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National Backgrounders – European Foreign Policy

Country Profile

Cyprus

Capital:	Nicosia
Geographical Size:	9251.0 km ²
Population:	858 000 (2014)
Population as % of total EU population:	0.2% (2014)
GDP:	€ 16.503 billion (2013)
Defense Expenditure:	€ 290 million (2013)
Official EU language(s):	Greek
Political System:	Presidential republic
EU member country since:	1 May 2004
Seats in European Parliament:	6
Currency:	Eurozone since 1 January 2008
Schengen area member?	No
Presidency of the Council:	Once: in 2012

Source: Europa.eu

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a. Political System

Cyprus is a presidential republic divided into six districts. It gained independence from Great Britain in 1960, but has remained part of the Commonwealth of Nations until today. The island is ethnically divided between the **Greek** (77%) and **Turkish** (18%) population. The Greek side (in the South) represents the official government. The Turkish in the North also have constitutional rights, but do not accept the official government's authority and declared their independence in 1983, following Turkey's invasion of Northern Cyprus resulting from Greece's attempt to annex the island to its territory. The unrecognized "Republic of Northern Cyprus" (TRNC) is *de facto* administered by Turkey and highly dependent on the latter for economic, political, and military subsistence. Northern Cyprus has its own President (Mustafa Akıncı), Prime Minister (Ömer Kalyoncu), government, and parliament, however heavily influenced by Turkey. Nevertheless, it is important to note that only the Republic of Cyprus, as functioning in the South of the island, is a *de jure* recognized state entity.

The President of Cyprus, currently Nicos Anastasiades (Democratic Rally, *DIKO*) since 2013, is the Head of State as well as the Head of Government. The Cypriot people elect this position every five years. According to the Constitution, it is supposed to be filled by a Greek Cypriot while a Turkish Cypriot will act as a Vice President. However, there has been no Vice President as the Turkish community refuses to nominate one. The president appoints the Council of Ministers, which exercise the executive power. The current cabinet is made of thirteen ministers forming a government coalition between the Democratic Rally (*DISY*) and the European Party (*EVROKO*), previously including the Democratic Party (*DIKO*) that withdrew a few months after the election. Independent government officials with technical expertise are also included (six ministers).

The legislative power is exercised in the unicameral House of Representatives, elected every five years. This body holds 80 seats, 56 of those are meant for the Greek Cypriots and 24 for the Turkish Cypriots. However, the Turkish population refuses to make use of it, and has its own legislative body. It is currently made of deputies from the Democratic Rally (*DISY*) and the European Party (*EVROKO*) (21 members), and from the Progressive Party of Working People (*AKEL*), the Democratic Party (*DIKO*), the Citizens' Alliance, the Greens and the Independents in opposition (35 members).

The highest judicial body in Cyprus is the Supreme Court, with 13 judges. The judges are appointed by the president with the recommendation of the judges already present in the court. Additionally, several subordinate courts exist such as the District Courts, the Military Court, the Rent Control Courts, the Industrial Disputes Court, and Family Courts.¹

b. Foreign Policy

Cyprus enjoys good relations with many countries and promotes international cooperation, peace, stability, and sustainable development. Furthermore, it strongly supports human rights, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, as well as international peace and security. Due to its location, it is able to act as a **bridge** between Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean. Moreover, despite being part of the EU and enjoying rather good relations with the U.S., Nicosia cannot be considered as staunchly Atlanticist. This is because one of the main characteristics of Cypriot foreign policy is the constant need to seek a **right balance** between its Western partners (EU and United States) and Russia.

