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1. Cyprus Problem

April 23rd marked the tenth anniversary of the opening of the checkpoints which ended 29 years of physical separation between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, adding another milestone to the long history of continued division on the island. The euphoria following the surprise opening of the checkpoints in 2003 changed significantly a year later with the overwhelming rejection of the so called Annan Plan, a UN sponsored blue print to solve the Cyprus problem, in a referendum by the Greek Cypriots. This has left a deep sense of disappointment by the Turkish Cypriots, who had voted in favour of the plan.

Ten years later the initial massive flows of Cypriots from both communities crossing over have gradually decreased and stabilized. Approximately 40% of Turkish Cypriots now regularly visit the Greek Cypriot community, mostly for work and shopping while the Greek Cypriots who frequently visit the north account for 10-15%. Whether the deteriorating economic conditions in the south will provide an incentive to reunify the island remains a challenging question. As the *Economist* reports, a reunification would bring economic benefits for both Greek and Turkish Cypriots, while at the same time Turkey - with its aspiration to join the EU and the possibility of a gas pipeline carrying gas from the Cypriot Aphrodite field to Turkey and Europe - might be more interested in supporting a solution. According to the

Turkish newspaper *Hurriyet*, Cyprus is back on the agenda in Ankara.

In a meeting held on the 22nd with President Anastasiades, UN Special advisor to Cyprus, Alexander Downer, stated that the negotiations on the Cyprus problem could move faster if it wasn't for the current economic circumstances, although he declined to say that the negotiations had been postponed. Downer also met with Greek Foreign Minister Demetris Avramopoulos on the 25th and Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu on the 29th. Downer intends to announce a dinner between President Anastasiades and the Turkish Cypriot Leader Dervis Eroglu.

Archbishop Chrysostomos declared the Church's willingness to contribute €2.5 million for the first stage in the restoration of the Apostolos Andreas Monastery in the Karpas Peninsula as part of a restoration project signed in January between the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the Church of Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriot Evkaf religious foundation, estimated to cost a total of €6 million.

2. Hydrocarbons

The Eastern Mediterranean Gas Conference (EMGC) sponsored by Noble Energy and hosted by the Gulf Publishing Company took place between April 8-10 in Nicosia. The conference brought together top oil and natural gas professionals and executives, along with companies

behind the planning and development of the region's natural gas industry. While addressing the conference, President Anastasiades set the exploitation of the hydrocarbons reserves as the cornerstone of Cyprus policy for economic recovery and growth. With regards to this, he officially announced on the 20th the construction of a liquefied natural gas (LNG) plant, along with a raft of planned measures to jumpstart the economy and the intention of the government to adopt a national energy policy.

A clear commitment by the government for the construction of the LNG plant allows the US energy firm Noble Energy to move forward with plans to extract gas from its offshore licence and declare commerciality on the project. Noble believes an LNG project is the best way to monetise the Cyprus finds as it can adopt to the markets flexibly, unlike a pipeline to Turkey where the route would be predestined.

According to Chief Executive Officer, Charles Davidson, Noble Energy will begin appraisal drilling in block 12 most likely in June, as soon as the rig currently deployed in Israel's Karish Field is dismissed. The drilling may last between 75-90 days after which it would take 3 more months to assess the data and come up with a more accurate assessment on how much gas the well holds. Under the terms of the production sharing agreement with the government, Noble must declare commerciality within 3 months after the appraisal.

If Noble deems the project commercially viable, following the appraisal drilling, it will undertake the cost of undersea infrastructures including the pipeline to bring gas ashore. However, it all hinges on the existence of an LNG plant, which will process and store gas for export. The LNG plan is to be financed by the government and other partners.

Israel is yet to decide on its gas export policy and there is opposition by environmental groups in the country against an LNG facility. At the same time the recent thaw in Turkish-Israeli relations has increased talk of a gas pipeline connecting the two countries. In the meantime the Cypriot minister of foreign affairs, Ioannis Kasoulides, and the minister for energy/trade, Giorgos Lakkotrypis, travelled to Israel for talks on energy cooperation, including an unitisation agreement regarding the gas sharing and exploitation of reserves that fall on the maritime boundary between Israel and Cyprus. In order to address security issues, Israel and Cyprus undertook a joint Search and Rescue exercise involving Cyprus Port and Marine Police and Navy as well as the Israeli air force. Further exercises including other states are planned.

