Lagos

- EDA/Polit. Abt. II

 Sekretariat der Koordinationskommission für die Präsenz der
 Schweiz im Ausland



582.1-WE/GA

22.1.1991

## 700 Jahre Eidgenossenschaft: Medienbetreuung im Ausland

Leider vermag die weltweite Pressekampagne im Zusammenhang mit den diesjährigen aubilaumsfelern der Eidgenossenschaft in qualitativer Hinsicht kaum zu überzeugen. Nach sorgfältiger Durchsicht der bisner eingetroffenen 13 Texte erwiesen sich bloss 4 als einigermassen brauchbar für eine Abgabe in meinem Residenzland.

So zeigte sich beispielsweise der Text zum hier besonders aktuellen Thema Entwicklungshilfe geradezu als kontraproduktiv. Mit dem einleitenden Zicat: "Often we take with the right hand what we give with the left" wird unser Land - unter selektivem Weglassen wesentlicher Aspekte ziemlich einseitig als Profiteur und Anziehungspunkt für Feuchtkapital dargestellt. In Anbetracht der Tatsache, dass es sich hier um eine offizielle oder zumindest offiziöse Selbstdarstellung unserer entwicklungspolitischen Vorstellungen nandelt, scheint mir eine derart unausgewogene Präsentation kaum zur Weiterverbreitung durch unsere Missionen geeignet. Ein gewisses Mass an Selbstkritik wäre durchaus zu begrüssen, aber nur unter der Voraussetzung, dass alle wichtigen Aspekte des Themas behandelt werden.

Bedauerlicherweise liessen sich die Beispiele für unsorgfältig redigierte oder die Nirklichkeit verzerrende Texte mühelos vermehren (vgl. beiliegende Aktennotiz meines ersten Mitarbeiters). Ich habe mich nach Kenninisnahme der bis anhin erhaltenen Pressetexte dazu entschlossen, künftige Teillieferungen nur nach



sorgfältiger Durchsicht und in äusserst selektiver Weise weiterzuleiten. Ausserdem wäre ich Ihnen dringend dankbar, die Schweizerische Verkehrszentrale aufzufordern, direkte Lieferungen an Massenmedien in denjenigen Ländern, wo ich akkreditiert bin, unverzüglich einzustellen.

DER SCHWEIZERISCHE BOTSCHAFTER

(Thomas H.R. Wernly)

Beilage: Aktennotiz vom 21.1.1991

# Kopie (mit Beilage) an:

- Presse und Information
- DEH, Abteilung Politik und Planung
- BAWI, Afrikadienst
- Generalkonsulat Lomé
- BUCO Cotonou

582.1 - DAH/GA

Lagos, 21. Januar 1991

## AKTENNOTIZ

# 700 Jahre Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft: Medienbetreuung

Im Rahmen der Medienbetreuung "700 Jahre Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft" stellt die Schweizerische Verkehrszentrale den Auslandvertretungen 66 verschiedene Pressetexte und 37 Fotos zur Weitergabe an die Presse zur Verfügung. Zudem wird ein Teil der Auslandpresse direkt beliefert; für Nigeria sind dies die News Agency of Nigeria sowie vier Tageszeitungen (Daily Times, New Nigerian, Daily Sketch, Nigerian Observer). Das Ziel dieser Presseunterlagen ist es, 1991 weltweit Grundkenntnisse über die Schweiz zu verbreiten sowie den Auslandvertretungen auf längere Zeit einen Fundus von Texten als Arbeitsunterlage zur Verfügung zu stellen.

Gemäss internen Besprechungen hat die Botschaft für 1991 eine schrittweise Abgabe der Presseunterlagen an nigerianische Zeitungen und Zeitschriften vorgesehen, ohne die Pressetexte zuvor gesehen zu haben. Nach Durchsicht des bisher verfügbaren Pressematerials musste ich leider feststellen, dass von der Abgabe eines beträchtlichen Teils der Texte abgeraten werden muss.

