Foreword

Dear Readers,

Welcome to the fourth 2016 issue of CPG’s Online Magazine (COM)!

Among CPG’s events organized in May and June and reported in this issue the highlight was the Summer School at Goethe University Frankfurt, a 10 days study trip on German and European for which CPG provided scholarships for 14 law students and young law lecturers from Thailand and Indonesia. Further events dealing with current legal and political issues and developments in Asia include two seminars on the South China Sea (in cooperation with Hanns Seidel Foundation) and the ASEAN Economic Community as well as a special lecture on Thai constitutionalism (in cooperation with the Interdisciplinary Centre for East Asian Studies, Goethe University Frankfurt), Seminars on the German political foundations in Thailand (in cooperation with Chula Network, Thai-German Society, and Chulalongkorn University Centre for European Studies) and international arbitration law (in cooperation with Lorenz & Partners Bangkok) complete the list of CPG’s events in the previous two months.

Besides these event reports this issue features four articles dealing with the national elections on the Philippines (John Linantud), the presidential election in Austria (Reinhold Gärtner), and the Greek Cypriot elections (Andrekos Varnava) as well as the prospects of Cross-Straits Relations between China and Taiwan in the light of the President Tsai Ing-wen’s inaugural speech of 20 May (Chu Chin-peng).

Taken up the recent ruling of the Thai Constitutional Court of 29 June 2016 on the Referendum Act of April 2016 a summary of the Court’s decision is provided as research material in this issue.

With an interview with Mr. Bernard, the nut seller at Thammasat University, and profiles of two roof top bars in the vicinity of Thammasat University we provide some facets of our host university beyond academics.

As always, some announcements on people, events, and scholarships related to the scope of our Center’s work and interest as well as information about job offers round off COM 4, 2016.

With many thanks to all who contributed to our activities in May and June and to this issue, I wish you enjoyable reading!

Henning Glaser
Director
German-Southeast Asian Center of Excellence for Public Policy and Good Governance (CPG)
Faculty of Law, Thammasat University

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CPG Events
May-June 2016

Workshop “Thai-German Cooperation – the Roles of German Political Foundations in Thailand”
1 June 2016, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University

On 1 June 2016, CPG in cooperation with Chula Global Network, the Thai-German Society, and the Center for European Studies, Chulalongkorn University, hosted the workshop ‘Thai-German Cooperation – the Roles of German Political Foundations’ at Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok.

The workshop provided a forum for Thais and Germans to engage in a discussion on German-Thai development cooperation with representatives of the German political foundations in Thailand. Subsequent to opening remarks by Sonja Gebauer, Political Councellor at the German Embassy in Bangkok, the discussion began with introductions to the scope, areas and projects of the work of political foundations by Michael Winzer (Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung), Stine Klapper (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung), Dr. Pimparaat Dusadeesireeikul (Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung), Manfred Hornung (Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung). The Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung was introduced by CPG Director Henning Glaser for Karl-Peter Schönfisch who was on duty in Germany at the time of the event. The presentations were followed by enriching comments of H.E. Kasit Piromya, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Prof. Dr. Pornsan Watanangura, President of the Thai-German Society and Kavi Chongkittaworn, Senior Fellow at Chulalongkorn University.

The workshop was rounded off by a lively open forum discussion,
Seminar “The South China Sea – Current Issues and Future Prospects”
3 June 2016, Faculty of Law, Thammasat University

On initiative of the Embassy of the United States of America in Bangkok, CPG in cooperation with the Hans Seidel Foundation hosted the international seminar “The South China Sea – Current Issues and Future Prospects” on 3 June 2016 at the Faculty of Law, Thammasat University. The event dealt with crucial issues pertaining to the South China Sea as a conflict spot in Asia from the perspectives of international law and politics. Among the speakers were Robert Harris, assistant legal advisor for East Asian and Pacific Affairs for the US Department of State, Prof. Dr. Prasit Aekaputra, Dean, Faculty of Law, Huachiew Chalermprakiet University, and H.E. Kasit Piromya, member of the National Reform Steering Assembly and former Foreign Minister of Thailand. Vividly presented and discussed issues covered the arbitration case between the Philippines and China before of the Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) in The Hague, the geopolitical and geostrategic positions of the USA and China in the South China Sea as well as the South China Sea as a strategic challenge to ASEAN. The timeliness and contentious nature of the topic attracted a great number of attendees. Among them were representatives of the academia, international organizations, the media and not less than 18 embassies.

moderated by Henning Glaser, on a variety of issues such as the impact of the work of political foundations, the main differences between in terms of thematic priorities and further possible fields of cooperation with Thai partners.
From 6 June to 16 June 2016, twelve Thai and two Indonesian law students and young law lecturers participated in CPG’s Summer School 2016 arranged by Prof. Dr. Ingwer Ebsen at Goethe University Frankfurt. During their stay in Germany they took part in an extensive academic program. Sixteen English-language lectures with a special focus on German and European public and civil law were given by renowned law professors. Insights into the German federal multilevel governance system were provided through visits to the town hall of Mainz and to the state Parliament of Hesse in Wiesbaden. Aside from the lectures a cultural program was organized. This included exploring the historical Frankfurt and a visit to the stock exchange as well as a weekend getaway to the Rheingau wine region.

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Phumiboon Pajongwong
“CPG’s Spring School for me has been a dream come true, an unforgettable memory and a wonderful experience. It not only provided a huge amount of knowledge but also the experience of German education and culture. And last but not least the friendship among Germans, Thais and Indonesians makes this not just any ordinary scholarship but an exceptional one.”

Isaravadee Wongphasukchot
“I gained plenty of knowledge and also like how the professors created a positive atmosphere and taught us intensively in every class.”

Firman Adonara
“I really liked to attend CPG’s Summer School 2016 at Goethe University Germany. I obtained a lot of new experiences and knowledge.”

Kritaphat Thongpreecha
“Personally, I think CPG’s Summer School is one of the best program I have ever experienced because it provided not only valuable knowledge about German law, but also unforgettable relationship among all the participants. I strongly believe that this experience will be kept in my memory forever.”

Special Lecture “Thailändischer Konstitutionalismus – Grundlagen, Entwicklungen und Perspektiven”
7 June 2016, Interdisciplinary Centre for East Asian Studies, Goethe University Frankfurt

On 7 June 2016 CPG Director Henning Glaser gave a special lecture on the topic “Thailändischer Konstitutionalismus – Grundlagen, Entwicklungen und Perspektiven” at the Interdisciplinary Centre for East Asian Studies (IZO), Goethe University Frankfurt. The lecture presented the current status and future prospects of Thai constitutionalism against the background of its underlying deep structure. The event was co-hosted by CPG and IZO.

Seminar “The ASEAN Economic Community Road Map – Perspectives on Realities, Challenges, and Prospects after Six Months of the AEC”
30 June 2016, Faculty of Law, Thammasat University

On 30 June 2016, CPG hosted the seminar “The ASEAN Economic Community Road Map – Perspectives on Realities, Challenges, and Prospects after Six Months of the AEC” at the Faculty of Law, Thammasat University. The event provided a forum to share perspectives of involved stakeholders on the current status of the implementation of the AEC 2025 Blueprint in Thailand and to discuss the achievements so far as well as the challenges and prospects ahead. The line-up of speakers included well-know experts and representatives of relevant Thai and international agencies. Among them have been H.E. Kasit Piromya, member of the National Reform Steering Assembly and former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Thailand; Chutintorn Gongsakdi, Director-General, Department of International Economic Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand; Dr. Dhachydarbhon Abhimontechbud, Director of the Agreement Merchandise Administration and Trade Measures Division,
Department of Foreign Trade, Ministry of Commerce of Thailand; Rapee Sucharitkul, Secretary-General, Securities and Exchange Commission of Thailand; Somyod Tungmeelarp, Vice-Chairman of the Federation of Thai Industries; Dr. Witada Anukoonwattaka from the Trade Policy and Analysis Section of the U.N. Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP); and Adam Zerbinopoulos from the Political Section of the Embassy of the United States of America in Bangkok. In their presentations the speakers addressed a wide range of crucial issues of the AEC development covering the question of political leadership in the ASEAN context, challenges to intra-ASEAN trade, the tension between national sovereignty and economic rationality in the field of capital market in Southeast Asia, decrease in competitive of Thailand’s small and medium size industry, as well as the role of foreign indirect investments and international trade treaties for the AEC. The outspoken presentations contributed to an informative and vivid panel discussion among all participants, moderated by Dr. Lasse Schuldt, CPG. Concluding the event CPG Director Henning Glaser summed up the discussion and provided an outlook on future challenges for AEC before the background of globally transformative developments and their impact on ASEAN as reflected for example by the Trans-Pacific Partnership.

Seminar on International Business Law
30 June 2016, Bangkok City Tower

On 30 June 2016, CPG together with Lorenz & Partners Bangkok hosted a seminar on international business law for selected law students of Thammasat University at the office of Lorenz & Partners. Dr. Constantin Frank-Fahle, German Attorney-at-Law and Senior Consultant at Lorenz & Partners, presented on the topic of “Advantages and Disadvantages of International Arbitration” before engaging in a discussion session with the students.
Tracking Philippine Elections, Strongman Politics, and Rodrigo Duterte

Dr. John Linsantud, Associate Professor, Faculty of Political Science, University of Houston Downtown

I. Introduction

This essay provides a two-part method of analysis that should enable observers to track important changes in Philippine democracy for the 2016 election of Rodrigo Duterte and beyond. The first method is to understand the relationship between election violence and decisive political reforms, using the perspective of counterinsurgency. The second method is to apply Samuel Huntington’s Two-Turnover Test to the post-1986 democratic regime. The essay concludes with a brief analysis of Duterte in relation to established patterns of violence and presidential turnovers.

II. “Acceptable Levels of Violence”

In 1971, Home Secretary Reginald Maulding used the phrase “acceptable levels of violence” to describe British expectations for Northern Ireland. 1 Maulding’s cynical choice of words represents the willingness of governments to tolerate bloodshed, provided it does not directly jeopardize the state’s strategic interests. Britain’s core interests in Northern Ireland were to retain British rule over Ulster, and to prevent Catholic areas from joining the Irish Republic. By and large, the British regime in Northern Ireland remains secure today, despite the decades of turmoil that followed Maulding’s comments.

After seventy years of private armies and local strongmen (and women) since independence in 1946, it is also fair to conclude that illegal violence is a de facto part of the Philippine election landscape. Like Britain, the Philippines has a history of internal conflicts, and its mixture of democracy with guerilla wars provides a novel framework to understand election violence.

The combination of insurgency and counterinsurgency (COIN) would bring the threat of deadly force to elections anywhere in the world, including the Philippines, where communist-led insurgents have fought for a national revolution since the 1940s, and Muslim separatists have sought independence since the 1970s. Yet turmoil caused by insurgencies or elections remains tolerable to elites unless it escalates into crises of national security, or popular legitimacy that may destroy or change the regime. From this perspective the difference between acceptable and unacceptable violence is tantamount to the difference between “low” and “high” boil. Election-related threats and casualties occur throughout the Philippines, but only under certain circumstances would they pose a threat to the regime, or to a core national interest.

