

*SURVEY OF CURRENT POLITICAL  
SCIENCE RESEARCH  
ON EUROPEAN INTEGRATION  
WORLDWIDE : 1991-1994*

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# SWITZERLAND

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Since 1990 and Jacques Delors' speech proposing multilateral negotiations on the European Economic Area (EEA), the number of publications and works on European integration has mushroomed. Prior to the referendum of 6 December 1992 the issue of Europe and in particular the EEA was the major concern at the forefront of Swiss politics.

Since the Swiss people's "no" vote, the issue has become somewhat less visible, but nonetheless it remains one of the principle concerns of the Swiss Government as it searches for an alternative solution. These political circumstances have affected the quantity and direction of the works written on European integration. As previously, the literature is dominated by analyses of Switzerland's relations with the Community and European Union and the EEA, whereas works on the EC or EU are relatively rare. The same applies to theoretical papers. Switzerland remains by and large at the centre of the literature we have reviewed.

## II. CLASSIFICATION

1. The first classification involves distinguishing books and theses on the one hand from articles, reports, files, journals and booklets on the other.
2. The second classification distinguishes between the various works dealing with general or specific EC and EU issues and those focusing on or directly relating to Switzerland. For example, we drew up a separate list of books, reports and articles on the referendum of 6 December 1992.
3. The third classification is more qualitative and analytical, listing the works which, chance errors or omissions aside, are the most original, substantial and interesting contributions.

The annex lists the main works which we discovered in the course of our extensive

bibliographical research. The major sources were the bibliography of the Swiss Political Science Journal and the catalogue of the National Library, the libraries of the European Institute at the University of Geneva, the Economic and Social Science Faculty and the Legal Studies Centre as well as various bibliographies from courses and seminars.

I would like to thank Mr Pascal Sciarini who assisted me in gathering the publications and data.

### III. BOOKS AND THESES

Approximately a hundred books and theses were listed and their distribution reflects the trends in Swiss attitudes towards Europe. Works on EC and EU integration and the like are largely unaffected by these trends and generally constitute more substantial, forward-looking contributions. This is particularly true of the theses and some works with a European or federalist flavour.

Of the 97 works, 80 were books by individuals or by groups of authors and 17 were doctoral theses.

#### A. Theses

Particularly interesting among the 1990 theses is one by Mary Jo Deering entitled "Denis de Rougemont, the European" (Geneva).

The breakdown of theses by university is as follows: five at the Haute Ecole de St-Gall; three at Geneva; two at Zurich; two at Basel and one at Lausanne, as well as one each at Düsseldorf and Heidelberg. The breakdown by year is two theses a year in 1990 and 1991, four in 1992, a peak of six in 1993, and three in the first half of 1994.

1. Half of the theses deal with Switzerland and integration issues.

Most of the St-Gall theses bear the mark of that institution in that they are of an economic and political character (Sommer, Frick, Schultheiss-Bühlmann). Madeleine Hösli's thesis discusses the options: EEA or Swiss accession to the EC. Only one of the theses is devoted to the general problems of the European Monetary System (1992).

One of the theses at Geneva discusses the referendum of 6 December 1992 (Goetschel) and another deals with Switzerland's position vis-à-vis the European Community and GATT, with special reference to agricultural policy (Sciarini). Sciarini's thesis is an original contribution both in its theoretical slant and in its analysis of the negotiation process, which also sheds light on one aspect of the Swiss political system. The third thesis by Mary Jo Deering deals with "Denis de Rougemont, the European".

2. One of the two theses submitted at Basel analyses the influence of the EC on national environment policy (Brunetti). Monte's thesis (Lausanne) deals with the dynamics of the European Community and its development under the Single European Act. A largely institutional work, it aims to provide a synthesis without too many protagonists and informal factors. In a similar vein, Schaffner's thesis (Zurich) raises the issue of the United States of Europe and stresses the influence of external factors.

