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The cover features a large, abstract graphic design consisting of multiple horizontal, curved bands in shades of blue and yellow. These bands are arranged in a symmetrical, flowing pattern that resembles a stylized 'M' or a series of overlapping arches, creating a dynamic and modern visual effect.

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## SWITZERLAND

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Table 1. Cabinet composition 1 January 1993

### A. The party composition

Date of investiture: The Swiss cabinet has no formal investiture.

No.	Party	Number and percentage of parliamentary seats ( <i>Nationalrat</i> )	Number and percentage of cabinet posts
4	Radical Democrats/Freisinnig Demokratische Partei (FDP)	51 (22.9%) 44 (72.0)	2 (28.6%)
1	Christian Democrats/Christlich- demokratische Volkspartei (CVP)	42 (19.8%) 36 (18.0)	2 (28.6%)
5	Social Democrats/ Sozialdemokratische Partei (SPS)	42 (18.4%) 41 (20.5)	2 (28.6%)
6	Swiss People's Party/ Schweizerische Volkspartei (SVP)	25 (11.0%) 25 (12.5)	1 (14.3%)

### B. Cabinet members on 1 January 1993

Home Affairs/Inneres: Flavio Cotti (1939 male, CVP)

Foreign Affairs/Auswärtiges: René Felber (1933 male, SPS)

Finances/Finanzen: Otto Stich (1927 male, SPS)

Economic Affairs/Volkswirtschaft: Jean-Pascal Delamuraz (1936 male, FDP)

Justice and Police/Justiz und Polizei: Arnold Koller (1933 male, CVP)

Transport and Energy/Verkehr und Energie: Adolf Ogi (1942 male, SVP)

Army/Militär: Kaspar Villiger (1941 male, FDP)

### C. Cabinet members since 1 April 1993

Home Affairs/Inneres: Ruth Dreifuss (1940 female, SPS)

Foreign Affairs/Auswärtiges: Flavio Cotti (1939 male, CVP)

Finances/Finanzen: Otto Stich (1927 male, SPS)

Economic Affairs/Volkswirtschaft: Jean-Pascal Delamuraz (1936 male, FDP)

Justice and Police/Justiz und Polizei: Arnold Koller (1933 male, CVP)

Transport and Energy/Verkehr und Energie: Adolf Ogi (1942 male, SVP)

Army/Militär: Kaspar Villiger (1941 male, FDP)

*Note:* There is no prime minister in Switzerland, the seven members of the Bundesrat form the Swiss government on equal terms. The role of president or chairman of the board changes from

year to year. For 1993 Adolf Ogi of the Swiss People's Party (SVP) was assigned president and Otto Stich of the Social Democrats (SPS) vice-president. For 1994 Otto Stich is president and Kaspar Villiger of the Radical Democrats (FDP) vice-president. These changes take place in turn and are not due to political reasons. After the controversial Federal Council elections on 3 and 10 March 1993 (see the discussion of issues in national politics), the Social Democrat Ruth Dreifuss succeeded the retiring Federal Councillor and fellow party member, René Felber. Ruth Dreifuss is the 100th member of the Federal Council and the second-ever woman member of the Federal Executive. She was assigned to the Home Affairs department as Flavio Cotti decided to change to the Foreign Affairs department.

Table 2. National referendums and initiatives 1 January 1993 to 31 December 1993

Total electorate on 28 November 1993: 4,565,751

issues	YES (%)	NO (%)	valid votes	total votes	rate of participation
7 March 1993					
Federal Law: Increase in the customs duty on motor vehicle fuel	54.5	45.5	2,310,440	2,333,833	51.3
Federal Decree: Ending prohibition of casinos	72.5	27.5	2,298,450	2,332,502	51.2
Initiative: 'To abolish experiments on animals'	27.8	72.2	2,286,091	2,331,753	51.2
6 June 1993					
Initiative: '40 military zones are enough – environmental protection is for the army too'	44.7	55.3	2,515,705	2,534,004	55.6
Initiative: 'For a Switzerland without new fighter aircraft'	42.8	57.2	2,510,405	2,534,220	55.6
26 September 1993					
Federal Decree to prevent the abusive use of arms	86.3	13.7	1,784,808	1,814,663	39.9
Federal Decree: Transfer of Laufen District	75.2	24.8	1,581,834	1,798,547	39.5
Initiative: 'Bank holiday on August 1'	83.8	16.2	1,781,407	1,816,428	39.9

