

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, 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 cliches. Work at a bi-lateral approach to history is necessary. 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 no 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 a legislature be based on parity or proportionality?),
- a Constitution (interpretation of a constitution by a Federal Supreme Court, Council of Ministers, or other?),
- functional overlap (many areas of public policy, such as environment, require close cooperation and good will),
- taxation (how would a federal type taxation system look where there is regional inequality of wealth? Would there be a severe difference in services or equalisation payments?).

Young also discussed different models of living together including:

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