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**CYPRUS: SHARING THE CANADIAN EXPERIENCE OF
LIVING TOGETHER**

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On June 15-17, 2001, the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development (CCFPD) brought together a group of experts to explore the Canadian experience with “Living Together” and possible applications of this experience to problems in Cyprus. The roundtable was a follow-up to work undertaken by the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security (CIIPS) on Cyprus in the late 1980's and an earlier CCFPD Roundtable “Cyprus Living Together in the New Century” (February, 2001). Participants included: Costas Melakopides (University of Cyprus), Yiannis Laouris (Cyber Kids), Kypros Chrysostomides (legal expert), Eleni Mavrou (AKEL), Ronald Watts (Queen’s University), Kate White (Black & White Communications), and Robert Hage (DFAIT). Franco Pillarella (Canada’s High Commissioner for Cyprus), Jean-Marc Duval (Canada’s Ambassador to Turkey) and David Hutton (Canada’s Ambassador to Greece) attended the roundtable as observers. Steven Lee (The Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development) chaired the meeting.

A previous roundtable, which took place on March 28-30, 2001 (Banff, Alberta, Canada), engaged Canadian experts and Turkish Cypriots.

The roundtable report is divided into 5 main sections:

1. Framing the Discussion
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 - 2.1. Sharing the Canadian Experience of Living Together
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1. Framing the Discussion

Three speakers outlined the framework for the discussion. First, Steven Lee (Chair) explained the roots of CCFPD's work on Cyprus and offered a brief overview of those elements of the "Canadian experience" which may be relevant to Cyprus. Second, Costas Melakopides (University of Cyprus) sketched the international framework for solution of the Cyprus problem. The last speaker, Eleni Mavrou (AKEL, M.P., Nicosia) highlighted the external causes of the conflict and elaborated on the benefits of the rapprochement movement between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities.

Steven Lee (Chair) said that the Larnaca Roundtable stems from two parallel tracks. The first reflects the long-term Canadian interest and commitment to Cyprus, including 30 years of peacekeeping, and the past work of the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security (CIIPS).¹ Last year, the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development (CCFPD) hosted a roundtable *Cyprus: Living Together in the New Century* (February 2001), marking the 10th year anniversary of the CIIPS work. That roundtable brought together experts, academics, members of the Turkish Cypriot, Greek Cypriot, Turkish and Greek communities living in Canada, M.P.s, and government officials. Former Foreign Affairs Minister of Canada, Lloyd Axworthy also attended. Many participants appreciated the value of sharing the "Canadian experience" and called for follow-up activities.² Responding to these calls, the CCFPD organised a roundtable in Banff (March 28-30, 2001), with Turkish Cypriots and in Larnaka (June 15-17, 2001) with Greek Cypriots.

The second track flows from CCFPD's work on federalism. In October 1996, the CCFPD organised a two part discussion on the international aspects of federal systems. The results included a widely published paper by Will Kymlicka and Jean-Robert Raviot³, impetus for the creation of the Forum of Federations and the 1999 Mont Tremblant International Federalism Conference.

¹See the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, *Cyprus – Visions for the Future: A Summary of Conferences and Workshop Proceedings* (CIIPS, March 1990), Working Paper no. 21.

²See the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development, *Report from the Roundtable Cyprus: Living Together in the New Century* (CCFPD, February 2001), no. 7005.2E.

³See Will Kymlicka and Jean-Robert Raviot, *Living Together: International Aspects of Federal Systems*, Canadian Foreign Policy 5, no. 1 (Fall 1997).

The Larnaka Roundtable offers an opportunity to bring the two tracks together. The Roundtable has three key goals:

1. To share knowledge and insights.
2. To see whether the Canadian experience, including federalism, could be valuable.
3. To explore elements of living together at a moment when many countries are attempting to accommodate diversity.

Steve Lee drew attention to three themes that define the Canadian experience:

1. History and historiography. He reminded participants that Canadian history is marked by conquest, occupation, fear of another country, deep connection to the mother country and fear of minorities. Two dominant narratives, in conflict with each other, have developed in Canada: "Brittanic" and "Catastrophic." While the former perceives Canada as an extension of British civilisation, the later interprets history as a struggle for survival against English culture, beginning with the fall of New France to the British. These contradictory narratives have persisted in Canada until today.

2. Federalism. Federalism in Canada is seen as a tool, not a solution, for living together. It serves two main purposes: accommodation of national groups and managing decentralisation of governance. Elements of Canadian federalism include: concession, self-governance, moderation (through isolation of extremes), participation (of minorities) and multiple identities. A sense has developed in Canada that majorities have an obligation to listen, understand and concede to the minorities (to recognise minority claims as reasonable). Today, we can see this in a broad willingness to address the grievances and concerns of Aboriginal Peoples (who account for about 1% of the population).

3. Symbols and identity. Manifested by shifts in loyalty or in approaches to the minority-majority relationship, Canada has consciously and continually altered its identity over time. This was achieved through various instruments including: political discourse, changes in institutions and symbols (i.e., flags, street names, etc.) and other responses to identity adaptation.

The Chair then outlined the basic rules of discussion and reporting.

Costas Melakopides (Host, University of Cyprus) suggested that the solution to the Cyprus problem lies within the framework outlined by the international community, which according to him, "speaks with all but one voice." He drew attention to three points on which there is international agreement:

1. **"The Cyprus Question is a classic case of clear violation of International Law and International Morality"** – based on the interpretation of 50 relevant United Nations resolutions; decisions of the European Court of Human Rights; declarations, warnings, requests and decisions of the European Union; and the work of independent specialists, analysts and scholars.