Lastly, two recent theses are worthy of note: "Women in European integration with special reference to the European Parliament" by Elisabeth Aligisakis-Pagnossin (Geneva, 1994) and "Greek pressure groups in the European Community" by Maxime Aligisakis (Geneva, 1994).

Although few in number, these theses on European integration reflect the original contribution of young Swiss researchers.

## B. Books

Half of the 80 books recorded deal with issues of European integration from the Swiss angle or in relation to Switzerland.(see **Table 1**)

**1990:** Among the seven works published in 1990 one deserves particular attention as it contains O. Jacot-Guillarmod's analyses of the repercussions which Swiss accession to the European Community would have on federalism and direct democracy. The German translation of R. Schwok's work *Horizon, 1992* was published in the same year. Another work in French deals with general issues: cultures and regions of Europe (Bassand):

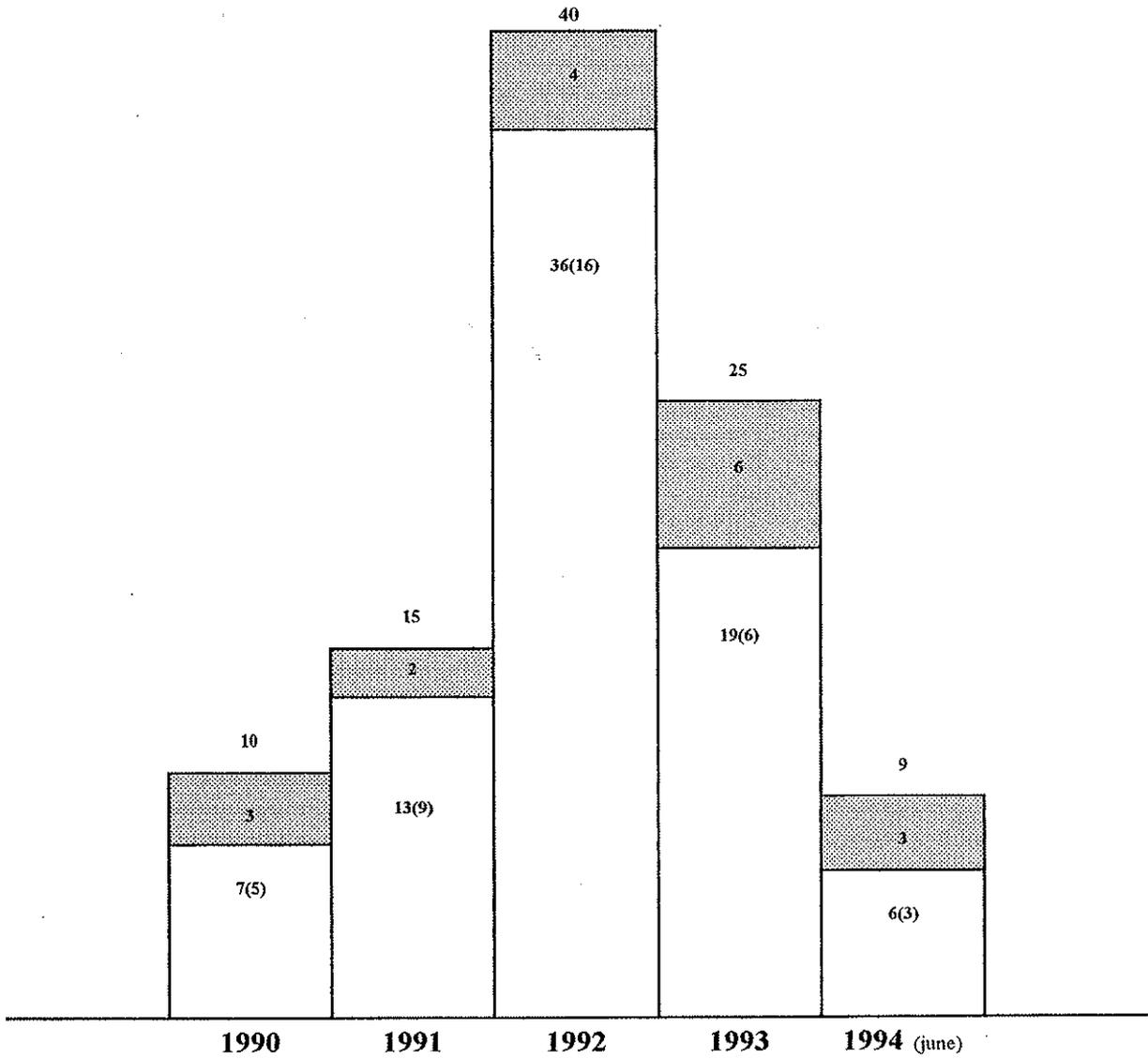
**1991:** 1991 was dominated by works in German, three quarters of which concentrated on the Switzerland-EC/EEA issue (9 out of 13). The problems of Switzerland's *Alleingang* - go-it-alone policy (Dicke) and Switzerland's future in Europe (Schenker, Senti) occupy a prominent place alongside manuals and descriptive texts (Weyringer, Hirzel). One of the publications deals with a specific sector: Europe and Swiss banks (Zimmermann). An important work that stands out is Heinz Hauser's book analysing what the effect of joining the EC would be on the Swiss economy as compared to the go-it-alone policy. The only three contributions which look beyond Switzerland deal with the Europe of the regions (Brugger et al.), EC-US relations (Schwok) and the EC and Eastern Europe (Sidjanski).