¹ "Cyprus", *The World Factbook*, Central Intelligence Agency. Web. Accessed June 10, 2015, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cy.html>

Other global issues that are of importance to the country are measures against money laundering and against terrorism. In the field of terrorism, Cyprus plans to work together with other governments and cooperate internationally. As Cyprus adheres to the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity, it does not recognize Kosovo as an independent state.²

Cyprus has strained relations with one of its neighbors, **Turkey**, as the question over the Northern Cypriot territory is still not solved. In 1974, Turkish forces invaded the island, following Greece's attempt to annex it to its territory. In 1983, the Northern area of Cyprus, occupied by Turkey, declared its independence. However, only Turkey has recognized this status until today. Several talks between the two sides under UN auspices have taken place, the last time in 2014, when a Joint Declaration was signed. This declaration lays out a possible settlement, which would build a bi-communal, bi-zonal federation with political equality. This would mean a single legal entity and one single citizenship for Cypriots.

In response to the offshore natural gas exploration conducted by Cyprus, Turkey sent a vessel to explore for hydrocarbons in the southern parts of the Cypriot **Exclusive Economic Zone** (EEZ) in October 2014. Turkey also deployed a warship to protect its vessel and to carry out surveillance of Cypriot exploratory drilling activities in the Eastern Mediterranean. In reaction to this illegal move, President Anastasiades suspended his participation to the direct talks with former Turkish Cypriot leader Derviş Eroğlu³. Of particular importance are the European Council Conclusions of 24 October 2014, which expressed “serious concern about the renewed tensions in the Eastern Mediterranean and urged Turkey to show restraint and to respect Cyprus' sovereignty over its territorial sea and Cyprus' sovereign rights in its exclusive economic zone”⁴. The European Council Conclusions were followed, on 13 November 2014, by the adoption of a European Parliament resolution that condemned Ankara's behavior, claiming that these “provocations” undermine a possible resolution of the Cypriot dispute⁵.

Cyprus enjoys good relations with **Russia**. Firstly, during the implementation of the EU-IMF austerity measures, Russian businesses stayed on in Cyprus, galvanizing relations between the two countries. Secondly, Moscow granted Nicosia better repayment terms for an old €2.5-billion Russian loan. Thirdly, when in late 2014 a Turkish research vessel began menacingly crisscrossing Cyprus' gas-rich EEZ, the Cypriot government expected the United States and the UK to step in. When they didn't, Cyprus veered toward Russia⁶. In February 2015, Cyprus and Russia signed and updated a military deal that allows the use of Cypriot seaports by Russian military forces in “humanitarian and anti-terrorist operations”. Russian warships will dock next to the Limassol British base, one of NATO's most important airbases and electronic surveillance sites for the ongoing operations in Iraq. Fourthly, right before the deal, Cyprus (alongside Greece) expressed its disapproval to Russian sanctions.⁷

² “Foreign Policy”, *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus*, January 20, 2011. Web. Accessed June 11, 2015, http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/policy06_en/policy06_en?OpenDocument#

³ “Relations with Turkey on the Cyprus question”, *European Foreign Policy Scorecard 2015*, European Council on Foreign Relations. Web. Accessed November 9, 2015. <http://www.ecfr.eu/scorecard/2015/wider/32>

⁴ European Council, “Conclusions”, *Official Journal of the European Union*, EUCO 169/14 (23/24 October 2014), p. 15. Web. Accessed November 9, 2015.

http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/145397.pdf

⁵ European Parliament, “European Parliament resolution on Turkish actions creating tensions in the exclusive economic zone of Cyprus”, *Official Journal of the European Union*, P8_TA(2014)0052 (November, 13, 2014). Web. Accessed November 9, 2015. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=TA&reference=P8-TA-2014-0052&language=EN&ring=B8-2014-0211>

⁶ Karides N., “Letter from Nicosia”, *Judy Dempsey's Strategic Europe*, Carnegie Europe, June 26, 2015. Web. Accessed November 9, 2015. <http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/?fa=60514>

⁷ Nadeau J., “Cyprus goes cap in hand to Moscow”, *Foreign Policy Association*, March 3, 2015. Web. Accessed November 9, 2015. <http://foreignpolicyblogs.com/2015/03/03/cyprus-goes-cap-in-hand-to-moscow/>

The **United States** does not recognize the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) and supports UN efforts to reach a comprehensive settlement to reunify the island as a bizonal, bicomunal federation, in order to build regional stability. In this respect, the U.S. provides Cyprus with assistance by promoting mutual understanding between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities through support for activities that bring them together. The U.S. assistance also seeks to address economic disparities between the two communities and promote expanded business and economic relationships between them⁸.