2. These repeated, consistent, independent and official decisions and pronouncements must be respected because they offer the criteria for answering the question of what is to be done.
3. **The judgements and decisions mentioned above call for a bizonal, bi-communal federation, with a single sovereignty.** Moreover, many of them encourage the accession of such a federation into the European Union (EU). According to Costas Melakopides, EU accession would provide the best of all possible worlds to all Cypriots (i.e., security, material well-being, psychological support, respect for human rights and freedoms).

Eleni Mavrou (AKEL, M.P., Nicosia) attributed the current situation in Cyprus to a violation of international law by Turkey rather than a confrontation between the two ethnic communities. She drew attention to Security Council Resolutions which offer a federal solution and to two High Level Agreements (1977 and 1979) between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities which adopted the Security Council framework. According to Eleni Mavrou, a federation would ensure that human rights and fundamental freedoms of all Cypriots are respected and safeguarded along with political equality of the two communities. Despite the ready made solution, the long deadlock has led to the consolidation of the *fait accomplis* and have brought a potential partition nearer.

She encouraged exhorting pressure on Ankara to achieve compliance with the UN Resolutions and the High Level Agreements. "Injustice and the violation of International Law cannot constitute a firm foundation on which to build a viable solution..." She expressed her conviction that the accession of Cyprus into the EU and (re)orientation of Turkey toward Europe could help create a just and mutually accepted solution. She asked whether Cyprus should be left hostage to Turkey and challenged the EU to push through on its policy declarations.

She drew attention to the difficult living conditions of the Turkish Cypriots, including high unemployment, which contribute to emigration and resettlement by settlers from continental Turkey. **According to Eleni Mavrou, the biggest problem is the gradual integration of the Turkish Cypriot community by Turkey, which finds expression in the economic, political and social spheres.** Despite these trends, there are still forces in the Turkish Cypriot community who "insist on a federal solution – rejecting confederation, fight against the policy of integration of the occupied areas by Turkey, and wish for the reunion of Cyprus..."

Rapprochement, as opposed to nationalism, contributes to unification. AKEL – the political party which Eleni Mavrou represents, has played a key role in establishing the rapprochement movement through meetings with Turkish Cypriot political parties and organisations, exchanges of cultural groups in mass events, seminars, publications and other initiatives. These contacts strengthen the feelings of unity and reverse pro-separatist tendencies.

She said:

It is imperative that both communities are convinced that the solution we are searching for is a solution for the whole of Cyprus and for all Cypriots; that as much as we are both defending our national identity, our language and traditions, we should defend even stronger our common identity as Cypriots, our common traditions and common history.

The years between 1990 and 1997 saw a rapid growth of the rapprochement movement. At the end of 1997, Mr. Denktash imposed procedures for bi-communal contacts which effectively resulted in their termination for some time. Despite these difficulties, the rapprochement continues. AKEL struggled for rapprochement to become a part of government policy and to be adopted by the political leadership and the majority of the people.

2. Government Structures

2.1. Sharing the Canadian Experience of Living Together Ronald Watts (Queen's University)

Ronald Watts focussed on federalism as a tool for living together, attempting to reconcile linguistic duality as well as geographical and regional differences. He emphasised that by living together he means not integration or absorption but living side by side as distinct groups to achieve common goals. He focussed on 5 basic lessons of living together from the Canadian experience and the experience of other federations and confederations:

1. the value and limits of experiences of other countries
2. the danger of oversimplifying - perceiving federations and confederations as two different alternatives
3. special problems of bi-communal situations
4. the importance of a supportive civil society and political culture underpinning formal structures
5. other relevant experiences with processes to break deadlock and impasses.

There is value in the experiences of other countries with federal and confederal systems for three main reasons:

1. to draw attention to possibilities
2. to point to unintended consequences from certain institutional arrangements
3. to provide positive and negative lessons - no example is useless

There are also important limitations:

- no pure models of federation or confederation exist or are applicable everywhere - there is a need to adapt to local conditions
- applications operate differently in different conditions
- models can not be picked off the shelf.

The value of the Canadian experience includes two centuries of trying to reconcile different and distinct communities. Canadians have considered and tried various approaches (unitary, centralised and decentralised federation) and debated over federation *versus* confederation. **The value of our experience stems less from precise structures employed and contemplated, than from processes we have developed over time to reflect the need for tolerance, compromise and adjustment. Key issues have not been resolved once and for all, yet we continue trying. "Federalism in Canada is not a fixed ideal, but a process of evolution and change."**

The second point - danger of oversimplification - is particularly pertinent for Cyprus. **We must be wary of the "tyranny of terminology" or "lunacy over labels."** Terminology and labels detested by each side should be avoided. **As the debate over federation *versus* confederation in Cyprus and elsewhere demonstrates, use of terms that effectively reduce an issue to "either-or" prevents resolution.** Resolution is possible only when practical arrangements are addressed.

Both, federation and confederation combine shared-rule for common purposes with self-rule of component units for other purposes. The essential difference lies in the character of institutions for common purposes: in federations institutions are citizen-based, in confederations common institutions are based on the constituent governments. There are enormous variations within each category of which Ronald Watts cited numerous examples. In some cases, federations may be more decentralised than confederations or contain some confederal elements. There also exist many hybrids. For instance, the constitutional structures in 1867 Canada combined both, federal and some unitary elements. Other combinations include, for instance: confederal and federal elements (EU governing structures) or confederal and unitary elements (the original U.S. federal constitution). There are currently few examples of successful "pure" confederations in practice, he said.

