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Twenty Five Years of Policy Formulation and Analysis

NAVIGATING INTO THE FUTURE

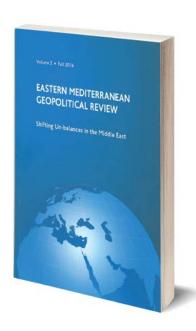
#### Our Mission

The Cyprus Center for European and International Affairs, which is affiliated with the University of Nicosia, is an independent, non-profit making organization, whose mission is to advance multidisciplinary, scholarly and policy-oriented research, provide advisory services and promote open debate with the objective of addressing problems and challenges at the national, regional, European and international level.

# **Grand Objective**

The Center seeks to actively contribute to addressing the multidimensional challenges Cyprus is facing today, to advancing peaceful coexistence and fruitful cooperation throughout this island-state and to enabling the Republic of Cyprus to have a constructive role in the region, the EU and the international environment.







#### Goals

- to establish the Center as the leading multidisciplinary policy development think-tank in Cyprus with broader visibility and influence;
- to produce independent and critical analysis of local, regional and international challenges;
- · to provide advisory services to government and the business community;
- to suggest new sources of economic growth in Cyprus through the use of a rigorous and innovative approach to geopolitical, economic and social analysis;
- to develop a non-partisan platform for open debate between the government, the business community, academia and civil society with the aim to suggest solutions to major societal challenges in Cyprus and beyond.

# Message from the President



Andreas Theophanous
Professor of Political Economy
President, Cyprus Center for European
and International Affairs,
Head, Department of Politics
and Governance
University of Nicosia

The Cyprus Center for European and International Affairs is an independent, non-partisan, non-profit making think-tank and research center affiliated with the University of Nicosia. Since its establishment in 1993 the Center has sought to advance academic and policy-oriented research and to contribute to the study and analysis of important economic, political and social issues revolving around Cyprus, the Eastern Mediterranean and the European Union.

This work has been advanced through the engagement in national, European and international research projects, the organization of international symposia, conferences, round-table discussions, seminars, as well as the publication of books, policy-papers, conference papers and research reports.

Over time, the Center has built a wide network of associations and partnerships in Cyprus and abroad. The Center takes pride for the quality and scope of its academic research, which endowed it with a reputation and made it a point of reference by numerous regional and international thinktanks, government agencies and mass media on several issues. These include the Cyprus problem, regional geopolitics, security, European affairs and the economy.

In addition to addressing regional, European and international themes, the success of the Center

also depends on examining issues of special interest to the Republic of Cyprus. Having lived through turbulent decades in the 1960s and the 70s, having survived the Turkish invasion of 1974 and despite the *de facto* partition, the Republic of Cyprus managed to build a prosperous economy and enjoyed over thirty years of economic growth, peace and political stability, reaching such a level of development that earned it membership in the EU. This has been a remarkable success.

Unfortunately, by 2013 Cyprus fell victim of its own success. Many years of uninterrupted economic growth bred complacency, irresponsibility and a culture of invincibility at most levels of Cypriot society. Without downplaying external factors, it is vital to assess the internal responsibilities for the failure, which left the Cypriot economy with high private and public debts and other serious problems.

These are difficult times as there are profound changes, unrest and widespread security challenges in the broader Middle East and across the planet. Undoubtedly, we are witnessing a transition to a new paradigm whose shape and nature have not yet been fully formed and understood. A major threat of historical transition periods, like the one we have entered, is that more often than not they may seriously affect those nation-states which fail to stand the test of times. They may also revive old bitter memories

and uncover old wounds. The current crisis that we are witnessing in Cyprus and beyond is multidimensional: economic, political and social. It also revolves around the lack of a credible value system. Indeed, we have entered a new period where everything, from individual life to social norms and institutions, undergo serious changes.