**1992:** This year saw the most publications. Fewer than half of them dealt with Switzerland-EC-EEA relations, the remaining works covering the European Community, federalism or a general subject; twenty or so works were in German, about ten in French and two in English. One 860-page work containing comments and thoughts on the EEA agreement was published in three languages (French, German and English) edited by Jacot-Guillarmod. The new textbook on Swiss foreign policy (A. Riklin, ed.) contains several contributions on European issues (Blankart, Rossier et al.).

The subject of Switzerland and Europe, with various opinions and arguments for and against, is central to several of the works (Bergier, Du Bois, Schwok et al., Dieke, Sabata, Rieben).

TABLE 1

	Books	80	
	Theses	17	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>97</b>	1990-1994



\* the figures in parentheses indicate the number of books that deal with Switzerland

Some discuss the neutrality issue (Ooyen, Gasteyger), some security (Gasteyger and Hösli) and some Swiss identity and European integration (Weibel, ed.). One deals with Swiss-EEA relations (von Willy, ed.), while Senti's work analyses EC-EFTA relations. The collective work edited by Freiburghaus and Zbinden explores the impact of post-Maastricht developments on Switzerland.

Most of the works on the EC and EU deal with specific issues: institutional consequences for the Member States (Cottier), economic policy (Zäch), citizens' involvement (Strahm), environmental protection (Epiney and Möllers). One collective work looks ahead to the post-1992 period (Borner and Grubel), another looks into Germany's future in Europe (Fedrigo) and a third considers the future of a United States of Europe (Schaffner).

There are three general works on the 1992 list: two collective works, "Europe beyond unemployment" (Racine, ed.) and "Federalism as a means of solving conflict". The third work by D. Sidjanski entitled "Europe's federalist future: the European Community from its origins to the Maastricht Treaty" analyses the integration process, how the institutions operate and the roles of the various parties involved (governments, pressure groups, businesses, political parties and individuals). "The author provides us with a general work of the construction of the European Community..." (Quermonne, RFSP, February 1993). "The coherence of the synthesis flows from the demonstration that there is a prevailing thrust in the extraordinary diversity of events arising from the establishment of a European-style federalism." (P. Garigue, *Revue d'Intégration européenne*, V. XVI, no 1). The book puts forward a federal approach to the European Union which is considered by the President Jacques Delors as the only possible way toward United Europe (speech at the 2nd ECSA World Conference, Brussels, 5<sup>th</sup> May 1994).

