

DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC STUDIES
CENTER FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES

Course: GRC 360E (37185) / GOV 365N (37960) / EUS 361 (34840)
Title: Switzerland and Europe: Integration or Isolation?
Time: Spring 2006, T/Th 12:30-2:00, RAS 313A
Instructor: Peter Hess (232-6362); EPS 3.126; phess@mail.utexas.edu
Office: T/Th 2-3 and by appointment

DESCRIPTION:

This course is built around the themes of integration and integrative patterns versus isolation and the ideology of exceptionalism in a small European country. We will identify unique patterns of conflict resolution and consensus building which have historically grown, are culturally determined and institutionally anchored. We will study how these patterns evolved historically and how the impact contemporary Swiss society, both internally (integration of women, immigrants) and externally (EU, UN, NATO). Additionally, we will examine how globalization pressures impact a small, affluent country, what defense mechanisms, both integrative and isolationist, they elicit, what identity issues they provoke accentuate.

The Swiss Confederation has evolved from an insignificant defensive pact among three small alpine valleys in 1291 into a wealthy federal state comprising 26 cantons and four different cultures (German, French, Italian, and Romansch). This course is designed to give an introduction into historical and contemporary Switzerland and will examine cultural, social, historical, economical, and political aspects. The example of Switzerland shows how current developments on the European continent (the creation of a European common market and common currency, the enlargement of the EU, and the ongoing realignment of European alliance and security systems) impact all of Europe--even a country like Switzerland that has no formal part in any of these developments.

The course will consist of three parts:

- I. Introduction to Swiss history from 1291 to 2003: anti-feudalist expansion (1291-1515), consolidation (1515-1798), French occupation, restoration, and revolution (1798-1848), the modern federal state (1848-present), the role in WW II.
- II. Contemporary Switzerland: Swiss society and its institutions (government, defense, economy, social structure, culture). The consensus democracy: conflict and compromise in a multi-cultural society. Swiss exceptionalism (Sonderfall Schweiz): mythologization of history, republicanism, landscape as metaphor. Small-country responses to globalization.
- III. Switzerland and Europe: Contemporary responses to Swiss role in WW II: the question of the Nazi gold and the Jewish accounts. European nationalism: nation state vs. multi-ethnic state; small-country nationalism. Switzerland and the state of the European integration: economic, political, strategic; cooperation issues; bilateral treaties. Migration issues: political refugees, immigration, citizenship. Neutrality and political isolation: concepts of neutrality (Sweden, Finland, Austria, Switzerland); the meaning of neutrality after 1989; recent UN membership; Gulf War II and the new humanitarianism. Economic

integration: high-wage economy, de facto EU integration, the Euro, outsourcing.

TEXTS: photocopied anthology (available at IT Copy, 512 W. MLK, next to the fire station)

EVALUATION:

- | | | |
|----|---|-----|
| 1) | research paper, peer reviewed, rewritten (minimum 10 pp.) | 40% |
| 2) | short paper (minimum 2 pages) | 10% |
| 3) | peer review | 5% |
| 4) | mid-term exam | 15% |
| 5) | final exam | 25% |
| 6) | class participation, homework, quizzes | 5% |

Note: This course contains a substantial writing component.

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Switzerland and Europe: Integration or Isolation?

Peter Hess

SYLLABUS

1/17 **Introduction**

1/19 **Swiss history**

- Steinberg: "Why Switzerland? History"

1/24 **Swiss history after 1945**

- Church: "The Political and Economic Development of Switzerland 1945-1991"

1/26 **Political institutions I: federalism**

- Sigg: "Switzerland's Political Institutions" (7-22)
- Linder/Vatter: "Institutions and Outcomes of Swiss Federalism"

1/31 **Political institutions II: parties, elections, and voting**

- Sigg: "Switzerland's Political Institutions" (23-59)
- Steiner: "Parliamentary Elections"

2/2 **Political institutions III: direct democracy**

- Trechsel/Kriesi: "The referendum and initiative as a centrepiece of the political system"
- Papadopoulos: "How Does Direct Democracy Matter?"