Canada has considerable experience in addressing constitutional issues in the context of a bi-communal situation. Lessons can be learned from the 1840-1867 Act of Union, from the rejection of a two-unit federation in 1867, and more recently from the mega-constitutional debates 1960-2000 (which included discussion of concepts such as *status quo* federalism, renewed federalism and sovereignty-association or partnership). Like the Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus, French Quebecers in Canada account for about 24% of the total population. Canada has, however, important features which distinguish it from Cyprus including 10 provinces rather than 2 units, a multicultural element and a growing voice of Aboriginal Peoples. Federation with some confederal features is likely to evolve in Canada, rather than a sovereignty-association.

There are no existing two-unit confederations. Literature suggests that all two-unit federations are or have been troubled and relatively unstable. Some of the reasons include:

- insistence on unanimity in all matters has usually tended to produce impasses and deadlocks
- there is no opportunity for shifting alliances and coalitions that enable multi-unit federations to resolve stand-offs
- challenges are often reduced to a zero-sum game (every issue is seen in terms of a winner and a loser)

A possible solution is to convert two unit entities into multi-unit federations. Where not possible, federalism could be combined with confederal elements (i.e., unanimity on some agreed fundamental matters). Canada has implemented both solutions in the past.

Ronald Watts drew attention to the importance of supportive civil societies. He said that creating federal or confederal structures is not a panacea. **The experience of Canada and other federations and confederations indicates that even more important than their formal structures has been public acceptance of basic values and processes required for their operation.** Multiple identities within an overarching sense of shared purposes and objectives have to be explicitly recognised and accommodated. Essential for Canada and others has been the acceptance of diversity, tolerance, compromise and a sense of trust. The question is how to achieve these conditions when they do not exist. Undoubtedly, creating them would be a long term, step by step process. When conditions lack, other solutions, including a separation, may have to be considered.

Conditions for conflict resolution do not seem to exist presently in Cyprus. Nonetheless, there are some relevant examples from around the world where deadlock was broken, including the unification of South Africa and even European integration. These cases demonstrate several important lessons:

- the value of a grand gesture to transform attitudes
- the importance of a concession from the majority, but also from the other side
- the need for each side to think not just of its own interests and needs but also of the interests and needs of the other side
- unless each side sees gains, an acceptable solution is unlikely to be found.

In Cyprus, the issues of EU membership and of Greece-Turkey relations may contribute to breaking the impasse. There may be room for a watershed gesture (action) in this context.

2.2. Federation or Confederation? Toumazos Tselepis (Committee of the National Council)

Toumazos Tselepis expressed his strong support for a federal solution. He suggested that a federation is a mean between centripetal and centrifugal forces because it averts partition, on the one hand, and offers each community broad autonomy, on the other. Moreover, according to Toumazos Tselepis, a federation would:

- respect both, the communities as well as human rights and fundamental freedoms,
- contribute to a harmonious coexistence of the two communities,
- contribute to normalisations of Greek-Turkish relations,
- strengthen peace in the region.

He said that a partition would lead to revisionism, would be anachronistic in the context of globalization, and may set a dangerous precedent. The federal solution was agreed on in 1977 and has since been supported by numerous UN Security Council resolutions. Despite this, the Turkish Cypriot and Turkish side have turned toward confederation in August 1998. He argued

that the international community did not deal decisively enough with this turn and drew attention to statements made by the UN Secretary General, as well as European and American officials, that the Cyprus problem has become overlain with legalistic abstractions and artificial labels that pose barriers to addressing the real issues. Nevertheless, he expressed his view that a confederation is "not even a state," and is tantamount to a partition. Therefore, a federation is the only viable solution.

He gave the example of Switzerland, where the label "confederation" does not correspond to the content. Due to historical reasons, Switzerland continues to be labelled as a confederation, while, in fact, it is a classic type of a federation. According to Toumasoz Tsielepis, Mr. Denktash isolates the Swiss labels of confederation and sovereignty of the cantons from their real content and wishes to use them to achieve a separate state.

He drew attention to the UN-led proximity talks and said that proposals submitted by Mr. Denktash were rejected by the former Secretary General because they were too vague and did not correspond to the framework set out by previous UN resolutions. This attitude shifted and Mr. Denktash's proposals were admitted last year. Moreover, the tone of the current Secretary General has changed. During the fourth round of inter-communal talks in New York (September 2000), the framework set by previous UN resolution was effectively removed from the Secretary General's opening statements. In particular, he referred to the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots as two "politically equal parties." This raised questions about what the Secretary General meant by political equality and by using the term "parties," as opposed to communities – terminology used since 1960 until recently. (While a community does not have a right of self-determination, a party is a term used in international law to mean states.) Moreover, the Greek Cypriots were concerned that the opening statement constituted a recognition of the "pseudo-state." According to Toumasoz Tsielepis, the Greek Cypriot concerns were not adequately addressed by the Security General. Nonetheless, during the fifth round of talks in Geneva (November 2000), a new statement was produced. While it did not fully restore the framework defined previously it came closer. As a result, Mr. Denktash withdrew from the talks and has been refusing to return.