**1993:** This year saw a sharp drop in output. Of 19 works, only six deal with Switzerland. Ten of them were in German, six in French, two in English and one in Italian.

The subject of Switzerland and Europe is dealt with in several collective works (Thürer et al., Baltensperger and Jordan). Dosenrode-Lynge examines the role of small states in the EC and

political cooperation, while B. Speiser describes the *Regio Basiliensis* experiment and T. Schwendimann analyses the Europe debate in Switzerland and Austria. Regionalism in Europe is the subject of three collective works edited by J. Slugocki, Bramanti and Ratti, and L. Basta-Posavec respectively. N. Plattner provides a series of studies on European integration and Switzerland as a financial centre.

The *Fondation Jean Monnet* published three works: one on Luxembourg, Jean Monnet and Pierre Werner (H. Rieben), one on the People's Europe (C. Lalumière and H. Rieben) and one on the role of A. Spinelli and J. Monnet (M. G. Melchionni). The collective work edited by M. Schmidt-Brabant discusses the trend from national identity towards European identity. Other publications deal with a variety of subjects: agriculture between GATT and the EC (Richli et al.), Central Europe in a European confederation (F. Saint-Ouen and C. Hässig) and the conditions for security in Europe (F. J. Meiers and L. Goetschel).

**1994:** At the beginning of the year relatively few books on Europe came out. Switzerland's go-it-alone policy was back on the agenda (Borner, Brunetti, Straubhaar and Graf). Graf analyses various scenarios branch by branch comparing the go-it-alone policy with EC accession. An original volume edited by D. Freiburghaus examines the relationship between the cantons and Europe. The Jean Monnet published a collective book "Louise Weiss l'Européenne" (H. Rieben et al.). The major event of the year was the publication of the International Dictionary of Federalism. It had been in preparation for several years under the guidance of Denis de Rougemont and was edited by F. Saint-Ouen. It contains 165 articles grouped into three sections: 1. Concepts (53 articles); 2. Doctrinal sources (56 articles); 3. Historical experiences (56 articles). Several of the contributions are the work of colleagues and students of Denis de Rougemont at the European Institute, such as D. Sidjanski, F. Saint-Ouen, José and Margarida Barroso, S. de Jong, J. Manzouranis, and F. Frigerio. Other contributions are by specialists on federalism including Alexandre Marc, Henri Brugmans, Daniel Elazar and Robert Toulemon.

### The referendum of 6 December 1992.

Six books published between 1992 and 1994 deal with the referendum: three in German and three in French. Two are polemical works: one by P. Bolomey and O. Delacrétaz, "EEA the nebulous", and one by G. A. Chevallaz. The other four analyse the voting and the way the Swiss public was informed (L. Goetschel, thesis at Geneva), the consequences of the "no" vote from a legal point of view (Weber and Thurer) and from the point of view of political behaviour (C. Longchamp), while R. Schwok et al. survey the three possible scenarios for the year 2000.

The referendum is the subject of nine reports and studies, including four by C. Longchamp (including one together with P. Sciarini) on public opinion and one study by H. Kriesi, C. Longchamp, F. Passy and P. Sciarini. Switzerland and European Integration. What is the future after the 6<sup>th</sup> December 1992 ? (H. Kriesi, P. Sciarini, V. Curzon-Pryce, C. Ricq and D. Sidjanski). Rounding off the analytical section there are two articles: "The No and security policy" (Mantovani) and "The role of cultural identity, rational calculation and structural context" (Vatter).