According to Zenonas Tziarras from the *Cyprus Center for European and International Affairs*, the foreign policy of Cyprus has improved significantly over the past ten years and the country is starting to realize its **key geostrategic role** despite some persisting problems and dilemmas. Turkey's increasing self-aggrandizement and destabilizing foreign policy, which led it to multiple diplomatic and strategic dead-ends, contributed to this emerging reality. In addition, Cyprus' delimitation of its maritime EEZ with Egypt, Lebanon, and Israel and the discovery of hydrocarbons within it, increased the country's self-awareness. These results have been evident, for example, when Cyprus managed to become part of two important **regional trilateral partnerships**: Israel-Cyprus-Greece and Egypt-Cyprus-Greece. However, foreign policy in Cyprus is often seen as a mere means towards the resolution of the Cyprus problem; international alliances and agreements are understood through this prism⁹.

European Union (EU)

Cyprus had already formed an Association Agreement with the EU in 1972. In 1990, it applied to become a EU member, and accession negotiations began in 1998. Cyprus finally became a EU member in 2004. At the same time, a "**Green Line Regulation**" was passed in order to regulate the movement of people and goods on the divided island. The European Commission has set up the **Task Force for the Cypriot Community** and the **Programme Support Office (EUPSO)** to implement the regulation until the country is reunited.¹⁰

Cyprus greatly favors enlargement of the EU in order to achieve further European integration and secure peace and stability in Europe. It supports Turkey's idea of joining the EU, but only in the case that the country will be able to successfully apply the negotiating chapters. Cyprus further supports **accession negotiations** of the Western Balkan countries such as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Albania, and Bosnia & Herzegovina, and it positively regards the development of the Kosovo along European principles.¹¹

Since its accession to the European Union in 2004, Cyprus became the EU's farthest outpost in an increasingly turbulent Eastern Mediterranean. EU membership did not end the country's division. What is more, many Cypriots saw the Union's solidarity to be lacking during Europe's recent economic crisis. As a result of these two factors, the EU's gloss quickly wore off, and the spectre of a more multidimensional realpolitik emerged. With the Eurozone perceived as a punisher and not a savior, Nicosia scrambled for allies. Cyprus' once record-high pro-European sentiment was eroded to inconceivable lows¹².

⁸ "U.S. Relations with Cyprus", *U.S. Department of State*, August 4, 2015. Web. Accessed November 9, 2015. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5376.htm>

⁹ Tziarras Z., "Global Shifts and the East in Cyprus' Foreign Policy", *Cyprus Center for European and International Affairs*, Vol. 12, Issue 3-Z, June 11, 2015. Web. Accessed November 9, 2015. http://www.cceia.unic.ac.cy/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=455

¹⁰ "Turkish Cypriot Community", *European Commission*, 2012. Web. Accessed June 10, 2015, http://ec.europa.eu/cyprus/turkish_cypriots/index_en.htm

¹¹ "Policy Issues", *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus*, September 4, 2012. Web. Accessed June 11, 2015 http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/eu02_en/eu02_en?OpenDocument

¹² Karides N., "Letter from Nicosia", *Judy Dempsey's Strategic Europe*, Carnegie Europe, June 26, 2015. Web. Accessed November 9, 2015. <http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/?fa=60514>

Commonwealth of Nations (CoN)

Cyprus became a member of the Commonwealth of Nations (formerly British Commonwealth) in 1961. It supports Cyprus in finding a just solution to the territorial issue, in line with the relevant UN Security Council Resolutions calling for a State of Cyprus with a single sovereignty, single international personality, and a single citizenship, in a bi-communal, bi-zonal federation with political equality. In the last few years, the Commonwealth of Nations has also expressed support and solidarity to Cyprus in the exercise of its sovereign rights to explore and exploit the natural resources in its Exclusive Economic Zone and has called for the avoidance of actions and statements that threaten the stability in the Eastern Mediterranean¹³.