The political science conundrum of whether strongman rule and socioeconomic maldevelopment are ultimately causes or consequences of the insurgencies has become a Gordian knot. In three cases since 1946, however, strongman politics has yielded to decisive political action. The common but underappreciated thread between them is the conviction among advocates of change that partisan abuses had put national security at risk.

The first case concerns the communist-led Huk Rebellion in the 1940s and 1950s. As the Huks grew stronger in their base territory of Central Luzon, local strongman politics became unacceptable to the decades of turmoil that followed Maulding’s comments.

countersurgents because lawless behavior fed the rebellion—and because the towns and plains of Central Luzon created a natural muster point for a guerrilla invasion of Manila unimpeded by the mountains and water that separate the capital from other parts of the country. COIN thus balanced military actions with cleaner elections, better governance, and land reforms to neutralize the Huk and protect the capital. Likewise, in the 1960s and 1970s a new generation of countersurgents defeated the campaign by the New People’s Army (NPA) to rebuild Huk strongholds in Central Luzon.2

Manila has subsequently contained actual NPA battle fronts to north Luzon, the central Visayas islands, and the southern Mindanao region for well over forty years. Likewise, the Muslim rebellion has contained itself to Mindanao and achieved partial autonomy. Though the loss of sovereignty over Muslim lands certainly challenges the national interest, separatists do not pose a threat to invade Manila, and they lack foreign allies that could render such intervention. It is therefore not surprising that the most consistent areas of concern for election security have been located near these distant fronts, where both partisan bloodshed and guerilla activities can be more easily tolerated by elites in Manila.3

The second case concerns the martial law regime of 1972–81, which terminated strongman democracy, and the rotation of the presidency between the Nacionalista and Liberal parties that predated independence. Turmoil had increased for several reasons, including President Ferdinand Marcos’ challenge to traditional elites, which included his re-election in 1969; the furious struggle between the NPA and COIN across Luzon; and the stirrings of Muslim separatism, which can also be traced in part to Marcos’ assault on the old guard and foreign policy adventurism against Malaysia. Over nine hundred people were reported killed before the 1971 by-elections, the steepest total since independence.4

Marcos’ decision to declare martial law is rarely attributed to geopolitics. But after the Nixon Doctrine of 1969 and friendly overtures between Richard Nixon and Mao Zedong, the nation faced the possibility, though remote in retrospect, of a two-front war against China and the NPA that could negate COIN gains in Central Luzon at a time of uncertain American help against external enemies. If that worst-case scenario were to unfold, then the state would require an unprecedented degree of political order that could, in theory, be broached via the use of martial law against both the NPA and clan-based partisans.

Marcos vowed to restore democracy via legislative elections in 1978 and 1984, provincial elections in 1980, the end of martial law and a presidential election in 1981, and another presidential election in 1986, but the campaigns before these elections resulted in over five hundred deaths.5 The most impactful political murder of that time was the 1983 assassination, at the Manila airport, of opposition figure Benigno Aquino upon his return from exile. The death of Aquino indicated that the rule of law could not resolve the contradiction between popular expectations of competitive elections and Marcos’ desire to retain power. In response the NPA exploited the surging illegitimacy of the regime, and guerrillas seemed poised to tip distant fronts into new levels of conflict, and migrate back to Central Luzon if government corruption and popular discontent were left unchecked.

The third case therefore concerns the EDSA I revolt that overthrew Marcos and installed Corazon Aquino shortly after he won their disputed election in 1986.6 By that point Marcos, president since 1965 and ill, had become the singular strongman whose abuses of power became unacceptable to both countersurgents and elites concerned with human rights and the national image. The individual faces of EDSA I were Aquino, Secretary of Defense Juan Ponce Enrile, the Reform the Armed Forces Movement (RAM), General Fidel Ramos, and Cardinal Jaime Sin of the Catholic Church.

Subsequent iterations of People Power/EDSA have been less transparent. Ramos’ defection and subsequent loyalty to Aquino proved decisive, because he helped her remain in office despite both a vicious urban warfare campaign by the NPA, and several failed coups-with-People Powers by RAM motivated in part by Aquino’s perceived weakness on COIN. Ramos succeeded Aquino as president in 1992–98, and rejoined her and Sin to replace Joseph Estrada with Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo during EDSA II in 2001, again in part because of fears that Estrada would discredit the regime and abet the communist movement. By contrast, Enrile supported Estrada in the failed EDSA III revolt against Macapagal-Arroyo a few months after EDSA II.

III. Two-Turnover Test

In 1993 Samuel Huntington proposed the Two-Turnover Test of democratic consolidation to assess the extent to which democracy had become embedded in post-authoritarian states. This method defines a Turnover as a partisan transfer of executive power via a competitive election, wherein the incumbent party or faction not only loses, but actually vacates and thus “turns over” the offices of state to the former opposition. The method uses a discrete timeline: a Founding Election that indicates the demise of the prior authoritarian regime; the first transfer of executive authority from government to opposition party via election (Turnover #1); and the second transfer of executive power via election (Turnover #2). Once a state reaches Turnover #2, it passes Huntington’s test and should not easily fall back to dictatorship.7

The main advantage to this method is the bottom-line focus on elections and turnovers, and outcome-based analysis that does not have to detail the intrigues, rumours, scandals, and reports that accompany democratic politics. Even by comparative standards, however, any partisan transfer of executive power after a Founding Election by means other than the ballot, including capital revolts, military coups, foreign invasions, assassinations, and the like, clearly interrupt the Two-Turnover Test. A generous application of the test to a regime would classify such events as mere hiccups in the consolidation timeline. If so, a Founding Election may retain that status even if it precedes one or more interruptions, provided that elections and turnovers follow at some later point in time, the length of which is subject to the analyst’s judgment. A generous application could also consider the electoral transfer of office between two executives of the same party as a Turnover, assuming it indicates a step forward from dictatorship. By contrast, a stricter application of the test would restart the timeline after each and every hiccup, and insist that turnovers be partisan.

Given the Philippines’ democratic identity and long experience with elections, this essay employs stricter criteria and several realistic caveats. At the comparative level, we must recall that the Two-Turnover Test dates to what Huntington called the “Third Wave” of democracy. In that era, taking and

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5 ibid.
6 The EDSA revolts get their name from the spot on Epifanio de los Santos Avenue where protestors shielded defecting soldiers from units loyal to Marcos in 1986. Today the site includes a statue of the Virgin Mary on the roof of a chapel.
7 Samuel P. Huntington, The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century, University of Oklahoma Press, 1993, pp. 266-268.
passing the test aligned a state with global trends. The global trends around Duterte’s election, by contrast, are less promising. The 2016 Freedom House report, for example, is subtitled “Anxious Dictators, Wavering Democracies: Global Freedom under Pressure.” Passing the Two-Turnover Test in this milieu may be both more difficult, and less indicative of democratic consolidation. In the party system with weak ideological foundations that makes it easier for coalitions to form and re-form under different names; plurality rather than majority victories; and separate races for vice-president.

**Partisan Transfers of the Presidency, 1986-2022**

Indeed, as described in the table above, the Philippines has yet to pass a strict version of the Two-Turnover Test thirty years after EDSA I. Though an honest count might have made Aquino the winner of the 1986 election, she became president because of EDSA I. The transfer of office due to EDSA I would have made the election of Ramos in 1992 the Founding Election, and the transfer of office to Estrada in 1998 the Founding Election #1. That timeline however, was interrupted by the transfer of the presidency from Estrada to Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo via EDSA II in 2001.

Philippine context, violence must also be regarded as an analytically as a durable part of elections. Though intimidation and murder literally eliminate voters and candidates, elections still determine who rules. This state of affairs makes the Philippines an illiberal democracy, i.e. one of many states that elect public officials but struggle with the rule of law. Finally, several factors expedite partisan turnovers but reduce stability, namely six-year presidential term limits; a 10 May 2016, <http://m.inquirer.net/news/784685>.

**Philippines:**

1986 EDSA I
Ferdinand Marcos (KBL)
Corazon Aquino (UNIDO)

1992 Election
Corazon Aquino
Fidel Ramos (Lakas)

1998 Election
Fidel Ramos
Joseph Estrada (LAMP)

2001 EDSA II
Joseph Estrada
Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo (Lakas-Kampi)

2004 Election*
Macapagal-Arroyo
Macapagal-Arroyo

2010 Election
Macapagal-Arroyo
Benigno Aquino III (Liberal)

2016 Election
Benigno Aquino III
Rodrigo Duterte (PDP-Laban)

2022 Election
Rodrigo Duterte
Unknown (Unknown)

*2004 not a partisan turnover


between COIN and the NPA will likely increase. It is therefore important to point out that shortly after his election, Duterte stated he might invite NPA leaders into his government.\footnote{Agence France-Presse in Daily Inquirer, “Duterte says communist leader Joma Sison welcome home,” 16 May 2016 <https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/785784/duterte-says-communist-leader-joma-sison-welcome-home/>} If Duterte runs afloat of military preferences against the NPA, then he risks a backlash similar to the rebellions and withdrawals of support that befell Marcos, Aquino, Estrada, and Macapagal-Arroyo. If he runs afloat of cosmopolitans nonplussed by abuses of human rights and the national image, then he should assume that civilian and church leaders are also searching for opportunities to depose him.

### Austria’s Presidential Elections 2016

**Reinhold Gärtner, Professor, Department of Political Science, Universität Innsbruck**

The Austrian president has to be elected every six years with the possibility of one re-election. So Heinz Fischer’s period in office ended in 2016 (he was elected in 2004 and re-elected in 2010).

According to the constitution from 1929, the Austrian president has some very important roles to fulfill, among these the nomination and inauguration of a new government. In practice, though, the presidents have so far passed on this nomination to the head of the strongest party in parliamentary elections (Nationalratswahlen). This is called Rollenverzicht.

As soon as a future chancellor presents a new government, the president swears this in. Besides, the president has – as others in comparable positions – the duty of representing the country towards other countries and of acting as a person of integration in Austria. The president is being elect directly by the electorate via absolute majority vote. If no candidate gets 50% plus 1 in the first round, there is (comparable to France) a run off four weeks later between the two most successful candidates of the first round. The first direct election was in 1951 (Theodor Körner) and so far Austria has done well with Körner and almost all of the other presidents.

In 1986, there was a serious dispute, though, at the election of Kurt Waldheim, a former high-ranking member of Deutsche Wehrmacht. Despite of allegations, Waldheim was elected as president in 1986. Though he had been UN-Secretary General between 1971 and 1981, his name was put on the US-watch list and he was no longer allowed to enter the USA after 1987. Waldheim was isolated during his period in office and did not run for re-election in 1992.

If the president would not perform the Rollenverzicht, this could and would lead to a standoff between president and parliament, as the parliament has a vote of no confidence towards the government. Even if the president is – according to the constitution – the highest ranking politician in Austria, he is usually not involved in every day politics and accepts that the most powerful politician is the chancellor. Logically, Austria is represented in the EU-council by the chancellor (as Germany) and not by the president (as France).

