

Canadian Centre  
for Foreign Policy  
Development



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**REPORT FROM THE ROUNDTABLE  
CYPRUS: LIVING TOGETHER IN THE NEW CENTURY**

CCFPD

February 14, 2000 (Ottawa)

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CYPRUS: LIVING TOGETHER IN THE NEW CENTURY**

**February 14, 2000  
Ottawa**

*Marking the tenth year anniversary of a major project by the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security (CIIPS), "Cyprus – Visions for the Future," the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development organised a roundtable "Cyprus: Living Together in the New Century," on February 14, 2000. The roundtable brought together a number of the CIIPS conference participants, conflict resolution/mediation and federalism experts, Members of Parliament, Canadians in Cyprus, members of the Turkish and Greek communities in Canada, as well as officials from the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. The roundtable addressed the history of Canada's interests, examined some of the challenges of living together and community building and signalled possible Canadian contributions. Initiated by Eleni Bakopanos, MP, the roundtable discussion benefited from the presence of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lloyd Axworthy. We are grateful to Senator Lois Wilson for arranging the meeting room at the Senate of Canada.*

**1. Framing the Discussion**

Steve Lee, Chair, opened the discussion by stating that the aim of the roundtable was to create a learning circle and to share ideas about possible Canadian contributions to human security and reconciliation in Cyprus. The objectives of the roundtable were:

- to reflect on developments since the CIIPS Conference a decade ago, including the recent post-earthquake diplomacy,
- to examine the changing international context (European Union, United Nations, and U.S Track II Diplomacy),
- to address psychological and institutional aspects of living together and community building,
- to think about possible Canadian contributions to reconciliation, and
- to consider the role and impact of civil society.

Steve Lee also drew attention to observations and recommendations from the 1989 CIIPS conference. They included:

- the need to bring the two communities together in order to build a common Cypriot political identity,
- the value of encouraging and broadening economic and political confidence-building measures between the two communities,
- the continuing importance of the UN and the Secretary General,
- the idea of a united, stronger Europe as a multi-ethnic framework for solving the Cyprus conflict,
- the importance of encouraging economic cooperation between the two communities.

Following Steve Lee's remarks, **Eleni Bakopanos**, MP, welcomed all to the roundtable and expressed her appreciation to those who contributed to the event, including: the CCFPD, Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy, as well as the members of the Canada-Cyprus Parliamentary Friendship Group. She pointed out that the day's dialogue offered a unique opportunity to reflect and contribute to Canada's role in the peacebuilding process. She saw the roundtable as a forum to air views and an opportunity to learn from each other. She noted the Prime Minister's interest in a "Europe free of dividing lines" and emphasised the value Canadians place on "dialogue."

Eleni Bakopanos also drew attention to the "seismic" diplomacy that took place in the wake of the devastating earthquakes, both in Turkey and Greece, and expressed her belief in the process of rapprochement and dialogue. The changing regional context, Turkey's candidacy for the EU, as well as the UN-sponsored proximity talks all raise hopes that the climate may be shifting toward a concerted effort for a comprehensive resolution, she said. Mrs. Bakopanos briefly outlined key Canadian activities:

- Canada has played an important role in the peacekeeping and conflict resolution process by contributing troops to the UN peacekeeping operations in Cyprus (from March 1964 to January 1993).
- Following a visit to the island, she presented a Motion in the House of Commons on the demilitarisation of Cyprus (June 17, 1996).
- Minister Axworthy visited Cyprus in June 1998. While there, he expressed Canada's full support for a UN brokered solution. He also reiterated Canada's commitment to continue playing a constructive role in seeking a prosperous future and an enduring peace for the people of Cyprus. This commitment includes the possibility of a Canadian project of assistance for the clearance of anti-personnel mines in and along the buffer zone.

She pointed out that Canada's seat on UN Security Council provides an opportunity to promote issues of importance to all Canadians, including respect for human rights and international law. She stressed the value of convincing the U.S. and the international community about the importance of finding a fair and viable solution to the Cyprus issue. She thanked

Mr. Michael Bell, Canada's Special Representative on Cyprus, for his past contribution and support for efforts fostering a peaceful settlement.

## **2. Canadian Interests and History**

**Ronald Fisher**, Royal Roads University, drew attention to the CIIPS work. In particular, he pointed to the projects up to December 1990 in Ottawa and follow-up projects to facilitate peacebuilding in London, United Kingdom (June 1991). They included: a bi-communal art exhibit, business exchanges, and the creation of a bi-communal steering committee for further interchange. Notwithstanding that CIIPS and 40 other government funded agencies were closed in 1992, more workshops continued in 1993 with Canadian government funding assistance. In 1993 a decision was made to widen the field to include education and the role of education in maintaining the conflict. Teachers and children were brought together to look at education's potential role in conflict resolution. The CIIPS work then passed to the Americans who continued the bi-communal activities.

More recently American institutions (the Conflict Management Group, World Peace Foundation, and the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy) looked at obstacles to negotiations, including four meetings off the island. Before the Green Line closed in December 1997, the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre held a workshop in Cornwallis, Nova Scotia (November 9-13, 1997). Fisher concluded by saying that the CIIPS work has paved the way for future Canadian initiatives which would be favourably looked upon on the island. He noted that a continuing interest by Canadians is seen as a hopeful sign.

**Robert Hage**, Director, Southern Europe Division, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, pointed out that Canadian peacekeepers arrived on the island just after the British. The twenty-nine years of peacekeeping served three long-term Canadian foreign policy interests:

- Canada's membership in NATO and concerns over the tension between Turkey and Greece – both NATO partners,
- Canada's middle power commitment to peacekeeping in the context of the Cold War,
- Canada's common membership with Cyprus in the Commonwealth.

He noted then External Affairs Minister, Allan MacEachen, had stated in 1975 that as a major contributor to peacekeeping, Canada had sought to avoid taking sides on aspects of the dispute but had tried to encourage meaningful negotiations. There was little Canada could and can do on its own and had therefore sought to work with others. He reminded the participants of the 1978 ABC plan which addressed the Constitution, Territory and Development Assistance. However, lacking support from within the Cypriot community, this outside plan failed. Today, besides the traditional guarantor-powers (i.e., Great Britain, Greece and Turkey), the EU and the U.S. are also playing a leading role. In 1992-1993 Canada decided to withdraw from the island after almost three decades of peacekeeping. In 1997, Minister Axworthy appointed Michael Bell

as a Special Envoy to Cyprus and visited the island himself in 1998. Hage expressed disappointment that no real solutions to the conflict have been found despite these Canadian and other multilateral efforts.

Hage said some commentators had raised the question of whether a long-standing peacekeeping force might become part of the problem rather than a part of a solution. Peacekeeping may have precluded peacemaking as it may have allowed the parties to put serious issues on the back-burner. Nevertheless, Canadians have gained insight into the Cyprus problem and built expertise in peacekeeping. Today Canada could help ease tensions through de-mining initiatives and offer its experience in constitutional law. Interest also exists in helping to connect people through new telecommunication technologies. He recalled the last Canadian peacekeeper to die in Cyprus (1974). It is also in tribute to him, he said, that we should continue helping to resolve the dispute.