Apart from the cooperation in the energy sector, the two countries are planning to extend their collaboration in trade and tourism. In 2012, the bilateral trade volume amounted to €715 million which made Israel the second largest exporter to Cyprus.

The government decided to dismiss the chairman of the Natural Gas Public Company (DEFA) Costas Ioannou due to serious misconduct. DEFA is the island's natural gas company responsible for the import, storage, distribution, transmission, supply and trading of natural gas and the management of the distribution and supply system of natural gas in Cyprus. The merging of DEFA and the state's Hydrocarbons Company (KRETYK) is under examination in an effort to modernize the state.

3. Greek Cypriots

Economic and Domestic Developments

At the Eurogroup meeting in Dublin on April 12, Eurozone finance ministers approved a €23 billion rescue package for Cyprus, which included a 10 billion loan for the next 3 years by the troika (International Monetary Fund, European Commission and European Central Bank) and a €13 billion contribution by Cyprus. In contrast to the preliminary bailout agreement struck between the troika and the previous administration last November, Cyprus will need to contribute €13 billion, €5,5 billion more than the €7,5 billion initially estimated.

The first €2 out of the €10 billion loan, will flow to Nicosia in mid-May following the conclusion of the independent money laundering audit by Moneyval and Deloitte. The results of their investigation into the money laundering accusa-

tions are very positive for Cyprus. According to Finance Minister Harris Georgiades, the two separate audits prove that Cyprus did comply to a high degree with AML (Anti-Money Laundering) measures. The AML index assigned Cyprus a lower money laundering risk than the Eurozone average, including countries like Germany, Luxembourg, Austria and the Netherlands.

The €10 billion loan – €9 billion of which will be out of the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) and €1 billion from the IMF – will have an average maturity of 15 years and maximum maturity of 20 years. €3.4 billion will be used to cover Cyprus's fiscal needs, €4.1 billion to redeem its medium and long term debt and €2.5 billion for the recapitalization of banks excluding Bank of Cyprus (BoC), Laiki, Hellenic Bank and the island's cooperatives.

The bulk of the €13 billion, which accounts for Cyprus' contribution, will be generated by the closing of Laiki Bank and the restructuring of Bank of Cyprus, which is estimated to bring about €10.6 billion. Uninsured deposits in BoC currently face a 37.5% cut although an additional 22.5%, which have been frozen, might suffer the same fate. The government also hopes to raise €1.4 billion through privatizations, €1 billion by rolling over debt and €0.1 by restructuring the €2.5 billion Russian loan. Furthermore, a €0.6 billion is expected to be raised through austerity and tax revenue measures included in the Memorandum of Understanding and a €0.4 billion by selling most of the gold reserves of the Central Bank. Cyprus

will also raise taxes, cut spending and implement structural reforms to improve its public finances in order to be able to repay its debt eventually which is expected to fall to 104% of GDP in 2020 from 126% in 2015.

Moody's rating agency released a report stating the bailout agreement for Cyprus fails to address the islands fundamental solvency issues, predicting a second memorandum and a possible euro exit. The rating agency expects Cyprus's nominal GDP to contract by at least 12% until 2015. At the same time, Moody's downgraded Bank of Cyprus deposits from Caa3 to Ca with a negative outlook. According to Moody's, this reflects 'their expectations of sizable losses to uninsured depositors in the coming months.' Moody's highlighted also that Hellenic Bank can maintain its private ownership thanks to its capital buffers.

In a televised address on the 19th, President Anastasiades announced measures to kick-start the economy. These were five-fold and aimed at vulnerable groups, training unemployed individuals, creating new jobs, helping stimulate economic growth and encouraging environmental development. The island would turn to investments in energy and farming as well as in tourism through the licensing of casinos, a move that is being criticised by the Orthodox Church. At the same time Anastasiades announced the construction of a liquefied natural gas (LNG) plant.