This year’s election was held on April 24th and it was to be expected that no candidate would make it in the first round. There were six candidates, among them Irmgard Griss, an independent, who seemed to have chances of reaching the run-off. The candidates of SPÖ (Socialdemocrats), Rudolf Hundsdorfer and ÖVP (People’s Party), Andreas Khol were unlikely to be successful, despite the fact that both, SPÖ and ÖVP, are members of the present coalition government. The right wing populist FPÖ (Freedom Party) nominated Norbert Hofer and Alexander van der Bellen, former head of the Green party, was running for election, too. The performance of both Hundsdorfer and Khol in the election campaign was very weak and both were not strongly supported by their parties.

So the results of the first round were remarkable in more respects: First, neither Hundsdorfer nor Khol made it in the run off; moreover the results of the candidates of the governmental parties were very, very moderate. They could gain 11.3 per cent (Hundsdorfer) and 11.1 per cent (Khol) respectively – combined 22.4 per cent for the government’s candidates. Up to 2016, six out of eight presidents had been nominated by SPÖ (Renner, Körner, Schärf, Jonas, Kirchschläger, Fischer) and two by ÖVP (Waldheim, Klestil). In 20106 neither of these parties was able to reach at least the run off.

Second, Irmgard Griss, an independent former judge and head of the Supreme Court of Justice, could get some 19 per cent – almost as much as both candidates from SPÖ and ÖVP. Third, the run off was to be a challenge between an FPÖ candidate, thus the candidate of a right wing populist party, and a (former) head of the Green party. Hofer won the first round with remarkable 35 per cent, while van der Bellen got 21.3 per cent. Therefore, the chances for Hofer and the FPÖ to have its first president were not bad at all. During the following campaign, neither of the candidates did reach a considerable lead, thus everything pointed at a very close race between the two of them.

Finally, in the evening of May 22nd, neither Hofer nor van der Bellen had the lead and it was voting by mail that would bring the final decision. In the afternoon of May 23rd it became more and more visible that van der Bellen would be the next president and finally the minister of the interior announced the result of 50.3 per cent van der Bellen and 49.7 per cent Hofer.

Media and political elites of foreign countries carefully observed the election because Hofer is a stout representative of a definitely right wing populist party and had an authoritarian understanding of the performance of the president’s duties (like joining the EU council instead of the chancellor). Hofer also pointed out that he would dismiss the government if it would not perform in favour of Austria (though he did not really explain what was meant by that). As far as voters are concerned, there were some remarkable results: People in urban areas were likely to vote for van der Bellen. More than 60 per cent not only in Vienna but also in other major cities like Linz, Graz, Innsbruck or Bregenz and between 50 and 60 per cent in the other capitals Eisenstadt, Salzburg, Klagenfurt or St. Pölten voted for van der Bellen. More men than women voted for Hofer, and people with better education were more likely to vote for van der Bellen than for Hofer.

Among those voting by mail, van der Bellen had a lead of some 61 per cent to some 39 per cent for Hofer. Voting by mail, though, was even before the Election Day criticised by FPÖ-representatives and because of obvious irregularities Strache and FPÖ litigated the election result. Therefore, the Constitutional Court has to decide upon the FPÖ charges and right now, it is doubtful if there will be a final decision until July 8th, the day when Heinz Fischer will resign from office and the future president can be sworn in.

What we might face in the future is a discussion about voting by mail; unsurprisingly it is FPÖ which would like to abolish voting by mail (which was introduce in 2007), because FPÖ usually gets a percentage of these votes which is far below average.
Moreover, maybe we will discuss the president’s role, too. One possibility would be to change the constitutional rights and to adopt them in order to prevent a political blockade and a possible struggle for power between presidents on the one hand and government/chancellor on the other.

Another problem was the fact that in Austria, polling stations close at different times - some earlier, some later. Results must not be made public before the closure of the last polling station. Media, though, usually get pieces of information from the Ministry of Interior prior to that - with a clearly defined holdback period.

The Constitutional Court in its ruling on 1 July pointed out that though there were no manipulations to be found and the result thus was not to be challenged, election rules have to be fulfilled painstakingly.

So, the Court decided that the election will have to be repeated on grounds of irregularities of the count of the votes - in late September or early October 2016.

### The May 2016 Greek Cypriot Parliamentary Elections and Beyond

**Andrekos Varnava, Ph.D., Senior Lecturer, School of History and International Relations, Flinders University, South Australia**

This is the election result that Greek Cypriots and their established political elites needed. This comment may not accord well with many Cypriot intellectuals, especially on the left. Many have interpreted the election results in ‘doomsday’ terms, given the fall in the vote for the neo-Communist AKEL, the near destruction of the nationalist and moderately socialist EDEK, the rise of the neo-Nazi ELAM and the significant increase in absenteeism. But the fact remains that although the two major parties (DISY remained on top) have taken a hit they are still in the clear majority. They should not panic, yet they do need to embrace economic reform and restructuring more seriously and realistically, and better articulate their vision of a reunified Cyprus. The efforts to reunify the island have intensified under the pro-reunification Greek Cypriot (Nicos Anastasiades) and Turkish Cypriot (Mustafa Akinci) leaders, with the two major Greek Cypriot parties DISY and AKEL supporting these efforts. A close analysis of the results will show that the changes that occurred were not seismic and DISY and AKEL can recover their lost ground, especially with more astute election strategies.

### Analysis

Looking at the island-wide results in isolation one can be expected to see the hits taken by all four of the major parties and proclaim that it is the beginning of the end of their domination. As the table below shows the governing centre-Right DISY lost 3.7%, the neo-Communist AKEL lost a massive 7.1%, the church-nationalist right DIKO held up only losing 1.3%, while the nationalist and moderately socialist EDEK almost crumbled losing 2.8%. In the eyes of some commentators, the four minor parties appear to have been the ‘big winners’. All of these parties (along with DIKO and EDEK) are opposed to reunifying Cyprus along the lines of a bi-zonal and bi-communal federation. George Lillikas’ populist ‘Citizen’s Alliance’ (SYRIZA) leaders, with the two major Greek Cypriot parties DISY and AKEL supporting these efforts. A close analysis of the results will show that the changes that occurred were not seismic and DISY and AKEL can recover their lost ground, especially with more astute election strategies.

### Results Island-Wide

**Source:** Ministry of Information, Republic of Cyprus

* On 11 March 2016 the new ‘Solidarity Movement’ led by Eleni Theoharous, formerly a DISY member, merged with the European Party (EVROKO) led by Demetris Sillouris, and therefore, for the purposes of studying the election, it is important to not consider this a new party and to consider the previous results of EVROKO and the Solidarity Movement separately.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>2016 %</th>
<th>Vote ±/− %</th>
<th>Seats</th>
<th>Seats ±/−</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Rally (DISY)</td>
<td>30.69</td>
<td>↓ 3.7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL)</td>
<td>25.67</td>
<td>↓ 7.1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Party (DIKO)</td>
<td>14.49</td>
<td>↓ 1.3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movement for Social Democracy (EDEK)</td>
<td>6.18</td>
<td>↓ 2.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizens’ Alliance (SYRIZA)</td>
<td>6.01</td>
<td>New</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solidarity Movement*</td>
<td>5.24</td>
<td>↑ 1.4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>+3 (+1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecological and Environmental Movement</td>
<td>4.81</td>
<td>↑ 2.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* On 11 March 2016 the new ‘Solidarity Movement’ led by Eleni Theoharous, formerly a DISY member, merged with the European Party (EVROKO) led by Demetris Sillouris, and therefore, for the purposes of studying the election, it is important to not consider this a new party and to consider how the previous results of EVROKO have been affected by this merger.

Before delving into a deeper and more meaningful analysis of the election results, it is important to understand that they do not spell doom and gloom for the three major parties (DISY, AKEL and DIKO), nor are there any other parties, either new ones or ones that have improved their vote, which could emerge to challenge them. Yet for EDEK the election was a disaster from which they cannot recover, confined now to one of many populist parties battling for the scraps (8-13 seats). At the end of the day the two major parties not only command a majority of the vote (56.36%) but also a majority of the seats (34), and neither can govern with the third party. A comparison with the 2011 and 2006 elections and
than their 2001 results. This same point can be said about ‘Solidarity Movement’, which as EVROKO in 2006 reached an even higher vote (albeit slightly) than in 2016. For SYPOL, it is harder to gauge since it is completely new, yet it gained less than it did in the 2014 Euroelections (where it won 6.6%) and in the presidential elections of 2013 George Lilikas, supported by EDEK and by some in EVROKO and the Greens (and obviously by some DIKO voters who did not vote according to their parties decision to vote for Anastasiades) obtained a massive 24.93% of the vote in the first round, a mere 2% away from the second placed AKEL backed candidate, Stavros Malas. Clearly the 6% his party obtained in the 2016 elections is not a significant reflection of this, even if one adds the EDEK and Greens votes (perhaps indicating that much more DIKO voters supported him in 2013 than claimed) and do not make him a serious force in Cypriot politics. For AKEL, however, the historical trend is definitely not good. Since its highest ever result in 2001 of 34.7% it has dropped 9% and most of this has occurred in 2016. There are two issues to account for this, all of which are issues that seem to have impacted more generally the result in 2016: the economy and economic reform and the reunification efforts. Yet as I will show below, AKEL can turn this one bad result around.

Table II: Greek Cypriot Elections 2001-2016 (below)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>2016 %</th>
<th>2011 %</th>
<th>2006 %</th>
<th>2001 %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Rally (DYSY)</td>
<td>30.69</td>
<td>34.28</td>
<td>30.34</td>
<td>34.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL)</td>
<td>25.67</td>
<td>32.67</td>
<td>31.13</td>
<td>34.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Party (DIKO)</td>
<td>14.49</td>
<td>15.76</td>
<td>17.92</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movement for Social Democracy (EDEK)</td>
<td>6.18</td>
<td>8.93</td>
<td>8.91</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizens’ Alliance (SYPOL)</td>
<td>6.01</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solidarity Movement</td>
<td>5.24</td>
<td>3.88</td>
<td>5.75</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecological and Environmental Movement</td>
<td>4.81</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>1.95</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Popular Front (ELAM)</td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Information, Republic of Cyprus

A closer look at the 2016 results by district will contextualise the changes and show how regionalised the results are. The story in Nicosia is that the top three parties all lost more than their overall losses and 13.2% more abstained themselves than in 2011. DISY was hard hit losing 5.4% (1.7% more than nationally), mostly going to ‘Solidarity Movement’, the Greens, and to a lesser extent ELAM, while some abstained themselves. AKEL lost 8%, almost 1% more than the national loss, with disaffected voters turning to SYPOL (Lilikas had first entered parliament on an AKEL ticket) and most staying home. DIKO lost just over 1% more than their national loss, possibly also to SYPOL, the Greens and ELAM. EDEK lost a significant, but not disastrous 1.7%, its loss less in Nicosia than their national loss, only 1.1% down from 2011, again probably to the Greens and SYPOL, the latter clearly gaining votes from various parties because of its anti-austerity and anti-reunification populism. The 1.3% gain by ‘Solidarity Movement’ (from the EVROKO result of 2011) is about on the national result, showing that the Theoharous factor was negligible in Nicosia. ELAM grew its vote by 2.1%, the lowest in the country. The reason for the last two results was that the Greens were the real victors of the minnows, increasing their vote by 4.2% from 2011. This clearly indicates that anti-reunification voters of AKEL and those from DISY, DIKO and EDEK not willing to vote for the other parties, chose the Greens.