Hage addressed the resumption of UN-sponsored proximity talks. He noted the G-8 call for renewed dialogue in Cologne (June 1999) which went unanswered until the earthquake disasters gave rise to "seismic" diplomacy. Glafcos Clerides, the representative of the Greek Cypriot community and the internationally recognised president of Cyprus, and the Turkish Cypriot leader, Rauf Denktas, went separately to New York on December 3, 1999, to meet with the UN Secretary General. The second round of talks with UN officials took place in Geneva. A third round is scheduled for May. Canada hopes that the two sides can meet directly on key issues addressed in the talks, including territory, property and constitutional arrangements. In the meantime, Canada can play a bridge role. Today's roundtable and other such discussions might help to define what this role can be.

### **3. The International Context: EU and U.S. Track II Diplomacy**

Most participants agreed that the regional and international context for resolving the Cyprus conflict has changed in the recent past and an environment conducive to negotiations may now exist. The rapprochement between the Greek and Turkish governments, following the devastating earthquakes in both Turkey and Greece, was considered the most significant regional development.<sup>1</sup> It resulted in the support of the Greek government for Turkey's long-awaited

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<sup>1</sup> The growing threat of contamination of Southern Europe by the growing instability in the Balkans and the inclination of the two Foreign Ministers to address the long-standing discord may have also played a role in this recent detente. The renewed dialogue has resulted in high level official visits, signing of "low politics" bilateral agreements and various unofficial exchanges. These events culminated with the first visit of the Greek Foreign Minister, George Papandreou, to Ankara in 38 years and the reciprocal visit of the Turkish Foreign Minister, Ismail Cem to Athens, the first in 40 years.

candidacy for EU membership.<sup>2</sup> Some perceived this development as a great step forward since a larger and unified European Union could serve as a framework to resolving disputes in the Mediterranean, including Cyprus.

However, as **David Long**, Carleton University, pointed out, Turkey's candidacy for the EU also created a possible source of tension as both Cyprus and Turkey are candidates. The EU has made it clear that while a solution to the Cyprus problem prior to accession is preferable, it is not required.<sup>3</sup> So far, Cyprus has completed 11 of the 31 sector reforms necessary for EU accession and is near the front of applicant countries. However, the free movement of goods and people remains a problem.

Cyprus' accession should be seen in the context of EU enlargement and the "unstated" need for settlement. While a settlement is not a precondition for accession, the EU will consider "all elements" in accession negotiations, including the island's continuing divisions. The EU would not like to include another problem within its borders, said Long. The EU may include both sides – the south and the north, in negotiations or admit the Greek south alone with a potential for a future settlement or unification. Contemporary circumstances favour the latter since the north is not ready for solo membership and a two-state option is not preferable for the EU. In general, the EU remains ambiguous about a political settlement in Cyprus and supports the UN-sponsored negotiations.

Another factor in the accession of Cyprus is the EU enlargement process in general. The EU's institutional capacity is over-stretched. The accession process is becoming increasingly complex as more countries at different stages of development wish to join (including Turkey). As popular resistance against EU enlargement mounts, governments become more reluctant to admit new countries (i.e., the Joerg Haider phenomenon). Nevertheless, the EU is committed to admit some countries by 2002. Without a settlement, Cyprus will most likely not be among them. Cyprus' accession should be considered a long-term goal. Still, the EU may be useful on the Cyprus issue through its foreign policy (i.e., High Commissioners) as well as inducements and pressures it can exert during accession negotiations.

**John McDonald**, Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy, emphasised the role of non-governmental organisations and private citizens in social peacebuilding. He complimented the CCFPD for its role in involving private citizens in foreign policy activities. Building on the work of CIIPS, his Institute has been actively engaged in Cyprus, together with other American organisations such as the Conflict Management Group and the World Peace Institute. The

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<sup>2</sup> The Greek government officially endorsed Turkey's candidacy during the EU Summit in Helsinki in December 1999.

<sup>3</sup> This notwithstanding provision raises some fears that the accession of southern Cyprus, prior to a solution and/or prior to Turkey's accession, may tip the balance in favour of Greece.

Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy is often invited into a conflict situation at a private citizen level to help people develop conflict resolution skills. According to McDonald, while many conflicts are deep, none is intractable.

Constructive engagement in a conflict situation requires responsiveness to particular needs (context) and a long-term commitment to build trust. The aim of the Institute in Cyprus is to build a critical mass of trained people who could prevent conflicts from reoccurring. These efforts are coming to fruition as the number of trained Cypriots increases (2 500 up to date). A steering committee comprising both Greek and Turkish Cypriots now also exists. There may be some difficulties with evaluating the results of Track II Diplomacy, but the real test is how people work and live together, said McDonald.

#### **4. Three Analyses of the Current Situation**

The three regional analyses of the Cyprus problem demonstrated that despite recent shifts in public perceptions and in Greek-Turkish relations, ideas about possible solutions remain diverse. **Costas Melakopides**, University of Cyprus, argued that the candidacy of Turkey for EU membership, has "Europeanised" the Cyprus problem. Therefore, the solution should be rooted within a legal and normative context recognised by the European Union, which favours a unified state. According to him, the Turkish Cypriot view, advocated by Rauf Denktas and his supporters, contradicts international law and norms. It calls for a confederation backed by the legal recognition of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). Since the EU-endorsed UN resolutions condemn the Turkish military intervention of 1974 and the creation of the independent Republic, Melakopides argued, Rauf Denktas's demands are illegal.

**Ozay Mehmet**, Eastern Mediterranean University, pointed out that the idea of a unified state may imply a *de facto* absorption of the Turkish Cypriot minority into southern Cyprus. The Turkish Cypriot leaders argue that historical circumstances do not allow such a "reunification." They believe that a two-state confederation would be the best solution, given the *de facto* existence of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Be it internationally recognised or not, the TRNC has elements of an independent state, including a separate political system with parties and elections, he said.

In the short term, Mehmet argued, the third round of UN sponsored negotiations is scheduled to take place in May. However, these talks largely depend on the result of the April 15<sup>th</sup> elections in northern Cyprus and the re-election of Rauf Denktas (the alternative being less amenable to negotiations). In the medium term (6-12 month from now), the proximity talks could lead to a confidence-building stage in which the leaders would directly talk to one another. In this stage people-to-people contacts should increase and cross-border trade intensify. Ultimately, the Turkish Cypriot side could concede on Varosha Resettlement (land for sovereignty) while the Greek Cypriots could lift economic embargoes imposed on northern

Cyprus.<sup>4</sup> He stressed the difficulty of moving into the second stage if some observers continue to perceive the Turkish Cypriot view as “illegal.” He noted that while the UN recognises the legality of the Greek Cypriot position, it also promotes a solution favourable to both peoples. In the time frame – 2001-2002, fundamental issues including sovereignty and constitutional power sharing, territory and land ownership, security, and external relations would be carefully addressed. The settlement process would culminate in the simultaneous accession of both Turkey and a United States of Cyprus to the European Union.