In this new reality the Republic of Cyprus, which is a member of the EU and the Eurozone, finds itself at the crossroads of potentially cascading crises. Cyprus is located in the Eastern Mediterranean and near the broader Middle East. It has a predominantly hellenic identity and special relations with Greece. About 37% of its territory is occupied by Turkey, one of the most powerful states in the region. Furthermore, in addition to the British bases on the island, Cyprus shares deep social and economic ties with the United Kingdom despite a bitter historical past. At the same time, it has a strong economic, political and cultural relationship with Russia. Such a precarious geopolitical position coupled with the need to adopt a new economic model requires high-caliber strategic thinking and policy implementation.

New realities demand new approaches. The Cyprus Center for European and International Affairs aspires to enhance initiatives to create a new open environment for a societal dialogue on the most pressing matters and risks we face as a state. We envision an open intellectual platform, which will bring together the brightest minds of our country, who will collectively develop a new vision for Cyprus. At the same time we aspire to make a modest contribution to broader pressing issues of the region and of the EU.

The Center wishes to share the results of the multidisciplinary research and help participants from government, the business community, academia, media and civil society in order to come up with viable strategies, policies and suggestions for effectirely addressing important issues. At the same time, the Republic of Cyprus must work and position itself in ways that it is perceived as an asset for the EU and the international community. It is my privilege and duty to invite all responsible citizens for cooperation.

May 25

## Challenges

Apart from security threats from Turkey and the broader Middle East, the greatest challenge for Cyprus today is to develop a new economic model following the March 2013 collapse. This will require much effort and sophistication given the changing economic circumstances at the regional and global level. Massive accumulated debt, aging population, ailing banking sector and growing regional security threats represent a risk of interconnected cascading crises. While Cyprus will be striving to address its own challenges it has to take into consideration external factors that may affect it. These include developments in the EU and the Eurozone, United Kingdom after Brexit, Turkey, the broader Middle East and Russia. Furthermore, the crisis of the old economic model, security threats, technological progress and change of the whole post-World War II order make it imperative to seek a new model through a multidimensional multidisciplinary collective approach that the Center is striving to build.





#### Milestones and Contribution

#### **Milestones**

- Creation of the Center on April 2, 1993 (as Research Center Intercollege, renamed in 2007 as Cyprus Center for European and International Affairs)
- First Book Publication: Andreas Theophanous, *The Economic Aspects and Consequences of a Federal Solution to the Cyprus Problem* (in Greek), Intercollege Press, Nicosia 1994
- First series of lectures: "Cyprus: 20 Years After The Anatomy of a Metamorphosis" (in Greek), May 20 – July 20, 1994.
- First Symposium: "The Cyprus Problem: Its Solution and the Day after", 3-6 April 1997
- Gradual establishment of networks of cooperation with other institutions and think-tanks, as well as creation of a network of associates
- First edition of "In Depth" electronic Newsletter, February 2004
- 1st Cyprus Spring School on the European Union entitled: "Understanding, Interpreting and Evaluating the European Union in 2007", 15-22 April 2007
- Symposium on the 50 years of the Republic of Cyprus: "The Republic of Cyprus at Crossroads: Past, Present and Future", 18-19 February 2010
- First edition of the Eastern Mediterranean Geopolitical Review and the Eastern Mediterranean Policy Notes, Fall 2015

#### Contribution

- Contributed to the creation of the Department of European Studies and International Relations of the University of Nicosia (renamed in September 2017 as Department of Politics and Governance) and to the growth of the University as a whole
- Raised the importance of research, innovation and policy analysis
- Advanced the case for turning Cyprus into a regional academic centre
- Constructively examined and addressed the Cyprus question, making suggestions about alternative scenaria and approaches
- Addressed the issues of Cyprus accession to the EU and the Eurozone
- Critically examined the process and the challenges of European integration, including the Euro-debt crisis
- Warned about the imminent economic crisis long in advance, making specific recommendations
- Raised the issue of the urgency for a new economic paradigm
- Analysed and put forward the importance of pragmatism in foreign policy
- Strongly encouraged a culture of debate on issues of public concern and of national, regional, European and global interest
- Encouraged debate and policy analysis on issues revolving around the Eastern Mediterranean and the broader Middle East

## Platform for a new dialogue

One of the major challenges in the information age is to encourage and enhance the understanding of complicated issues and the context within which developments take place. Within this framework the Center also provides a platform where constructive open dialogue between main stakeholder groups can take place on the basis of non-partisanship, competent analytical support and strategic thinking. Our initiative aims to explain the context behind information and the news lines, facilitate understanding, establish communication and develop joint solutions to societal risks and challenges.