In conclusion Toumasoz Tsielepis said that altering the agreed basis for negotiations will not bring a solution closer. On the contrary, Mr. Denktash is encouraged that his objective is feasible. **He appealed to the international community to respect the framework which it itself set up, more specifically "to take a clear and straightforward position in favour of federation and reject confederation."** "The solution of the Cyprus problem will certainly arise through a mutually acceptable compromise, but there is no compromise in this issue, no half way."

2.3. Political Equality: a Tool or a Hindrance for a Bicomunal Cyprus Federation? Kypros Chrysostomides (Political Grouping for the Reconstruction of the Centre)

Kypros Chrysostomides examined the method of creating a potential federation in Cyprus. He said there do not exist two *pare jure* entities in Cyprus, vested with separate sovereignty, which would cede powers to a federal structure. He went on to say that there was no

distinct regional separation between Greek and Turkish Cypriots prior to 1974. The separation was brought about by an illegal foreign intervention, the displacement of almost 200 000 Greek Cypriots from the north, and the relocation of Turkish Cypriots from the south to the north. "There continues to be military occupation of the northern part of Cyprus and a massive demographic change has taken place by the importation of settlers, nationals of the occupying power." Resettlement of the north constitutes a "war crime." Meanwhile the displacement of Greek Cypriots has been condemned by the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) in recent decisions, declaring the right to return and the right of ownership of occupied private property as inalienable. The unilateral declaration of independence aimed at creating the TRNC is illegal and void according to the Security Council and termed by the ECHR as a "subordinate administration."

He said that in an attempt to preserve "negative peace," the UN has adopted wording that is perhaps diplomatic, but in many respects hazy, contradictory and evasive. He demonstrated this trend with the term "political equality," citing excerpts from UN Resolutions, speeches and non-papers by the Security General. He suggested that these inconsistencies occur in an attempt to appease the inflexible stance of the Turkish [Cypriot] side. Moreover, they lead to different interpretations by each side of what the solution entails. The Turkish Cypriot side has interpreted political equality to mean that the legal basis of the federation would be two federated sovereign states. The federation would be established by two politically equal constituent entities which would devolve some of their sovereignty to the federation. According to this view, the federation would be created through "aggregation." The Greek Cypriot side proposes that the federation is established by an internal constitutional reform or through "disaggregation."

A related question is whether the proposed federation would be a continuation of the Republic of Cyprus or a new state. The Turkish Cypriot position is that the federation should be a new state. Once again, UN statements are ambiguous on the issue. Kypros Chrysostomides suggested that creating a new state would affect:

- international relations and commitments,
- membership in international organisations,
- nationality issues, namely the position of settlers from Turkey and the possibility that they automatically acquire the nationality of the new state – a development "in no way acceptable to the Greek Cypriot side,"
- citizens residing abroad, who may be prevented from acquiring the citizenship of the new state.

Kypros Chrysostomides maintained that neither community in Cyprus has a separate right of self-determination. He cited Ronald Watts who wrote that constitutional provisions prohibiting unilateral secession by member units of federations have seldom prevented alienated groups from taking matters into their own hands and act unconstitutionally. Kypros Chrysostomides suggested that the international community perceives the right of secession of federated states differently. While self-determination applies to the peoples of member states, it does not apply to minorities or communities within a member state. Moreover, the Badinter

Commission states that the right to self-determination must not involve changes to existing frontiers at the time of independence except where the states concerned agree otherwise.

He suggested that the statement by the Secretary General, intimating that the Cyprus problem has become overlain with legalistic abstractions and artificial labels that are removed from the actual needs of both communities, ignores some important questions:

Is it legalistic to expect that the presence of Turkish troops on the island should end and that the settlers can not stay? It is legalistic to expect that the State of Cyprus must maintain its continuity in international law only by being internally restructured into a federal one...? ... [I]s it legalistic to argue that the TRNC should not be granted sovereignty or recognition since it is only a product of aggression?

In a similar vein, the G-8 terminology, adopted by the Security Council Resolution 1250, that comprehensive negotiations should recommence with "no preconditions, all issues on the table," also calls for clarification, said Kypros Chrysostomides. Do the preconditions which ought to be abandoned include the Charter of the UN, the Resolutions of the Security Council, state practice and respect for human rights? Would the parties be allowed to put on the table issues that contravene basic rules of international law?

The aim is to establish a workable federation by devolution with:

- both, territorial and personal jurisdiction
- a fair balance between independence and interdependence of constituent governments
- shared federal institution
- exclusive but also concurrent federal powers
- the residual powers remaining with the federal government
- fair allocation of resources
- a co-operative and co-ordinating intergovernmental spirit
- democratic accountability
- least asymmetries
- an increased role for local governments
- the EU as an umbrella supra-federation
- no separate international personalities
- no right of secession
- the Constitution as the supreme law of the country
- federated Constitutions to derive their legally binding force only from the national Constitution
- the Supreme Constitutional Court as a guarantor of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The international community can assist Cypriots with clear cut positions and by being fair – balancing principles with interests.

