a settlement "not by begging but with decisiveness, pride and honour". Furthermore, the government demanded a seat for a government representative in the negotiation team. Akinci's response was negative: "It is with great disappointment that I see that a healthy dialogue does not exist in our relations with the government. We are seeing the government's unyielding insistence to have a representative at the negotiating table, a demand that has never emerged in all the talks carried out over the years," he said. "The government's demand is not based on good intentions. Their refusal to voice their concerns or objections behind closed doors only to come outside and issue statements that will sow suspicion, fear and concern in the public, does not go well. I am calling on the people. We are entering a critical period and the people should support this process," he added. Accusing the government of launching a 'no' campaign, the Akicni said that a single document which he could advise people to vote in favour of did not currently exist.

Meanwhile, Akinci invited the leaders of the political parties represented in the parliament to join him in New York if the targeted progress is achieved in the negotiations and a five-party conference is materialized. All four parties replied positively to Akinci's invitation.

Akinci has sent back to parliament the bill on the establishment of the Overseas Coordination Office of Turkish Youth and Sports Ministry in the northern part of Cyprus after the Constitutional Court ruled that an article of the law was unconstitutional. In June, the Turkish Cypriot parliament had ratified the controversial protocol concluded between the governments of TRNC and Turkey, which envisaged the establishment of the office. The signing of the treaty triggered the formation of a platform called "we reject" (*reddediyoruz*), which had organized a mass demonstration against the implementation of the deal on June 17. After consultations with political parties represented in the parlia-

ment, Akinci had sent the bill to the constitutional court for judicial review. As the bill was based on an international agreement, the parliament cannot amend it and therefore the whole deal will need to be renegotiated with Ankara. Two days before the decision of the Constitutional Court, another rally was held in Nicosia organized by the *reddediyoruz* platform. Protesters from some 80 groups spanning the political spectrum charged that the office's hidden agenda was to instil a more Islamic way of life by funding cultural and sporting projects that will include religious elements. The office is headed by a Turkish national who has been appointed by the Turkish government and is "all about religion" and instruction about the Quran, Ottoman customs and the Arabic language, Turkish Cypriot member of parliament Zeki Celer said.

Inspired by similar rallies being held throughout Turkey, the Support for Democracy Platform initiated by Farmers Association, organized a rally in Nicosia on August 5 to condemn the failed coup attempt in Turkey and to show the Turkish nation their support. The Turkish deputy Prime Minister in charge of Cyprus Affairs Tugrul Turkes as well as the Turkish Cypriot Prime Minister and ministers attended the rally. Turkish Prime Minister Binali Yildirim also delivered a speech via teleconference. The event was supported by mainly right-wing organizations including the ruling coalition partners UBP and DP. Allegedly, pressure was exerted on civil servants to increase participation. According to local newspapers, the participants in the rally varied from six to eight thousand persons.

According to the Undersecretary of Ministry of Interior, in the last five months under UBP-DP coalition government, 433 foreigners were granted the TRNC citizenship. 158 of these persons have been living in the northern part of Cyprus with a work permit for eleven consecutive years. The rest are their spouses and children under 18 who automatically receive citizenship. According to local daily Havadis, there are 1,200 work permit holders eligible to apply for TRNC citizenship. The figure may go up to 35,000 in ten years. This is a controversial policy, given the fact that the population ratio was one of the points agreed by the two leaders earlier in the negotiation process. In the meantime, the government issued a decree granting amnesty to those living and working illegally in the northern part of the island.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources announced that 27 of the 28 municipalities in the northern part of Cyprus have signed the water subscription agreement to use the water transferred from Turkey via a pipeline. The only municipality, which has not signed the agreement is Gönyeli.

### Labour Relations and Trade Unions

In a written statement issued on August 12th, the president of the Air Traffic Controllers Union stated that talks with the Ministry of Public Works and Communication had failed to solve their problems and accused the Minister,

Kemal Durust, of refusing to solve their outstanding problems despite the fact that the solutions they have proposed would not pose any financial burden to the state budget. The union warned that it would be staging an indefinite strike at Ercan Airport (Tymbou) and that Durust would be responsible for any disruptions in flights. Accordingly, on August 19<sup>th</sup> the union went on a strike action at 21:00, which would last 10 hours. In less than two hours, the Council of Ministers postponed the strike by 60 days. Earlier this year, in April, the Council of Ministers had postponed another strike called by the union. The union demands an amendment in the law regulating their profession.

## 5. FES Cyprus Events

## <u>September</u>

### Wednesday 07.09.2016

German Embassy/Goethe Institut/FES Lecture & Discussion

### **United in Diversity**

Goethe Institute, UN Buffer Zone Nicosia, Cyprus

Open to the public



## **FES CYPRUS NEWSLETTER**

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### Thursday 15.09.2016

PRIO Cyprus Centre/FES Conference

### **Educational Practices in Federal Systems**

Home for Cooperation, UN Buffer Zone Nicosia, Cyprus

Open to the public

Thursday 29.09.2016, 11.30 am – 6 pm

PRIO Cyprus Centre/FES Conference

Re-thinking UNSCR 1325: Feminist peacebuilding beyond Women, Peace and Security

Home for Cooperation, UN Buffer Zone Nicosia, Cyprus

Open to the public





Monday 19.09.2016

Goethe Institut/FES Lecture & Discussion

Whose Cheese is it Anyway? European Union Regulation, Economic Competition, and the Patrimony of Cyprus

Goethe Institute, UN Buffer Zone Nicosia, Cyprus

Open to the public



Friday 14.10.2016, 10 am – 4 pm Saturday 15.10.2016, 10 am – 1 pm

PRIO/Oslo University/NTNU/FES Conference

Migration and Conflict in Europe and the Middle East

Chateau Status, UN Buffer Zone Nicosia, Cyprus

Friday: Open to the public Saturday: Not open to the public



### Friday 21.10.2016, 9.30 am – 6 pm

FES Conference

### **Youth Unemployment**

University of Nicosia, Nicosia, Cyprus

Open to the public



## Wednesday 26.10.2016, 3 pm – 6.30 pm Thursday 27.10.2016, 3 pm – 8 pm

University of Cyprus / University of Kent / Cyprus Association of Social Psychology / FES

Conference

### Referendums in Peace Processes: Psychological, Political and Legal Aspects

Wednesday: Home for Cooperation Thursday: University of Nicosia, Nicosia, Cyprus

Open to the public



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