**Andre Gerolymatos**, Simon Fraser University, suggested that the best way to reach a solution to the Cyprus problem would be to diminish the security threats faced by both the Turkish and the Greek Cypriots. According to him, the long-term stability of the island depends on a mechanism that provides security for all Cypriots. Demilitarisation would serve this purpose. Since NATO has demonstrated its capacity and will to maintain security in the Balkans it could replace both the Turkish and Cypriot military forces on the island. Demilitarisation would in turn facilitate the gradual economic integration of the two communities and underwrite the future stability of a federal system. Admission to the EU would accelerate the process and help bring economic prosperity, he said.

## **5. Living Together and Community Building**

**Norman Itzkowitz**, Princeton University, and **Suzanne Retzinger**, Antioch University, outlined the psychological aspects of conflict and reconciliation. Itzkowitz summarised the psychological elements which fuel and perpetuate ethnic conflicts.<sup>5</sup> He noted that ethnic conflict is not a zero-sum game as portrayed by many historians. Solutions hinge on negotiation and dialogue.

Retzinger, in turn, addressed the importance of emotions in reconciliation and mediation. She argued that the lack of attention to emotions and relationships constitutes a major gap in understanding conflict. Besides political and economic interests, emotional and relational interests also participate in the construction of ideologies (narratives) which justify conflict and lead to intractability. Therefore, parties in a seemingly intractable conflict have to be deeply heard and their feelings acknowledged. Denial of emotions and alienation makes conflict more difficult to resolve. Hidden shame, stemming from a primary emotion – hurt – leads to (hidden) anger. It is this reaction that often results in a cycle of violence. Acknowledging shame and alienation and listening (hearing) may lead to readjustment, negotiation and ultimately reconciliation.

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<sup>4</sup>See Appendix 1. for a summary table of issues under consideration in the Proximity Talks.

<sup>5</sup>See Appendix 2. for a summary table of issues relevant to the psychology of ethnic conflict.



**Feyzi Baban**, Humber College, suggested that in a post-conflict society, communities can be built by creating a public space. Instilling a sense of belonging and providing comfort to the discordant parties, such a space can provide a platform for negotiation. For this to be possible, nationalist ideology, based on us-versus-them terminology, would have to be replaced by a unified albeit disordered (diverse) view of coexistence. This view would draw on the conflicting identities of individuals living within a geography. The Greeks and Turks have a long and complex "real" history of living together. Through education, the "other" could become a part of the "self" (rather than its antithesis) and contribute to the emergence of a common narrative.

**Magda Opalski**, Carleton University, pointed out that member states of the EU, themselves, were not yet perfect in their treatment of minorities inside the EU. This should be kept in mind when evaluating futures for Cyprus. She noted that ethnic conflict is about identity, and little bargaining is possible about identity. Because of a fear of extinction, ethnic conflicts are zero-sum games. Mechanisms, patterns and definitions from the past must be addressed, including old clichés. Work at a bilateral approach to history is necessary. One should see the change in German-Polish relations a successful result.

Turning to the institutional aspects of reconciliation, international federalism expert **Robert Young**, University of Western Ontario, pointed out that reversing secessions or quasi-secessions is rare and difficult. Once extreme polarisation occurs, policies in the regions/units begin to diverge. If the forces conducive to a separation persist, divergent policies are institutionalised. As new attitudes and expectations are shaped, the impetus for reunification diminishes. He also drew attention to the difficulties bi-communal federations face. There are few successful examples of two-unit federations. The problem is even more complicated if the two units are on different economic levels, as is the case in Cyprus. Making federalism work in Cyprus would be an uphill struggle, he said.<sup>6</sup>

As an expert on federalism, Young outlined the institutional issues involved in any kind of a federal relationship:

- distribution of powers (foreign affairs, defence, and economic policy are normally central, other powers often belong to the units),
- the legislature (would legislation be based on parity or proportionality?),
- a Constitution (which would require interpretation by a Federal Supreme Court, a Council of Ministers, or some other body),
- functional overlap (many areas of public policy, such as the environment, require close cooperation and good will),

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<sup>6</sup>See Appendix 3. for a summary table of factors conducive to centralisation and decentralisation.

- taxation (how would a federal taxation system look where there is regional inequality of wealth? Would there be a severe difference in services or else equalisation payments?).

Young also discussed different models of living together including:

- Confederation, where there would be no direct common elections and sovereignty would be divided, noting that confederations are usually unstable and even federations of two parts have always historically failed.
- Federacy, referring to the work of international federalism expert Daniel Elizar. In this model small units can be linked to a larger one (i.e., Kashmir to India, Greenland – small population – to Denmark).
- Associated states, like the Cook Islands’ link to New Zealand.
- Condominium, where there is joint rule by two outside states such as the case of Andora or the New Herbrides.
- Other arrangements can be built around joint functional agencies, community enterprises and municipalities for common needs and services like water.

**Ted McWhinney**, MP, argued that addressing the disputes around the Aegean Sea (i.e., about mineral resources), may facilitate the resolution of conflict on Cyprus. He further pointed out that a constitution must relate to the social context in which it is written. The document does not have to be written all at once by detached constitutional experts as was the case in Cyprus in 1960. It may be based on an organic agreement and grow. The Anglo-Saxon constitutional model is not necessarily very attractive (especially to minorities). Austria-Hungary as a federation deserves further attention: models of “one state – two communities” can capture functional needs and diversity. Constitution writing and federalism should be seen as a process rather than a collection of rules. It may be beneficial to begin with a minimal constitution and to let it evolve.

In his contribution to the roundtable discussion **Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy** drew attention to the Human Security framework of Canadian foreign policy. Within this framework, individuals, not states, are at the core of foreign policy considerations. The aim of Canadian foreign policy towards Cyprus is to support civic groups, to build capacity, and to otherwise contribute to a lasting peace on the island – from the bottom up. He also reiterated Canada’s commitment to assist in the implementation of a de-mining programme in Cyprus, reminding participants of Canada’s commitment to work for a peaceful settlement on the island.

**Michael Bell** suggested that Canada could offer its experience with constitutional issues. Meanwhile, he assessed fiscal federalism to be extremely difficult to implement in Cyprus under the current circumstances (i.e., economic inequality between south and north and the impasse over constitutional power sharing). New alternative solutions should be seriously considered, including territorial settlement for sovereignty. Given Canada’s experience in peacekeeping, it is likely that we will be asked to play some role in a post-conflict situation, Michael Bell went on to say. Canada can be active at the UN Security Council. After Helsinki, the EU is also in a position

to contribute toward a lasting solution in Cyprus. While mistrust and political sensitivities remain at the leadership level, he encouraged building the bi-communal relationship from below. Nevertheless, building bridges at the political level may prove a worth while initiative as well. Canada could bring the two Cypriot leaders together on its internationally recognised neutral soil.