Table III: May 2016 Greek Cypriot Election Results Nicosia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>2016 %</th>
<th>+/- %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Rally (DYSY)</td>
<td>29.25</td>
<td>↓ 5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL)</td>
<td>23.89</td>
<td>↓ 8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Party (DIKO)</td>
<td>13.31</td>
<td>↓ 2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecological and Environmental Movement</td>
<td>7.42</td>
<td>↑ 4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movement for Social Democracy (EDEK)</td>
<td>6.77</td>
<td>↓ 1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizens’ Alliance (SYPOL)</td>
<td>6.08</td>
<td>New</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solidarity Movement</td>
<td>5.64</td>
<td>↑ 1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Popular Front (ELAM)</td>
<td>3.48</td>
<td>↑ 2.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Information, Republic of Cyprus

The trends in Famagusta do not reflect the overall trends (except in absent voters, up 12.6%), nor does it resemble any other district. Voters seem to
Table IV: May 2016 Greek Cypriot Election Results Famagusta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>2016 %</th>
<th>+/- %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Rally (DISY)</td>
<td>38.24</td>
<td>↓ 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL)</td>
<td>30.69</td>
<td>↓ 6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Party (DIKO)</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>↓ 0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizens’ Alliance (SYPOL)</td>
<td>4.66</td>
<td>New</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solidarity Movement</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>↑ 0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movement for Social Democracy (EDEK)</td>
<td>3.70</td>
<td>↓ 1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Popular Front (ELAM)</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>↑ 2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecological and Environmental Movement</td>
<td>3.42</td>
<td>↑ 1.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Information, Republic of Cyprus

The results in Larnaca also buck the national trends in many respects. Firstly AKEL managed to hold onto the top spot, going down 6.6%, mostly in absent voters and some to SYPOL, which gained 5.54%. DISY lost a considerable 6%, higher than anywhere else, mostly to ‘Solidarity Movement’, which increased the 2011 EVROKO vote by 2.8%

Table V: May 2016 Greek Cypriot Election Results Larnaca

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>2016 %</th>
<th>+/- %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL)</td>
<td>29.36</td>
<td>↓ 6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Rally (DISY)</td>
<td>28.38</td>
<td>↓ 6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Party (DIKO)</td>
<td>15.69</td>
<td>↑ 0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movement for Social Democracy (EDEK)</td>
<td>6.19</td>
<td>↓ 2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solidarity Movement</td>
<td>5.64</td>
<td>↑ 2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizens’ Alliance (SYPOL)</td>
<td>5.54</td>
<td>New</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Popular Front (ELAM)</td>
<td>3.27</td>
<td>↑ 2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecological and Environmental Movement</td>
<td>2.93</td>
<td>↑ 1.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Information, Republic of Cyprus

The results in Kyrenia also did not reflect the national results in many cases. DISY actually increased its vote, but only marginally. This flies in the face of the losses of the other pro-reunification party AKEL, down 10.1% from 2011. To be sure hard-line anti-reunification AKELists went over to SYPOL and perhaps the Greens, and many stayed home, but its prior strong performances in Kyrenia must be attributed to the popularity of ex-president Demetris Christofias, who is from Dikomo. DIKO lost slight more than nationally, but is still very strong at nearly 20%, while EDEK did not fare as badly as elsewhere, down 1.4%, lost probably to SYPOL, which did particularly well. ‘Solidarity Movement’ lost ground from the EVROKO vote of 2011, reflecting the strong vote for DISY and in the other direction, towards ELAM, which also did well, but remains a minnow, as are the Greens, who achieved a little more than their national

The results in Limassol reflected slightly more the national trends. DISY and AKEL did not drop as much as the national drop, but still lost ground to bring them to levels of support that reflect their national results. DIKO fell at about the national drop, while ELAM increased at about its national rise. The Greens did not do so well. The main stories are with EDEK, SYPOL and ‘Solidarity Movement’. EDEK’s vote in Limassol took a dramatic tumble, down 6.9%, largely because of the unpopularity of its leader, Marios Sizopoulos, and the stronger performances of ‘Solidarity Movement’ and SYPOL. While some of the DISY and AKEL voters from 2011 switched to ‘Solidarity Movement’ and SYPOL respectively, the latter

Table VI: May 2016 Greek Cypriot Election Results Kyrenia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>2016 %</th>
<th>+/- %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Rally (DISY)</td>
<td>38.24</td>
<td>↓ 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL)</td>
<td>30.69</td>
<td>↓ 10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Party (DIKO)</td>
<td>19.33</td>
<td>↓ 2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizens’ Alliance (SYPOL)</td>
<td>6.35</td>
<td>New</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecological and Environmental Movement</td>
<td>5.01</td>
<td>↑ 2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movement for Social Democracy (EDEK)</td>
<td>4.34</td>
<td>↓ 1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solidarity Movement</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>↓ 0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Popular Front (ELAM)</td>
<td>3.27</td>
<td>↑ 2.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of EDEK, since there are many examples (see Table VIII) of EDEK losses resembling SYPOL gains.

**Table VII: May 2016 Greek Cypriot Election Results Limassol**

The results in Paphos are altogether different for various reasons, partly because DIKO has always polled strongly there, and indeed it returns in 2016 to be the top party with a decent increase upon its lesser hit than nationally, but EDEK took a bigger hit (but not as big as Limassol) and yet Paphos remains its strongest district. SYPOL gained slightly above its national percentage, riding on the support for its Paphiote leader, who helped his party win a staggering 42% of the vote in his native village of Panagia. This is an important development not least because this is the village of the first president, Archbishop Makarios III, and previously a stronghold for DIKO (and especially AKEL), which claims to have been created to represent the vision and policies of Makarios, who clearly does not loom as large in the Cypriot national consciousness as he previously did.1 But the main story in the Paphos result was the performance of ELAM, which grew a staggering 4.5% from 2011. In broad terms this can be attributed to the 2011 vote of EVROKO dropping for ‘Solidarity Movement’, little gain for the Greens, and DISY votes going to ELAM.

**Table IX: May 2016 Greek Cypriot Elections Results Paphos**

A closer examination of ELAMs vote across the island provides an insight into its strongholds and whether it is a serious threat in Cypriot politics moving forward. Table X, which shows the places ELAM obtained 7.5% of the vote, indicates that Paphos was the district that had most opposed the UN reunification plan in 2004,2 and this is reflected in the votes in 2016 for ELAM, as well as SYPOL, DIKO and EDEK (despite its drop at 15.40% EDEK still remains most popular in Paphos than any other district by a long way). The third factor becomes evident after

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studying the location of the majority of the ELAM strongholds, which are essentially across a belt of places immediately north, east and north-east of the town area. These are places such as Letymvou, Lemona, Empa, Chlorakas, Episkopi, Konia, Mesogi, Tsada (which did not make the list at 7.44%) and Tala. With the exception of a handful of AKEL strongholds (e.g. Mesa Chorio and Kallepia) and DIKO bases (e.g. Koili), the above listed places polled incredibly well, without being the poorest areas in Paphos. What unites these places is their traditional conservatism, their proximity to a series of monasteries and churches, and their allegiance to Archbishop Chrysostomos II, who was born in Tala, has significant influence throughout this region, is known for his opposition to a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation and expressed his satisfaction at the election of two ELAM members to the house.3

As for the larger strongholds of Politko in Nicosia, Kolossi in Limassol and Paralimni in Famagusta, which was by far the largest place to make the top 46 list, these are the birth-places of the party chairman Christos Christou (Politiko), of Linos Papagiannis (Paralimni), who was also elected, and Kolossi of the third candidate on their list. As with Lilikas and Panagia, the home town of leaders and in some cases candidates, can prove decisive and important in attracting the votes of family and friends in a Cyprus that still values loyalty over ideological and policy choices. The ELAM vote is therefore largely built upon loyalties to candidates and a small protest vote against the right-wing parties, but as will be shown is inflated because of absenteeism.

Table X: May 2016 Election ELAM Strongholds (i.e. above 7.5%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>2016 %</th>
<th>+/− %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nicosia</td>
<td>Politiko</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>36.90</td>
<td>↑ 11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos</td>
<td>Letymvou</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>30.73</td>
<td>↑ 5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limassol</td>
<td>Gerasa</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>26.90</td>
<td>↑ 26.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicosia</td>
<td>Deneia</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>18.97</td>
<td>↑ 14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos</td>
<td>Lemonyia</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18.18</td>
<td>↑ 9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicosia</td>
<td>Mesogi</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18.18</td>
<td>↑ 17.4</td>
</tr>
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<td>Paphos</td>
<td>Nikokleia</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17.54</td>
<td>↑ 17.5</td>
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<td>Larnaca</td>
<td>Avdellero</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17.39</td>
<td>↑ 15.2</td>
</tr>
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<td>Limassol</td>
<td>Agios Ambrosios</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>15.81</td>
<td>↑ 15.4</td>
</tr>
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<td>Limassol</td>
<td>Dora</td>
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<td>15.58</td>
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<td>Mylikouri</td>
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<td>15.22</td>
<td>↑ 15.22</td>
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<td>Kolossi</td>
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<td>Arhimandrira</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14.29</td>
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<td>Paleaomyllos</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14.29</td>
<td>↑ 11.2</td>
</tr>
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<td>Kannavas</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13.33</td>
<td>↑ 12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limassol</td>
<td>Zoopigi</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13.24</td>
<td>↑ 13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limassol</td>
<td>Mallia</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13.21</td>
<td>↑ 11.6</td>
</tr>
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<td>Nicosia</td>
<td>Meneiko</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>12.52</td>
<td>↑ 5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos</td>
<td>Drymou</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12.16</td>
<td>↑ 10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos</td>
<td>Agios Marinouda</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11.76</td>
<td>↑ 6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos</td>
<td>Chlorakas</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>10.95</td>
<td>↑ 8.9</td>
</tr>
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<td>Limassol</td>
<td>Chandria</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10.92</td>
<td>↑ 8</td>
</tr>
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<td>Paphos</td>
<td>Konia</td>
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<td>10.75</td>
<td>↑ 3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limassol</td>
<td>Monagri</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10.29</td>
<td>↑ 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos</td>
<td>Mesana</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10.17</td>
<td>↑ 10.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos</td>
<td>Tala</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>9.98</td>
<td>↑ 8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos</td>
<td>Empa</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>9.68</td>
<td>↑ 8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos</td>
<td>Episkopi</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9.66</td>
<td>↓ 0.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nicosia</td>
<td>Ergates</td>
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<td>9.50</td>
<td>↑ 7.9</td>
</tr>
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<td>Paphos</td>
<td>Asprogia</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9.33</td>
<td>↑ 6.9</td>
</tr>
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<td>Nicosia</td>
<td>Kapedes</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9.16</td>
<td>↑ 7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos</td>
<td>Kritou Terra</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.82</td>
<td>↑ 7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larnaca</td>
<td>Alaminos</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>↑ 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>8.62</td>
<td>↑ 8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Salamiou</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Pissouri</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>8.58</td>
<td>↑ 5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos</td>
<td>Agios Georgiou</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.51</td>
<td>↑ 4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos</td>
<td>Mesogi</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>8.40</td>
<td>↑ 6.5</td>
</tr>
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<td>Paphos</td>
<td>Polemi</td>
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<td>8.15</td>
<td>↑ 6.7</td>
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<tr>
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<td>12</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>↑ 4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Famagusta</td>
<td>Ahna</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>7.93</td>
<td>↑ 5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Famagusta</td>
<td>Paralimni</td>
<td>455</td>
<td>7.85</td>
<td>↑ 7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos</td>
<td>Anarita</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7.76</td>
<td>↑ 6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>7.69</td>
<td>↑ 7.69</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Amiantos</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7.57</td>
<td>↑ 7.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos</td>
<td>Milios</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.55</td>
<td>↑ 4.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Information, Republic of Cyprus