Die vorliegenden Texte setzen bedauerlicherweise nicht beim Kenntnisstand und den Interessen des ausländischen Publikums in Bezug auf die Schweiz an; sie sind über weite Stellen weder informativ noch kritisch abgefasst, sondern in einem Ton unterschwelliger Selbstbenörgelung, der im Ausland vor allem auf Unverständnis stossen dürfte. Ausgeschlossen ist meines Erachtens die Abgabe von Texten zu Bereichen der offiziellen schweizerischen Politik (Entwicklungspolitik, Sicherheitspolitik, Aussenpolitik usw.) durch die Botschaft, weil dadurch der falsche Eindruck entstehen könnte, dass es sich um offizielle Stellung-

nahmen oder sachliche Darstellungen der entsprechenden Politikbereiche handelt.

Beispielhaft kommen die Mängel bei den beiden für die Verbreitung in Afrika besonders geeigneten Themen Entwicklungspolitik und Föderalismus zum Ausdruck:

Der Text "Ringen um eine glaubwürdige Politik" (Entwicklungspolitik) gibt weder einen zuverlässigen Eindruck von den Beziehungen zwischen der Schweiz und der Dritten Welt, noch vermag
er die schweizerische Entwicklungspolitik zu veranschaulichen.
Mit dem Zitat "wir nehmen oftmals mit der rechten Hand zurück,
was wir mit der linken geben" als Auftakt wird die Schweiz unter selektivem Weglassen wichtiger Aspekte - einseitig als
Profiteur der Beziehungen zur Dritten Welt dargestellt, wobei
selbst im Rahmen dieser Absicht keine abgerundete Argumentation
sichtbar wird. Begriffe werden irreführend verwendet und Zahlenangaben unverständlicherweise aus den verschiedensten Jahren
(zwischen 1979 und 1988) heranzitiert.

In Afrika mit seinen sprachlich, ethnisch und religiös vielfältig gegliederten Nationen stösst das politische Konzept des Föderalismus gerade während den gegenwärtigen Demokratisierungsbemühungen auf erhebliches Interesse. Afrikanische Gesprächspartner äussern deshalb immer wieder das Bedürfnis, Genaueres über den schweizerischen Föderalismus zu erfahren. Leider wählt der Pressetext die Verhinderung des Frauenstimmrechts durch die säbeltragenden Männer des Kanton Appenzell Innerrhoden als Ausgangspunkt zur Darstellung des Wesens des schweizerischen Föderalismus. Von den historischen und staatspolitischen Dimensionen des Föderalismus in unserem Land entsteht in der Folge kein realistisches Bild; dass zur Illustration der Vielfalt des Föderalismus ausgerechnet die Existenz von 26 Polizeikorps herangezogen wird, gehört bereits wieder in den Bereich wehleidiger Selbstwahrnehmung.

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## THE STRUGGLE FOR A CREDIBLE POLICY

Switzerland - 700 years after Press release Switzerland, Thirld world/ D12

"Often we take with the right hand what we give with the left" is how Richard Gerster, an economist specialising in development issues, sums up the relationship between Switzerland and the Third World. Appointed to coordinate the development aid of the four main Swiss aid organisations. Richard Gerster goes on to state: "In 1985 the amount sent to Africa in the form of development aid by the Confederation and private aid organisations totalled 337 million Swiss francs. During the same year, in terms of trade. the net sum paid by Africa to Switzerland amounted to 1,847 million Swiss francs."

"Relations between industrialised states and developing countries are not without their inconsistencies...a state of affairs which applies equally to Swiss relations with the Third World": the words of the Swiss government in a message to parliament, dated January 21st 1990, on the subject of technical cooperation and development aid to the less well-off countries. Seeking a coherent policy with regard to such countries can not be a matter for the Confederation alone. It should also be the responsibility of the private sector and the population. From that optic, relations between Switzerland and the Third World should not be seen in terms of public and private aid, but also in relation to the business sector.

