

together."

This final point is the starting point for today's discussion. There are two key elements of the Canadian experience to keep in mind. First, 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 instruments including: political discourse, institutions, and symbols. **"Identity change is possible and, perhaps, necessary for diverse societies to live together,"** Steve Lee said. Second, Canada has used federalism as a flexible tool in the service of this change: accommodating overarching national identities *as well as* geographic size and differences. Today, federalism's two objectives have to be further adapted in the context of Indigenous Peoples, their land claims and other modern governance-related issues.

GOVERNMENT STRUCTURES

Confederation : The Last Chance for Establishing a New Partnership in Cyprus

Ergün Olgun (Undersecretary to Rauf Denktaş) started his presentation by addressing two points raised in the opening remarks. First, he expressed his scepticism about any likely success in developing a common political identity in Cyprus in the near future. A shift toward a common identity may be problematic because the ethnic conflict on the island is rooted in a defence against an identity threat. Instead, an institutional approach to common interests is required, with the view that some common elements may grow in time. Second, appeals to future-focussed solutions are misguided: Justice can only be served by addressing past injustice.

He pointed out that despite the equal status of the two peoples in Cyprus, the Greek Cypriots have been trying to take full control of the island in order to turn it into a Hellenic Republic, with the complicity of the international community. The right to self-determination of the Turkish Cypriots stems primarily from three sources:

- the British Parliament (which has acknowledged twice the right of the Turkish Cypriots for self determination, in 1956 and 1958)
- the 1960 Constitution (enshrining the equality of the two communities)
- international recognition and precedent (as an equal party and a subject of international law, the Turkish Cypriots, together with the Greek Cypriots, were a signatory to all the international treaties of 1960, which created the Republic).

According to Ergün Olgun, despite this clearly established right of the Turkish Cypriots to self-determination, the Greek Cypriots unilaterally changed the "equal partnership provisions" of the 1960 Constitution and ejected Turkish Cypriots from all the organs of the state in the wake of the 1963 coup. Since then, the Turkish Cypriots fought for and defended their status and rights without much international support (with the exception of Turkey). At the backdrop of intermittent violence and upheavals, two "sovereign" states developed on the island (each with a fully functioning democratic institutions, territory and distinct political, legal and economic systems). The struggle catalysed in 1974, when troops supporting the Greek junta invaded Cyprus, provoking a Turkish intervention - sanctioned by the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee. Twenty years after the dissolution of the founding partnership, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus was established in 1983. In spite of these developments, the Greek Cypriots continue to claim to