c. Peace & Security Policy

Since its independence, Cyprus has acted according to the principles of global disarmament, arms control, as well as non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. In order to adhere to these guidelines, Cyprus has ratified the following international treaties:

- The Nuclear non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968;
- The Biological and Toxic Weapons Convention of 1972;
- The Chemical Weapons Convention of 1993; and
- The Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty of 1996.

Despite this, Cyprus demands 24 months of obligatory military service in the Cypriot National Guard, co-existing with the Turkish Cypriot Security Force. Cyprus has also special defensive bilateral relations with Armenia, France, Montenegro, Ukraine, Russia, and Serbia. Finally, the Civil Defense Force protects Cypriot citizens.

European Union (EU)

Cyprus has been part of the European Defence Agency (EDA) since its creation in 2004. When Cyprus held the Council of the EU's presidency in 2012, it put a special emphasis on maritime security due to their geographic location. Cyprus is also part of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and has participated in a number of missions in the past such as in Chad, Congo, and Bosnia & Herzegovina. It is also currently contributing to the operation EUNAVFOR ATALANTA in Somalia¹⁴. Furthermore, the country is part of the EU battlegroup HELBROC together with Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, and Ukraine. In the first half of 2014, HELBROC was put at readiness for the fourth time, and it will do so also in 2016, 2018, and 2020¹⁵. In April 2015, Cyprus Defence Minister and EDA Chief Executive signed an agreement on the "EU Satcom Market Joint Procurement Arrangement". Through this accord, Cyprus and other countries will pool their demand for satellite communication technology, making use of the EDA's central purchasing actor role¹⁶.

¹³ "Cyprus and the Commonwealth", *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus*, last update June 11, 2014. Web. Accessed November 10, 2015.

<http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/All/A508C055CED55392C22571B1002137B7?OpenDocument>

¹⁴ "Common Foreign and Security / Common Security and Defence Policy (CFSP/CSDP)", *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus*, May 2011. Web. Accessed June 11, 2015.

http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/eu08_en/eu08_en?OpenDocument

¹⁵ Nestoras A., "The view from Europe's borders: Greece and CSDP as a security provider" in Fiott D. (ed.) "The Common Security and Defence Policy: National Perspectives", *Egmont Institute*, No. 79, May 2015, p. 62. Web. Accessed November 6, 2015. <http://www.egmontinstitute.be/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/ep79.pdf>

¹⁶ "Defence cooperation talks in Cyprus", Press releases, *European Defence Agency*, April 23, 2015. Web. Accessed November 10, 2015. <http://www.eda.europa.eu/info-hub/press-centre/latest-news/2015/04/23/defence-cooperation-talks-in-cyprus>

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

Cyprus is the only EU member state that is neither a member of the NATO nor of the Partnership for Peace Program (PfP). Unless the Cypriot dispute is settled, Turkey blocks any Cypriot attempt to join the Organization.

United Nations (UN)

Cyprus has been a member of the UN since 1960. Most of the UN relations to Cyprus are focused on the split state of the country. Notably, the UN Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 186 (1964), by which it recommended the establishment of the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), following the outbreak of violence on the island in December 1963. Many resolutions have been passed urging the country to reunite. Furthermore, many talks between the two Cypriot communities have taken place under UN supervision¹⁷. Cyprus sees the UN as a tool to achieve peace, justice, security, and respect of human rights. Besides having a peacekeeping mission on its own territory, Cyprus participates in the UNIFIL Mission in Lebanon, providing two soldiers as of September 2015¹⁸. Cyprus contributed 0.047% of the UN Peacekeeping Budget in 2015¹⁹.

Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)

Cyprus has been a member of the OSCE since its creation in 1973 as the *Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe*. It notably values the Treaty on Open Skies and contributes to the reinforcement of the OSCE-Mediterranean Partnership. In April 2015, OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media Dunja Mijatović expressed concern on the measure approved by the Parliament of Cyprus criminalizing the denial of war crimes. OSCE Representative believes that “the measure raises serious concerns about compliance with international freedom of expression standards”²⁰. In 2014, Cyprus contributed 0.1% (€ 200,347) of the OSCE budget and one national worked for the Organisation²¹.

Council of Europe (CoE)

Cyprus became a member of the Council of Europe in 1961. In 2015, Cyprus contributed to 0.1% (€ 503 543) of the CoE’s unified budget²². The CoE has found Turkey responsible for serious violations of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, in the territorial part of Cyprus occupied by Turkey. In addition, the European Court of Human Rights found Turkey guilty of gross violations of human rights in Cyprus²³.

¹⁷ “Cyprus Profile – Overview”, *BBC News*, 26 March 2015. Web. Accessed June 11, 2015
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-17217956>

¹⁸ “UN Mission’s Summary detailed by Country”, *United Nations Peacekeeping*, September 30, 2015, p. 10. Web. Accessed November 10, 2015. http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/2015/sep15_3.pdf

¹⁹ United Nations General Assembly, “Implementation of General Assembly resolutions 55/235 and 55/236”, *Report of the Secretary General*, December 27, 2012: 2. Web. Accessed November 10, 2015.
http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/67/224/Add.1.

²⁰ “Cyprus bill to criminalize denial of war crimes may hamper freedom of expression, says OSCE Representative”, Press releases, *The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)*, April 9, 2015. Web. Accessed November 10, 2015. <http://www.osce.org/fom/150546>

²¹ The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), *Annual Report 2014*, July 2015, p. 105-109. Web. Accessed November 10, 2015. <http://www.osce.org/secretariat/169971?download=true>

²² “Cyprus – Member state”, *Council of Europe*. Web. Accessed November 10, 2015.
<http://www.coe.int/en/web/portal/cyprus>

²³ “Cyprus and the Council of Europe”, *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus*, June 2008. Web. Accessed November 2015.
<http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/All/94709D433A4F4B5DC22571B10020F15F?OpenDocument>

Strategic Culture

Cyprus used to be a member of the Non-Aligned Movement since its creation until joining the EU in 2004. As of today, Cypriot authorities drafted no national security strategy. The country's security and defense strategic vision is limited to the everlasting dispute over the northern territory. As a result, strategic alliance choices are not clear-cut: Cyprus is member of the EU but does not mind Russian support. Moreover, psychological recalls of the Non-Aligned Movement are not to underestimate. Yet, in 2012, Cyprus published its first Cyber security Strategy. The following priority areas have been identified to respond to cyber threats: coordination of the governmental stakeholders, development of a complete legal framework, capability development and training, productive collaboration between the public and private sector and the creation or adaptation of the necessary structures and instruments within the Cyprus Government²⁴.

d. Economic Policy

European Union (EU)

Even before joining the EU, Cyprus had already signed a Customs Union Protocol in 1987 in order to increase trade, financial, and technical cooperation with the Union, and several additional financial protocols were signed to strengthen the economic ties between the two actors. The country is currently benefitting from structural funds, for example in the field of tourism.²⁵ Until 2000, Cyprus' monetary system enjoyed certain stability thanks to its adhesion to the fixed exchange rate system. The goal was to maintain price stability in the medium term. This changed with the entry into the EU and the adoption of the Euro. It drastically liberated the previous banking environment, leading to a growing business activity and increased liquidity. In the beginning, the economy was able to profit from this and several indicators improved such as welfare and education.²⁶

As a close partner of Greece, the financial crisis hit Cyprus resulting in economic recession and banking collapse in 2013. However, the period of recession was shorter in Cyprus than in Greece, which might be due to the fact that the "Troika" (European Commission, European Central Bank, and International Monetary Fund) imposed fewer restrictions on Cyprus, which had better capacities to deal with this crisis²⁷. The European Commission and the IMF implemented a €10 billion Economic Adjustment Program in Cyprus, starting in May 2013 and lasting until 2016. The objectives were to restore the Cypriot banking sector and bring back inter-Bank trust, to continue the fiscal consolidation reducing the government deficit, and to implement structural reforms thereby supporting competitiveness and sustainable growth²⁸.