## 7. Summary and Conclusions

Many participants agreed that the context for resolution of the Cyprus conflict has changed remarkably in the past year. Turkey's candidacy for the accession to the EU, UN-sponsored proximity talks and better relations between the Greek and Turkish governments all contributed to this shift. While impasse on the political level may continue to inhibit solutions for some time, as the two leaders negotiate their differences, chances at reconciliation on the grass-roots level appear more promising. This tendency mirrors the Canadian approach to foreign policy in trying to bring about change from the bottom up. Attention should be paid to education (of children in particular), development of civic groups, capacity building and other people-centred initiatives. The rich Canadian experience with peacekeeping, formal and informal federalism and constitutionalism, as well as living together could be helpful in a post-conflict situation.

**Tareq Ismael**, University of Calgary, evaluated the day's discussion as intense and useful. He stressed the value of the Canadian experience with civil society and the need to focus on the younger generation of Cypriots in changing the divisive culture on the island. The participants signalled the need to continue the discussion and calls were made to further develop relationships established during the roundtable. **Roger Hill**, Canadian International Institute for Applied Negotiations, identified the need to more closely examine mediation and conflict resolution as well as the questions surrounding the Aegean Sea resources.

To summarise the day's cross-cutting themes and key recommendations:

- The value of social peacebuilding, as supposed to political and/or economic peacebuilding was emphasised, as was the importance of reconciliation from the bottom up. Bringing the two communities together through joint projects and teaching conflict prevention skills often breaks prejudice and builds the capacity within societies to prevent hostilities from recurring. Here the important role of Track II Diplomacy was promoted.
- Breaking down the self-perpetuating cycle of violence, hatred, and mistrust, often perpetuated through nationalist ideologies (narratives), was also perceived as useful. Renegotiating these ideologies and reinterpreting ideologically charged historical accounts could contribute towards reconciliation on the island. In this respect, the importance of education and the messages children receive from birth about themselves and their neighbours was highlighted. Participants often recalled that the impetus for the Greek-Turkish détente was provided by the outpouring of material and emotional support for the earthquake victims (first from the Greeks and soon after from the Turks). This

"people-to-people diplomacy" points to the importance of civil society in bringing about change. After all, lasting solutions hinge on the collective will of the people of Cyprus to live together in harmony. Official solutions should be reflections of this will.

- Canada could draw on its experience in peacekeeping and peacebuilding to help with police training, conflict resolution training and water problems in a post-conflict situation.
- Canadian experience with coexistence in the context of flexible federalism could be useful in signalling the opportunities and challenges the Cypriots may have to face in the future (i.e., fiscal arrangements, Constitution writing, providing public services). In the face of international historical evidence a two-part Cyprus federation would be difficult to sustain without very creative efforts and arrangements.
- Canada's experience with civil society and multiculturalism may also be helpful.
- Some participants encouraged the re-appointment of a Canadian Special Envoy to Cyprus and suggested Michael Bell as a possible candidate.

**Steve Lee**, Chair, reminded participants that we had set out to reflect on the CIIPS work 10 years later. Participants had been invited to a learning circle and encouraged to explore thinking and ideas on approaches to living together. The Chair noted that Canada has already committed the lives of Canadian peacekeepers and considerable diplomatic time over many decades to Cyprus. What can Canada and Canadians contribute now with our own history and experience in conflict resolution, federalism as a process, social sciences, education, peacebuilding, diplomatic skills and commitment to de-mining? What can we do to help build human security in Cyprus? Can we help community-to-community relations and "living together" on the island? The roundtable discussion signalled many possibilities for a Canadian human security approach including water problems, school texts, conflict resolution expertise, social peacebuilding, and flexible federalism. Participants are welcome to continue to help further define issues and questions about what Canada can do in the context of human security.

In conclusion the Chair thanked all participants, presenters and interpreters as well as Mrs. Bakopanos, MP, her staff, Minister Axworthy, Senator Wilson, and the Southern Europe Branch of the Department for their contributions to the roundtable.

## Appendix 1.

**Table 1 -- How the two sides view the key issues**

<b>Key Issues*</b>	<b>Greek Cypriot View</b>	<b>Turkish Cypriot View</b>
1. Security	Fear of Turkish interventionism	Perceived necessity of Turkey's guarantee against absorption into a Greek dominated state
2. Territory	No more than 24% for Turkish Cypriot minority	No less than 29%.
3. Constitutional Power Sharing	Protection of the Turkish Cypriot minority within a Greek Cypriot dominated state	Political equality
4. "3 freedoms"	Island-wide freedom of ownership	Restricted mobility
5. Recognition of the TRNC	Illegal entity	"No going back"
6. Sovereignty	One Cypriot people	Two equal peoples
7. Political Equality	Majority Rule	Two equal founding partners

\* Issues 1 through 4 are emphasised by the Greek Cypriots, issues 5 through 7 by the Turkish Cypriots.

## Appendix 2.

**Table 2 -- The Psychology of Ethnic Conflict**

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. The identification of self with a nation and the ability to sacrifice self for the idea of a nation. Sense of belonging to a nation is very pervasive today and examples of sacrificing one's life for a nation abound.</li><li>2. The growing list of historical grievance between groups. As conflict continues, the list of grievances between/among groups grows to become complex and multilayered. Kosovo is a good example of this tendency. Getting to the bottom of ethnic conflict becomes more and more complicated.</li><li>3. Inter-generational transmission of negative perceptions and grievances whereby parents pass onto their children the feelings of mistrust and hate they harbour towards their neighbour. Children are deliberately "taught to hate."</li><li>4. Demonisation of the other whereby an individual perceives the member of another ethnic group as evil.</li><li>5. Egoism of victimisation whereby one's own suffering can not be compared to another's.</li><li>6. War as a therapy. Initially, war can be experienced as something exhilarating until it becomes repetitive and costly.</li><li>7. The inability to mourn the other side's dead whereby an ethnic group ignores the misery and death its members perpetrated against another ethnic group. For instance, "reciprocal" mourning allowed the Japanese and the Americans to come to terms in the aftermath of the Second World War.</li></ol> |
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### Appendix 3.

**Table 3 – Factors Conducive to Centralisation and Decentralisation**

	<b>Factors Conducive to Centralisation UNION</b>	<b>Factors Conducive to Decentralisation AUTONOMY</b>
1	Desire for independence (from) an external threat	Fear of domination after Independence
2	Economic advantage	Diverse economic interests
3	Administrative efficiency	Administrative convenience
4	External relations	Conflicting external relations
5	Ethnic and cultural homogeneity	Ethnic and cultural diversity
6	Geographical contiguity	Geographical dispersion
7	Historical political association	Historical Identity
8	Similar political and social institutions	Dissimilarities
9	Political leadership	Regional political leadership
10	Successful models of federalism	Models of autonomy
11	Sense of common citizenship	Sense of regional identity

**AGENDA**  
**CYPRUS: LIVING TOGETHER IN THE NEW CENTURY**

**February 13, 2000**

Evening Cocktail at the Lord Elgin Hotel  
(Lady Elgin Room, 8:30PM)  
Ottawa

**February 14, 2000**

**The Aboriginal Room**  
(Senate of Canada, Parliament Hill  
9:00AM-4:00PM)

This roundtable marks the tenth anniversary of a major project by the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security (CIIPS) on Cyprus "Visions for the Future." A number of the CIIPS conference participants have been invited. It is an opportunity to review changes to the international context and to reflect on the continuing importance of dialogue and community building, both in the Mediterranean and at home in Canada.