#### DEVELOPMENT AID: HIGH IN QUALITY BUT LOW IN VOLUME

The main objective of technical cooperation and aid from Switzerland to the Third World is to fight poverty and improve the political and social situation of the people in impoverished countries. The countries which benefit take due note of this aid from a qualitative point of view, according to the development aid committee of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Most of the time, the aid comes from donations, at least two-thirds of which reaches countries in need. On average, each Swiss gives 21 Swiss francs a year to the private aid organisations: a generosity only surpassed by the Swedes and the Norwegians. But from a quantitive point of view, Swiss aid is insufficient. It amounted to 857.5 million Swiss francs in 1987, or 0.31 per cent of the gross national product (GNP), well below the target of 0.7 per cent set by the United Nations.

The government's aim to make it 0.35 per cent, which is the average for OECD member-countries, by the mid-1990s, has been put in doubt by by recent budgetary concerns. Meanwhile the private aid organisations are calling for an extra effort: they say Switzerland should be aiming for the 0.5 per cent of GNP which is the average in countries belonging to the European Community (EC). It is an amount which Switzerland can not only afford, but from which it can also profit, bearing in mind that out of every franc paid in development aid, 90 centimes will come back in the form of orders for goods and services.

#### LUCRATIVE DEALS WITH THE THIRD WORLD

Trade relations between Switzerland and the Third World can not, in terms of volume, be compared with

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Schweiz Suisse Svizzera Switzerland

the development aid. In 1988, Switzerland exported goods worth 11,942 million Swiss francs to the Third World, while total imports amounted to 6,300 francs.

D12

Another activity which exceeds development aid: transactions involving capital, whether in the form of direct investment, securities and export or banking credits. In 1979, such transactions totalled over five per cent of GNP. Then came the debt crisis, and in 1987, 3,353.4 million francs (1.26 per cent of GNP) were repatriated to Switzerland. But in 1988, the capital flow again began to take a positive course (1.876.8 million francs, 0.67 of GNP) due mainly to new direct investments and securities.

The Swiss financial centre is a target of constant criticism, suspected as it is of attracting flight capital, in other words cash transferred to Switzerland to evade taxes or exchange rate controls in its country of origin. The exact volume of flight capital is not known. According to Swiss National Bank statistics. Switzerland is the refuge for about 60 million Swiss francs in the form of bank deposits and cash held in trust originating from the Third World. This does not include financial centres and oil-producing countries in the Middle East.

The total is nearly two-and-a-half times more than the external assets of the Swiss banks in these same countries. Furthermore, critical experts believe that this is the tip of the iceberg. For their part, representatives of the Swiss banks challenge the idea that Switzerland is a haven for flight capital. They maintain that this has been proved by Switzerland's constant reinforcement of rules to counter the arrival of dubious capital, whether it is cash from financial irregularities, or money whose origin has not been admitted, for example the profits from arms or drug trafficking.

## AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE DEBT PROBLEM

Switzerland tries to play a constructive role in international discussions on the Third World debt problem. Although not yet a member of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) - a membership application has been submitted - the Swiss have provided the IMF with 400 million Swiss francs towards "facilities for structural changes". To this sum can be added 200 million francs towards a special World Bank programme for Africa. Within the framework of negotiations on debt repayments by the Club of Paris, Switzerland is guaranteeing the world's poorest countries a 50 per cent reduction in the interest rates on public credits. Finally, Switzerland has participated in the financing of the debt-rescheduling for Bolivia.

Other measures are planned. In particular, a sum of 100 million Swiss francs is to be made available within the next three or for years for buying back, at market rates, commercial debts. But according to the private aid organisations, a more realistic figure would be 700 million francs, and they have collected 250,000 signatures on a petition saying so. This amount would help pay off the debts of the poorest countries, and go towards creating compensation funds in local currency for social development projects.