2/7 **Current issues in politics**

- Church: "The Swiss Elections of October 1999"
- Church: "The Swiss Elections of October 2003"
- Linder: "Swiss Politics Today"
***** February 7 (12:30): SHORT PAPER DUE *****

2/9 **Switzerland and WW II: violations of neutrality?**

- Aichinger: "What Actually is Neutrality?"
- Schwok: "Neutrality and the Aporias of Official Revisionism"
- The 1907 Hague convention on neutrality
<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/lawofwar/hague05.htm>
- <http://www.giussani.com/holocaust-assets/>
[links to Eizenstat, Volcker, and Bergier reports]

- Bütler: "Neutral Switzerland - Humanitarian Switzerland: A Contradiction?"
- Schindler: "Contested Swiss Neutrality"
- Vagts: "Switzerland, International Law and World War II"

2/14 **Switzerland and WW II: Nazi gold, Jewish accounts, and anti-semitism**

- Blocher: "Switzerland and the Second World War - a Clarification"
<http://www.blocher.ch/en/index.html>
- Eizenstat: "Note on Neutrality"
- Friedman: "Cynical, Immoral, Neutral"
- Hier: "At Best, Selective Neutrality"
- Borer: "Distortion, Guilt by Association"
- Weingarten: "Why is it Imperative to Press Sanctions Against Swiss Financial Institutions"

2/16 **Switzerland and WW II: identity and self-understanding**

- Heusser-Markun: "Switzerland: The Search for a New Self-Image"
- Kramer: "Manna from Hell"

2/21 **International mediation: a surrogate for integration?**

- Williams: "Finding a New Role in International Conflict Resolution"
- Fischer: "From Good Offices to an Active Policy of Peace"

2/23 **The long road to emancipation: women in Switzerland**

- Simmen: "Women in Switzerland since 1971"
- Aligisakis: "The Current Status of Women in Political Life"

2/28 **Integration of foreigners: immigration, asylum, naturalization I**

- Hoffmann-Novotny: "Switzerland: a non-immigration immigration country"

3/2 **Integration of foreigners: immigration, asylum, naturalization II**

- Fischer et al.: "Europeanisation of a Non-EU Country"
***** March 2 (12:30): PAPER OUTLINE DUE *****

3/7 **Education, the media, culture, religion, leisure**

- "Switzerland: Education and training"
- "Swiss learn lessons of educational failure"

3/9 **Mid-term examination**

SPRING BREAK

3/21 **The four cultures I: description and general issues**

- McRae: "Conflict and Compromise" (1-33; 39-74)

3/23 **The four cultures II: politics of integration and of segregation**

- McRae: "Conflict and Compromise" (74-92; 119-126)

- 3/28 **The four cultures III: state and ethnicity**
- Altermatt: "Multiculturalism, Nation-State and Ethnicity"
 - Kriesi: "State Formation and Nation Building in the Swiss Case"
- 3/30 **The four cultures IV: Swiss multiculturalism?**
- Wimmer: "Nationalizing Multi-Ethnic Switzerland"
 - Church: "Switzerland: A Paradigm in Evolution"
- 4/4 **Economy**
- Weiss: "The Future of Industry"
 - Buchmann/Sacchi: "The Standard of Living"
 - Senti: "Swiss Foreign Trade Policy"
 - OECD Economic Survey of Switzerland 2006
http://www.oecd.org/document/50/0,2340,en_33873108_33873838_35869554_1_1_1_1,00.html
- 4/6 **Banking and Finance**
- Hirszowicz: "Banking and Banking Confidentiality"
- 4/11 **Social structure and social integration**
- Leuthy: "Social Security"
 - Armingeon: "Institutionalizing the Swiss Welfare State"
- 4/13 **National Security Policy**
- Wenger: "Swiss Security Policy"
 - Gabriel/Fanzun: "Foreign and Security Policy"
 - Möckli: "The Long Road to Membership: Switzerland and the UN"
- 4/18 **European integration (EU) I: policies and agreements**
- Swiss integration policy
<http://www.europa.admin.ch/e/index.htm>
 - Bilateral agreements I (1999)
<http://www.europa.admin.ch/ba/expl/uebersicht/e/index.htm>
<http://www.europa.admin.ch/ba/expl/factsheets/e/index.htm>
 - Bilateral agreements II
<http://www.europa.admin.ch/nbv/expl/factsheets/e/index.htm>
- 4/20 **European integration (EU) II: impact on non-members**
- Sciarini: "How Europe hits home"
 - Mach: "Economic Regulatory Reforms in Switzerland"
 ***** 20 April (12:30): RESEARCH PAPER DUE *****
- 4/25 **European integration (EU) III: perspectives for the future**
- Schwok: "Switzerland and the European Common Market" [107-119]
 - Dupont/Sciarini: "Switzerland and the European Integration Process"