2.4. Comment and Discussion

Some participants expressed scepticism about the rapprochement movement outlined by Eleni Mavrou. The barriers to coexistence arose as a result of a military intervention rather than inter-communal strife. Therefore, they can only be dismantled within the political context (i.e., resorting to international law and restoring constitutional law). Before talks can begin, the occupation has to end. Others suggested that while rapprochement will not likely lead to resolution by itself, it is useful, even essential, for several reasons:

- Without rapprochement cooperation between the two sides would be difficult to envision after a political agreement has been made. Many young people, on both sides, know very little about each other.
- No political solution can be viable if it is not accepted by the society. Rapprochement could be seen as preparing civil society to accept an agreement made at the political level.
- At the present, suspicion, distrust and lack of information persist on each side. Rapprochement could diffuse tensions and make the two sides understand better each other (i.e., "catch up with history").
- It is beneficial to support moderate, progressive groups and parties in the TRNC.
- Rapprochement contradicts the propaganda of Mr. Denktash that Greek and Turkish Cypriots can not live together. Mass rallies, political meetings, and other gatherings demonstrate that the two groups can, in fact, live with each other.

Constitutional solutions were also addressed during the discussion. A suggestion was made that 3 key elements should be incorporated into any constitutional framework in Cyprus:

1. protection of human right (applies to the three freedoms)
2. a relatively strong central government, able to protect and enforce the constitutional framework
3. removal of Turkey as one of the guarantor states.

A point was raised that Constitutional and other proposals submitted by the Greek Cypriot side may be based on assumptions that are entirely different from the assumptions made by the Turkish Cypriot side – making a common solution unlikely. Moreover, if the assumptions made by the Greek Cypriots (regarding the negative role of Turkey and Mr. Denktash, the denial of rights for Turkish settlers, the return of Greek Cypriots to their former homes in the north, etc.) are wrong, then their prescriptions are wrong as well. Perhaps, some thought should be given to how the Turkish Cypriots might feel about these prescriptions and how they might react to them, especially if they are antagonised?

It was said that "to distinguish federation from confederation on the basis of a secession is wrong-headed." In Canada, no province has a unilateral right of secession. However, if a referendum posing a clear question demonstrates the will of a province to separate, then secession must be negotiated. **It may prove exceedingly difficult to keep Turkish Cypriots in a marriage against their will.**

Three other points were made regarding the position of the Greek Cypriot side:

1. The parameters which exist now are unacceptable.
2. The current position of the Turkish Cypriots and the Turkish government put forward during the inter-communal talks makes the prospect of a solution very bleak.
3. Accession of Cyprus into the EU, whatever the result of the inter-communal talks, should be perceived as enhancing security.

3. Common Functional Arrangements

3.1. Sharing Water

Jamil Al-Alawi (World Water Council)

Jamil Al-Alawi compared the situation in Cyprus to that of his native Bahrain. He said that water shortages may provide an impetus for cooperation. Dividing up utilities, such as water desalination plants, is not economical. Moreover, importing water from Turkey is more expensive than building desalination plants. There is a space, therefore, to work together on sharing water resources on the island.

He expressed his opinion that the search of a solution in Cyprus is driven by the political leadership rather than the society and encouraged more public participation.

3.2. The Role of Technologies in Bridging Divides

Yannis Laouris (Cyber Kids)

Yannis Laouris said that it is not difficult to argue with the legal side of the Cyprus problem. A true injustice has been committed and the two parts of the island have been isolated from each other. Phone lines were disconnected and internet connections were slow to develop. He drew attention to the asymmetry of power between the two sides. While the Greek Cypriots seem to hold all the cards, they have lost the war. Rapprochement helps people create potential solutions outside of the political framework.

He suggested that many politicians neglect the role of psychological factors in the conflict. He related a story of a Greek Cypriot woman, who lost a house in northern Cyprus, coming face to face with the current Turkish Cypriot owners. Upon seeing her sorrow, the owners promised to return her house once an agreement was reached between the two sides. **He asked "how much power would the politicians have over the solution, if people were allowed to move freely around the island?"** Inter-communal meetings are important because they allow the two communities to:

- express their grievances (bring their feelings out in the open),
- listen to each other,
- appreciate each other better,
- help change deeply held positions.

Inter-communal workshops have an interactive management approach. The workshops first define an interactive vision of the future. In a brainstorming session the participants think about the benefits of a common future. This increases the willingness and desire for this goal. Second, obstacles preventing a common future are identified and ranked. Politicians would be wise to heed the results of these workshops, he said.

While the inter-communal talks, led by the UN, bring the leaders of the two communities together for a short while during the negotiation, they do not sustain the contact. After the negotiations are concluded, the leaders move away. Among the highest ranking obstacles identified by the participants of inter-communal workshops led by Yannis Laouris has been communication. **People should have the right to speak to each other any time they wish. Canada and other countries may be able to assist the Cypriots to meet each other on a sustained basis. Personal connections and friendships are much harder to break.**

Technology is an excellent tool in bridging the divide. The Internet is used to exchange and disseminate information about people on both sides engaged in inter-communal meetings. The result of meetings should be also widely publicised.

In conclusion, Yannis Laouris drew attention to the changing nature of governance due to technology and increasingly liberalised economic systems world wide. Civil society can be empowered through the use of technology to make decisions for itself.

Governance is no longer the domain of isolated elites.

Cyberspace and Internet provide an efficient, fast, traceable, confidential, organised, time and space independent means of communication. As individuals and organizations throughout the world continue to have conflicts, the Internet can overcome the challenge posed by physical separation, whether due to geographic, political, or other reasons, by effectively moving discourse into cyberspace.

Technology for Peace

3.3. Comment and Discussion

A point was made that water and technology could be used as both, a unifying and a dividing force. It is impossible to discuss these elements in a vacuum, disassociating them from the legal and the political framework. An opinion was expressed that it is unlikely that water or technology could achieve anything in and of themselves.