Berne July 1990, Editor: J. Müller, Translator: R. Dawson FOR FREE PUBLICATION

SDA / Swiss News Agency

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## SWITZERLAND, A COUNTRY BUILT FROM THE BOTTOM UPWARDS

One small canton (cantons are the member-states of the Swiss Confederation) has proved reluctant to

Switzerland - 700 years after

Press release

Federalism/ D5

introduce a basic human right, in the only case of its kind in Europe. At the end of April 1990, the men of the half- canton of Appenzell Innerrhoden turned down for the third time a proposal to grant women the vote at communal and cantonal level. An appeal against this decision has since been lodged with Switzerland's highest court, the Federal Court, while in parliament there are calls for the Confederation to make the canton see reason, and grant this fundamental right to its women. But the federal authorities hesitate to take any action, because they are inhibited by a "federalist reflex": a "diktat" or order from the central state would undermine the canton's autonomy. The authorities usually prefer to rely on the good sense of an obstinate canton. However after having rejected the proposal for a third time, the Appenzellers might now be made to fall into line, either by the Federal Court or the federal authorities. In Switzerland, the autonomy of member-states - in other words, the country's federal structure - is farreaching. Although its surface area of 41,200 square kilometres makes Switzerland one of the world's smallest countries, many outsiders are surprised to find so much diversity in such a limited space. Frontiers and tolls inside the country may have long since disappeared, but the 26 cantons which comprise Switzerland really are states, and not merely the administrative districts of one central state. Each has its own constitution, parliament, government and independent courts. Some even emphasize their autonomy by calling themselves "The Republic and Canton of..." The order of the words is interesting: first the autonomous republic, and only second the Swiss canton. Cantonal governments are often called the "Council of State" or cabinet, and government members of the Republic and Canton of the Jura are even referred to as ministers. Outside observers are often amazed at the diversity of uniforms in Switzerland: there is no national police force. Instead there are 26 cantonal police forces, as Five cantons still practise an old form of democracy: the "Landsgewell as the municipal police. meinde" or open-air parliament. Once a year, the citizens gather to elect their government and to decide important cantonal issues. The Landsgemeinde is the sovereign power of the canton, but it is also the celebration of a tradition. In the half-canton of Appenzell Innerrhoden for example, the men prove their right to vote by bearing a sword. Based on the need, centuries ago, for the men to appear ready to defend themselves, this particular tradition is seen as an obstacle to female suffrage in that canton. So far as the cantonal government is concerned, a simple solution would be for the women to carry cards authorising them to vote. That way, the men could keep their swords...

#### A BRIDGING FUNCTION

For historical reasons, the cantons are the backbone of the Confederation's state structure. They were fully autonomous states before the federal state was created, and even today they make sure that their

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1291-1991 Schweiz Suisse Svizzera Switzerland

rights and privileges are respected. Internally, the cantons are themselves decentralised: Switzerland has about 3,000 communes, each possessing great autonomy, the full extent of which, depends on the canton concerned. The latter acts as a bridge between the communal and federal authorities. The relationship between the three levels is illustrated by the structure of citizenship rights. Each Swiss has the citizenship of his or her commune, then the canton, and finally the Confederation. The naturalisation of foreigners goes in the same direction: applications are considered from the bottom upwards.

This federalist structure is vital to Switzerland's very existence. The centuries-old sovereignty of the cantons, the co-existence of four linguistic and cultural regions (German, French, Italian and Romansch), the overcoming of geographical barriers, the co-habitation between people from different socio-economic backgrounds in the mountains and on the plains - none of these would have survived a centralised system.

#### THE SENATE AND A MAJORITY OF STATES

Federalism expresses itself by way of a complex pattern of relationships. Sundry institutions with varying degrees of power exist to ensure that there is no conflict of interest between cantonal autonomy and the best interests of the Confederation. The cantons have their own chamber of the federal parliament, the Senate, which has the same power as the chamber representing the people, the House of Representatives. All parliamentary matters must be referred to both chambers. One consequence of this system is that the small, thinly-populated cantons have as loud a voice as the larger cantons.