The discussion above on the fortunes of the different political parties is important, yet the big

story about the May 2016 parliamentary elections is the rise in the absent voter. It is here where most of the lost AKEL voters are hiding, believing that there were no other alternatives. As Table XI shows absent voters have tripled in the last 10 years, that is, since the election before the last, in 2006. Christophoros Christophorou, a frequent analysts and commentator on Greek Cypriot elections, referred to these voters in the context of the 2011 parliamentary election as ‘disengaged citizens’. I would prefer the term ‘disillusioned citizens’, since they appear to be making a conscious decision to not vote rather than not being engaged they seem to very much be so. There is no doubt that this is a worrying trend (also evident in the EU elections), especially for the major parties, because it inflates the vote of the marginal parties. Both DISY and AKEL must combat the disillusionment and apathy, starting with the government enforcing the law, since it is compulsory to vote, with an appropriate deterrent (in the form of a fine).

Table XI: Voted and Absenteeism 2001-2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2016</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2001</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>+/-%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>+/-%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absent</td>
<td>33.26</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21.30</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>1.19</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>1.82</td>
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<tr>
<td>Invalid</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>2.08</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>2.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Information, Republic of Cyprus

Conclusion and Epilogue

As can be seen from the analysis above, the 2016 Greek Cypriot parliamentary election did not significantly overturn the accepted order of things. To be sure there were winners and losers, but overall the two major parties, and the third party, remain firmly entrenched in their positions, while all others hover at 6% and lower with little prospect of improving unless a merger between two happens. Indeed, such a merger may materialise between EDEK, SYPOL and even the Greens who have a little difference in their policies (except the ecology policies of the Greens), all espousing a populist Greek Cypriot nationalism and very moderate socialist/populist economic policies. Such an alliance is likely for the 2018 presidential elections given the success of Lillakas’ 2013 campaign. In fact the two major parties must be wary of the next presidential elections, especially in the event that the island is not reunified, because one of their candidates may not make it to the second round, and the likelihood of AKEL and DISY supporting the candidate of the other is still not strong, despite their alignment as regards reunification. Even though parliamentary elections are not for another five years, both DISY and AKEL (especially) must begin to consider their approach and policies to repair their 2016 electoral losses. They will both need to embrace economic reform, develop improved campaign strategies, and better explain why they support the reunification of the island along the lines of a bi-communal, bi-zonal federation, and how this will benefit the country.

In terms of campaign strategies, it is clear that the proportional representation system in Cyprus (at least in the 2016 election) highlights the geographical divide between constituents and representatives, given the support for local leaders and candidates (i.e. SYPOL and ELAM), and loss of support (i.e. AKEL in Kyrenia) when those leaders and candidates leave. DISY and AKEL must consider selecting more local candidates, who have experience in local issues, perhaps members of the local council, rather than big name personalities, in areas with concentrated populations and where minor parties have strong leaders and candidates. Additionally, it would benefit the three major parties if the minimum threshold was increased to 5%, as in Germany and New Zealand.

On the economy, the two major parties may never agree, and that is logical given the ideological differences, yet both need to formulate policies on the restructuring of the economy rather than engage in populist politics. To be sure some voters left DISY and AKEL at this election because they fell in for the populism of the minor parties, but the major parties need to argue that those parties are not and cannot form a government, and therefore they can make promises and say what they like to attract voters without being accountable. DISY has adopted a moderate package of economic austerity. This has worked for the short term, but does not address the fundamental weaknesses in the Cypriot economy. AKEL has not really presented an alternative vision, beyond certain principles and vague ideas. The fundamental problem with the Cypriot economy is the massive differences between the private and public sectors and the inequalities in the pension system, which make state expenditure unsustainable. AKEL needs to take the lead here, especially as regards issues such as the minimum wage, compulsory superannuation and pensions only for those most vulnerable (not for fat cat civil servants). AKEL must reconfigure itself as a centre-left party along more practical lines and modelled on Scandinavian and Australian labour/social democracy movements, thus being able to take votes from both DIKO and EDEK, which are not really social democracy movements, but nationalist parties with populist economics that some commentators (and the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the EU) have mistaken as socialist policies.

Finally, there is the issue of reunifying the island and the increased vote of the populist anti-reunification parties (with the exception of course of EDEK) in this election. No doubt as with economic reform the minor parties will go down the populism path, but DISY and AKEL, who finally seem committed to reuniting the island, must stick to their guns (they still obtained 56% of the vote and seemingly most opposed to a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation have jumped ship) and explain the benefits of reunification to the country and how these minor parties cannot deliver on their policies. In explaining the benefits of reunification both DISY and AKEL need to explain the realities of any compromise settlement, and therefore they need to be more involved and to encourage more general involvement in bi-communal activities, as well as initiate a campaign to better educate society about the past, to break down the walls of the propaganda that blames everyone else for the mass violence and atrocities, and acknowledges Cypriot nationalism and very moderate socialist/populist economic policies. Such an alliance is likely for the 2018 presidential elections given the success of Lillakas’ 2013 campaign. In fact the two major parties must be wary of the next presidential elections, especially in the event that the island is not reunified, because one of their candidates may not make it to the second round, and the likelihood of AKEL and DISY supporting the candidate of the other is still not strong, despite their alignment as regards reunification. Even though parliamentary elections are not for another five years, both DISY and AKEL (especially) must begin to consider their approach and policies to repair their 2016 electoral losses. They will both need to embrace economic reform, develop improved campaign strategies, and better explain why they support the reunification of the island along the lines of a bi-communal, bi-zonal federation, and how this will benefit the country.

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Tsai has been addressing four major challenges of the DPP government in Taiwan, which will likely see both immediate and longer-term benefits for all Cypriots.

The Future Cross-Strait Relations: Challenges and Opportunities of the DPP Government

Chin-peng Chu, Jean Monnet Chair and Vice President, National Dong Hwa University; Hualien, Taiwan; Minister of the Research, Development and Evaluation Commission of the Executive Yuan; President of Friends of Europe Taiwan

1. Challenges of Taiwan’s New Government: Tsai Ing-wen’s new Policy Agenda

As the first female President of the Republic of China in Taiwan, Tsai Ing-wen’s inaugural address on May 20, 2016 demonstrates resolve in spearheading important reform agendas pertaining to building a better country for the younger generation; the pension system; the rigid education system; limited energy and resources; the distrust of the people to the judicial system; widening wealth disparities. Tsai emphasized that the new administration will help young people overcome national difficulties to achieve generational justice. Tsai’s addressed the following orientations as her political priorities:

- Transforming economic structures: The first step of the reform is to strengthen the vitality and autonomy of the economy, reinforce Taiwan’s global and regional connections and actively participate in multilateral and bilateral economic cooperation as well as free trade negotiations like the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP). Tsai’s administration will promote a “New Southbound Policy” in order to bid farewell to the past overreliance on a single market, meaning that Tsai’s statement in the inaugural speech will keep distance to Mainland China’s market.

- Strengthening the social safety net: A pension reform and building of long-term care system are seen as important issues in this reform policy.

- Social fairness and justice: the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) government will increase the cooperation with the civil society to deepen democratic institutions. Tsai will establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to pursue true social transitional justice.

- Regional peace and stability and Cross-Strait Relations: Tsai emphasized Taiwan may become marginalized without proactively participating in regional affairs. Based on her initiative of the New Southbound Policy, Taiwan will expand in particular its relationship with ASEAN and India. Tsai is convinced that Cross-Strait Relations have become an integral part of building regional and collective security. She stressed to safeguard national sovereignty and territory on the one hand and to maintain the existing mechanisms for dialogue and communication across the Taiwan Strait on the other hand. Tsai’s statement demonstrated that the DPP government will conduct cross affairs in accordance with the Constitution of the ROC and the Act Governing Relations Between the People of Taiwan Area and the Mainland Area. Based on historical facts since 1992 talks between Taiwan and Mainland China Tsai has been addressing four elements for further engagement in positive dialogue for both sides of Taiwan Strait, namely: the 1992 talks between the two institutions representing each side (the Straits Exchange Foundation, SEF, and the Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits, ARATS) is historical fact; the existing Republic of China (ROC) Constitution order; outcomes of previous negotiations and interactions; and lastly the democratic principle and prevalent will of the people of Taiwan.

- With regard to the diplomatic and global issues, the new Taiwan administration will actively participate in international economic and trade cooperation and also build an office for energy and carbon-reduction for cutting greenhouse gas emissions for a sustainable earth.

- Among all the issues addressed in Tsai’s inaugural speech, whether she accepts the 1992 Consensus or not, is the most significant topic for those interested in the further development of Cross-Strait Relations. It is not only because the 1992 Consensus has been strongly criticized inside the DPP by those who are in favor of an independent Taiwan, but also from regional neighboring countries and the international community which are concerned about how she and her administration will keep a peaceful and stable political and economic developmental environment in future. Tsai’s speech also suggested that she will make the economy her priority and that she will be committed to pursue multilateral and bilateral trade rather than concentrating on one single market, meaning China. But Taiwan’s economic situation and picture is complicated and often constrained by regional and international factors. Many comments pointed out that Tsai Ing-wen’s speech is only expressing an ideal map and that there are still a lot of variables and challenges, including domestic political conflict and international pressure, which might cause a crisis in the foreseeable future and which cannot be ignored.

II. Reactions from the Public in Taiwan and Beijing’s Response to Tsai’s Inauguration

Since Tsai’s victory in the presidential election in January 2016, she has been facing two important challenges: the first is how to balance and fulfill the demands and requirements of the Taiwanese electorate. The second is how to explain and define her “status quo” of the Cross-Strait Relations. For the first question, Tsai has demonstrated some significant issues as mentioned above and she promised that the new administration will initiate actions. Second, Tsai used some points to come as close as possible to the bottom line of the nature of Cross-Strait Relations, the so-called 1992 Consensus. In this regard, she defends the Republic of China as owner of the whole Chinese territorial sovereignty under the framework of the ROC Constitution which means Taiwan’s (ROC) China, not Beijing’s (PRC), and she emphasizes that she respects the 1992 dialogue as a historical fact.

