



The PRIO Cyprus Centre (PCC),  
The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Cyprus (FES-Cyprus) and  
The Centre for Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development (SeeD)  
cordially invite you to a discussion panel titled

***Nothing Is Agreed Until Everything Is Agreed:  
A Comparative Evaluation of the Comprehensive Settlement Approaches***

Home for Cooperation – Nicosia, Cyprus  
Thursday 28<sup>th</sup> June 2018  
from 10:30 to 19:30

RSVP by email to [office@fescyprus.org](mailto:office@fescyprus.org) by Monday, 25.06.18

Concept note, agenda and bios enclosed

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### **CONCEPT NOTE:**

For more than five decades, Cypriot leaders have been engaged in negotiations to resolve the Cyprus conflict. For more than four of those decades, that negotiation has been one to reunite a divided island in a bizonal bicomunal federal system. From its inception, negotiations were imagined and understood as a ‘comprehensive settlement’, one in which all issues related to reunification would be addressed in a single document. Post-1974, the discussion that had previously addressed questions of power-sharing and security expanded to include questions of territorial adjustment, the return of displaced persons, and compensation for lost property. Over the years, Track I level peace negotiations between the two communities have begun and have stalled, fast-tracked, revisited and re-launched with fatigue lined with hope. Myriad failed attempts at reaching a ‘comprehensive settlement’ is progressively prompting self-reflection on the conflict resolution and negotiation principles and approaches employed in Cyprus. Increasing number of stakeholders, practitioners and researchers are questioning the “nothing is agreed until everything is agreed” principle. This principle first adopted in The Joint Framework Document between Britain and Ireland in 1995, was later be applied in Israel-Palestine, Bosnia, Colombia, and Cyprus. Ultimately, this principle tries to ensure a ‘big picture negotiation’, where individual items cannot be settled separately and the parties can avoid committing themselves to individual parts of the agreement. However, this also means that they can all at any time renege on anything they’ve agreed to.

Given the current despondent mood and stalled Track I process, a critical reflection on the methodology of the peace process itself is necessary. Indeed, the need for a full reassessment of the peace process has been called for at all levels, with former United Nations Special Advisor, Espen Barth Eide commenting that in hindsight transparency and shared knowledge would have significantly increased the likelihood of a positive outcome.<sup>1</sup> This conference organised by the PRIO Cyprus Centre (PCC), the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) and the Centre for Sustainable Peace and Democratic Development (SeeD) will examine the ‘nothing is agreed until everything is agreed’ principle from a comparative lens, drawing on processes, practices and lessons learned in other contexts such as the Northern Ireland, Bosnia, Indonesia and Israel-Palestine. Speakers will discuss different negotiation parameters and comprehensive settlement approaches employed in different peace processes.

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<sup>1</sup> 3rd August 2017, United Nations Special Adviser Espen Barth Eide’s comments during his Cyprus farewell visit.  
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# ***Nothing Is Agreed Until Everything Is Agreed:*** ***A Comparative Evaluation of the Comprehensive Settlement Approaches***

Thursday 28<sup>th</sup> June 2018, Home for Cooperation, Nicosia - Cyprus

## **AGENDA**

**10:15 – 10:45 REGISTRATION**

**10:45 - 11:00 INTRODUCTION by PCC/SeeD/FES Plenary Chair, TBC**

**11:00 - 12:40 PANEL I: *Comparative Perspectives on the Comprehensive Settlement Framework***

The panel will discuss the pros and cons of the comprehensive settlement package format, and particularly the principle of ‘nothing is agreed until everything is agreed’.