Emergency Federal Decree: Health insurance	80.5	19.5	1,758,211	1,811,582	39.8
Emergency Federal Decree: Unemployment insurance	70.4	29.6	1,740,182	1,809,748	39.7
28 November 1993					
Federal Decree: New financial system, including introduction of value added tax (VAT)	66.7	33.3	2,021,431	2,073,194	44.5
Federal Decree: Restructuring federal finances (VAT at 6.5 % rather than 6.2 %)	57.7	42.3	2,016,326	2,071,952	44.5
Federal Decree: Measures to maintain social security	62.6	37.4	2,011,254	2,072,283	44.5
Federal Decree: Special consumer taxes	60.7	39.3	1,998,398	2,072,208	44.5
Initiative: Prohibition of alcohol advertising	25.3	74.7	2,043,219	2,076,808	44.5
Initiative: Prohibition of tobacco advertising	25.5	74.5	2,043,318	2,077,305	44.5

### Results of national referendums and initiatives

In 1993, as in the preceding year, a record number of 16 issues (see Table 2) were put to the vote. Three ballots took place on 7 March, two on 6 June, five on 26 September, and six on 28 November. The issues were as follows:

On 7 March two new taxes required to reduce the government's deficit were accepted. A federal law to *increase the customs duty on motor vehicle fuel* gained 54.5 per cent of the votes. The 20 centime per litre increase in the basic tax on petrol will give the federal government extra revenues of about Sfr. 1.3 billion, half of which is to be spent on the road network and the other half to cover the federal deficit. The measure was fought by part of the automobile lobby and the Swiss Motorists' Party. As in most ecological issues, there was a majority of No votes in the French-speaking and the Italian-speaking parts of Switzerland.

All the cantons and a comfortable majority of 72.5 per cent of the votes supported the federal decree on the *ending of the ban on casinos*. Since 1928 the federal constitution has prohibited the existence or operation of gaming houses allowing only games of chance with a maximum stake of Sfr. 5. New

legislation on casinos will now have to be drawn up and the federal government will be able to levy taxes on the income of casinos, which is expected to bring about Sfr. 150 million p. a. to be used exclusively for the old age and disability pension schemes (AHV, IV). Most of the parties were in favour of the proposal, with the Social Democrats (SPS) and the Green Party (GPS) abstaining from giving a voting recommendation.

No support was shown by the people and the cantons for an *initiative to abolish experiments on animals*. The originator gained no more than 27.8 per cent of the vote. The initiative sought the prohibition of all experiments with animals and genetic engineering with vertebrates. It was the third time since 1985 that a proposal of this kind had been turned down by the voters. Only the Green Party (GPS) was in favour of the initiative.