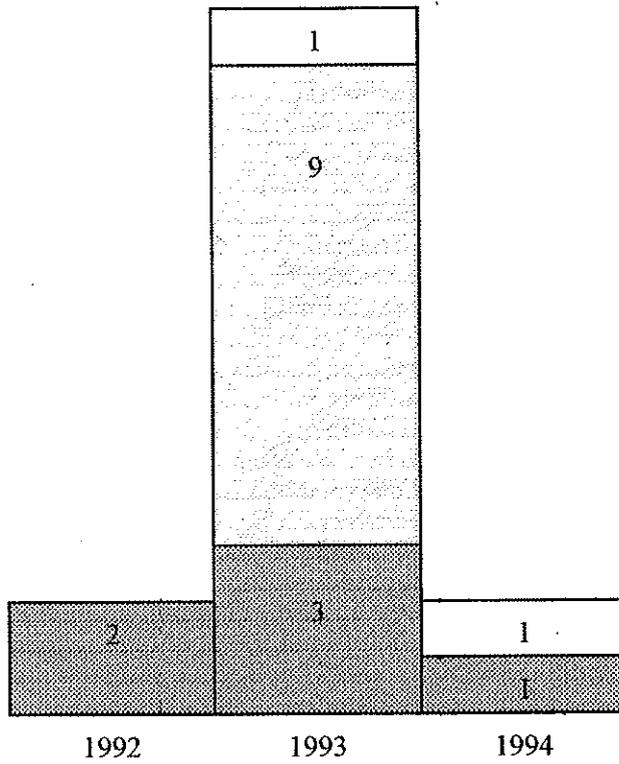
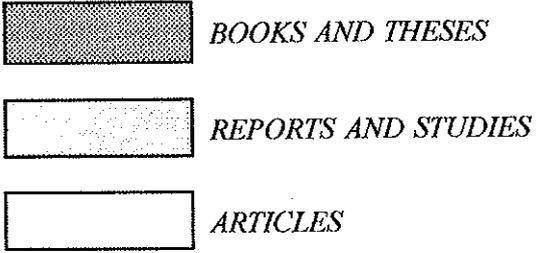
(see Table 2)

#### IV. REPORTS AND FILES. RESEARCH JOURNALS AND BOOKLETS

1. Reports and files. As in the case of books, this category peaked in 1992 at twice the 1991 level, whereas the number of research journals and booklets followed a different trend: in 1993 output was twice the 1991 and 1992 levels.

The following reports and files caught our attention: ten or so reports by C. Longchamp (Bern) on public opinion, two files by F. Saint-Ouen (Geneva) on the EC and Europe of the regions, four reports by A. Riklin (St Gall), two reports by L. Goetschel and D. Freiberghaus (Lausanne) on security and post-Maastricht repercussions. Others worthy of note are: "Europe

TABLE 2      Referendum of 12.06.1992



of education and Europe of citizenships" by J. A. Tschoumy (Neuchâtel); "The environment in Europe" by F. Walter (Bern); "Switzerland - Time to choose" by J. L'Huillier (Geneva); and "The France/Geneva region and Swiss integration with the EC" by R. Schwok (Geneva).

(see Table 3)

## V. ARTICLES AND CONTRIBUTIONS IN COLLECTIVE WORKS

The table shows almost the same graphic curve but flatter. The number of articles doubled between 1990 and 1991 (to 12) and again between 1991 and 1992 (to 25), but there was no significant drop in 1993 with a respectable level of 20 articles. It is too early to make a statement for 1994 (eight articles to June).

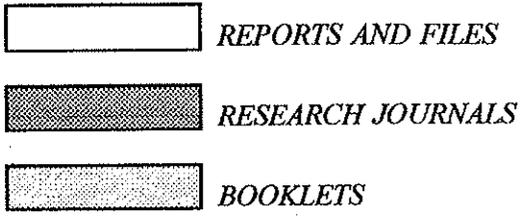
Here are some examples we have selected:

**1990:** "Switzerland and the EEC" (L. Kohr); "The choice between Europe and direct democracy" (T. Tanquerel); "Economic and political power: Switzerland-EC" (A. Mattei).