For China, there is no possibility for further dialogue and cooperation or negotiation between...
Taiwan and mainland without two conditions being fulfilled: Taiwan explicitly acknowledges the 1992 Consensus on the one hand and Taiwan recognize its One-China Principle without ambiguity on the other hand. Even Tsai said that she will make good on her words with regard to consistent, sustainable and predictable Cross-Strait Relations. That means, Tsai’s speech might not be enough to rectify her pro-independence attitude and she never explains how to define her status quo and what is the real meaning of independence attitude and she never explains how to face a bumpy ride in the near future, because they are still uncertain. Beijing, President Xi Jinping, commented on June 14, 2016 that these were Beijing’s “bully tactics to control Taiwan.”

III. Opportunities of Tsai’s Administration for Constructive Cross-Strait Relations

From a historical perspective, there was an understanding only in 1992 under the former President Lee Teng-hui’s Kuomintang (KMT) government that both sides referred to under the heading that “there is only one China but different interpretations.” This formed the consensus for further negotiations. The DPP rejected the existence of the consensus and Tsai Ing-wen is striving for “a formula that will not shatter the current stability” in Cross-Strait Relations. Tsai’s speech might not be enough to respond to China’s expectation, but she has shown her good will. Beijing should consider to reciprocate the good will to restart a channel with the mainland China government that both sides referred to under the heading that “there is only one China but different interpretations.” This formed the consensus for further negotiations. The DPP rejected the existence of the consensus and Tsai Ing-wen is striving for “a formula that will not shatter the current stability” in Cross-Strait Relations. Tsai’s speech might not be enough to respond to China’s expectation, but she has shown her good will. Beijing should consider to reciprocate the good will to restart a channel with the mainland China government that both sides referred to under the heading that “there is only one China but different interpretations.” This formed the consensus for further negotiations. The DPP rejected the existence of the consensus and Tsai Ing-wen is striving for “a formula that will not shatter the current stability” in Cross-Strait Relations. Tsai’s speech might not be enough to respond to China’s expectation, but she has shown her good will. Beijing should consider to reciprocate the good will to restart a channel with the DPP government, and to give an opportunity to measure each other’s intentions and see whether the DPP can deliver on Tsai’s promises as she expressed her position on Cross-Strait Relations based on the R.O.C. Constitution and the Act Governing Relations between the People of the Taiwan Area and the Mainland China Area.
weeks after Tsai presented her new position, she created a mechanism with Japan to settle maritime disputes to resolve differences over fishing rights in the waters near the Japanese reef of Okinotori, which I object of territorial disputes between China and Japan. She also referred to herself as the Taiwan President, not President of the ROC, when she made her first state visit to Panama. Tsai is already breaking with the foreign policy of her pro-Beijing predecessor. That means, Beijing might keep lower level of its confidence on her administration.

Thus, Tsai’s government should build trust relations with China firstly and avoid pursuing independence in the international arena in order not to touch the red-line of mainland China. Secondly, if independence is pursued, it is impossible to keep peace and stability in the Taiwan straits. Thirdly, Tsai’s administration needs to keep a beneficial balance between national security and economic development. Fourth, Taiwan should consider seeking multilateral strategic cooperation with neighboring countries in Asia and the international community under the One-China perception framework as an important political goal. In the near future, the One-China policy is absolutely non-negotiable for China. Tsai’s government will face a lot of challenges and she has a big chance to change history to find a new way to address the problems during the period of power transition.
Summary of the Thai Constitutional Court Decision on the Referendum Act 2016

On 29 June 2016 the Constitutional Court of Thailand ruled on the debated Referendum Act 2016 which had come into force in April. Below, CPG provides a summary of the most important points of the Constitutional Court’s decision.

Summary of the Constitutional Court Decision 4/2559

● Mr. Jon Ungpakorn submitted a notice to the Ombudsman, claiming that terms such as “violent”, “aggressive” or “agitate” in Section 61 Subsection 2 of the Referendum Act B.E. 2559 (2016) were too broad and vague. According to his opinion, the people could not understand whether their expression would be illegal or not. This would breach the principle of criminal law which requires the law to be clear. According to Mr. Ungpakorn’s claim, Section 61 Subsection 2 also limited the rights and liberties of the people without reasonable reason. He further submitted, that the punishment provisions were too severe and not in proper proportion with the crime and that the Act affects the freedom of expression according to Section 29 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand B.E. 2050 (2007). The case was referred by the Ombudsman to the Constitutional Court (the Court).

● By way of preliminary observations, the Court considered that the Act limits the freedom of expression which is protected under Thailand’s administrative conventions of the democratic regime of government with the King as Head of State according to Section 4 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand – Interim – B.E. 2557 (2014) and which is also a fundamental right under international law. The Court assumed its jurisdiction for this case according to Section 45 of the Interim Constitution.

The Court further referred to an explanation given by the National Legislative Assembly explaining that the Act confirms the freedom of expression in Section 7 of the Act. However, pursuant to that explanation, the expression had to be done in good faith and without breaching the law. According to the National Legislative Assembly, the Act had been made to maintain peace in the country and to prevent conflict among the people and the misuse of the referendum for political purposes. Section 61 was therefore necessary to preserve the state’s security, the peace of the society and good morals. Moreover, the National Legislative Assembly asserted that the words such as “violent”, “aggressive” or “agitate” can be found in dictionaries. They were therefore clear, and everyone could understand them without being confused. The National Legislative Assembly stated that, in principle, the people can express their opinions and that they had expressed them a lot. According to the National Legislative Assembly, Section 61 Subsection 2 was created in order to avoid problems with interpretations. It was therefore designed to specify which action is to be considered “agitation”.

● The Court decided:

The referendum is a process by which people can participate in the political decision-making directly. In general, a referendum shall be open for everyone for discussion. Both sides are supposed to have the chance to rally and persuade the public of their opinion. The decision must be made freely and secretly. However, there are two types of constitutional referenda: Referenda for framing a constitution and referendum for changing a constitution.

According to the Act, the referendum is a referendum for framing a constitution. It is a mechanism which appears in the process of establishing a new constitution, after a former constitution has ceased to be in force. Such a referendum appears in cases in which a country undergoes a political crisis and is ruled by a temporary government under a temporary constitution. State agencies have the important role to control or supervise the management of the referendum such as to specify important questions, to advertise information or to determine the regulations of the referendum.

The Act aims to let the referendum be arranged bona fide and with fairness, without distortion, coercion, harassment or undue influence. Thus, the Act contains provisions with criminal punishment for any person who conducts agitation, which causes the referendum becoming unfair.

The Act in Section 7 confirms the right to express opinions. This right must be exercised bona fide and without breaching any law. Section 61 Subsection 1 of the Act specifies felonies and, in Subsection 2, explains the meaning of the word “agitation causing an unordered referendum”.

The elements of the felony are:

1. An action which aims to distribute a message or picture in the media or another platform.
2. A distribution of a message or a picture that is distorted, violent, aggressive, crude, agitated or threatening.
3. Intention
4. Special Intention which aims to deter voters from voting or to unduly influence voters to vote in a certain way.

According to general principles, an act that incurs criminal liability and punishment shall be specified by law with clear wording so that the people can understand the prohibited action. In order to be criminally liable, the offender must breach the law clearly. However, criminal law provisions may use terms which are “clear” but “do not have a specific meaning”. Therefore, a lawyer can consider the circumstances of the action with respect to the law’s elements of crime correctly, according to the spirit of the law in issue. Legal terms that are “clear” but “do not have a specific meaning” are used when the law cannot foresee the concrete situation in the future. This kind of wording is necessary to achieve justice in a particular situation. It is not contrary to the principle of “no penalty without a law”. Moreover, the possible punishment in such a case has a provision for a maximum punishment, but has no minimum punishment.
In consequence, the competent court can use its discretion in order to specify the punishment, with due consideration of the actual circumstances.

The terms in Section 61 such as “violent”, “aggressive” or “agitate” are legal terms which are “clear” but “don’t have a specific meaning”. The terms are used to protect the right, liberty and privacy of others, to protect peace and good morals. The wording of the Act is therefore not unclear. The possible punishment is prescribed with a maximum of 10 years imprisonment, without specifying a minimum punishment. The competent court can therefore decide on the punishment according to the circumstances of the case. If a state agency interprets such wording too broad, affected people can challenge that in court.

- The Court decides that the Act does not prohibit people to express an opinion which is bona fide and which complies with the Act. The Act aims to facilitate the referendum to be orderly and peaceful and to protect the liberty of voters. It limits the liberty to express opinions which is necessary to protect the state’s security and good morals. It does not affect the substance of the liberty and it has general applicability. It is therefore not contrary to Section 4 of the Interim Constitution.
with Thammasat University Nut Seller Mr. Bernard

Known to everyone at Thammasat University, Mr. Bernard, the man selling nuts at Thammasat University, is an “institution in himself” at the university. The interview below introduces Mr. Bernard to our readers.

Q: Mr. Bernard, everybody studying or working at the Tha Prachan Campus of Thammasat University sooner or later encounters you as the man selling nuts. Since when have you been doing this job?

I have been doing this job for 48 years since I moved to Bangkok when I was 23 years old. At the beginning I could not sell nuts in the university area because the security guards told me that I needed to sign a contract with the university and obtain a permission. So, a student named Naris Chaiyasoot (who became later Dean of the Faculty of Economics and Chancellor of Thammasat University) helped me obtain this contract.

Q: Why nuts? Do you have a special relation to this sort of fruit?

Because I did not know what to sell. So, I bought the nuts from Bo Bae market to sell them. In the past, nuts were very cheap so, it was good to sell them but now the price has gone up. Now I earn around 130-140 THB a day.

Q: Please let us know more about your background. Where are you from and since when have you been in Thailand?

I am originally from Borapura, a small village in the state of Karnataka in southwest India. I have been in Thailand for 48 years now. Only rarely I go back to India to visit my relatives. Here in Thailand, I am with my 5 children and 21 nephews. But my oldest son and my wife died. Now I live in Pinklao in a small house for rent, 15 square two-meters with my son and daughter-in-law.

Q: What brought you to Thailand? Was your move to Thailand a free decision or due to certain circumstances in your life?

I came to Thailand with my parents and grandparents because they decided to move. I don’t know the reason why they wanted to move to Thailand and I have never asked them.

Q: Having been so long in Thailand and at Thammasat University, what do you think about life in Thailand and Bangkok?

I like Thailand more than India. Everything is better for me, including the environment which is cleaner, people are nice here and my Thai friends are really kind as well. Also, in Thailand I can earn more money than in India.

In particular, the people here at Thammasat University are very nice. Many people helped me a lot. For example, the students here come to chat with me, help me sell nuts and some students carry the stand for me. Also, I usually leave the stand at the university and walk home so the students helped me write a sign for the stand.

Once, a dog bit my leg and 4 students took me to Siriraj Hospital. Other students helped me take care of the stand at that time.

And at first when I moved to Thailand, I could not speak a word of Thai. I used gestures to communicate with my customers. But every day, I heard some Thai and the students helped me and taught me so that my Thai is very good now.
Lifestyle around Thammasat University:
Roof top bars

The area adjacent to Thammasat University is home not only to the National Museum, the Grand Palace, Sanam Luang and many other historic sites and temples, but also to an extraordinary number of cafes, restaurants and bars, making it a respectable competitor for the very much happening Thong Lor neighbourhood of Sukhumvit, Ari or Silom.

