Global versus Local: Lessons from the Swiss Experience

REMIGIO RATTI*

INTRODUCTION

The History of the economic development of Switzerland – which is an alpine region with no access to the sea and little natural resources – can be read as being the story of an extraordinary capacity (even though there are some problems today) of managing the relations between the Global – FERNAND BRAUDEL’s «economy world» – and the Local. The reason is that Switzerland, due to the scarcity of its resources and its poor domestic market has always been obliged to open itself and to face the world outside. It has doubtlessly managed to do so with great success, as the following parameters prove:

- Switzerland represents 0.028% of the world surface and 0.13% of the world population, but it produces 1% of the world’s gross national product, i.e. eight times its demographic consistence;
- the Swiss share in world export amounts to 1.7% and to even 5.8% for international financial activities;
- in 1994 the Swiss foreign investments amounted to 140 billion Swiss Francs (1/3 of the national income) whereas the jobs created abroad by Swiss investments and by multinational groups of Swiss origin were estimated to amount up to 1,3 million (almost more than one third of the number of jobs in Switzerland).

How was it possible to be so successful and how can this success be re-evaluated in the ongoing economic period of globalization?

As we wrote earlier (RATTI, 1995) we can distinguish two types of historical situation: the first one is dominated by the exchanges between international economies and can be read as going from the «local» to the «global». The second one is dominated by today’s phenomena of globalization and transnationalization and its main stream would rather flow in the opposite direction, namely from the «global» to the «local». In the following article we will try (Part one and two) to analyse the success of Switzerland – which rather belongs to the first typology – and to understand the present day’s difficulties of the Swiss model in the modern era of globalization. In the third and last part we will try to

* IRE, Stabile Toretta, 6900 Bellinzona.
This article is a short summary of an essay recently published:
RATTI, R., Leggere la Svizzera Saggio politico economico sul divenire del modello elvetico. Istituto di studi di Politica Internazionale (ISPI) Milano (Italy) and Giampiero Casagrande Editore, Lugano (Switzerland) 1995.
see if there exists any new answer in economic and territorial terms to the current
verticalization and globalization of economy and how this answer could look like.


The thesis of the largest external flexibility compensated by the utmost internal
stability.

The success of Switzerland and of its economy fundamentally relies on the country’s
capacity of being an open economy (which is somehow paradoxical, since seven hundred
years ago Switzerland had constituted itself as a defence coalition), of running the
relation between a weak domestic economy and the world outside: promoting the traffic
system, offering services (not even excluding military mercenary services as in past
centuries), developing niche products to fill market gaps all over the known world,
investing abroad, lending money and trusteeing foreign capital.

The golden rules of Swiss experience in managing the relation between the local and
the global can therefore be reassumed with a thesis and with a corollary:
– the thesis of the utmost external flexibility compensated by a high degree of internal
stability;
– the corollary of a national territory sustaining a large network of functional and
international economic relations.

The characteristics of the thesis can be read on the level of external as well as internal
relations.

Regarding its external relations, Switzerland already in the 16th century used to
practice a sophisticated foreign policy based on the following three fundamental prin­
ciples:
– economic liberalism, which in the beginning manifested itself in the need and the will
to negotiate privileges in order to carry out different trade activities with certain towns
and kingdoms before it took on the form of first bilateral and then multilateral
agreements in the field of commerce between nations;
– universalism, as a result of the choice of opening itself up to all the possibilities that
the international trade of goods and services could pragmatically offer;
– neutrality as a principle of non-interference and of non-alliance with specific foreign
states has been chosen by Switzerland properly to maintain its openness and to defend
its autonomy.