Other measures include a change in the 'citizenship by investment' programme in order to attract wealthy non-EU citizens to invest capital in Cyprus. The new law reduced the amount of investment from €10 to €3million in order to be eligible for Cypriot citizenship and changed the previous regulation which required citizenship applicants to keep €15m in Cypriot banks for five years.

On April 26, Cyprus proceeded with easing the capital controls in place since March 28, which were imposed to prevent a bank run following the Eurogroup's decision to impose heavy losses on large depositors. Domestic transactions up to €500.000 are now permitted without prior vetting. The amount individuals can transfer domestically has been raised from €3.000 to €10.000 a month and from €2.000 to €5.000 abroad. The amount travellers may take abroad has been raised from €2.000 to €3.000. Other restrictions such as the €300 limit on cash withdrawals per day still remain in place.

In the meantime, Russia warned it will restructure its €2.5 billion loan to the island only if its interests, especially those related to VTB Bank, are protected and thus opts for a lifting of the restrictions, which affect VTP's subsidiary in Cyprus, the Russian Commercial Bank. Russia said it was ready to restructure the terms of the loan by extending the credit and cutting the interest rate from 4.5 % to 2,5%.

Semi-state companies, the telecommunications company (Cyta), the ports authority and the

electricity authority (EAC), are looking into securing a 1.4 billion loan in a bid to avoid being privatised as part of the island's 13 billion contribution.

A series of government bills including a corporate tax rate hike by 2,5 points to 12.5%, scaled cuts in public sector salaries and pensions and a provisional immovable property tax legislation aiming to raise €75 million, were submitted to the Parliament in order to meet immediate bailout conditions for the release of the €10 billion loan.

On the 30th the Cypriot Parliament approved the €10 billion bailout in aid from the troika with a thin majority of just two votes. A total of 29 MPs voted in favour and 27 against. DISY and coalition party DIKO as well as EVROKO's Demetris Syllouris voted in favour while left wing AKEL, EDEK, the Green's Georgos Perdikis, EVROKO's Nicos Koutsou and the independent Zacharias Koulias voted against it. Also Germany's lower house of parliament voted overwhelmingly in favour of a bailout for Cyprus. Of the 602 law makers in the Bundestag 487 backed the €10 billion rescue, 102 opposed it and 13 abstained.

Finance Minister Michalis Sarris resigned in order to facilitate an investigation for the causes of the crisis which will include his term as the Chairman of Laiki, his previous position before being appointed as Finance Minister. Sarris was replaced by Labour Minister, Haris Georgiadis. The Commerce Ministry's perma-

nent secretary, Zeta Emilianidou in turn replaced Georgiades as Labour Minister. The task to investigate the reasons for the need of a bailout and to assign civil, political and criminal responsibilities for the near bankruptcy of the state and the banks was given to the three member committee comprised of retired Supreme Court Judges. By the end of the month only one of the original three members of the investigative committee, Giorgos Pikiis, remained in place. The other two members, Yiannakis Constantinides and Panayiotis Kallis, resigned, citing health reasons and conflict of interest as reasons. Kallis was replaced by former Ombudswoman Iliana Nicolaou.

The blame game regarding the causes of the economic crisis is in full swing. AKEL's party leader Andros Kyprianou expressed concerns that the investigation into the causes of the economic crisis might be politically motivated in order to 'penalize' AKEL for its political convictions. The spokesman of the European Party, Michalis Giorgallas, on the other hand accuses AKEL of "injecting political pressure into the investigation".

In this context, a rift has emerged between the government and the Central Bank Governor Panikos Demetriades, who was appointed by the previous government. The Governor is criticized for his overall conduct through the banking crises, for his administrative decisions in the days following the decision to wind down Laiki Bank and restructure BoC and for misleading the parliament with regards to the mandate of

the investigation by Alvarez and Marshall (A&M) into the activities of the island's two biggest banks. His critics argue that A&M was restricted to mainly investigating BoC rather than Laiki, the main problem bank, despite parliament being told otherwise in a letter sent by Demetriades to the House in November.