- Church: "Redefining Swiss Relations with Europe"

4/27 **European integration (EU) IV: backlash**

- Gstöhl: "Scandinavia and Switzerland"
- Olson: "A Billionaire Leads the Campaign"
- Stacher: "Why is Switzerland not a member of EU and NATO?"

5/2 **Switzerland, 'Swissness', and the forces of Globalization**

- "A special case. A Survey of Switzerland."
- "IMD World Competitiveness Yearbook 2005"
<http://www02.imd.ch/wcc/>
- "Switzerland remains second most globalized nation"
- Hall: "Switzerland: Accolades fail to hide new uncertainties"
- Burkeman: "Real Lives: Paradise Lost"
- Interview with Kaspar Villiger: "Switzerland no longer an 'island' in the global community"

5/4 **Globalization and identity**

- "Switzerland: A fresh celebration of 'Swissness'"

5/16 FINAL EXAM (9-12)

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Switzerland and Europe: Integration or Isolation?
Peter Hess

List of Texts in Reader

"A special case. A Survey of Switzerland." The Economist, February 14, 2004.

Aichinger, Wilfried. "What Actually is Neutrality?" Austria Today, 3/89, 13-15, 63.

Aligisakis, Elisabetta Pagnossin. "The Current Status of Women in Political Life: Women and Politics in Switzerland since 1971." In: Joy Charnley, Malcolm Pender, and Andrew Wilkin (eds.). 25 Years of Emancipation? Women in Switzerland 1971-1996. Bern: Peter Lang, 1998. 161-175.

Altermatt, Urs. "Multiculturalism, Nation-State and Ethnicity: Political Models for Multi-Ethnic States." In: Hanspeter Kriesi et al. (eds.). Nation and National Identity. the European Experience in Perspective. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2004. 73-84.

Armingeon, Klaus. "Institutionalizing the Swiss Welfare State." In: Jan-Erik Lane (ed.). The Swiss Labyrinth. Institutions, Outcomes, and Redesign. London; Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2001. 145-168.

Borer, Thomas. "Distortion, Guilt by Association." Los Angeles Times, 17 June 1998.

Bütler, Hugo. "Neutral Switzerland - Humanitarian Switzerland: A Contradiction?" In: Donald P. Hilty (ed.). Retrospectives on Switzerland in World War Two. Rockport, ME: Picton Press, 2001. 87-90.

Buchmann, Marlis, and Stefan Sacchi. "The Standard of Living." In: Rolf Kieser and Kurt R. Spillmann (eds.). The New Switzerland: Problems and Policies. Palo Alto: The Society for the Promotion of Science and Scholarship, 1996. 252-265.

Church, Clive H. "The Political and Economic Development of Switzerland 1945-1991." In: Michael Butler and Malcolm Pender. Rejection and Emancipation. Writing in German-speaking Switzerland 1945-1991. New York, Oxford: Berg, 1991. 7-23.

Church, Clive H. "Redefining Swiss Relations with Europe." In: Michael Butler, Malcolm Pender, and Joy Charnley. The Making of Modern Switzerland, 1848-1998. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000. 137-160.

Church, Clive H. "Switzerland: A Paradigm in Evolution." Parliamentary Affairs, 53:1 (2000),

96-113.

Church, Clive H. "The Swiss Elections of October 1999: Learning to Live in More Interesting Times." West European Politics, 23/3 (2000), 215-230.