#### CCEIA in the Media

Over decades the Center has gained the reputation of a prominent think-tank on matters revolving around Cyprus, regional security and economic analysis. Its expertise is frequently sought after by leading local and international media agencies. The Guest Speakers who have visited the Cyprus Center since its creation include politicians, diplomats, technocrats, academics and journalists. In addition to Cyprus, our speakers come from several countries including Australia, Bahrein, Bulgaria, Canada, Egypt, France, Germany, United Kingdom, Greece, Israel, Italy, Lebanon, Russia, Serbia, Slovenia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates and the United States.



Geopolitical Developments and Change in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East (June 16, 2016)



Interview of the President of the Center – Proposal for an evolutionary approach for the solution of the Cyprus problem, Phileleftheros, (July 24, 2017)



Russian Foreign Policy in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East (April 25, 2017)



EU, Russia and the US in the Trump Era (April 7, 2017)

# Our activities and publications

- · International specialized symposia
- · Conferences and Seminars
- Round-table discussions
- · Training in strategic thinking and analysis
- Publications:
  - Books
  - Scholarly/Annual Journal Eastern Mediterranean Geopolitical Review (EMGR)
  - Electronic newsletter In Depth
  - Monthly Eastern Mediterranean Policy Notes (EMPN)
  - Policy Papers
  - Conference Papers and Research Reports
  - Undertaking commissioned research projects



Balance of Power Vs Pendulum of Power (March 30, 2017)



The Republic of Cyprus at Crossroads Past, Present and Future (February 18–19, 2010)



Cyprus Accession to the EU and the Day After (May 20–21, 2004)



Perspectives on The Cyprus Problem and Turkey After December 17, 2004 (January 13, 2005)



Revisiting the Cyprus Problem (October 26, 2005)





The Economic Aspects and Consequences of a Federal Solution to the Cyprus Problem (January 22, 1994)



Cyprus and the European Union (May 7-9, 1998)



The USA, the EU and the International environment after September 11, 2001 (December 3, 2001)





United States - Cyprus Relations: The American Foreign Policy Process and the Role of Greek Americans (November 13, 1999)



International Symposium, The Cyprus Problem: Its Solution and the Day After (April 3–6, 1997)





Presentation of the Book authored by Professor Andreas Theophanous entitled Governance and the Political Economy of a Federal Cyprus, (April 12, 2016)







The Ukrainian Crisis and the Fall Out (May 6, 2015)



40 Years After the Begin-Sadat Agreement – A Historical Assessment and Future Prospects (October 23, 2017)





Current Developments in the Cyprus Problem (November 10, 2015)

#### List of books

- Andreas Theophanous, Governance and the Political Economy of a Federal Cyprus (in Greek). (Athens: I. Sideris Press. 2016)
- Giorgos Kentas, Security in the Course of the Cyprus Problem Solution (in Greek), (Athens: Livanis Press, 2013)
- Andreas Theophanous, *Perspectives on the Critical Challenges Facing Cyprus* (in Greek), (Athens: Livanis Press, 2011)
- Stelios Stavridis (Ed.), Understanding and Evaluating the European Union Theoretical and Empirical Approaches, (Nicosia: University of Nicosia Press, 2009)
- Andreas Theophanous, *The Political Economy* of a Cyprus Settlement: The Examination of Four Scenaria, PRIO Report 1/2008, (Nicosia: 2008)
- James Sperling, S. Victor Papacosma and Andreas Theophanous (Eds), Turkey and Europe: High stakes Uncertain Prospects (Nicosia: University of Nicosia Press, 2008)
- Andreas Theophanous, Cyprus, the EU and the Stakes Involved: Accession to the EU and the Solution [to the Cyprus Problem] (in Greek), (Athens: Papazisis Press, 2006)