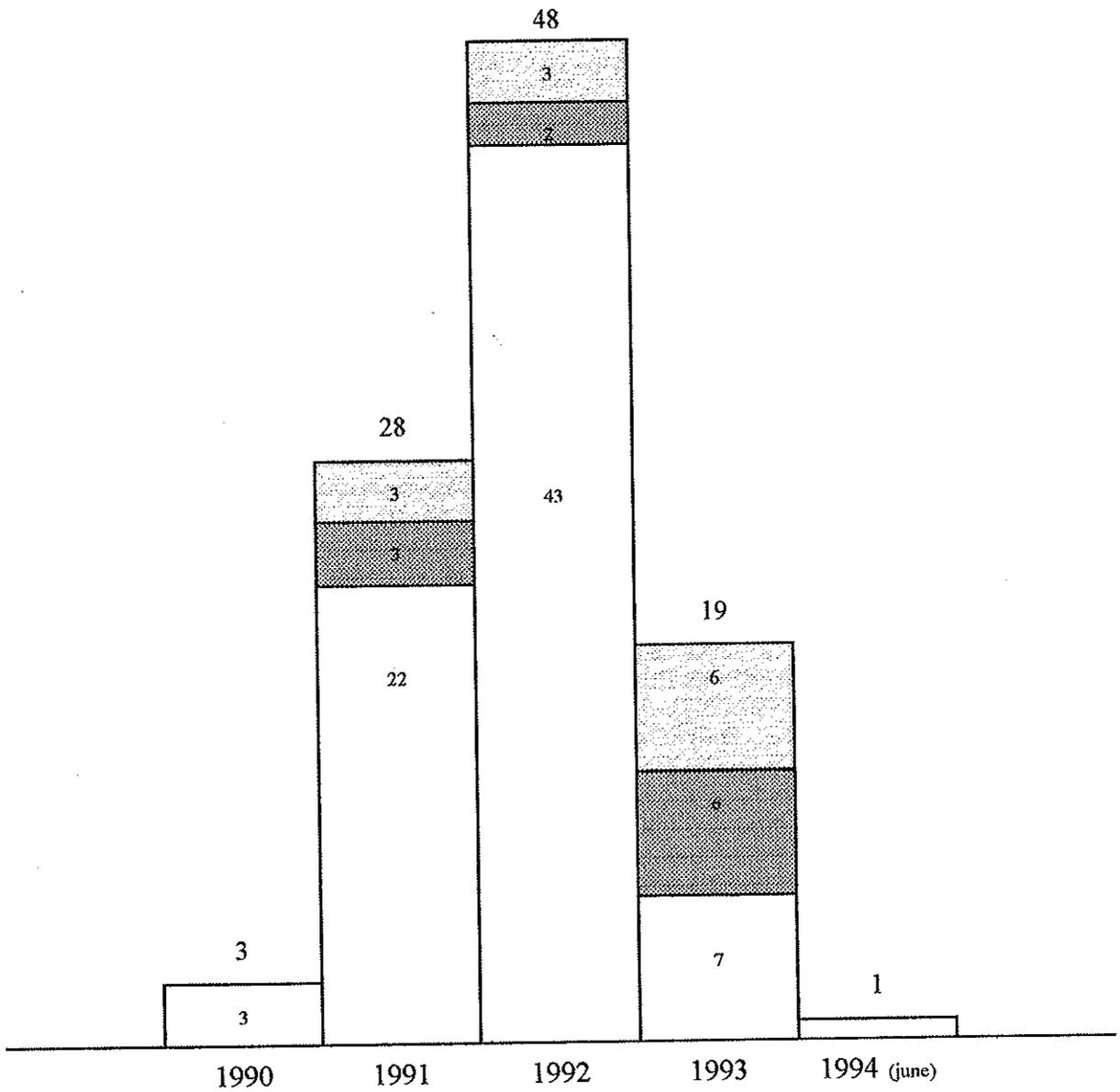
**1991:** "Switzerland in Europe" (J. Freymond); "Neutrality" (Y. Beigbeder); "Switzerland - a model for Europe" (J. Coenen-Huther, K. Pfeiffer); "The Federal Constitution and direct democracy" (R. Germann); "The constitutions of the Cantons and Europe" (W. Kälin); three general articles on Federalism today and a Federal European Community (D. Sidjanski), "The implementation of Community Decisions by the Member States and the Swiss Constitution and European integration" (D. Thürer); "The Federal Assembly and Europe" (P. Sciarini); "The role of Parliament in scientific and technological cooperation" (C. Mironesco).