The most controversial ballots in 1993 took place on 6 June as the two anti-army popular initiatives '*For a Switzerland without New Fighter Aircraft*' and '*40 Military Zones are Enough – Environmental Protection is for the Army Too*' were put to the vote. The initiative against the purchase of 34 F/A-18 Hornet fighters for a total of Sfr. 3.5 billion was launched by the Group for Switzerland without an Army (GSoA), the originator of the famous initiative to abolish the Swiss army in 1989 which at the time – albeit unsuccessful – achieved a respectable 'victory' with 35.6 per cent of the votes. For their new initiative the GSoA succeeded in collecting as many as half a million signatures in the record time of just over a month, a result beyond even the most optimistic expectations. The military depots initiative was launched by a local action group, supported by anti-militarists and aimed at preventing the construction of a new military depot at Neuchlen-Anschwilen in Canton St. Gall. The army too should be subject to legislation on environmental protection, a limitation probably of greater influence than the mere restriction of the number of military zones to 40. Both the government and the parliament recommended rejection of both initiatives. The initiatives were fiercely fought by the right-wing parties whereas the Social Democrats (SPS) and the Green Party (GPS) supported the proposals. The results of the ballots did not match the expectations encouraged by the highly successful collection of signatures. The initiative against the aircraft gained 42.8 per cent of the vote, the military zones initiative 44.7 per cent of the vote. Analyses in the aftermath showed that the campaign by the Defence Minister, Kaspar Villiger, successfully turned both issues into an existential question about the future of the Swiss army indicating that environmental and financial arguments were considered of lesser importance.

The five texts submitted to voters on 26 September were all approved with clear majorities. With 86.3 per cent of the vote a *federal decree to prevent the abusive use of arms achieved the best result*. This provision is intended to transfer the duty to prevent arms trade abuses from the cantonal authorities to the federal government as a reaction to the fact that Switzerland has become known as a self-service arms store. The newly approved constitutional article

will now be the subject of a subsequent federal law. With 75.2 per cent of the vote the *transfer of the former Bernese district Laufen* to the half-canton Basle Rural was ratified by the people and the cantons. This decision is considered as the final step in a plebiscite procedure set up in 1970 and leading up to the creation of Canton Jura. And for once, the very right wing Swiss Democrats (SD) were successful with one of their initiatives: 83.8 per cent of voters accepted an additional *Bank holiday on August 1*, the Swiss National Day.

Much more controversial – at least during the campaign preceding the ballot – was the referendum against the *emergency federal decree on the unemployment insurance*. The referendum was launched and supported by the left, i.e. the Communist Party (PdA), the trade unions, the Social Democrats, and jobless committees. The decree was set up to cope with the financial difficulties of the unemployment insurance fund due to the massive increase in the number of unemployed. Some of the measures, like the increase of the indemnity period from the present 300 days to 400 days, were not contested. But those in favour of the referendum were against a drop in daily allowances paid to childless unemployed persons with a salary exceeding Sfr. 130 a day and the obligation laid on unemployed people to accept a job at a pay rate lower than the unemployment benefit. Nevertheless, the decree was finally accepted with 70.4 per cent of the vote.

The second referendum on 26 September was launched against the *emergency federal decree on the health insurance*, a set of measures that came into force on 1 January to slow the rise in health costs and which should be formalised within two years by a total revision of the Law on Health Insurance. The Communist Party (PdA) especially contested the ten-franc per day hospital fee which it considered as anti-social. With the exception of the originator and the Lega dei Ticinesi all parties supported the decree, although they did continue to criticise it. The voters were less critical and supported the decree with 80.5 per cent Yes votes.

On 28 November the Swiss people and the cantons finally agreed to replace the old turnover tax with value added tax. After 1977, 1979 and 1991, it was the fourth attempt to change the tax system. From 1995 VAT will therefore be levied at a rate of 6.5 per cent. To do so, the voters were confronted with no less than four financial questions. The first was the simple *change from turnover tax to VAT* (66.7 per cent Yes). Second, the government wanted approval to *raise VAT from 6.2 per cent*, the present rate for the turnover tax, *to 6.5 per cent* (57.7 per cent Yes). Third, the government wanted to *give parliament the right to increase the VAT rate by up to one per cent*, if necessary to safeguard the financial status of the federal old age and disability scheme (AHV) (62.6 per cent Yes). Fourth, the government wanted to *change the present custom duties on motor vehicles and fuel into consumption taxes*, in line with international agreements (60.7 per cent Yes). This last proposal was legal and technical in nature and did not bring any

increases in expenditure for consumers. The majority of parties and associations were in favour of the new VAT system. Only the Motorists' Party (AP), the Swiss Democrats (SD), the Lega dei Ticinesi, and the Communist Party (PdA), together with the associations of the most affected hoteliers, restaurateurs and hairdressers, who understandably opposed giving up their former untaxed situation, said No to a change. The small traders' association only approved a change to VAT at a rate of 6.2 per cent.