- S. Victor Papacosma, Andreas Theophanous, James Sperling (Eds), *EU enlargement and new* security challenges in the Eastern Mediterranean (Nicosia: Intercollege Press, 2004)
- Andreas Theophanous, *The Cyprus Question* and the EU: The Challenge and the Promise, (Nicosia: Intercollege Press, 2004)
- Andreas Theophanous, *The Annan Plan and the European Option* (in Greek), (Athens: Papazisis Press, 2003)
- Andreas Theophanous, European Cyprus: Constitutional Structure, Economy and Society: Accession and The Scenaria for a Solution to the Cyprus Problem (in Greek), (Athens: I. Sideris Press (series "Library of International and European Studies"), 2002)
- Andreas Theophanous, Cyprus in the European Union and the New International Environment: Challenges and Opportunities (in Greek), (Athens: I. Sideris Press (series "Library of International and European Studies"), 2000)
- Andreas Theophanous, Nicos Peristianis,
   Andreas Ioannou (Eds), Cyprus and the European Union, (Nicosia: Intercollege Press, 1999)

- Andreas Theophanous and Van Coufoudakis (Eds), Security and Cooperation in the Eastern Mediterranean, (Nicosia: Intercollege Press, 1997)
- Andreas Theophanous, The Political Economy of a Federal Cyprus, (Nicosia: Intercollege Press, 1996)
- Demetris Christodoulou, Where the Miracle has not Reached (in Greek), (Nicosia: Intercollege Press, 1995)
- Nicos Peristianis and Giorgos Tsangaras (Eds), Anatomy of a Metamorphosis (in Greek), (Nicosia: Intercollege Press, 1995)
- Andreas Theophanous, The Economic Aspects and Consequences of a Federal Solution to the Cyprus Problem (in Greek), (Nicosia: Intercollege Press, 1994)

# Selective list of recent conferences, seminars and round table discussions

- "The Changing Geopolitics of the Middle East and Broader Implications" (in cooperation with the Euro-Gulf Information Centre), 7 November 2017
- "40 Years after the Begin-Sadat Agreement A Historical Assessment and Future Prospects" (in cooperation with the Department of Politics and Governance of the University of Nicosia and the Dialogue Chair in Middle Eastern Studies), 23 October 2017
- "The Strategic Choices of Small Island States: The Case of Bahrain" (in cooperation with the Department of Politics and Governance of the University of Nicosia), 5 September 2017
- "The New International Order, the Return of the Nation State and Contemporary Geopolitics" (in cooperation with University of Nicosia Global Semesters and the Eastern Mediterranean Studies Initiative (EMSI)), 15-16 June 2017
- Russian Foreign Policy in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East (in cooperation with the Embassy of the Russian Federation in Cyprus), 25 April 2017

- EU, Russia and the US in the Trump Era (in cooperation with the Embassy of the Russian Federation in Cyprus), 7 April 2017
- Balance of Power Vs Pendulum of Power (in cooperation with the High Commission of India in Cyprus), 30 March 2017
- Revisiting the Cyprus Question and the Way Forward The Importance of an Evolutionary Approach, 22 March 2017
- The Security Dimension of the Cyprus Problem and Regional Implications, 17 January 2017
- Perspectives on the American Presidential Election and the Victory of Donald Trump (in cooperation with the Department of European Studies and International Relations of the University of Nicosia and THE CITADEL Military College of South Carolina), 8 December 2016
- Perspectives on Developments in the Regional and International Environment (in cooperation with the Embassy of Israel in Cyprus), 6 October 2016