Keynote Speaker:

Sumantra Bose, Professor of International and Comparative Politics, London School of Economics (Bosnia, Israel-Palestine, Kashmir, Cyprus, Sri Lanka, Northern Ireland)

Panel I:

Quintin Oliver, Director of Stratagem International, Northern Ireland (Northern Ireland, Colombia)

Dahlia Scheindlin, Public Opinion Expert and Political Adviser, Israel (Israel-Palestine)

Vladislav Kulminski, Moldova Project Manager, The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, Switzerland (Moldova, Georgia)

**12:40 - 13:10 Plenary Chair/Discussant (PCC/SeeD), Mete Hatay (PCC)/Ilke Dagli (SeeD)**

**13:10 - 14:10 Lunch & Coffee break**

**14:10 – 16:10 PANEL 2: *Has the Time Come for a New Settlement Method in Cyprus?***

The panel will reflect on the post-1974 Cyprus negotiations, the potential pros and cons of a new settlement framework, and what may be done to restart the negotiation process.

Panel II

Wlodek Cibor, former UN Senior Advisor (Cyprus, Tajikistan)

Neophytos Loizides, Professor of International Conflict Analysis, University of Kent (Cyprus, Bosnia)

Costas Constantinou, Professor of International Relations, University of Cyprus (Cyprus, India, Nepal)

Ahmet Sozen, Professor of International Relations, Eastern Mediterranean University (Cyprus)

Christalla Yakinthou, Institute for Conflict, Co-operation and Security, University of Birmingham (Cyprus, Lebanon, Tunisia, Guatemala)

**16:10 - 16:40 Plenary Chair/Discussant (PCC/SeeD), Mete Hatay (PCC)/ Ilke Dagli (SeeD)**

**16:40 – 17:00 BREAK**

**17:00 – 19:30 PLENARY**

Discussion, recommendations & next steps

**Chair/Discussant (PCC/SeeD), Mete Hatay (PCC)/ Ilke Dagli (SeeD)**

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## **BIOGRAPHIES**

**Sumantra Bose** - *Professor of International and Comparative Politics, London School of Economics, UK*

Focus: Bosnia, Israel-Palestine, Kashmir, Cyprus, Sri Lanka, Northern Ireland

Sumantra Bose is Professor of International and Comparative Politics at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). He is the author of *Secular States, Religious Politics: India, Turkey, and the Future of Secularism* (Cambridge University Press, 2018), *Transforming India: Challenges to the World's Largest Democracy* (Harvard University Press, 2013), *Contested Lands: Israel-Palestine, Kashmir, Bosnia, Cyprus, and Sri Lanka* (Harvard University Press, 2007), *Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace* (Harvard University Press, 2003), and *Bosnia after Dayton: Nationalist Partition and International Intervention* (Oxford University Press, 2002). Born and raised in Kolkata (formerly Calcutta), India, Bose graduated from Amherst College in Massachusetts in 1992 and received his PhD in political science from Columbia University in New York in 1998. He lives between London and India.

**Quintin Oliver** - *Conflict Resolution and Referendums Specialist*

Focus: Iraq, Cyprus, Colombia, Kosovo, Israel – Palestine, Uganda and Ireland

Mr. Oliver has a global reputation as a conflict resolution and referendums specialist, playing his part in the N. Ireland peace process and bringing a reflective approach to his strategic counsel. In 2007 he was appointed head of the secretariat of the Iraq Helsinki project that brought Irish and South African political leaders together with Iraqi politicians, in classic Track Two format from which emerged the Helsinki Principles that took root after their presentation in Baghdad. He has also worked on the conflicts of Cyprus (including the 2004 Referendum), Colombia, Kosovo, Israel / Palestine and Uganda. He has lectured, written and consulted on his experiences on four continents. Oliver was a personal appointee of President Mary Robinson to the Council of State of Ireland. He has also served as a plc non-executive director (eaga plc, 2004-2011), chairs a professional body The Consultation Institute, partners with Strictly Boardroom on high level governance matters, and as trustee of Scottish anti-sectarian charity Nil by Mouth.