According to Eurostat, Cyprus recorded in March the second highest unemployment increase in the European Union within one year. Compared with March 2012 the unemployment rate increased from 10,7% to 14,2%.

With the economic situation deteriorating, social problems come to the forefront. According to figures of the Cyprus immigration department, there are currently around 35,400 foreign domestic workers in Cyprus, most of them from the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Vietnam. These workers are now facing wage cuts or unemployment. If they do not find a new job within 30 days after being laid off their stay becomes illegal. According to KISA, an NGO offering support to migrant workers, the situation for non-EU workers is precarious and they are vulnerable to more wage cuts and exploitation as well as becoming undocumented.

As part of the bail-out deal the government is introducing new fiscal measures (see above) and reforms in the social services. There will be radical cuts of social benefits. Anyone who rejects a job offer by the Public Employment Service at least twice will have his state allowance cut off.

Free health care will also be reduced, so that people who have been insured less than three years or who have not paid their tax will be excluded from free medical care. Civil servants, who had free healthcare up to now, will have to contribute with 1.5% to the health scheme. Furthermore, a National Health System (NHS) which has been in the pipe for years is to be adopted as soon as possible.

Asylum seekers are facing changes in their treatment, too. They will have to stay in accommodation allocated by the state whereby the rent will be directly paid by the state to the owners of the property. This means that a number of asylum seekers will have to move to new premises. Monetary allowances will be reduced drastically and instead food and clothing coupons will be issued. Furthermore, state benefits will be cut off if asylum seekers refuse job offers.

In order to restore trust in governance and the political elites after years of corruption and party patronage, President Anastasiades announced a variety of measures. These are geared to make the overall administration more efficient, cut red tape and allocate more accountability. These measures will affect the regulation of state officials, the president's terms in office, the hiring of state or semi-governmental employees, measures regarding the role of civil society and finally changes in the justice sector. With regards to the regulation of state officials, transparency and allocation of accountability are key elements. Thus,

the immunity for the President of the Republic, ministers as well as members of parliament will be limited. Another important measure, which is a direct result of the Mari accident in 2011, makes the findings in the reports of committees of inquiries binding. Furthermore, anti-corruption measures will be introduced that focus on tenders in the wider state sector and monitoring reports based on the auditor-general's annual reports which include also municipalities and communities. In order to safeguard public interest the reports will be published on the relevant websites.

There are additional measures with the aim to limit the terms in office of elected representatives. The new regulations stipulate that the President as well as other elected officials with executive power may stay in power only for two consecutive terms. Members of parliament may serve only for three consecutive terms.

As for the hiring of state or semi-governmental employees the majority of measures are aimed to ensure a high level of transparency and anonymity in the application process in order to promote a culture of meritocracy instead of favoritism. The civil service will undergo a major reform in order to streamline and modernize its performance. This involves cost cutting and the use of modern technology such as e-government. By December 2013 these actions should be implemented.

Civil society should be strengthened by various measures such as creating a framework for the public to submit proposals to parliament.

The reforms of the justice system are twofold. Firstly, they aim at promoting efficiency by introducing structural reforms. Secondly, as a result of the financial crisis there will be a special court dealing with claims against banks. A detailed summary of the measures can be found in the appendix.

4. Turkish Cypriots

Economic and Domestic Developments

Turkish Cypriot officials and the Turkish diplomacy argued that a settlement to the Cyprus problem would pay economic dividends. Turkish Foreign Minister, Ahmet Davutoglu, maintained that had the island been reunited as of 2004, when the Greek Cypriot dominated Republic of Cyprus officially joined the European Union as a divided territory, the current financial and economic crisis facing the Greek Cypriots could have been averted. The subtext was that, among other benefits, a settlement could also involve agreement on regional hydrocarbon extraction that has added another geopolitical dimension to the already complex Cyprus issue. The rhetorical stance was designed to pressure the Greek Cypriot side to recommence direct settlement talks swiftly. Turkish Minister for EU Affairs, Egemen Bagis, reiterated the Turkish

stance that the opening of Turkey's ports to the Republic of Cyprus (an obligation under the Ankara Protocol to the EU Customs Union) could occur in return for the EU realizing pledges to the Turkish Cypriot community to lift its international isolation, including the implementation of a direct trade regulation and the initiation of international commercial flights to and from Ercan (Tymbou) airport. However the Turkish side did not appear ready to discuss the status of Varosha that seemed key to any breakthrough on the confidence building measures (CBMs) front.