The Senate, with its requirement for majority decisions, is a typical federalist institution. Any change in the federal constitution must not only be supported by a majority of Swiss voters, it must also receive approval from a majority of the states, or rather, the cantons. On rare occasions, this dual requirement for a majority leads to a paradoxical situation; the majority opinion of the people can be countered by a majority of the cantons voting the other way. This happened in 1983, in a vote on energy, when 50.9 per cent of the voters approved a constitutional amendment on this matter. It was backed by only 11 of the 26 cantons and therefore failed. Something similar had happened in 1975, in a vote which if approved, would have given the Confederation the power to intervene in matters concerning the economy: 52.8 per cent of those who voted were in favour, but only 12 of the cantons. In both cases, federalist arguments against too much state power played a role.

#### WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR WHAT?

The distribution of powers between the Confederation and the cantons is a subject of permanent political debate in Switzerland. Those powers come basically in four categories, the first of which is an absolute power of the Confederation, and relates to customs, currency, posts and telecommunications, railways and navigation. The second belongs exclusively to the cantons, and concerns the police, social services, housing and religion. In the third category, the legislative powers belong to the Confederation, but the cantons see that the rules are applied: for example with weights and measures, road traffic, military affairs, unemployment, social insurance, and civil and criminal courts. The final category refers to the sharing of powers in such matters as taxation, road construction, hunting and fishing, health insurance and education and training.

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In everyday life, each Swiss citizen is likely to feel the effects of federalism most in connection with the education and taxation systems. Going to live in another canton can lead to surprises, often disagreeable ones. It sometimes happens that a person moves from one canton to another, and finds that although his or her income is the same, the taxes are higher. Taxation levels vary from canton to canton, and even for a medium range income, there can be a difference of thousands of francs. Sometimes a child from a family which has moved will have to repeat a school year, because the educational systems can be so different. Education is for the most part controlled by the cantons, from compulsory schooling to university. Only a few branches of further education - medicine for example, and the colleges of technology at Zürich and Lausanne - are the responsibility of the Confederation. Powers are also shared in matters of professional training, but with a balance in the Confederation's favour.

D<sub>5</sub>

#### THE TEMPTATIONS OF CENTRALISM

Federalism implies that as many decisions as possible are taken at a lower level, in other words by the commune or the canton. But even in Switzerland, centralisation is making headway. The Confederation has taken over tasks which had previously been delegated to the canton. It is interesting to note that the Confederation's share of public spending has risen over the past hundred years from one-tenth of the total to a third. Economic relations between the canton and the Confederation have become very complicated. There is often a divergency of views. In recent years, the two sides have tried hard to simplify or at least clarify the relationship, but this has proved to be a long process because of the complexity of the problem.

#### FEDERALISM: IS IT A HANDICAP TO EXTERNAL AFFAIRS?

There is no doubt that federalism is one of Switzerland's main assets. It reflects the country's diversity. allowing the state to be not too remote from the citizen, who has a great deal of opportunity to participate in public life. But internationally, federalism could become an obstacle. Swiss membership of the European Community (EC) would definitely have major effects on the present-day structure of Swiss federalism. Some EC rules apply to matters which in Switzerland are exclusively within the powers of the cantons. But the problem is, the Confederation lacks the power to apply EC rules in the cantons. The traditional political process, from the bottom upwards, would be hampered. Switzerland must be able to speak to the outside world with one voice. Professor Dusan Sidjanski of the Graduate Institute for International Studies, believes that in federalism there is an opportunity for both Switzerland and the EC: "Swiss federalism is not an obstacle on the path towards membership of the European Community, but an asset for Switzerland. Its experience of federalism could be of vital importance to a community seeking a system based on participation and effectiveness for its 325 million inhabitants. The acceleration of the process of integration has led Switzerland to draw comfort from its cherished federalist ways. The EC's evolution is forcing Switzerland to take another look at its federalism, and to adapt it to the new-look Europe." (Thesis on Switzerland's European Policy, European Union, European Movement in Switzerland).

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