Others said that in order to use technology for rapprochement, there has to be a reason to communicate, which currently does not exist.

Still, a plea was made for disseminating the positive stories from the past, when Greek and Turkish Cypriots lived together. The need to show the young people, especially, that there is another story. Civil society in Cyprus requires encouragement and empowerment to be able to continue inter-communal contacts. Until very recently those who wished to reach out to the other side were labelled as traitors.

4. Cultures and Identities

4.1. The Relationship between National Identity and the State Margaret Moore (University of Waterloo)

Margaret Moore said that since 1989, political theorists have attempted to move beyond standard human rights (individual rights to liberty), rule of law, and democratic rights, toward considering questions related to national identity and the relationship between cultural identity and the state. They have considered the aspirations of different cultural groups and the relationship between culture and identity to the political and institutional structure of the society.

It has become generally accepted that minorities face a number of disadvantages *vis-a-vis* the majority. For instance, minorities often face disadvantages in the reproduction of their culture and identity. Therefore, they are entitled to group-specific rights designed to ensure equal treatment. These rights are mainly designed to ensure three principles:

1. Collective security of these groups
2. An inclusive public character of the state
3. The state's responsibility to address legitimate insecurities expressed by minorities.

There are 3 types of groups in Canada which are typically thought to be entitled to group-specific rights:

- **Cultural groups.** A product of immigration, these groups are entitled to rights enabling them to overcome any disadvantages they may face in Canada and to rights that ensure inclusive public structures.
- **National minority groups** (i.e., territorially concentrated groups on their historic homeland, or at least the only territory they have).
- **Indigenous groups.**

These rights to collective self-government by national minorities are typically thought to have two bases:

1. **Normative**, which purports that aspirations of national minorities can not be ignored or denied in a liberal or democratic society, if the overwhelming majority of citizens feel that the national minorities (either wholly or practically) belong to a particular political community.
2. **Practical**, which follows from the idea that self-governing powers might be helpful to manage and accommodate cultural diversity within a state. Self-governing powers also give more expression to "nested forms" of identity. Canada is a good example. It is a bi-national or multi-national federal country, and although it has had constant constitutional frictions and difficulties, it has survived nearly 140 years. This means that although Canada is a home to a very young civilization (especially in comparison to the civilization here in Cyprus) it is, relatively speaking, quite an old country.

Margarete Moore concluded by talking about one of the main difficulties related to the institutional recognition of self-government rights within a state – the character of the federal state. (The problem we have experienced tends not to be concerned with devolved powers or with decentralization – even if there are different first-preferences, like federation or confederation.) Minority national groups are aware of their minority status (i.e., of the lack of security that stems from being a minority) and have typically demanded some kind of political equality with national groups at the centre. This has been a demand of Quebec, which typically rejects the majoritarian vision of equal Canadian citizens or equal Canadian provinces and conceptualizes Canada as constituted from two founding peoples – French and English – and seeks constitutional recognition of this historiography. Perhaps, some version of these questions may arise in Cyprus – about what kind of institutional mechanisms at the centre can reflect the bi-cultural character of Cyprus in those aspects for which the federal government is responsible.

4.2. Symbols and the New Generation **Giorgos Kentas (University of Cyprus)**

Giorgos Kentas said that the Republic of Cyprus was created to maintain the balance of power among Great Britain, Greece and Turkey. The will of the people in Cyprus was ignored in the process. Therefore, one may understand the foundation of the Republic as an act of external powers rather than a result of self-determination. As a result [Greek Cypriot] “generations came to experience the consciousness of inequity.” This sense arose most importantly from the equal status accorded by the 1960 Constitution to the Greek and Turkish communities, despite large numerical differences in the population of each (80% of Greek Cypriots, 18% of Turkish Cypriots).

According to Giorgos Kentas, prior to 1960, the two communities lived together, accepting their religious, linguistic, and historical diversity. The educational systems and symbols of each community were different. The communities began to live separately when in December 1963, President Makarios proposed “13 points to make the Constitution more functional” and the Turkish government in Ankara rejected his proposal. He went on to say that “in July 1974, Turkey took the advantage of the coup d’etat against the President of the Republic of Cyprus and illegally invaded the country...” He repeated Costas Melakopides’ point that the Cyprus Question is a classic case of clear violation of "international law and international morality." He reiterated points made by other speakers about the illegal status of the TRNC founded in 1983 and the need for Cyprus to become a part of the EU.

Turning to education, Giorgos Kentas said that "the primary role of education, not only in Cyprus but all over the civilised world, is to study correctly...the case of the Cyprus Problem..." He expressed his dismay at the continued separation of Cyprus in the context of growing European integration.

He insisted that the future of Cyprus is not in the hands of young people, instead politicians hold the key. He drew attention to the "bi-communal, bi-zonal federation" solution discussed in more detail by Toumazos Tselepis and Kypros Chrysostomides.

4.3. Comment and Discussion

Several participants supported the idea of mediation efforts during the discussion. There are other elements that bring people together besides the rule of law. "Rule of law only gives us security." **Others supported the claim that the legalistic approach is not sufficient to resolve the Cyprus problem.** Education plays a large part in the negative way the two communities perceive each other. Teaching history in each community is especially instructive, with different historical events celebrated by each side, with very different interpretations. We should find ways to share common themes. Indeed, the presentation by Giorgos Kentas and comments of other young people around the table indicate how well they are versed solely in the discourse of the "Greek Cypriot side."