Church, Clive H. "The Swiss Elections of October 2003: Two Steps to System Change?" West European Politics, 27/3 (2004), 518-534..

Church, Clive H. "The Socio-Economic Context." In: The Politics and Government of Switzerland. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004. 23-34.

Dupont, Cédric, and Pascal Sciarini. "Switzerland and the European Integration Process" In: Jan-Erik Lane (ed.). The Swiss Labyrinth. Institutions, Outcomes, and Redesign. London; Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2001. 211-232.

Fischer, Alex, Sarah Nicolet and Pascal Sciarini. "Europeanisation of a Non-EU Country: The Case of Swiss Immigration Policy." West European Politics, 25/4 (2002), 143-170.

Fischer, Thomas. "From Good Offices to an Active Policy of Peace: Switzerland's Contribution to International Conflict Resolution." In: Jürg Martin Gabriel and Thomas Fischer (eds.). Swiss Foreign Policy, 1945-2002. Houndmills, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. 74-104.

Friedman, Thomas. "Cynical, Immoral, Neutral." The New York Times, 22 May 1997.

Gabriel, Jürg Martin, and Jon A. Fanzun. "Swiss Foreign Policy: An Overview." Zürich: Center for International Studies, 2003.

Gstöhl, Sieglinde. "Scandinavia and Switzerland: Small, Successful and Stubborn Towards the EU." Journal of European Public Policy, 9:4 (2002), 529-549.

Hall, William. "Switzerland: Accolades fail to hide new uncertainties." Financial Times [FT.com], 16 November 2001.

Heusser-Markun: "Switzerland: The Search for a New Self-Image." Swiss Review of World Affairs, May 1997, 28-30.

Hier, Marvin, and Abraham Cooper. "At Best, Selective Neutrality." Los Angeles Times, 17 June 1998.

Hirszowicz, Christine. "Banking and Banking Confidentiality." In: Rolf Kieser and Kurt R. Spillmann (eds.). The New Switzerland: Problems and Policies. Palo Alto: The Society for the Promotion of Science and Scholarship, 1996. 133-142.

Hoffmann-Novotny, Hans-Joachim. "Switzerland: A Non-Immigration Immigration Country." In: Robin Cohen (ed.). The Cambridge Survey of World Migration. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995. 302-307.

Kramer, Jane. "Manna from hell. Nazi gold, Holocaust accounts, and what the Swiss must finally confront." The New Yorker, April 28 & May 5, 1997, 74-89.

Kriesi, Hanspeter. "Introduction: State Formation and Nation Building in the Swiss Case." In: Hanspeter Kriesi et al. (eds.). Nation and National Identity. the European Experience in Perspective. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2004. 13-28.

Lane, Jan-Erik (ed.). The Swiss Labyrinth. Institutions, Outcomes, and Redesign. London; Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2001. Also published in West European Politics, 24/2 (2001).

Leuthy, Fritz. "Social Security." In: Rolf Kieser and Kurt R. Spillmann (eds.). The New Switzerland: Problems and Policies. Palo Alto: The Society for the Promotion of Science and Scholarship, 1996. 266-282.

Linder, Wolf, and Adrian Vatter. "Institutions and Outcomes of Swiss Federalism: The Role of the Cantons in Swiss Politics." In: Jan-Erik Lane (ed.). The Swiss Labyrinth. Institutions, Outcomes, and Redesign. London; Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2001. 95-122.

Linder, Wolf. "Swiss Politics Today." In: Michael Butler, Malcolm Pender, and Joy Charnley. The Making of Modern Switzerland, 1848-1998. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000. 97-110.

Mach, André, Silja Häusermann, and Yannis Papadopoulos. "Economic Regulatory Reforms in Switzerland: Adjustment Without European Integration, or How Rigidities Become Flexible." Journal of European Public Policy, 10:2 (2003), 301-318.

McRae, Kenneth D. Conflict and Compromise in Multilingual Societies: Switzerland. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier UP, 1983.