The internal relations of Switzerland are instead being dominated by a sophisticated
model of «democratic corporativism». This way of regulating problems is a complex
process and, at least partly, an original system: it allows to find solutions not so much
by recurring to the formula of participation, but rather by sophistically elaborating a
consensus of the economic, the social and the political parties. The political justification
for this process is based on a sort of «collective consciousness». This process of
democratic corporativism is based on three characteristics:
- the first one is of ideologic order and manifests itself in a «more or less implicit social
contract»;
- the second one is the expression of a certain centralisation and concentration of group
interests by both social partners, employers and representatives of the employees;
- the third one is constituted by an ongoing process of taking political awareness due
to the fact that both parties permanently consult each other.
The common point of these three principles, mostly practised inside of federal states, is
the need of a relatively minor state strategy implying little state planning and where the
state intervenes not so much in order to guide but rather to sanction an either implicit or
a negotiated social contract between the social partners. In this way the Swiss democratic
corporativism creates at the internal level the essential «supporting space», a space for
relations outside of the market or for winning pre-competitive relations. Both of them
seem to be vital conditions for Switzerland’s competitiveness on the international
markets and both have determined a compared advantage of localisation for the country.
They even constituted, even though for other aspects, a determining factor in the creation
of a real advantage of position.
The characteristics of the Swiss model had been shaped over a long historic period
beginning with the proto-industrial phase until the precocious Swiss industrial revolution
in the first half of the 19th century, and going from the constitution of the Federal State
in 1848 until at least the first years right after the Second World War. The characteristics
can be reassumed as follows:
- constant search for consensus and reformism
- importance of «private» negotiations between the social partners
- control of social tensions
- control of regional disparities
- respect for the diversities in federalism.
We can illustrate these characteristics by looking synthetically at some elements of the
economic history of Switzerland from its industrial revolution onwards. Our methodo-
logical approach will be the analysis of the functional economic spaces of the Swiss
economic operators in the historic period of the «local» facing the «global».
According to a new approach that we had developed there are three different spaces:
there is not only the space of the production of market but also the – crucial – supporting
space. The latter corresponds to the modern theory of the industrial organisations
We will define the three functional spaces in the following way (see figure 1).

Figure 1: The economic-functional spaces of an economic entity

- the «production space» of a company which is determined by the relations of the spatial division of labour according to the following pattern: The company produces by itself, delocalises the single production segments or acquires them on the market according to the specific technological, economic and socio-cultural characteristics of every productive segment and of every region of production.
- the «market space» that is made of the market framework inside of which a company places itself. These relations can be read in their spatial dimension and they are characterised by the number, the intensity and the structural particularities regarding specific market segments and their different processes of evolution.

The definitions of these two spaces already constitute a great progress in the dynamic approach to the development of a company. But they are not sufficient to explain the complex strategic-operative aspects inside of which a company that is open to the international and universal dimension is moving itself. We therefore suggest the definition of a third functional space of a company:
- the «supporting space» (see figure 1), which describes three types of «pre-competitive» relations, i.e. relations that support and precede the sanction of the market: first, the «framework»-relations that are determined by the operators in the territorial area
of reference (political behaviour of the public institutions and of the semi-public or private associations) and which constitute the «milieu» or the «industrial district» ALFRED MARSHALL was talking about in 1919. Second, the strategic-organisational relations that are determined by agreements (qualified relations) of a company with its partners, suppliers or clients. Third, the «genetic-structural» relations concerning the qualified relations of the company with the factors of production (cross-relations on the level of financing, webs of specific access to technological know-how, particular relations with the human capital, aspects of enterprise culture).

2. THE EXAMPLE OF SWITZERLAND FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE 19TH CENTURY TO 1970

As the economist and historian BASILIO BIUCCHI of the Canton of Ticino said in his analysis of the Swiss industrial revolution (1969), one of the original and determining characteristics of the economic evolution of Switzerland was – unlike other countries – the fact that it evolved in a rather decentralised way. It is legitimate to consider this structural equilibrium as being one of the main factors of the Swiss «miracle», which is a model of harmony of the structural elements. The balance is not only of economic, but even more of spatial and structural order.

_Sensibility for decentralisation and for structural balances_

It is worth looking more closely to the example of Switzerland in the 19th century, during the period of the industrial revolution.

The relative equilibrium of the Swiss structure of production during the time of the industrial revolution can be read on several levels. As for us, we decided to use the above mentioned methodology and terminology distinguishing between the market spaces, the production spaces and the supporting spaces.

This typology exceeds the traditional model of the market economy and it should help integrating the spatial dimension and the strategic aspects of enterprise strategy.

On the level of the «market spaces», after the defeat at Marignano (1514), the Swiss cantons by the end of the 16th century abandoned all their ideas of territorial expansion and assumed a policy of neutrality and, above all, a policy of free exchange and universality. Therefore, at the beginning of the industrial revolution, not being able to compete with the English producers, the Swiss entrepreneurs focused their interest on the extra-european markets, particularly the ones overseas, and they accelerated the restructuring process of their textile industry focusing on the production of textile machines and, later on, of mechanical engineering in general. The possibly to export was the result of a network of longstanding relations that had been tied by mercenaries, merchants and bankers. This particularly strong position on the international market
needed the most stable internal situation as possible. A stability bound to tone down if not to simply avoid the social or sectorial tensions (concerning the farmers, for example).

As far as the «production space» is concerned, at the beginning of the industrialisation the localisation of the economic activities clearly responds to the criterion of functional division. The towns are the centres of commerce and finance, whereas the industrial activities are placed in the country. In this way the demographic balance is guaranteed: the population is well distributed over the cities, the countryside of the tableland and the one of the mountains. All alpine cantons participate in the development. The agriculture on the mountains determines the market of the export of animal produces, and transit assumes a considerable importance for these alpine regions. We therefore find ourselves in front of a double balance: the balance between the different economic sectors and the balance between city and countryside.

