Ergün Olgun drew attention to cases where confederations led to the establishment of federal unions. For instance, the federal union of modern Switzerland was preceded by a confederation of Swiss cantons. Germany's modern federal arrangements may be traced to the German confederation of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The federal constitution of the U.S. is the successor to the Articles of Confederation.

## Sharing the Canadian Experience of Living Together

Ronald Watts (Queens' University) 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 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