We undertake this discussion in fond memory of Norma (and Omer) Salem, leader of the original CIIPS project and dearly missed colleague.

Participants have an excellent opportunity to socialise and begin our dialogue on Sunday, February 13, at an informal cocktail at the Lord Elgin Hotel (the Lady Elgin Room). We very much look forward to meeting you.

**Background material (available by fax upon request):**

- *Cyprus – Visions for the Future*, Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, March 1990.
- *Ethnic Relations and Western Political Theory*, Will Kymlicka in *Managing Diversity in Plural Societies: Minorities, Migration and Nation Building in Post-Communist Europe*, 1998, Forum Eastern Europe.
- *Emotion, Alienation and Narratives: Resolving Intractable Conflict*, Suzanne M. Retzinger and Thomas Scheff, 2000.



**February 13, 2000**  
**The Aboriginal Room**  
Evening Cocktail at the Lord Elgin Hotel  
(Lady Elgin Room, 8:30PM)  
Ottawa

*Check-in:*     **Lord Elgin Hotel**  
100 Elgin Street (at Laurier Avenue)  
Ottawa, Ontario

Tel. 1-800-267-4298 or 613-235-3333  
Fax. 613-235-3223

20:30 *Cocktail, Lord Elgin Hotel (The Lady Elgin Room)*

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**February 14, 2000**  
**The Aboriginal Room**  
(Senate of Canada, Parliament Hill  
9:00AM-4:00PM)

9:00 *Coffee and Doughnuts*

9:30 *Introductory and Opening Remarks:*

Steven Lee, National/Executive Director, Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy  
Development, Chair

Eleni Bakopanos, MP (Lib. Ahuntsic, Quebec)

*Roundtable Introductions*

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**I. International Context:**  
**Canadian Interests and History, EU, U.S.A., UN**

10:00 *Opening Presentations:*

Ronald Fisher, Royal Roads University, Victoria, British Columbia  
***“The Cyprus Conflict: Canadian Interests and Unofficial Initiatives  
(1988-1993)”***

Robert Hage, Director, Southern Europe Division, Department of Foreign Affairs  
and International Trade, Ottawa, Ontario  
***“Canadian Foreign Policy in Cyprus”***

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David Long, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton  
University, Ottawa, Ontario  
***“The EU and Cyprus”***

John McDonald, Ambassador, Institute for Multi-track Diplomacy, Washington,  
D.C.  
***“Intractable Conflict, a Perspective from the U.S.A”***

(TBD)  
***“UN and Cyprus”***

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Costas Melakopides, University of Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus  
***“Cyprus and Turkey After Helsinki”***

Ozay Mehmet, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario and  
Visiting Professor of Economics, Eastern Mediterranean University, Cyprus  
***“Two-State Reality and a Road Map for Settlement”***

André Gerolymatos, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia  
***“Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean: Problems of Security and  
Military de-Escalation”***

*Discussion and Lunch*

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## **II. Living Together and Community Building**

### **1. Challenges of Reconciliation**

13:00 *Opening Presentations:*

Norman Itzkowitz, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey  
***"Psychology of Ethnic Conflict"***

Feyzi Baban, Humber College, Toronto, Ontario and Jones & Associates,  
Toronto, Ontario  
***"Rediscovering a Shared Past: Using Public Space to Rebuild  
Community"***

Suzanne M. Retzinger, Mediator/Consultant, Private practice, Antioch University  
and University of California Extension, Santa Barbara, California  
***"Emotion, Alienation and Narratives: Resolving Intractable Conflict"***

#### ***Comment:***

Magda Opalski, Carleton University and Forum Eastern Europe, Ottawa, Ontario

*Discussion and Coffee*

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### **2. Models and Arrangements**

*Opening Presentations:*

Robert Young, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario  
***"Centrifugal and Centripetal Forces in Federations and Their  
Institutional Implications"***

Ted McWhinney, Q.C., LL.M., S.J.D. LL.D., MP (Lib., Vancouver Quadra,  
British Columbia), Ottawa, Ontario and Président de l'Institut de Droit  
International  
***"Constitutionalism, Canadian Lessons"***

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Tareq Ismael, University of Calgary  
*"Continuity and Change: Looking to the Future"*

***Comment:***

Michael Bell, Former Ambassador and Special Envoy to Cyprus, Ottawa, Ontario

*General Discussion*

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16:00 *Closing Remarks*

Steven Lee, Chair

**LIST OF PARTICIPANTS**  
**CYPRUS: LIVING TOGETHER IN THE NEW CENTURY**

**February 13, 2000**

Evening Cocktail at the Lord Elgin Hotel  
(Lady Elgin Room, 8:30PM)  
Ottawa

**February 14, 2000**

**The Aboriginal Room**  
(Senate of Canada, Parliament Hill  
9:00AM-4:00PM)

**Hon. Lloyd Axworthy, Minister of Foreign Affairs**

Department of Foreign Affairs and International  
Trade (DFAIT)  
Ottawa, Ontario

SPEAKERS:

**Eleni Bakopanos**, MP (Lib., Ahuntsic, Québec)  
Ottawa, Ontario

**Robert Hage**

Director of the Southern Europe Division, DFAIT  
Ottawa, Ontario

**David Long**

Norman Paterson School of International Affairs  
Carleton University  
Ottawa, Ontario

**Ronald Fisher**

Royal Roads University  
Victoria, British Columbia

**John McDonald**

Ambassador  
Institute for Multi-track Diplomacy  
Washington D.C.