- European Energy Security, Recent Developments in the Eastern Mediterranean and Policy Implications (in cooperation with the Embassy of Israel in Cyprus), 23 September 2016
- The Day After Brexit: Perspectives on Britain, the EU and Cyprus (in cooperation with the Department of European and International Affairs of the University of Nicosia), 6 July 2016
- "The Chemical Weapons Convention: Science in Service of Peace", 24 May 2016
- "Perspectives on Current Developments in Turkey and the Broader Area: Myths and Realities", 22 April 2016
- "The Cyprus Problem, its Solution and the Broader Implications", 11-12 March 2016
- "Perspectives on Regional Security in the Eastern Mediterranean: Implications for Cyprus and Israel", 10 February 2016
- "Why Peace Processes Fail: Negotiating Insecurity (in cooperation with the Australian High Commission in Cyprus), 24 November 2015

- "The Economic Policies of the EU and the Broader Social Repercussions" (in cooperation with Central Committee of AKEL), 21 November 2015
- "What is happening in the North? Russian policy in the Arctic and the Baltic regions' (in cooperation with the Department of European Studies and International Relations, University of Nicosia), 27 October 2015
- "The Changing Security Environment in the Middle East: Trends, Challenges, Implications" (in cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus and the European Union Institute for Security Studies), 19 October 2015
- "An Assessment of Recent Regional and Global Developments" (in cooperation with the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies), 6 May 2015
- "The EU at Crossroads", 28 April 2015
- "The Political Economy of the Next Eurozone Crisis", 26 February 2015

- "Perspectives on Developments in the Middle East and Broader Implications" (in cooperation with the Department of European and International Affairs of the University of Nicosia and the Dialogue Chair in Middle Eastern Studies), 2 December 2014
- "Revisiting Relations Between Russia and Cyprus in the New European and International Environment" (in cooperation with the Embassy of the Russian Federation in Cyprus), 18 November 2014
- "Comparing and Contrasting Federalism in the EU and the USA" (in cooperation with the Center for State Constitutional Studies (at Rutgers-Camden), USA, the Academia Europea Bolzano (EURAC) Institute for Studies on Federalism and Regionalism, Italy, and the European Center for Peace and Development, Serbia), 25 September 2014
- The Ukrainian Crisis and Relations Between the EU and Russia, 1 July 2014



#### Selective list of recent Policy Papers

- "The Importance of Turning Cyprus into a Regional Academic and Research Centre After the Economic Crisis: Challenges and Limitations" (in Greek), by Andreas Theophanous, October 2017
- "The Cyprus Conflict, Prospects of Reconciliation and the Possibility of Governance: A Theoretical Account", by Soteris Kattos, February 2017
- "The Institutional Continuity of the Republic of Cyprus: A Politico-Juridical Imperative", by Constantinos Mavroeidis, February 2017
- "The Bizonal-Bicommunal Federation and the Alternative Approach" (in Greek), by Andreas Theophanous, Soteris Kattos and Constantinos Mavroeidis, December 2016
- "The Cooperative Credit Sector in Cyprus: Past, Present and Future" (in Greek), by Andreas Theophanous and Neofytos Epaminonda, October 2016

- "An Overview of the Israeli Foreign Policy as to the Cyprus Question, 1946-1960" (in Greek), by Gabriel Haritos, October 2016
- "Prospects for Regional Cooperation Between Israel and Britain in the Post-Brexit Era" (in Greek), by Gabriel Haritos, July 2016
- "The EAC and the Prospect of Privatization: For and against and other options" (in Greek), by Andreas Theophanous, Neofytos Epaminonda and Kyriakos E. Georgiou, November 2015
- "Causes and Impact of the MOUs on the Economies of Cyprus, Greece and Portugal", by Panayiotis Tilliros, October 2015
- "The Economic Crisis and Demographical Challenges" (in Greek), by Andreas Theophanous and Alexia Sakadaki, October 2015