Whether you are looking for a social drink, a big night out or a quiet evening with friends in a small restaurant, you will have no trouble finding all of this right here within minutes from the University. The more laid-back Soi Rambuttri, on one side connected to Phra Athit Road and leading towards the madness of Khao San Road on the other, hosts a number of relaxed bars and cosy restaurants all out there for exploration. Prices range from cheap to mid-range but generally speaking, drinks and food is slightly less expensive than in other, more ‘fancy’ areas of Bangkok.

Besides a ton of venues to visit there, from Reggae to Blues to pub-style bars, there are also some lesser known, yet very nice roof-top bars in the area which are worth exploring. Granted, they may not be as high as the ones topping the high-rise buildings in Sukhumvit or Sathorn, but they do fit the charm of Bangkok’s Old Town and they are high enough to get a nicer view and catch a windy breeze to get a break from the heat.

Jham-Jun on the roof of Forteville Guesthouse next to Phra Sumen Fort is a good choice for an evening drink. Located on top of the building, one gets to enjoy a good view alongside reasonably priced drinks and food options. Once you have managed to work the peculiar lift that takes you up to floor four of the building, it is just one more flight of stairs. Choose from a fairly wide selection of food and nibbles (snacks and basic Thai dishes from around 100 to 185 THB) or just enjoy a beer or a cocktail, preferably during sunset (from 100/~200 THB).

In addition to the rooftop-bar vibe, Jham-Jun shows select sporting events on screen and sometimes hosts bands for small live music events.
Another roof-top bar in the area is **Phra Nakorn Bar and Gallery. Phra Nakorn** is a more local bar, not at all trying to be fancy. They draw and arty crowd, have easy listening music and most of all very budget friendly prices. Here you can get your beer from 60 THB a bottle and cocktails and long drinks from 140 THB. You are likely to run into tourists from close-by Khao San, students as well as local artists who enjoy a drink here. There is food on offer too, not quite as diverse as Jham-Jun, but cheaper with simple dishes from 100 THB. Phra Nakorn has both an outside and an inside area where you can even play billiards. This atmospheric place does not really get going until after dark, but when it does, it occasionally puts on live music on the roof and it does give you a nice break from the heat if you choose a breezy night to go. Try it out; it certainly has the potential to become your local if you live in the area.

Getting to **Jham-Jun** from Thammasat is literally straight-forward. All you need to do is follow Phra Athit Road, walk past the fort where the road bends and Forteville Guesthouse is on your left. Phra Nakorn is a little trickier to find but also very close to the university. Walk out towards Sanam Luang and stay on the right hand side of Ratchadamnoen Klang Road when walking towards Democracy Monument. Turn into Soi Damnoen Klang Tai on your right and you will see Phra Nakorn Bar on the corner just before the 7-11. Enjoy!
People

New Ukraine Ambassador to Thailand

The President of Ukraine appointed Andrii Beshta as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Kingdom of Thailand on 24 November 2015. He arrived to Bangkok at the end of January 2016 and commenced his official duties as of February 4.

Andrii Beshta is a career diplomat. He joined the diplomatic service in 1998 after graduation from the Faculty of International Relations, the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, Ukraine.

Before coming to Thailand in 2011-2016 he served as Deputy Director-General and Acting Director-General of the Department of International Organizations in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. His previous posting abroad was also in Thailand as the Counsellor of the Embassy of Ukraine in 2007-2011.

Prior to that his diplomatic career was primarily connected with the area of UN and other international organizations. In 1998-2001 and 2005-2007 he worked in the Department of UN and Other International Organizations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine – from Attaché to Counsellor. In between – during 2001-2005 – he was posted at the Permanent Mission of Ukraine to the UN in New York.

Andrii Beshta is married, has daughter and two sons.

Prof. Pornsan Watanangura receives the Cross of the Order of Merit

Honoring her long-standing and outstanding contributions to the promotion of German language, literature and culture in Thailand as well as the cultural exchange between Germany and Thailand, German Ambassador to Thailand Peter Prügel bestowed upon Prof. Dr. Pornsan Watanangura the Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany in an awards ceremony on 18 May 2016 at the Residence of the German Embassy. Among others, Dr. Pornsan is Professor emeritus and Honorary Professor at the Department of Western Languages, Faculty of Art, Chulalongkorn University; President of the Thai-German Society; and Associate Fellow at the Academy of Art of the Royal Institute of Thailand. She received her PH.D from the University of Heidelberg, Germany, in the fields of applied linguistic, modern German literature and musicology. Congratulations to this award, Ajarn Pornsan, and thank you for our nice cooperation!

In the previous COM issue Thansuda Pantusa and Jan Kliem have been introduced as new members of the CPG team in Bangkok. This issue presents the other two new team members. Venus Phuangkom, our Program Coordinator, graduated from Ubonratchathani University in Microbiology with a bachelor’s degree of Science. Before joining CPG, Venus worked as quality assurance officer in the area of food security. In her free time she likes to travel, listen to music and is also interested in every branches of arts.

Venus Phuangkom, our project assistant, graduated from Kasetsart University with a Bachelor of Science in the field of Psychology. Prior to working with CPG, Venus worked as human resource and administrative officer in the IT outsourcing, consulting and software solution sector. In her free time she likes to travel, listen to music and to watch creative videos on Youtube.

On 6 May 2016, the Faculty of Law, Thammasat University, arranged a special lecture on the topic of “The Constitutional Court of Austria and the Protection of Human Rights”. Guest speaker was Hon. Judge Prof. Dr. Gerhart Holzinger, President of the Austrian Constitutional Court. In his lecture Hon. Judge Holzinger provided an insightful account on the historical development and the competences of the Austrian Constitutional Court as well as the contribution of the Court to the protection of human rights in Austria.

Past Events May-June 2016

On 10 May 2016, the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University, held the conference “Thailand in the Post-Banham Era: Economy, Politics, Clientelism in Suphanburi and the Future of Medium-Sized Parties” at Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand.

On 11 May 2016, Thammasat University (The Prachan Campus) hosted the 2016 Pradi Banomyong Day at Thammasat University (The Prachan Campus). The event featured among others a special lecture on “Constitutional Democracy Drafting: Lesson from Puey Ungphakorn and Pradi Banom
On 19 May 2016, Faculty of Law of Thammasat University arranged the conference “State and Good Governance Supervision in the Business Sector” at Faculty of Law, Thammasat University (The Prachan Campus), Bangkok.

From 20 to 22 May 2016, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation organized the workshop “Empowerment, skills and competencies of women MPs” in Indonesian, Padang. For more details, follow http://www.kas.de/indonesien/de/events/.

From 23-24 May 2016, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation/Thailand hosted the workshop “Media Information and Digital Literacy Conceptual Framework for Democratic Citizenship Education” in co-partnership with the Child and Youth Media Foundation at the Thai Civic Education Center in Bangkok.

On 24 May 2016, Ambassador of Peru to Thailand, Felix Denegri, handed over to Anandha Chuchoti, Director General of the Department of Fine Arts of the Ministry of Culture and representative of the Thai government, a bronze replica of the Chavin Monolith as a gift to the Thai government on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between Peru and Thailand at the National Gallery Bangkok. The Chavin Monolith, created about 2,500 years ago, represents a mythical religious being of the Chavin Culture of ancient Peru, which flourished between 1,500 and 100 B.C. and was one of the most important of the approximately 40 different cultures prior to the Inca Empire in Peru. On the same occasion the exhibition “Memory of Peru: Photographs 1890-1950” was inaugurated. The exhibition showcases photographs giving an overview of the varied and rich Peruvian geography, different indigenous cultures and their great racial variety formed by migrations to Peru throughout several centuries from Europe, Africa and Asia.

On 26 May 2016, the Faculty of Law of Thammasat University arranged the conference “Vision and Perspective of Mom Rajawongse Seni Pramoj” at Faculty of Law, Thammasat University (The Prachan Campus).

On 31 May 2016, Konrad Adenauer Foundation / Vietnam hosted the workshop “Migration: Challenges and Opportunities for the EU and ASEAN” in Vietnam, Hanoi. Vietnamese and international experts investigated the causes of migration crisis in Europe and the reactions of the individual EU member states to this challenge. Another focus of the conference was international migration in South-east Asia. Details are available at http://www.kas.de/vietnam/de/events/.

On 5 June 2016, Konrad Adenauer Foundation/China organized a workshop on “Energy-Water-Waste Nexus” at Shanghai Music Conservatory, Shanghai, PR China.

On 5 June 2016, Konrad Adenauer Foundation/Myanmar organized workshop about “Responsible Management, Visibility of Social Market Economy VI, Training for members of society organizations and local entrepreneurs” in Mawlamyine, Myanmar. Details are accessible at http://www.kas.de/myanmar/de/events/


On 13 June 2016, British Ambassador Brian Davidsen hosted The 90th Queen’s Birthday Party at Grand Hyatt Erawan Hotel. Joining the party were distinguished guests from senior government officials, members of political parties, academics, leading business representatives, celebrities and representative of the British Community in Thailand. Ambassador Brian addressed that it is a double honour as he took up his official duties as the new British Ambassador to the Kingdom of Thailand on the day he hosted the British Queen’s Birthday Party in Bangkok. This year is very special to Thai people too as it is the 70th anniversary of His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej’s accession to the throne.

In his speech, Brian Davidsen, British Ambassador to Thailand said, “I’d like to thank the Thai and British companies who have generously sponsored this event, and the Corps of Drums of the First Battalion...”
the Welsh Guards for making this evening more special. I look forward to continuing this already strong UK-Thai partnership – based on our enduring friendship, on investment and innovative cooperation and on our interest in the creativity and cultures of our two countries. From our love of Shakespeare, to football and our mutual love of fine cuisine. I am delighted we have with us today world-renowned chef Ken Hom – who has produced a short video clip encouraging UK exporters to explore the Thai market.”

On 15 June 2016, the Faculty of Economics, Thammasat University hosted the seminar “Measuring American Household’s Welfare Improvement from High-Speed Internet by Price and Speed Data” at the Faculty of Economics, Thammasat University (Rangsit Campus).


From 23 to 24 June 2016, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation/Vietnam arranged the seminar “Branding of Vietnamese agricultural products in the world market” in Ben Tre. Details are accessible at http://www.kas.de/vietnam/de/events/.

From 23 to 24, and 27 to 28 June 2016, Konrad Adenauer Foundation/Cambodia hosted the “Training for Public Relations” in Phnom Penh. Details at http://www.kas.de/kambodscha/de/events/.

From 23 to 25 June 2016, the Institute of Human Rights and Peace Studies (IHRP), Mahidol University arranged the training “Conflict Transformation 2016” at Institute of Human Right and Peace Studies, Mahidol University, Bangkok.

On 24 June 2016, the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University, held the conference “Rest In Peace – Chapter 2: Illness, Suffering and Dying” at the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok.