**1992:** "Swiss and European Federalism" (D. Schindler); "Switzerland and EFTA" (W. Rossier); "External economic policy" (F. Blankast); contributions to the textbook on Swiss Foreign Policy (A. Riklin, ed.); "Switzerland and the EEA" (Sciarini); "Origins of the EEA" (M. Zbinden); "Swiss security and Europe" (L. Goetschel and F. J. Meiers); three

**TABLE 3** Reports and files  
 Research journals and booklets  
 1990-1994 (june)



TOTAL = 99



articles in the 1992 Swiss Yearbook of Political Science; "The EEA after Maastricht and the EC, EFTA and the countries of Eastern Europe" (A. Landau); "Swiss participation in the European Research Programme" (P. Zinsli); "The Court of Justice and the EEA" (A. Epiney); "Switzerland-EC between liberalization and standardization" (J. P. Baumberger); "The impact of EEA or EC accession on public law in the Federal State, the Cantons and the Municipalities" (K. Sutter-Somm); and "The effects on a Swiss-style Federal State" (D. Mayer), "Women in the Single Market" (M. Meier); "The political union of Europe" (S. Dosenrode-Lynge).

**1993:** "Regional cooperation, regional areas and minorities in Central and Eastern Europe" (A. Landau); "Europe of the Regions" (R. Ratti); "Europe of migration" (M. Poulain); "Basic economic problems in the EC" (E.-U. Petersmann); "Liberalization of public works contracts" (P. Nell); "Law on cartels in the context of EC Regulations on competition" (U. Bucher); "Swiss democracy in the People's Europe" (R. Jagmetti); "Switzerland and Europe" (A. Koller); "Brussels, a complicated capital of Europe" (H. Hagspiel); "The EC on the road to economic union" (H. Bruggmann); "The potential influence of Switzerland in the Council of Ministers" (M. Hösli); "On the road to a European political system" (K. Armingen).