**Costas Melakopides**

University of Cyprus  
Nicosia, Cyprus

**Ozay Mehmet**

Carleton University  
Ottawa, Ontario  
Visiting Professor of Economics  
Eastern Mediterranean University  
Cyprus

**André Gerolymatos**

Chair of Hellenic Studies  
Department of History  
Simon Fraser University  
Burnaby, British Columbia

**Norman Itzkowitz**

Princeton University  
Princeton, New Jersey

**Feyzi Baban**

Humber College and Fox Jones Associates  
Toronto, Ontario

**Suzanne M. Retzinger**

Mediator/Consultant, Private practice Antioch  
University and University of California Extension  
Santa Barbara, California

**Magda Opalski**

Carleton University and Forum Eastern Europe  
Ottawa, Ontario

**Robert Young**  
University of Western Ontario  
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**Ted McWhinney, Q.C., LL.M., S.J.D. LL.D., MP**  
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Ottawa, Ontario  
Président de l'Institut de Droit International

**Tareq Ismael**  
University of Calgary  
Calgary, Alberta

**Michael Bell**  
Former Ambassador and Special Envoy to Cyprus  
Ottawa, Ontario

**Steven Lee, Chair**  
National/Executive Director  
Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development

**Marketa Geislerova**  
Rapporteur/Writer  
Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development

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COMMUNITY LEADERS:

**Costas Ataliotis**  
Vice-President of Cypriots Living Overseas  
Winnipeg, Manitoba

**Nick Panos**  
President  
Hellenic Canadian Congress  
Vancouver, British Columbia

**Dino Sophocleous**  
President  
International Co-ordinating Committee – Justice for  
Cyprus  
Toronto, Ontario

**Stelios Pneumaticos**  
Orthologic Consulting Services  
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**Antonios Rodolakis**  
President  
Hellenic Canadian Solidarity for Cyprus  
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**Hasan Salih**  
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**Cigdem Salih**  
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Federation of Canadian Turkish Associations  
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**Ramadan Arif**  
President  
The Federation of Turkish Cypriot Associations of  
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Kitchener, Ontario

**Akile Arif**  
Secretary  
The Federation of Turkish Cypriot Associations of  
Canada  
Kitchener, Ontario

**Ufuk Cahit**  
President  
Cyprus Turkish Canadian Friendship Inc.  
Kitchener, Ontario

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PARTICIPANTS:

**The Very Reverend Hon. Senator Lois Wilson**  
The Senate of Canada  
Ottawa, Ontario

**Karen Redman, MP** (Lib., Kitchener Centre,  
Ontario) Chair of the Canada-Cyprus Friendship  
Group  
Ottawa, Ontario

**John Cannis, MP** (Lib., Scarborough Centre,  
Ontario) Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of  
Industry  
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**Raymonde Folco**, MP (Lib., Laval West, Quebec)  
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Legislative Assistant to John Cannis, MP  
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**Joanna Niarchos**  
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Constituency Assistant to Eleni Bakopanos, MP  
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**Geoffrey Pearson**  
United Nations Association in Canada  
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**Roger Hill**  
Senior Advisor  
Canadian International Institute of Applied  
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Ottawa, Ontario

**Thomas J. Scheff**  
Professor Emeritus, University of California  
Santa Barbara, California

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**Stephen Chesine**  
Medical Doctor  
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Carleton University  
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**Zehra Suer**  
C. Psych. Assoc.  
Private practice  
Psychometry, Psychotherapy and Consulting  
Toronto, Ontario

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**David Hickey**  
Office of Minister Axworthy  
Department of Foreign Affairs and International  
Trade (DFAIT)  
Ottawa, Ontario

**Jim Puddington**  
Cyprus Desk  
Southern Europe Division  
DFAIT

**Vera Alexander**  
Political Officer  
United States General Relations Division (URR)  
DFAIT

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Regrets

**Keith Martin**, MP (Ref., Esquimalt-Juan de Fuca,  
British Columbia)  
Ottawa, Ontario

**Tobias Nussbaum**  
Permanent Canadian Mission to the United Nations  
New York

**SPEAKER'S BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES**  
**Roundtable on Cyprus: Living Together in the New Century**

**February 14, 2000**  
**Ottawa, Ontario**

**Eleni Bakopanos, MP** (Lib., Ahuntsic, Québec) was first elected to the House of Commons as MP for Saint-Denis (1993) and re-elected as MP for Ahuntsic (1997). From July 1997 to September 1999, she held the position of Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada. During her mandate, she was a member of the Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights and served on the Special Joint Committee on Child Custody and Access. She is presently a member of the Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, an associate member of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade and a member of the Sub-committee on Human Rights and International Development. Her responsibilities have included: Chairperson of the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration, Vice-Chair of the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage, work in Standing Committees on Foreign Affairs and International Trade and on Procedure and House Affairs, Vice-Chair of the Québec Liberal Caucus, Secretary of the National Liberal Caucus, member of the Liberal Social Policy Caucus, and a member of the Liberal Women's Caucus. She began her political involvement over twenty years ago. After working on the 1980 Québec Referendum she worked as a provincial co-ordinator for the Ethnic Groups Commission for the Québec Liberal Party and regional co-ordinator for Western Montréal ridings. From 1986 to 1990, she was a policy advisor to various Québec Ministers responsible for Cultural Communities and Immigration. From 1990 to 1993 she was Vice-President for Cultural Communities at the Conseil des communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration. Ms. Bakopanos was the first Greek-born woman elected to the House of Commons. In 1997, she was decorated Grand Officer of Infante D. Henrique (the highest honour given to a civilian by the Portuguese government) and in 1999 she received the Medal of the Officer of the Order of Phoenix (awarded by the President of the Hellenic Republic).

**Steven Lee** is the Executive Director of the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development (since its founding in 1996). At the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, and reporting to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Centre has a mandate to engage citizens in foreign policy making. He received the Comenius Medal for "contributions to education and democracy" in the 1990s while teaching at Comenius University in Czecho-slovakia (UNESCO Chair for Human Rights and Law Faculty). While a Research Associate at the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security he published several papers (Disarmament-Development, and UN Early Warning), was "Distinguished Visitor" at the invitation of the Swedish Foreign



Ministry, and graduated from the American Summer Academy at Bregenz, Austria. He has worked with the media, parliamentarians, NGOs and others in foreign policy and international relations. Recent publications include: "Defining New Goals for Diplomacy" International Herald Tribune Jan. 20, 2000 (with Ramesh Thakur), "Beyond Consultations" in Canada Among Nations 1998, "Federalism and Nation-building in Canada" in Managing Diversity 1998. Raised at Gibson's Landing, British Columbia, Steve Lee now lives in Ottawa.

**Robert Hage** is the current Director for the Southern Europe Division at the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. His working experience includes Deputy Head of Mission and Minister-Counsellor (Brussels-EEC), Director of Legal Operations Division, Internal Financial and Investment Affairs Division, Economic and Trade Law Division, work as a Counsellor and at Ecole national d'administration in Paris, Chief -- Federal Provincial Agreements (Canada Oil and Gas Levels Administration), Law of the Sea Section, First Secretary (Lagos), Head of the Environmental Law Section, LWOP, Second Secretary and Executive Assistant to the Ambassador (Washington) and Desk Officer (Environmental Law Section).

**David Long** is Associate Professor of International Affairs in the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University and President of the European Community Studies Association of Canada. He is the author of "Towards a New Liberal Internationalism" (Cambridge University Press). He is co-editor of "Thinkers of the Twenty Years' Crisis" (Oxford University Press), "New Perspectives on International Functionalism" (Macmillan) and a Special Issue of the Journal of European Integration on "The EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy at a Crossroads" . He is also author of a number of articles on international theory and on the EU and CFSP.