On 30 June 2016, Ambassador Glyn Davies and Embassy colleagues welcomed Thai and international friends to celebrate the 240th anniversary of the Independence of the United States of America. Celebrating the centennial of the U.S. National Park Service through “America from Sea to Shining Sea” the Ambassador highlighted the significance of the U.S. national parks system in American history and defining the American spirit, and praised the thriving sister park relationship between Khao Yai National Park in Thailand and the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in the United States. Guests were able to explore a number of unique U.S. scenic and historic locations recreated at the event and enjoyed highlights of regional cuisine from across the United States.

Upcoming Events

On 21 July 2016, the DAAD Information Center will arrange the Monthly Presentation “Study and Research in Germany” at the Auditorium of the Thai-German Cultural Foundation. Details are accessible at http://www.daad.or.th/en/28757/index.html.

On 25 July 2016, the Asia Centre will organize the seminar “Brexit & its implications: An Asia Centre Roundtable” at Asia Centre (beside BTS Phaya Thai). Further information are available at http://asiacentre.co.th/event/brexit-its-implications-an-asia-centre-roundtable/.


On 4 August 2016, Konrad Adenauer Foundation/Thailand will host the workshop “Strengthening and Disseminating Knowledge about the Administrative Justice and Protection of People’s Rights”. For event details see http://www.kas.de/thailand/de/events/69179.

From 21 to 26 August 2016, the Ministry of Law and Human Rights in cooperation with Hanns Seidel Foundation will host the international symposium “Comparative Perspectives on Legislation Making and Constitutional Rights” in Jarkarta, Surabaya, and Bromo.

From 1 to 2 September 2016, Academic Fora will arrange the “Bangkok 34th International Conference on Business, Economics, Social Science & Humanities - BESSH-2016” in theme of “Advances in collaborative research for Business, Economics, social science and humanities” at Holliday Inn Bangkok Silom Bangkok, Thailand. For more information at http://academicfora.com/besh-bangkok-thailand-1-2-september-2016/.

From 1 to 2 September 2016, World Research Center Top Ideas will organize the “3rd International Conference of Business, Economics, Management, Information Technology and Social Science” at Centara Nova Hotel, Pattaya, Thailand. For more information at http://www.icbemconf.com/index.php/pattaya-3thailand.html.

From 1 to 2 September 2016, Canadian International Journal of Science and Technology will organize “ICASLE 2016 - International Conference on Social Science, Literature, Economics and Education” at Millenium & Copthorne Hotels, Chelsea Football Club, London. For further information see http://americanhealthcare.wix.com/london.

From 1 to 2 September 2016, VADEA with the University North and the Faculty of Law, University of Split will hold the “16th International Scientific Conference on Economic and Social Development” at the Faculty of Law, University of Split, Split, Croatia. Details are available at http://www. esd-conference.com/?page=conference&id=17.

From 13 September 2016, Critical Legal Conference will arrange the conference on “Critical Perspectives on Culture and Preservation: ProClarity in our Past, Present, and Future Cultural Heritage” at the University of Kent’s Canterbury campus, South East of England. For further see http://www.kent.ac.uk/law/research/clc-2016/papers.html.

From 1 to 3 September 2016, Sakarya University and Sabahattin Zaim University in collaboration with Durham University (UK) will organize “The International Joint Conference on Islamic Economics and Finance (IJICEF)” at Titanic Business Bayrampasa Hotel, Istanbul, Turkey. Details are available at http://www.icisef.org/.

From 3 to 4 September 2016, World Research Center Top Ideas will organize the “4th International Conference of Business, Economics, Management, Information Technology and Social Science” at KEE Hotel, Phuket, Thailand. For further information see http://www.icemconf.com/index.php/phuket-thailand.html.


From 5 to 9 September 2016, Kasetsart University and MendeI University will arrange the “XI International Conference on Applied Business Research ICABR 2016” in theme of “Globalization and Regional Development” at Pattaya Hotel, Chonburi, Thailand. For further information see http://www.kimba.ku.ac.th/icabr2016/default.aspx

From 6 to 8 September 2016, the Ontario International Development Agency (OIDA) will organize the “International Conference on Sustainable Development 2016” at Pearl International Hotel, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Details are available at http://www.ontariointernational.org/ICSD_2016_Malaysia.html.

From 7 to 8 September 2016, the International Association of Academicians and Researchers (IN-AAR) will arrange the “International Conference on Law, Humanities and Social Sciences” at Hotel Citrus, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. For more information go to http://inaar.asia/september-malaysia-international-conference-law-humanities-social-sciences/.

From 7 to 8 September 2016, Panoply Consultancy will arrange the “2nd International Conference Advanced Research in Business and Social Sciences 2016 (ICARBSS 2016)” at Patra Jasa Bali Resort & Villas, Bali, Indonesia. For further information see http://www.icarbss.com/.

From 8 to 9 September 2016, the International Institute for Academic Development will hold the “International Academic Conference on Law, Politics & Management 2016” at Budapest, Hungary. See more information at http://lawpoliticsconference.com/.

From 11 to 12 September 2016, Ontario College for Research and Development will hold the international conference on “Humanities, Literature, Business and Education” at Furama Hotels & Resorts, Bangkok. For more information see http://americanhealthcare.wix.com/thailand-september

From 14 to 15 September 2016, the International Association of Humanities, Social Sciences & Management Researchers will hold the “International Conference on E-Governance, Law and Education” at Holiday Inn Dubai, Dubai, United Arab Emirates. For more information at http://hssmr.org/conference.php?slug=EGLE-16&sid=4&catid=93.


From 16 to 17 September 2016, the European Center of Sustainable Development will host the “4th International Conference on Sustainable Development” in Rome. For more information see http://www.ecsdev.org/index.php/conference.

From 18 to 21 September 2016, the Regional Studies Association Research Network on Migration, Inter-Connectivity and Regional Development (MICA RD) will organize the conference “Contemporary Migration in an Changing World:
New Perspectives and Challenges" at the University of Belgrade. Details are accessible at http://www.regionalstudies.org/events/event/contemporary-migration-in-changing-world-new-perspectives-and-challenges

From 29 to 30 September 2016, the Singapore Academy of Law will host the "International Family Law Conference 2016: The Future of Family Justice - International and Multi-Disciplinary Pathways" at the Supreme Court Auditorium, Singapore. For further information see https://www.sal-e.org.sg/international-family-law-conference-2016.

From 13-14 October 2016, the Polish Association of International Studies, the Institute of Political Science at the University of Gdańsk, the Gulf Studies Center at College of Arts and Sciences of Qatar University will organize "The 2nd edition of the international conference: Contemporary Arab and Muslim World in the International Relations" at the University of Gdańsk, Poland. For further information see http://arabconference.eu/

From 21-22 October 2016, the International Network for Sexual Ethics and Politics, in cooperation with Miami University Luxembourg will arrange the workshop on "Regulating and Legitimating Sexualities: the State, Law, Sexual Culture and Change under Neo-Liberalism" at Miami University Luxembourg, Luxembourg. Further information is available at http://www.insep.ugent.be/insepluxembourg/

Scholarship opportunities

The Taiwan Fellowship of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) of the Republic of China awards 12 scholarships to foreign experts and scholars interested in Taiwan, cross-strait relations, mainland China, Asia-Pacific region and Chinese studies to undertake research at universities or academic institutions in Taiwan. Applications are due 31st July 2016. Recipients are expected to begin their research in January 2017. More information can be found at http://taiwanfellowship.ncl.edu.tw/eng/about.aspx.

The Marie Skłodowska Curie Actions (MSCA) Individual Fellowships Programme supports researcher mobility by providing funding to postdoctoral researchers for research stays at universities, research centers and companies in European Union member states and programme-associated countries. ASEAN researchers can apply until 14 September 2016. Further information is accessible at http://ec.europa.eu/euraxess/index.cfm/links/singleNews/53563.

The Wetsus Research Programme offers PhD positions in water science and technology. Wetsus invites applications from qualified candidates with an interest in water science and technology and a degree in microbiology, chemistry, (applied) physics, bio-technology, chemical engineering, electronics, mechanical engineering, or related disciplines. The application period will open in September 2016. Details on the positions will be available at http://www.phdpositions.wetsus.eu/.

The Visiting Professors Programme (VPP) grants outstanding foreign researchers fellowships to work in the Netherlands. Established in 2008, the fellowship will cover all travel and accommodation expenses and provide the foreign researcher with a budget for his academic related work. As far as the application process is concerned, Academy members, researchers at Academy institutes, members of The Young Academy, and Academy Professors may submit nominations for a Visiting Professorship. The submission deadline is 1 November 2016. More information can be found at https://www.knaw.nl/en/awards/subsidies/visiting-professors-programme-vpp.

90 researchers from all over the world are invited to apply to the “LEaDing Fellows Postdoc Programme” with the opportunity to gain two years of work experience in the challenging, internationally acclaimed and multidisciplinary environment offered by Leiden University, Delft University of Technology, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Leiden University Medical Center and Erasmus Medical Center. Candidates must have recently completed their PhD. They are invited to submit a project proposal in February 2017. Further details are available at http://www.leiden-delft-erasmus.nl/en/research/leading-fellows-postdoc-programme.
CPG Job-Market

As a service, CPG provides a regularly updated overview of currently open job offers in fields and from institutions related to CPG’s focal areas of work.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Vacant position</th>
<th>Department, Office, Location</th>
<th>Closing Date</th>
<th>Information available at:</th>
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<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>Faculty of Learning Sciences and Education, Thammasat University, Pathumthani, Thailand</td>
<td>29 July 2016</td>
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<td>Lecturer</td>
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<td>31 July 2016</td>
<td><a href="http://www4.tu.ac.th/oth/news2015/Data/D1465184361.pdf">http://www4.tu.ac.th/oth/news2015/Data/D1465184361.pdf</a></td>
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<td>Rajapruk University</td>
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<td>Bangkok University</td>
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<td>Bangkok University Chinese International College, Bangkok, Thailand</td>
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<td>Team Manager</td>
<td>UNICEF Thailand, Phra nakhon, Bangkok, Thailand</td>
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<td>Location</td>
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<td>United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)</td>
<td>Procurement Associate</td>
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<td><a href="http://th.jobsdb.com/th/th/job/procurement-associate">Application Link</a></td>
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<td>UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees)</td>
<td>Fundraiser</td>
<td>UNHCR, Bangkok, Thailand</td>
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<td>Quality Compliance Associate (PQC)</td>
<td>Family Health International, Bangkok, Thailand</td>
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<td><a href="http://th.jobsdb.com/th/th/job/quality-compliance-associate">Application Link</a></td>
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<td>Laboratory technician</td>
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<td>Accountant Officer/ Senior Accountant Officer</td>
<td>Raks Thai Foundation</td>
<td>Raks Thai Foundation, Bangkok, Thailand</td>
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<td>Thai Administration Services</td>
<td>Raks Thai Foundation</td>
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<td>Director/ Executive Director</td>
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<td>Assistant Manager - Assistant Director</td>
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<td>Assistant manager</td>
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<td>Manager/ Assistant Manager</td>
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<td>Academic Staff</td>
<td>Management System Certification Institute (Thailand)</td>
<td>Phayathai, Bangkok</td>
<td>Until filled</td>
<td><a href="http://th.jobsdb.com/th/th/job">http://th.jobsdb.com/th/th/job</a></td>
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