There are common links in Cyprus. One common cultural heritage stems from "being island dwellers," another from the food people eat. Sharing a rich, ancient history may also bring people together. There is a global culture emerging that may be unifying. For young people, swapping music on Napster may be a way to come together outside of the context of the bi-communal hostilities.

A point was made that in Cyprus, symbols are used for two main reasons: first, to strengthen one's identity and second, to be politically correct. **Both communities in Cyprus are insecure about their identities.** For example, just a few years ago, the Greek Cypriots stopped referring to Turkish coffee as Turkish, even though they have called it that for hundreds of years. Patriotism, through discourse and symbols, has also been a norm. Expressions and actions outside of the "politically correct" boundaries may be misunderstood as unpatriotic.

A reminder was made that the two communities were characterised as Greek and Muslim until only quite recently, replacing identification by religious affiliation: Christians and Muslims. Only late in 19th and the beginning of 20th century, national identities emerged on Cyprus. Similarly to Canada, Cyprus has attempted to change or create its national symbols, including creating a new flag to reflect unity of the island.

A point was raised that both the analysis and prescriptions for the Cyprus problem have been presented during this roundtable as primarily external. In this vein a comparison was made between the Berlin Wall and the Green Line separating the Greek and Turkish Cypriots. It was suggested that perhaps a better analogy would be the British partition of Ireland, with the consent of people in Northern Ireland. Some Northern Irish have always argued that the partition was external until they recognised that a community in Northern Ireland identified with Britain and not with the Irish. Perhaps, the same recognition should occur in the Greek community in Cyprus.

Others said that the Cyprus problem is a function of both, internal and external forces. While there was a foreign intervention, problems within the two communities existed before. There were extremes within each community: nationalistic forces for ENOSIS (Union of Cyprus with Greece) within the Greek community and separatist forces within the Turkish community.

A suggestion was made that the conflict before 1974 could be perceived as stemming largely from internal factors. After 1974 the conflict has acquired an international dimension when international law was violated by Turkey. In this context, "the mediation approach is useless." Neither politicians nor youth can move toward a solution without a change in position of the Turkish government in Ankara.

The comparison of the Green Line with the Berlin Wall was elaborated upon. Some argued that there could be no such comparison, in Cyprus the population was moved and the Greek Cypriots ethnically cleansed and resettled. Equating Communists with the Turks, others suggested that just like the Berlin Wall, the Green Line was imposed by an outside force. Once the Turks leave, the Green Line will disappear.

Ronald Watts responded to two questions directed to him:

1. Is non-territorial federalism possible?

In literature on federalism, non-territorial federalism is referred to as "personal federalism." In Canada, experiments were made with non-territorial federalism in respect to Aboriginal People who live in cities outside of their territories. Belgium is a county with some non-territorial federalism, accommodating three territorial units and three linguistic communities.

2. What role should minorities play in central institutions?

It is difficult to perceive how central institutions can function if the only aim of a federation is to provide two state units. There must be a glue: nearly all federations are bicameral and some have special minority representation in the second chamber. In the executive, minorities should also be somehow represented. In Canada, for instance, the Prime Minister has most often been a Quebecker B a practice which is not a Constitutional prerequisite, but a reality of Canada nonetheless.

Three other points were made during the discussion:

- A plea was made that the Turkish Cypriots should not be continuously perceived as "guests." While they may have come as conquerors, they are now an integral part of the island.
- A suggestion was made that the future is in the hands of the youth, not the politicians. **"As individuals, we make decisions every day." Citizens can become more active in their own destinies.**
- Ignoring grievances of national minorities could damage a country's reputation world-wide. Meanwhile, addressing them could diminish the risk of separation.

5. Closing and Reflections

At the outset of the closing session, the Chair summarised key points and reiterated the goal of the Roundtable. He reminded the participants that the goal is not to change Canadian foreign policy toward Cyprus. Instead, it is to share possible applications of the Canadian experience in "living together." During the first part of the roundtable, the Canadian experiences with federalism and trying to accommodate minorities within state structures were highlighted by Ronald Watts, Margarete Moore and Steven Lee, among other participants. Attention was drawn to:

- The persistence of longstanding contradictory narratives in Canada.
- Canada's efforts to consciously and continually alter its identity over time to reflect shifts in loyalty and identity.
- Use of federalism in Canada as a tool (accommodation of national groups and decentralisation of governance), rather than a solution for "living together."
- Federalism in Canada as a "process" of evolution and change, rather than a fixed ideal.
- The danger of oversimplification or the "tyranny of terminology" when searching for constitutional solutions.
- The importance of public acceptance of basic values and processes required for the operation of federations and confederations.
- A sense, which has developed in Canada, that majorities have an obligation to listen, understand and concede to the minorities (to recognise minority claims as reasonable).
- The necessity, in diverse liberal democracies, to provide minorities with group-specific rights. These rights should provide collective security and ensure that governing structures are inclusive.
- The responsibility of the state to address insecurities expressed by minorities. The challenge is to recognise self-government rights institutionally. For Cyprus, this will mean finding an institutional mechanism at the state level, which can reflect the bi-cultural character of the island.
- From the experience of other countries, the legalistic approach will not be sufficient to resolve the conflict in Cyprus. Law is simply not enough. Resolution will require understanding and compromise on both sides, but especially the majority side. Workable federations and confederations require a glue to hold units together – political equality for the two communities will somehow have to be incorporated into the central governing mechanism of the country.