The so called 'twin initiatives' sought to impose a *total ban on the advertising of alcohol and tobacco*. The anti-tobacco advertising initiative also called for one per cent of the tobacco tax to be spent on prevention of tobacco-induced illnesses. Although nobody contested the negative effects of the consumption of alcohol and tobacco, it was argued that a total ban was too drastic and would have negative effects for the economy as well as for cultural and sport activities, which depend to a great extent on sponsoring by alcohol- and tobacco-related industries. The ban would also hit newspapers and magazines who profit considerably from alcohol and cigarette advertisements. The initiatives were supported by the Social Democrats (SPS), the Green Party (GPS), the Independents' Party (LdU) and the Protestant People's Party (EVP), as well as associations from the public health sector. With only 25.3 and 25.6 per cent of the votes, both proposals were – like a similar initiative in 1979 – clearly rejected.

### **Issues in national politics**

The political agenda in Switzerland is strongly influenced by the referendums and initiatives put to the vote. A considerable part of the main issues in national politics has thus been presented in the rubric above and is not discussed here again.

After the rejection by the people and cantons regarding membership of the Economic Area (EEA) in 1992, Switzerland's future position in Europe is still of vital importance. Under the name of Swisslex, a number of laws were proposed to match European standards. Promoting bilateral agreements with the European Community is the second line of Swiss policy on Europe proposed by the Federal Council. And finally, there are new measures to revitalise the economy, as its present state is still far from satisfactory. Especially the problem of unemployment (about 5 per cent of the active population) and the actual state deficit continue to be of major concern in Swiss politics.

Especially in the cities, the misery due to drug-addiction is steadily increasing and new ideas in the drug policy scheme are badly needed. The Federal Council has thus decided to carry out experiments on the controlled supply of drugs in eight towns from Autumn 1993. A total of 700 addicts are to be prescribed heroine, morphine or methadone for use under medical and

psychological supervision. Partly in line with the drug problem is the rise in criminality. This led to frequent calls for law and order which were taken up by some of the right-wing parties in campaigns for the coming elections.

And once again, the election of a new member of the Federal Council was responsible for political turmoil. The refusal of parliament to elect Christiane Brunner, the Social Democrats Party's sole official candidate and president of the Industry, Trades and Services Union, to succeed René Felber in the Federal Council also had an unexpected impact on the women's cause. The rather offbeat, but not untypical, curriculum vitae of the candidate, together with her plain speaking, did not appeal to the mainly male and right-wing parliament which instead elected Francis Matthey, another Social Democrat. In the event, however, Matthey asked for a week's reflection and finally bowed to pressure to refuse, pressure which stemmed from the street as well as from within his own party. There were in fact strong feelings that a woman, and especially Christiane Brunner, should be elected, as women were no longer represented on the Federal Council and the mud-slinging against Christiane Brunner did not win public approval. In order to prevent further upsets and to maintain their representation (parliament always has the possibility to elect a candidate from another party) the Social Democrats finally presented two women candidates, Christiane Brunner and Ruth Dreifuss, secretary of the Swiss Trade Union Federation. Although her political views are similar to those of Christiane Brunner, and although she lacks experience in either parliament or government, Ruth Dreifuss was finally elected as a member of the Federal Council on 10 March. The poor showing of the members of parliament and the anti-feminist attacks on Christiane Brunner strongly upset parts of the population. As a result, in the cantonal elections after 10 March, women candidates experienced an explosion of sympathy, a result which is now referred to as the 'Brunner-Effekt'.

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