- "Two Years After March 2013:
   A Qualitative Evaluation and an Alternative Proposition" (in Greek),
   by Andreas Theophanous, April 2015
- "The International Politics of the Greater Middle East and the Position of Turkey" (in Greek), by Zenonas Tziarras, March 2015
- "Cyprus Problem 2015: An Assessment and Perspectives for a Solution" (in Greek), by Andreas Theophanous and Elina Christodoulou, March 2015
- "The Effective Treatment of the Problem of Non-Performing Loans" (in Greek), by Andreas Theophanous, Christoforos Christoforou and Kyriakos E. Georgiou, October 2014

## Selective List of Senior Fellows, Research Associates and Personnel

- Aristotelous Aristos, Ph.D., Chairman of the Cyprus Centre for Strategic Studies, Senior Fellow
- Balafouta Virginia, Lawyer, Ph.D. in International Law and Regional Studies, Teaching Staff at National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Senior Fellow
- Christoforou Christoforos, Senior Research Officer
- Christou Odysseas, Assistant Professor of Governance, International Law and International Relations, Department of Law, University of Nicosia, Senior Fellow
- · Christou Stephanie, Research Officer
- · Economou Natasa, Senior Research Officer
- Elia Irene, Research and Administrative Officer
- Emilianides Achilles, Professor of Law, Dean of the School of Law, University of Nicosia, Senior Fellow
- Epaminonda Neofytos, Senior Research Fellow
- · Hadjipavlis Panayiotis, Ph.D. cand., Research Fellow
- Hajisoteriou Christina, Ph.D. in Education, Department of Education, University of Nicosia, Senior Fellow
- Haritos Gabriel, Post Doctoral Fellow, Ben-Gurion University of Negev, Ben-Gurion Research Institute, Israel, Senior Fellow
- Ioannides A. Nicholas, Ph.D. in International Law, Senior Fellow
- Ioannou Christina, Associate Professor of European Politics and Labour Law, Department of Politics and Governance, University of Nicosia, Senior Fellow
- · Kattos Soteris, Ph.D., Political Sociology, Senior Fellow
- Kentas Giorgos, Associate Professor of International Politics and Governance, Department of Politics and Governance, University of Nicosia, Senior Fellow

- Kontos Michalis, Assistant Professor of International Relations, Department of Politics and Governance, University of Nicosia, Senior Fellow
- Koukkides-Procopiou Anna, Senior Fellow
- · Koulos Thanos, Ph.D. in Sociology, Senior Fellow
- Mavroeidis J. Constantinos, Supreme Court lawyer, State Council lawyer, Athens, Greece, Senior Fellow
- · Panayiotou Efthymia, MSc in Geopolitics, Research Associate
- Pelagidis Theodore, Professor of Economics, University of Piraeus, NR Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution, USA, Senior Fellow
- Pistikou Victoria, Visiting Lecturer, University of Nicosia, University of Peloponnese, Senior Fellow
- Sakadaki Alexia, Organizing Manager, Cyprus Green Party, Research Fellow
- Solomou Emilios, Executive Vice President for Administration, Director, UNESCO Chair, University of Nicosia, Senior Fellow
- Tsakiris Theodoros, Assistant Professor of Energy and Geopolitics, Senior Fellow
- Venizelos Costas, Visiting Lecturer, Department of Politics and Governance, Senior Fellow
- Yuldashev Marat, Consultant with experience in Cyprus, Russia/CIS, Eastern Europe and the Middle East, Senior Fellow
- Petrou Styliana, Personal Assistant to the President
- · Christodoulidou Anna, Secretarial Support
- · Violari Anthi, Logistical Support



# Support us

The Cyprus Center for European and International Affairs is a non-partisan, non profit-making institution affiliated with the University of Nicosia. In addition to the University of Nicosia, the Center has been drawing resources from national and EU-funded research projects, other commissioned reports and studies, as well as contributions from legal entities and individuals. We are grateful to all those who have trusted, supported and worked with us for the past 25 years. We assure them that we will continue to contribute constructively to the public debate, fully aware of our social responsibilities. We invite all those who share our vision, values, goals and concerns to support our work and efforts.