Meanwhile spillover effects of the financial crisis had the potential to affect Turkish Cypriots. Some impacts were readily apparent. As a fiscal measure the Republic of Cyprus initiated reforms included limiting health care access to citizens who actively contribute to the social security system. This would effectively end the de facto means tested services directed at Turkish Cypriots since crossings commenced in 2003, affecting hundreds of individuals dependent on free health care services. As most Turkish Cypriots reside in the north and do not work in the south, they do not pay taxes to the Republic of Cyprus.

April also coincided with the tenth anniversary of the unilateral decision by the Turkish side to open the Greenline for crossings in 2003.

As the Eurogroup deal required the sale of more assets than initially calculated, the Republic of Cyprus announced the pending sale of gold

reserves, reportedly 14 tons of reserve. This was contested by the Turkish Cypriot Minister of Finance, Ersin Tatar, who claimed that Turkish Cypriots own a share in gold purchased by the Republic in 1960.

The financial crisis also offered TRNC¹ officials an opportunity to justify the 2013-2015 Economic Cooperation agreement signed with Turkey alongside large infrastructural projects prominently featuring the water pipeline project. In contrasting the EU's austerity approach to Turkey's handling of the Turkish Cypriot economy, the Minister of Finance claimed that the Turkish Cypriot economy was on the verge of takeoff.

Following months of uncertainty, April was less eventful. The National Unity Party (UBP) leadership contest was resolved the previous month in Prime Minister Irsen Kucuk's favor, although the division within the party continued to affect the functioning of parliament where dissident MPs gave the Prime Minister and ultimatum to reshuffle the cabinet by the end of April. As Kucuk refused a new crisis was anticipated in

¹ The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) is only recognised by the Republic of Turkey. While for Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots, Derviş Eroğlu 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 is suspended in northern Cyprus pending a political settlement to the Cyprus problem (see Protocol no. 10 of the Accession Treaty).

May, possibly prompting the parliament to dissolve and for early elections to be scheduled.

In April Kucuk and other government ministers met with Turkish officials. Embarrassingly, Kucuk was presented a report on the TRNC public sector by Turkish Minister for Cyprus Affairs, Besir Atalay, underscoring Turkish Cypriot dependency on Turkey and the pressure exerted by Turkish officials on Kucuk's government to implement various reforms, including public sector reform as part of the agreement between the two administrations.

April also saw resolution to the Turkish Cypriot Nicosia (Lefkosa) Municipality crisis with Kadri Fellahoglu's election to mayor. Whereas the financial crisis remained, Fellahoglu enjoyed a brief honeymoon in April while plans for restructuring the municipality were being drawn up.

President Eroglu briefed parliament on Cyprus problem in mid-April.

5. Appendix

Regulation of state officials

- Amending the Constitution to clarify for what offences the President of the Republic may be prosecuted.

- Lifting members of parliament's immunity for all offences, but preserving their freedom of speech during the exercise of their duty.

- Legally regulating ministers' and independent officials' civil and criminal responsibilities for actions and omissions committed while on duty.

- More state officials will be obliged to file income statements at fixed intervals. This includes commissioners, judges, and the heads of parties that are not in parliament. A committee of auditors will be set up to investigate claims and publicly report any false claims.

- Parliament has already passed a government proposal to make binding the reports of committees of inquiries.

- Parliament has also accepted a government proposal to allow the attorney-general, and not just the Cabinet, to appoint criminal investigators.

Anti-corruption measures

- Tenders in the wider state sector will be fully justified and made public.

- A committee will be set up per ministry to monitor and implement suggestions and reports as per the auditor-general's annual report.

- Departments in the wider state sector, including semi-governmental bodies, will be obliged to submit to parliament a full annual report on

the action taken as per the auditor-general's report, alongside with their annual budget submissions. Municipalities and communities will be obliged to comply with the auditor-general's suggestions and will be penalized for non-compliance.