**Ronald Fisher** is a Professor in the Conflict Analysis and Management Program at Royal Roads University in Victoria, BC, and is on leave from the Department of Psychology at the University of Saskatchewan, where he founded the graduate program in applied social psychology. Ron specializes in the theory and practice of conflict resolution, primarily at the intergroup and international levels, with particular interest in ethno-political warfare. In addition to university teaching, Ron has provided training workshops and consultation services to a variety of public organizations, government departments and community agencies in conflict management, team building and strategic planning. He has also trained and consulted with a number of international institutes offering training to diplomats, peacekeepers, and NGO personnel in conflict analysis and resolution. His writings include three books and numerous chapters and articles in interdisciplinary journals focusing on applied social science and conflict resolution. He holds a B.A. (Hon.) and M.A. from the U. of S., and a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan.

**John McDonald** is a lawyer, diplomat, former international civil servant, development expert and peace-builder, concerned about world social, economic and ethnic problems. He spent twenty years of his career in Western Europe and the Middle East and worked for sixteen years on United Nations economic and social affairs. He is currently Chair-person and co-founder of the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy (Washington, D.C.) which focuses on national and inter-

national ethnic conflicts. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1987 and became a Professor of Law at the George Washington University Law School (Washington, D.C.). Was Senior Advisor to George Mason University's Center for Conflict Analysis and Resolution and taught and lectured at the Foreign Service Institute and the Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs. From December 1988 to January 1992 he was a President of the Iowa Peace Institute (Grinnell, Iowa) and a Professor of Political Science at Grinnell College. In 1992, he was named Bryant Wedge Visiting Professor at George Mason University's Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (Fairfax, Virginia). Some of his responsibilities at the State Department included: Coordinator for Multilateral Affairs at the Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs, extensive writing on negotiation and conflict resolution, President of the INTELSAT World Conference, leader of the U.S.A. Delegation to the UN World Conference on Technical Cooperation Among Developing Countries (Buenos Aires, 1978), Secretary General of the 27<sup>th</sup> Colombo Plan Ministerial Meeting, Head of the U.S.A. Delegation which negotiated a UN Treaty Against the Taking of Hostages, U.S.A. Co-ordinator for the UN Decade on Drinking Water and Sanitation, Head of the U.S.A. Delegation to UNIDO III (New Delhi, 1980), Chair-person of the Federal Inter-Agency Committee for the UN's International Year of Disabled Persons (1981), U.S.A. Co-ordinator and Head of the U.S.A. Delegation for the UN's World Assembly on Ageing (Vienna, 1982). His assignments took him to Berlin, Frankfurt, Bonn, Paris, Washington D.C., Ankara, Tehran, Karachi and Cairo. From 1974 to 1978 he was also Deputy Director General of the International Labour Organisation. He was appointed Ambassador twice by President Carter and twice by President Reagan.

**Costas Melakopides** studied Law, Philosophy and Politics in the Universities of Athens, Kent (at Canterbury, England) and Queen's at Kingston. After completing his Ph.D. in philosophy and another M.A. in politics at Queen's, he worked as a Research Associate at the Queen's Centre for International Relations, from 1982 to 1986. He then taught International Relations at the University of Manitoba, as Assistant Professor and Associate Professor (1986-1993). Dr. Melakopides joined Queen's and the Royal Military College of Canada as Adjunct Associate Professor (1994-96), before leaving for Cyprus. He is now teaching International Relations in the Department of Social and Political Studies of the University of Cyprus. His recent books include, "Making Peace in Cyprus: Time for a Comprehensive Initiative" (Queen's Centre for International Relations, 1996), "Dictionary of International Relations and Foreign Policy" (Sideris, Athens, 1998, in Greek), and "Pragmatic Idealism: Canadian Foreign Policy, 1945-1995" (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998).

**Ozay Mehmet** is an economist educated at the London School of Economics and the University of Toronto. Currently he is a Professor of International Affairs at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University, and a Visiting Professor of Economics at the Eastern Mediterranean University, Gazimagosa, Turkish Republic of North Cyprus. He is a Canadian of Turkish Cypriot origin. He has published some 12 books on economic development and more than 60 articles in scholarly journals. He was a member of the Steering Committee of CIIPS Cyprus Project and contributed a chapter to the book based on this project edited by the late Norma Salem.

**André Gerolymatos** was educated in classics and modern history at McGill University in Montreal. He specializes in Military and Diplomatic history, and has published several articles and books on these fields such as "Espionage in Classical Greece" and "Guerilla Warfare and Espionage in Greece 1940-1944." From 1987-1996 he was the Director of the Hellenic Studies Center at Dawson College in Montreal and in 1996 he received the Hellenic Canadian Congress of BC Chair in Hellenic Studies at Simon Fraser University. In 1997 Dr. Gerolymatos was appointed Director of the Research Institute on Southeastern Europe at Simon Fraser University. More recent works include: "A Diplomatic and Treaty Analysis of the Southeastern Aegean Sea Boundaries" *Ocean Yearbook*, Vol. 14 (Chicago: Chicago Press 1999). He has collaborated with several scholars on a study of *Sovereignty and the Law of the Sea: Aegean Sea Issues After the Cold War*, for (London: Macmillan Press 2000 in which he also contributed "The Greek-Turkish Military Balance of Power in the Aegean: Strategic and Tactical Objectives", and "Greece and the Balkans: Challenges and Opportunities, 1975-1995" (New York 1999). He is the co-editor of *British Documents on Foreign Affairs, Part IV, Series F: Europe, 1946-1950*. Currently he is working on a study of the Balkan Wars for Stoddart Publishers and a monograph on "Greece, Turkey and the Southeastern Mediterranean: The Dodecanese, A Case Study."

**Norman Itzkowitz** did his undergraduate work at the College of the City of New York and received his doctorate from Princeton University in Near Eastern and European History (1959). He joined the faculty at Princeton in 1958 and has remained there. He was a visiting Professor at University of British Columbia during the summer of 1971. He trained as a psychoanalyst at the National Psychological Association for Psychoanalysis in New York from 1972 to 1980. From 1975 until 1989 he served as Master of Wilson College, Princeton University's first residential college. In 1974 he began to work with the distinguished psychoanalyst Vamik Volkan (University of Virginia Medical School). Their books include: "The Immortal Ataturk: A Psycho-biography" (1984), "Turks and Greeks: Neighbours in Conflict" (1994), and "Richard Nixon: A Psycho-biography" (1997). He is a member of the Advisory Board of the Center for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction at the University of Virginia Medical School and a clinical professor there. With the Center he has participated during the past five years in a project supported by the Pew Charitable Trusts to lessen the ethnic conflict in Estonia between the Estonians and the Russians resident in Estonia. This work has been chronicled in a documentary made by the distinguished Canadian documentary maker, Allan King. In addition, he has published extensively in the field of Ottoman History. Last year he completed Princeton's first series of lectures on the internet: "Psychology of Ethnic Conflict in the Balkans," consisting of eight lectures covering the Balkans from the sixth century BCE to Milosevic. This experience has led to his current work in progress on the psychological nature of evil.