Möckli, Daniel. "The Long Road to Membership. Switzerland and the United Nations." In: Jürg Martin Gabriel and Thomas Fischer (eds.). Swiss Foreign Policy, 1945-2002. Houndmills, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. 46-73.

Olson, Elizabeth. "A Billionaire Leads the Campaign to Keep Switzerland Apart." The New York Times, 24 February 2002.

Papadopoulos, Yannis. "How Does Direct Democracy Matter? The Impact of Referendum Votes on Politics an Policy-Making." In: Jan-Erik Lane (ed.). The Swiss Labyrinth. Institutions, Outcomes, and Redesign. London; Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2001. 35-58.

Schindler, Dietrich. "Contested Swiss Neutrality." In: Donald P. Hilty (ed.). Retrospectives on Switzerland in World War Two. Rockport, ME: Picton Press, 2001. 91-98.

Schwok, René. Switzerland and the European Common Market. New York: Praeger, 1991.

Schwok, René. "Neutrality and the Aporias of Official Revisionism." In: Rolf Kieser and Kurt R.

Spillmann (eds.). The New Switzerland: Problems and Policies. Palo Alto: The Society for the Promotion of Science and Scholarship, 1996. 73-81.

Sciarini, Pascal, Alex Fischer, and Sarah Nicolet. "How Europe hits home: evidence from the Swiss case." Journal of European Public Policy, 11:3 (2004), 353-378.

Senti, Richard. "Swiss Foreign Trade Policy." In: Jürg Martin Gabriel and Thomas Fischer (eds.). Swiss Foreign Policy, 1945-2002. Houndmills, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. 186-209.

Sigg, Oswald. Switzerland's Political Institutions. Zürich: Pro Helvetia, 1983. [7-59.]

Simmen, Rosemarie. "Women in Switzerland since 1971: Major Achievements - Minor Changes?" In: Joy Charnley, Malcolm Pender, and Andrew Wilkin (eds.). 25 Years of Emancipation? Women in Switzerland 1971-1996. Bern: Peter Lang, 1998. 13-23.

Stacher, Peter. "Why is Switzerland not a member of EU and NATO?" October 1996. <www.ch-libre.com>

Steinberg, Jonathan. Why Switzerland? 2nd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1976. [8-72.]

Steiner, Jürg. European Democracies. New York, London: Longman, 1986. [89-108.]

"Switzerland: Education and Training." Bern: Department of Foreign Affairs, 1993.

"Swiss learn lessons of educational failure." NZZ Online, 26 June 2003.

Trechsel, Alexander H., and Hanspeter Kriesi. "Switzerland: the referendum and initiative as centrepiece of the political system." In: Michael Gallagher and Pier Vincenzo Uleri (eds.). The Referendum Experience in Europe. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996. 185-208.

Vagts, Detlev F. "Switzerland, International Law and World War II. In: Donald P. Hilty (ed.). Retrospectives on Switzerland in World War Two. Rockport, ME: Picton Press, 2001. 99-115.

Weingarten, Joel M. "Why is it Imperative to Press Sanctions Against Swiss Financial Institutions." New Jersey Capital Report, June 1998.

Wenger, Andreas. "Swiss Security Policy: From Autonomy to Co-operation." In: Jürg Martin Gabriel and Thomas Fischer (eds.). Swiss Foreign Policy, 1945-2002. Houndmills, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. 23-45.

Weiss, Branco. "The Future of Industry." In: Rolf Kieser and Kurt R. Spillmann (eds.). The New Switzerland: Problems and Policies. Palo Alto: The Society for the Promotion of Science and Scholarship, 1996. 121-132.

Williams, Andrew: "Finding a New Role in International Conflict Resolution. Switzerland after

the End of the Cold War." In: Michael Butler, Malcolm Pender, and Joy Charnley. The Making of Modern Switzerland, 1848-1998. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000. 111-122.

Wimmer, Andreas. Nationalist exclusion and ethnic conflict: shadows of modernity. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002. [222-268.]

www.blocher.ch/en/artikel/980400strategy.pdf

www.cis.ethz.ch/gabriel/docs/Publications/res_pap/43%20Foreign%20Policy%20Overview.pdf