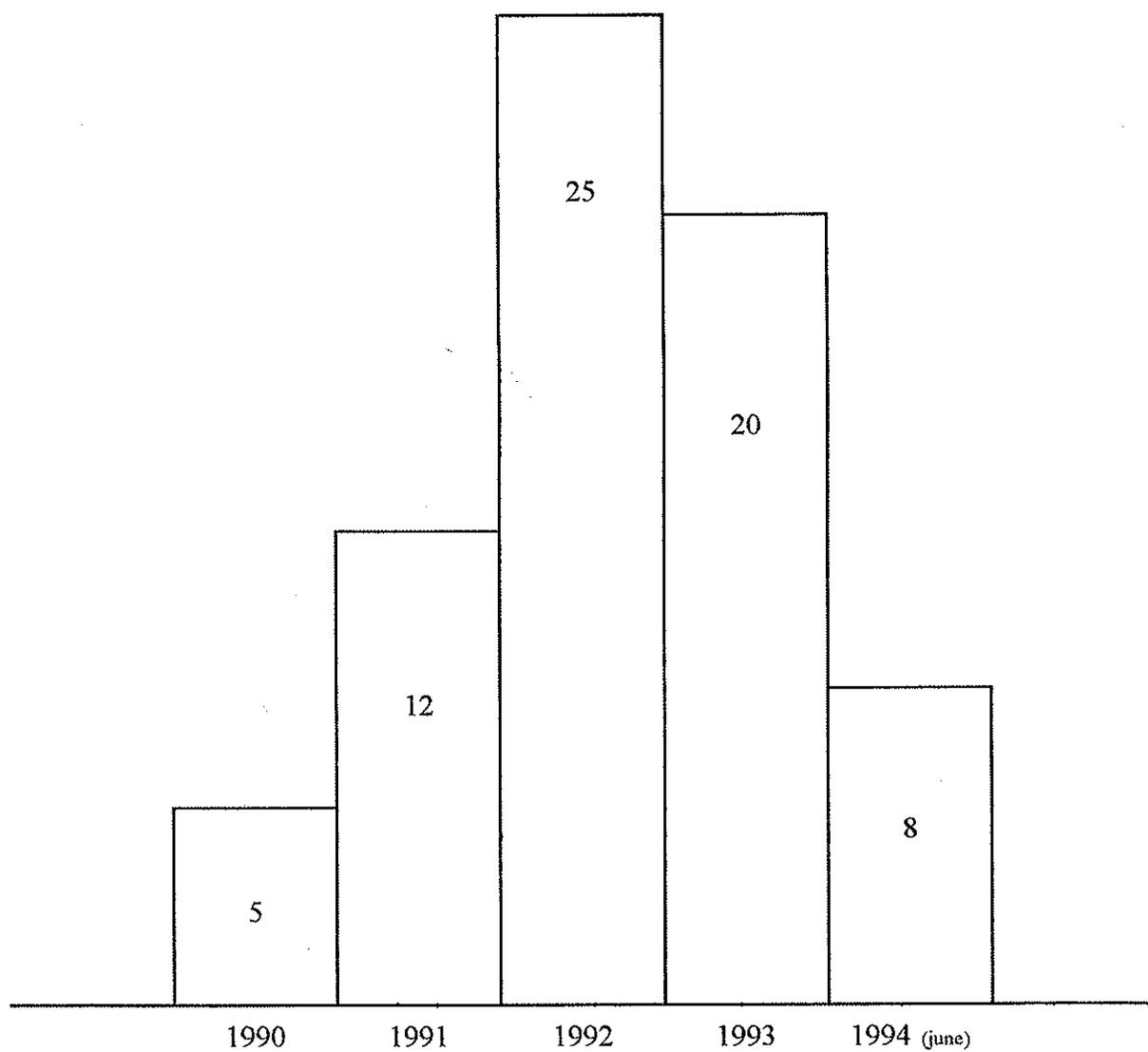
**1994:** "The regions in the European Union" (M. Zbinden); "Federal and regional structures in Europe" (L. Goetschel). Numerous contributions by Swiss authors in the International Dictionary of Federalism (D. de Rougemont and F. Saint-Ouen): "Nation-state" (D. de Rougemont); "Confederation and federation" (N. Schmitt); "Amphictyonies" (J. Manzouranis); "Kant's federalism" (F. Frigerio) and "De Rougemont's federalism; union and unification, supranationality" (F. Saint-Ouen); "Political integration, European Community" (J. D. Barroso and R. Toulemon); "American federalism" (T. Fleiner and N. Schmidt); "Subsidiarity in Catholic doctrine" (P. de Laufier) and "Subsidiarity in the EC" (F. Saint-Ouen); "Federalism and personalism" (F. Kinsky); "Federalism and neo-federalism" (D. Sidjanski).

(see table 4)

TABLE 4

Articles in periodicals and contributions  
in collective works

1990-1994 (june)



By way of a conclusion.

Our survey review shows that political science literature on European integration has grown considerably over the period 1990 to 1994. Publication was particularly prolific in 1992 and 1993. This trend reflects the importance given to issues of European integration by the Swiss Government, the ruling classes, public opinion and political and economic forces. Although publications on political science are becoming increasingly diversified and decentralized, they tend to be largely concentrated around European studies institutes and political science departments such as at Basel, Saint-Gall, Zurich, Lausanne and Geneva, and still represent a relatively small circle of researchers and authors.

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