**Dahlia Scheindlin** - *Public opinion expert and political adviser in Israel*

Focus: Israel – Palestine

Dr. Dahlia Scheindlin is a public opinion expert and an international political and strategic consultant; she is also an academic and a writer. Her doctoral research examined unrecognized states, which emerged from ethno-nationalist conflicts and declared independence unilaterally. In the past, she has worked as a Senior Analyst for the Washington-based global firm Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research; the director of international campaigns at GCS Issue Management, and a researcher at the Israel Democracy Institute. She has advised and conducted research on five national campaigns in Israel. As an independent consultant, she conducts extensive public opinion research on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the peace process, along with issues of democracy, human rights, minority relations and foreign affairs for a wide range of NGOs. Ms. Scheindlin works internationally on electoral campaigns, social and civil society projects in Serbia, Ukraine, Cyprus, Greece, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria and the US among other countries. Ms. Scheindlin holds a doctorate in political science at Tel Aviv University; she is an adjunct university lecturer, a regular media commentator, and she writes a regular column at +972 Magazine, where she is also Chairperson of the Board of Directors.

**Vladislav Kulminski** - *Moldova Project Manager, The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, Switzerland*

Focus: Moldova, Georgia

Vladislav Kulminski specializes in strategic analysis, conflict resolution and public administration reforms. He is currently HD project manager for Moldova. He was previously Political Adviser to the Prime Minister of Moldova. Prior to this, he led a Confidence Building Program for the UNDP, as a Senior Analyst for the Foreign Policy Association of Moldova, as a Political Specialist for the US Embassy in Moldova and as a Programme Manager for DFID. Vladislav has also worked as a Political Advisor to the UK and US Embassies, and supported the development of conflict resolution programs in Moldova and Ukraine. He has accumulated a reliable, in-depth understanding and knowledge of the regional environment and conflicts in Ukraine, Moldova, Russia and conducted Supported by:





thorough research and analysis of complex environments in the field; proposing policy interventions and recommendations to top-level decision makers and the diplomatic community. For example, in 2016 I consulted Germany's OSCE Presidency and have developed and implemented a project to analyze the 25-year history of the negotiating process between Moldova and the Transnistrian region. He has an M.P.A. from Maxwell School of Public Administration and Citizenship and M.A in IR and EU studies from the Central European University.

**Wlodek Cibor** – *former UN Senior Advisor*

Focus: Cyprus, Tajikistan, South Africa, East Timor and Western Sahara

Wlodek Cibor was born in Warsaw, Poland, in 1951. He obtained a Master degree in International Economics and started his professional career in 1980 in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a researcher on Peace and Security matters; in 1983 he joined the UN Secretariat in New York as Political Affairs Officer working with the UN Council in Namibia. In 1989 he participated as a UN observer in the Namibian elections. In 1990, he was appointed by the Government of Poland as the first post-2<sup>nd</sup> WW Polish Diplomat in South Africa. He established the Polish Embassy in Pretoria and later in Cape Town where he was Head of Office until 1997. That year he re-joined the UN as Chief Political Officer of UN mission in Tajikistan. He has been associated with UN efforts to solve the Cyprus problem since 1999, when he first arrived on the island to head the newly created Civil Affairs Branch of UNFICYP. In 2005 – 2006 he served in UN New York HQ as the Principal Officer in Department of Peacekeeping Operations dealing inter alia with East Timor and Western Sahara. He returned to Cyprus in 2006 and served as the Senior Advisor to the SRSG and Head of UNFICYP until his retirement from the UN in 2014. Mr. Cibor is one of the longest-serving UN staff members in Cyprus and an expert on peacekeeping and political aspects of the Cyprus problem.

**Ahmet Sözen** - *Professor of International Relations, Eastern Mediterranean University, Cyprus*

Focus: Cyprus

Professor Ahmet Sözen has been working in the field of peacebuilding and democratization processes over the last twenty years. He is Professor of Politics and International Relations at Eastern Mediterranean University in Famagusta, Cyprus. He has participated in first-track peace-negotiations in Cyprus, has been actively involved in second-track peace and democratization initiatives, has been providing training and education in the areas of conflict resolution, mediation and peacebuilding and has designed policy recommendations based on objective participatory research with the societal stakeholders and polling. Professor Sözen is also SeeD Research Director, focusing in the initial consultation and conceptualization of the SCORE Index. He is a PhD holder in Political Science from the University of Missouri- Columbia (USA). Sözen has published extensively on the Cyprus conflict. He has given dozens of invited speeches on conflict resolution – including two TED talks (TEDxNicosia 2012, TEDxEMUniversity 2014) and the Cyprus conflict in various countries.