The Chair also drew attention to key issues discussed during the Banff Roundtable with Turkish Cypriots. Many points corresponded to the summary presented above. For instance, the danger of oversimplification or the "tyranny of terminology" when searching for constitutional solutions was discussed at length. Other issues included:

- Feelings of abandonment and isolation on the part of the Turkish Cypriot community (due to factors such as the Greek Cypriot and Greek "blockade," the unilateral efforts of the Greek Cypriots aimed at accession of Cyprus into the EU without prior solution to the dispute or even a dialogue with the Turkish Cypriots, etc.).
- Real security and cultural threats faced by the Turkish Cypriot community on a Greek Cypriot dominated island (rooted in not so distant history - ENOSIS, unilateral actions of the Greek Cypriots who claim to represent the entire island, etc.)

Four themes dominated the closing discussion in Larnaka: the role of Turkey, EU accession, possible next steps, and the role of the international community and Canada in a solution of the Cyprus problem.

5.1. The Role of Turkey

Some participants suggested that the key to solution of the Cyprus problem is currently in the hands of the Turkish government in Ankara. The firm position Mr. Denktash has adopted is supported by the Turkish government, which backs the Turkish Cypriot side with a large army. A point was made that it is, in fact, the Turkish government which holds the strings in northern Cyprus, rather than Mr. Denktash and his followers. Moreover, some argued that while the presence of the Turkish army in Cyprus is justified on the grounds of protecting the Turkish Cypriot minority, it is in Turkey's national interest as well.

Political initiatives should be directed towards Ankara and the Turkish people. Especially effective would be efforts made to promote democracy in Turkey and Turkey's accession to the EU. The international community should support liberal, progressive and pro-European elements of the Turkish society. Once Turkey becomes a solid liberal democracy and a part of Europe, its government will cease destabilising the region and acting in a unilateral way. Undoubtedly, joining Europe will require the Turkish government to change its policy toward Cyprus as well. There can be no movement on the Cyprus issue without creating a cost to Turkey. UN Resolutions and the decisions of the European Court of Human Rights should be enforced.

However, the question on "which door to knock" in order to influence Turkish position was raised. There are many actors in Ankara who wish to maintain the status quo and do not wish to move on either Cyprus policy or EU accession. "The carrot of the EU" is by no means a certainty.

5.2. EU Accession

According to one participant, the Turkish Cypriot fear of the Greek majority is a phobia, since it is not rooted in reality. She argued that all insecurities of the Turkish Cypriots have been addressed by the Greek side. Moreover, "the Greek Cypriots would not jeopardise their accession to the EU by mistreating the Turkish Cypriot minority." One should also think about "the fear 600 000 Greeks may feel facing 60 million Turks." Some added that the psychological factors inherent within the Cyprus problem, including the insecurity of the Turkish Cypriot minority, would be effectively resolved by EU accession.

Others pointed out that EU accession would not dismiss the fears of Turkish Cypriots. Both, legalistic approach and EU accession are insufficient. Neither goes far enough. Instead of conciliation, these approaches are driving the Turkish Cypriots towards Turkey. **It may be dangerous to assume that accession of the Greek Cypriot side to the EU, prior to a solution, would bear no negative consequences. It may well create a dividing line between East and West running through the island.**

5.3. Possible Next Steps

Some participants, namely the Canadians, suggested that a grand gesture toward the Turkish Cypriots may bring Mr. Denktash back to the negotiating table and move the negotiations further. Grand gestures could entail:

- granting equal status to the two community leaders in negotiations
- making provisions for effective self governance (i.e., the creation of two regions with wide powers)
- opening the border between the south and the north
- removing military presence
- providing a substantive financial contribution to the Turkish Cypriots (transfers could be modelled on the transfer of finances from West to East Germany).

Building a climate for common cause will require that realities are recognised. Perceptions of minorities should be addressed, since such "psychological" factors often influence political decisions. The double sense of insecurity (i.e., the Greek Cypriot fear about potential domination of the region by Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot concern about safeguards) has to be removed, otherwise the conditions for creating a viable federation simply do not exist.

The atrocities committed by Greek Cypriots at the outset of the conflict were acknowledged. However, entire generations of Greek Cypriots should not be punished for the actions of few extremists. Others argued that both sides committed unlawful acts. Today, a climate should be build to create a common cause: unity, relief from intervention, and the creation of democracy based on the rule of law.

A point was made that rapprochement should be part of any strategy.

5.4. Role of the International Community and Canada

Key recommendations for the international community and Canada included:

- The international community, including Canada, should balance interests with principles of "international law and morality." It should stand by and enforce the numerous United Nations Resolutions, decisions of the European Court of Human Rights, and declarations of the European Union, condemning the occupation of northern Cyprus by Turkey.
- The international community should pressure the Turkish government to change its policy towards Cyprus. The accession of Turkey into the EU could be used as a key negotiating tool.
- The international community, including Canada, should adhere to the federal framework for Cyprus it itself adopted in the past (in United Nations Resolutions, for instance).
- Canada could help with creating guidelines on how to structure a Cyprus federation. Especially pertinent would be devising mechanisms in case of deadlocks (i.e., through a clause whereby the UN would guarantee the unity of the state). Cooperation between Canada and Cyprus could grow once concrete elements of the Cyprus Federation are on the table. Assistance of the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development and Ronald Watts (Queen's University) might be welcome at that point.

List of Participants

Roundtable on "Cyprus: Sharing the Canadian Experience of Living Together"

June 15-17, 2001

Larnaka, Cyprus

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