²⁴ Office of the Commissioner of Electronic Communications & Postal Regulation, *Cybersecurity Strategy of the Republic of Cyprus*, April 23, 2012, p. 3-4. Web. Accessed November 10, 2015.

https://www.enisa.europa.eu/activities/Resilience-and-CIIP/national-cyber-security-strategies-ncsss/national-cyber-security-strategy-cyprus/at_download/file

²⁵ "Cyprus and the EU", *High Commission of the Republic of Cyprus in New Delhi*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus. Web. Accessed June 11, 2015

http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/highcom/highcom_newdelhi.nsf/DMLcyeu_en/DMLcyeu_en?Opendocument

²⁶ Orphinades A, Syrichas G. (eds.), *The Cyprus Economy - Historical Review, Prospects, Challenges*, Nicosia: Central Bank of Cyprus, 2012. Web. Accessed June 11, 2015.

http://www.centralbank.gov.cy/media/pdf/CBC_book_EN.pdf

²⁷ Clerides S., "The Collapse of the Cypriot Banking System: A Bird's Eye View", *Cyprus Economic Policy Review*, Vol. 8, Issue 2 (2014): 3-35. Web. Accessed June 11, 2015.

https://www.ucy.ac.cy/erc/documents/Clerides_3-35.pdf

²⁸ "Economic Adjustment Program", *European Commission*, November 5, 2015. Web. Accessed November 9, 2015, http://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/assistance_eu_ms/cyprus/index_en.htm

Another issue of concern is the expanding Cypriot pension scheme, as life expectancy in Cyprus is rising. This will become a serious problem as by 2050 Cyprus is projected to have the highest public pension expenditures in the EU.²⁹

Economic Diplomacy & Foreign Trade

Cyprus has been a member of the WTO since 1995 and was already part of the previous GATT. As a member of these two organizations, the country was actively involved in major international trade activities. Cyprus believes that trade and environment should be regarded in an intertwined manner, as the country would like to increase its competitiveness but still prosper on the island.

Cyprus is a market economy heavily relying on the services sector. Its main export partners are Greece, the UK, and the US. Imports are primarily coming from Greece, Israel, and the UK. Regarding investments, on the one hand U.S. investment are primarily made in the energy, financial services, tourism, logistics, and consumer goods sectors³⁰; on the other hand, the volume of Cypriot investments in Russia totals \$65 billion, while Cyprus has attracted \$33 billion in Russian investment. Russian nationals make up the largest part of the island's tourism in terms of cash spent³¹.

e. Other Diplomatic Priorities

Priorities at the Global Level

As an island, Cyprus is interested in adopting protective measures for the environment. They fear that the effects of climate change, such as rising water levels and increasing scarcity of water resources, might otherwise seriously harm the country.

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²⁹ Simone A. S., "The Cypriot Pension System: Issues and Reform Options", *Cyprus Economic Policy Review*, Vol. 5, Issue 2 (2011): 3-34. Web. Accessed June 11, 2015. https://www.ucey.ac.cy/erc/documents/SIMONE_3-34.pdf

³⁰ "U.S. Relations with Cyprus", *U.S. Department of State*, August 4, 2015. Web. Accessed November 9, 2015. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5376.htm>

³¹ Nadeau J., "Cyprus goes cap in hand to Moscow", *Foreign Policy Association*, March 3, 2015. Web. Accessed November 9, 2015. <http://foreignpolicyblogs.com/2015/03/03/cyprus-goes-cap-in-hand-to-moscow/>

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