**Neophytos Loizides** - *Professor of International Conflict Analysis, The University of Kent, UK*

Focus: Comparative & alternatives: Bosnia, Japan and Indonesia

Neophytos Loizides is Professor of International Conflict Analysis at the University of Kent, where he also occupies the post of Chair in International Conflict Analysis at the School of Politics and International Relations. Dr Loizides received his PhD at the University of Toronto and held fellowships at the Belfer Centre at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and Solomon Asch Centre at the University of Pennsylvania. He has been involved in a number of policy relevant projects focusing on the study of alternative power-sharing arrangements, confidence-building measures in post-conflict societies, and the study of durable solutions to forced displacements, funded by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Dr Loizides has also offered expert advice to a number of organisations, including the Council of Europe and the UN Standby Team's Mediation Support Unit.

**Christalla Yakinthou** - *Fellow and Member of the Institute for Conflict, Co-operation and Security, The University of Birmingham, UK*

Focus: Cyprus, Lebanon, Tunisia, Guatemala

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Dr Christalla Yakinthou is a research and practice-focused lecturer at the University of Birmingham's Political Science and International Studies department. Her work focuses on building more trustful, engaged, and integrated societies after conflict and autocracy. She specialises in transitional justice, looking at legal, political, social, and cultural approaches to overcoming legacies of violence, usually, but not only, after war. She has worked in Cyprus, Lebanon, Tunisia, Kenya and Bosnia and Herzegovina as an academic or practitioner. Prior to her appointment at the University of Birmingham, she worked with the International Center for Transitional Justice, where she managed its Cyprus programme from 2008–11 and Lebanon programming from 2011–12. She has worked as a practitioner, researcher, and advisor in transitioning contexts and is committed to bridging the gaps between these fields. She has an original background in constitutional design for divided societies, and subsequent training in transitional justice and public law. She is currently working with activists and civil society groups in Tunisia and Guatemala facilitating greater survivor and activist control of their relationships in transitional justice processes. She holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Western Australia.

**Costas M. Constantinou** - *Professor of International Relations, University of Cyprus, Cyprus*

Focus: Cyprus, India, Nepal, Lebanon, Israel– Palestine, Turkey and Kenya

Costas M. Constantinou is Professor of International Relations at the University of Cyprus, with cross-cutting interests in diplomacy, conflict, international political theory, and legal and normative aspects of international relations. In his research, he uses autoethnography, cultural resources and facets of the Cyprus conflict as a means for thinking the diplomatic, the international, the exceptional and the ethical – and, vice versa, for understanding modes of living and acting locally. Besides Cyprus, he has conducted fieldwork in India, Nepal, Lebanon, Israel, Turkey and Kenya. For information and access to selected publications – books, articles and the documentary *The Third Motherland* – see [http://works.bepress.com/costas\\_constantinou](http://works.bepress.com/costas_constantinou)

Studied for his Bachelor in Law and Politics at Keele University, postgraduate studies in International Law and Diplomacy (with distinction) and scholarship-funded PhD at Lancaster University. He taught as Lecturer at Hull University, Senior Lecturer and Professor at Keele University, and the University of Nicosia. He also held visiting teaching appointments at Lancaster University, Taras Shevchenko University, Kiev, and the Middle East Technical University, Ankara. His research has received international awards and external funding by, inter alia, the EU 7th Framework Programme, EEA Grants and the Leverhulme Trust. He locally collaborated on research projects with PRIO Cyprus Centre and the Home for Cooperation. He has supervised 13 doctoral theses and served as external examiner and assessor at European, American, African and Australian universities. He serves on various editorial boards, inter alia, *Diplomatica*, *International Political Sociology*, *Politics, Religion and Ideology* and the book series *Rethinking Peace and Conflict Studies* of Palgrave Macmillan. He also serves on the Geostrategic Council of the Republic of Cyprus and the Committee of Experts for the Protection-Revival of Cypriot Maronite Arabic.

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