**Feyzi Baban** received a Ph.D. degree from Carleton University in February, 1999. Since Spring 1999 he has been teaching at Humber College. Areas of specialization include International Relations and Comparative Politics with an area concentration in the Middle East. His work concentrates on the concept of the public sphere by discussing under what conditions the public sphere might gain autonomy from national discourse and foster representation of differences in culturally diverse national communities. Currently, working on a book which focuses on globalization and its impact on national public sphere.

**Suzanne M. Retzinger** is a social psychologist, receiving her Ph.D. from the University of California Santa Barbara in sociology in 1988. She is the author of articles on conflict, mediation, emotions, mental illness, therapeutic relationships, and criminal justice. She has worked in the area of conflict and conflict resolution for 20 years. Her books include "Violent Emotions: Shame and Rage in Marital Quarrels" (Sage, 1991), and "Emotions and Violence: Shame and Rage in Destructive Conflict," co-authored with T.J. Scheff (Lexington, 1991). She is a professional mediator and consultant, currently working on community building. She conducts workshops on mediation and conflict management in the United States and abroad. Retzinger's work combines theory, methods, research and practice on conflict, relationships, emotion with application to resolution of community problems. She has served on a criminal justice project in Australia, and currently serves as consultant on several projects in The Institute for Public Health in Karlstad Sweden.

**Thomas Scheff** is a Professor Emeritus of Sociology, University of California, Santa Barbara. He is the author of "Being Mentally Ill," "Micro-sociology, Emotions and Violence" (with Suzanne Retzinger), "Bloody Revenge, Emotions, the Social Bond, and Human Reality," and other books and articles. He is a former chair of the section on the Sociology of Emotions, American Sociological Association, and former President, Pacific Sociological Assoc. His fields of research are social psychology, emotions, mental illness, and social theory. His current studies concern conflict resolution, love and alienation in popular songs, emotions and the social bond.

**Magda Opalski** is a sociologist and currently teaches at Carleton University (Institute of European and Russian Studies) courses on nationalism, inter-ethnic relations, minorities in post-Communist Europe and Central Asia. She has published extensively on these topics. Her most recent publications include books such as "Ethnic Minorities Rights in Central/Eastern Europe" (1996), "Managing Diversity in Plural Societies: Minorities, Migration and Nation-Building in Post-Communist Europe" (1998) and "Can Liberalism be Exported?" co-authored with Will Kymlicka, Oxford University Press, forthcoming (2000). She is also the director of Forum Eastern Europe, an international research group specializing in ethnic conflict and minority issues in Central/South /Eastern Europe and the former USSR and a co-editor of Polin, a Boston-based journal of Polish-Jewish studies.

**Robert Young** is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Western Ontario, where he has taught since 1980. He is currently Chair of the Department. He has published many works on federalism, industrial policy, Maritimes politics, and voting behaviour. For the past few years he has been working on Canadian federalism and Quebec secession as well as comparative work on decentralization and secession. He is the author of "The Breakup of Czechoslovakia," "The Secession of Quebec and the Future of Canada," and "The Struggle for Quebec."

**Ted McWhinney, MP** (Lib., Vancouver Qaudra, British Columbia) Q.C., LL.M., S.J.D. LL.D., was elected as MP for Vancouver-Quadra in 1993 and re-elected in 1997. He has been

Parliamentary Secretary (Fisheries) and Parliamentary Secretary (Foreign Affairs). Having done his graduate and undergraduate studies at Yale University in Constitutional and International Law, he taught law and political science there as a Lecturer and Assistant Professor for four years. Afterwards, he held full Chairs at the University of Toronto Law School, McGill University, Indiana University, and Simon Fraser University. He was named Professeur-associé at the university of Paris (Sorbonne) in 1968, 1982, and 1985. He has been a Visiting Professor at the University of Heidelberg and the Max-Planck Institut in 1961-1961 and 1990, the Meiji University (Tokyo), the Hague Academy of International Law in 1973 and 1990. He has also given courses at the Collège de France, the University of Madrid, the National Autonomous University of Mexico, and other World Centres. He was a Member and a Special Advisor of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly for three years in the early 1980`s. His professional experience include: a Crown Prosecutor, Royal Commissioner of Enquiry, Consultant to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Constitutional and International Law Advisor to several Québec Premiers, the Premier of Ontario, the federal Government and a number of foreign governments. He was a Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration (Hague, 1985-1991). He is also the author of 26 books, 13 co-authored books and some 500 scientific articles. He was elected to the Institut de Droit International (Geneva) in 1967 and currently holds the two-year post of the Institut`s President (1999-2001).

**Tareq Ismael** is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Calgary, and Secretary-General of the International Association of Middle Eastern Studies. He is the author of "Government and Politics of the Contemporary Middle East" (1970); "The U.A.R. in Africa: Egypt's Policy Under Nasser" (1971); "The Middle East in World Politics" (1973); "Canada and the Middle East" (1973); "The Arab Left" (1976); "Iraq and Iran: Roots of Conflict" (1982); "Government and Politics in Islam" (with J.S. Ismael) (1985); "PDR Yemen: The Politics of Socialist Transformation" (with J. S. Ismael) (1986); "International Relations of the Contemporary Middle East" (1986); "The Communist Movement in Egypt, 1920-1988" (1990); "Civil and Human Rights in the Arab World" (1997), and "The Communist Movement in Syria and Lebanon" (1998). He is also a co-editor of "Canada and the Third World" (1976) and editor of "Canadian-Arab Relations" (1984); "Canada and the Arab World" (1985), "Middle Eastern Studies: International Perspectives on the State of the Art" (1990); and "The Gulf War and the New World Order" (1994). His articles have appeared in The Middle East Journal, Current History, Journal of Modern African Studies, The Middle East Forum, Arab Studies, Europa Archiv, the Arab Historian, Palestine Affairs, the Canadian Journal of African Studies, Social Problems, and the International Journal. Two new works are in press: "The International Relations of the Middle East Today: Continuity and Change" and "Middle East Politics: Government and Civil Society."

**Michael Bell** is currently working as an international business and foreign policy consultant after a long and distinguished career in Canada's diplomatic service. As Canada's Ambassador to the Netherlands in the early 1990s, he was instrumental in refocusing and revitalizing the Canada-Netherlands relationship and in developing trade and investment between the two countries. He was Canada's Ambassador in Moscow at the time of the collapse of the Soviet Union and, some years earlier, at the height of the terrorist insurgency, was Ambassador to Peru and Bolivia. He

also worked in the Canadian embassies in Norway, Britain and Spain. As Assistant Deputy Minister in Ottawa he directed Canada's political and economic relationship with Latin America and the Caribbean and managed a multimillion-dollar project for the installation of the Foreign Ministry's global computer communications system. A graduate from Queen's University, he has traveled and worked extensively in Europe and Latin America. Following his last foreign assignment, he was asked to prepare special studies for the Foreign Minister on the expansion of N. A. T. O. and, in 1997, on the Cyprus problem.