- Minutes will be taken during any meeting in the wider state sector where administrative decisions are taken. Such decisions will be published in the relevant authority's website. Exceptions are in place for matters of state security, defence or international matters that involve confidential or pertain to personal data.

- The Ombudswoman will now be able to act as mediator with relevant services and will publish and report to Cabinet departments' failure to comply with her recommendations.

- The criminal and civil responsibilities of state officials will be defined for any damaged caused by inexcusable negligence or fraudulent behaviours that are part of complicity.

Terms in office

- The President may only remain in power for two consecutive terms, as may all officials with executive power such as mayors and community leaders.

- Members of parliament, municipal and community councillors may only serve for up to three consecutive terms.

Meritocracy

- For hiring in the state or semi-governmental sector: written exams will be anonymous to the examiners. Interviews will be given less importance than a academic qualifications or work experience.

- Candidates for hiring and promotion committees will be presented in a public hearing in Parliament, to promote transparency.

- Failed candidates will be given a full report on the reasons they were rejected.

- All members of the public will be given access to all public documents with the exception of international treaties of a confidential nature or involving personal data and matters of state security, defence.

- An independent hiring and promotion committee will be set up for semi-governmental organisations, relieving the boards of the responsibility and allowing boards' appointments to be on the basis of merit and not political expediencies.

Civil service reform

- The Commissioner for civil service reform Emanuella Moushioutta Lambrianidou will present an action plan within three months to reform the state sector.

Her mandate includes the following:

- Simplifying structures and procedures.

- Merging, abolishing or strengthening services as needed.
- Modernising the appraisal system for state officials
- Using modern technology and e-government
- Training.
- Public-private collaborations.
- Improving services to the public.
- Reducing administrative expenses.
- Adopting a code of ethics on transparency.

- A timeframe to implement the action plan by December 2013 at the latest.

- As part of a bill, goals will be set per ministry aiming to measure quality and efficiency and improve administrative procedures and simplify decision-making processes.

- A separate bill will institutionalise obligations of public law entities present action plans that are compatible with government policy and regulate the jurisdiction and duty of board members, including civil and criminal responsibilities.

- A bill for the creation of junior ministries to enable the state to work more effectively and smoothly has been submitted to parliament.

Civil society

- The public or interest groups can submit proposals to parliament if they manage to collect at least 10,000 statements of support.

- Voting registration will be automatic but failing to vote will be decriminalized.

- If parties agree, horizontal and electronic voting will be adopted.

Justice

- Administrative courts will be set up to alleviate the Supreme Court's work load.

- District courts will be supported to increase efficiency.

- A special court will be set up to examine claims by bonds' holders claiming to have been misled by banks.

- The office of a bank mediator will be set up in May to take up cases that would otherwise go to district courts.²

² *Cyprus Mail* (30/04/2013)

6. FES Cyprus - Events

14 May 2013, 8 pm.

FES

Movie and discussion with the director

Akamas

By: Panikos Chrysanthou

Turkish Lefkosa, 1, Şair Nedim Street,
Çağlayan district, KTÖS Merkez Lokali

open to the public



20 May 2013, 7 pm.

FES

Panel Discussion

German-Cypriot Relations: A victim of the bail-out?

In Dialogue with Manuel Sarrazin (Member of the German Parliament)

Nicosia/University of Nicosia
open to the public



25 May 2013

Archis Interventions / ERSTE Stiftung / AHDR / FES
Conference and workshop

Post--Conflict Development and Civic Imagination (Divided Cities)

Home for Cooperation H4C, UN Buffer zone,
Nicosia, Cyprus
open to the public



07-09 June 2013

FES Cyprus / FES Athens / FES Istanbul
Conference and Workshop

Journalist Seminar

Chateau Status (in the Buffer Zone near Ledra
Palace), Markou Drakou St. 12, Nicosia, Cyprus

Not open to the public



22 June 2013

FES

Conference and Workshop

Working title: The State we are in

UNESCO Amphi Theatre, University of Nicosia,
Nicosia, Cyprus
Open to the public

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