Let's reconsider for a while the relative decentralisation of the Swiss industry. The reason for this phenomenon is the particularity of source of energy that was used to achieve the industrial revolution. Since the companies could not rely on coal, they first tried to exploit the mechanic power of water and then the electric current produced in the mountains. Above that, in the country the companies would find a manpower used to working at home or being qualified craftsmen. The extraordinary history of the watch industry in the canton of Jura is just an example for this.

The «supporting space», too, furnishes some original elements to explain the equili­brium of the Swiss growth.

In the whole country the tax pressure is rather low, mostly due to the fact that the activities are decentralised and that there is a tradition of running public affairs locally (in particular by means of the militia system). On the other hand, there has always been a habit of and a well established structure for saving money, especially after the end of the mercenary era. The interest rates were at about 2% during the period studied by us and the balance of services already showed net profit resulting from capitals invested abroad.

Finally we have to emphasise the old democratic tradition of the rural world in Switzerland, contrary to the towns that were more aristocratic and oligarchic. The tensions inside of the country often had some anti-urban aspect. This explains the decentralising tendencies during the construction of many infrastructural buildings. At the beginning the Swiss railroad network was only fragmentary, but by the end of the 19th century it started to be exhaustive, efficient and perfectly linked with the external systems.

Concluding we can say that research in Swiss economic history agrees on pointing out the unique characteristics that have pushed the country to bring the industrial revolution to term, on the old Continent, immediately after England. It would certainly be wrong to think that there had not been any tension and division. Some of them were resolved by some structural, political and institutional adaptations, others accompanied or followed the requirements of economy and lead, for example, to solutions such as the economic unification and the federal Constitution of 1848. It is also very interesting to
try and find an explanation for the Swiss «miracle» analysing more directly the way in which Switzerland has been facing the social problems over the last two centuries and how it has been regulating the various types of regional disparity. We will try to do so in the following passage.

*The control of the social tensions and of the economic-regional disparities (democratic corporativism)*

Despite the relatively well-balanced growth process that has been characterising Switzerland since almost the beginning of the 19th century, it was inevitable that the full realisation of the model of industrial growth – leading to the concentration of labour and to urbanisation – would provoke social tensions and economic-regional disparity even in Switzerland. But once again, the Swiss system – despite its pluriethnical and plurilingual fragmentation – found the formula of stability by means of a dynamic of consensual reforms which was sanctioned inside of the democratic structures of the country but which had substantially matured within the relations between the economic, the social and the political power: the model of the «democratic corporativism of Switzerland».

This consolidates the theses according to which the internationalisation of the Swiss economy that had been promoted according to the principles of economic liberalism, universalism and a certain political mentality had been possible only thanks to a guaranteed internal political and economic stability which was to be realised even with measures of social and sectorial compensation (or protection).

This political attitude of regulating the economic-social problems is called «democratic corporativism» and constitutes a complex process. It also is an original system that allows solution-finding not so much by using the formula of participation but rather by sophistically working out a consensus among the economic, the social and the political partners.

The following examples can give an idea of the equilibrium created by the combination of the political tendencies (depending on the cases of centralisation or decentralisation), the economic tendencies (of polarisation or diffusion) and the social tendencies (of uniformisation or differentiation):

- In 1830 society is aiming at more liberalism, also in economy. On the political level, however, the structures are the ones of the Ancient Regime. It therefore comes to a tension between the different subsystems which will be resolved by cantonal reforms in the sense of democracy and liberalism.
- After the first half of the 19th century, in Europe, the phenomenon of nationalism is raising. Switzerland makes no exception to this and its socio-cultural structure reveals a stronger national feeling, even though religious tensions had led to the Sonderbund before. On the economic level, the upcoming industrialisation leads to the need of creating a national market. As a result the politico-administrative structure has to be
modified according to these elements. The Federal Constitution of 1848 that marks a
certain centralisation, is a response to these expectations.

- In 1937, after a period of relatively tense social relations, labour and management
agree on the «industrial peace». This in order to prevent the State from instituting
courts of arbitration and to forbid strikes. Both, trade unions and employers, reject
the idea of civil arbitration. The social partners start negotiating and in 1937 they sign
the convention which, at the beginning, was effective for the time of two years, and
then, up to our days, was to be renewed every five years.

- By the end of the 50s, and even more in the beginning of the 70s, the individuals are
striving for their right to be different, whereas economy continues to polarise itself
not only spatially (around the big cities) but also structurally (integration of the
companies). In order to slow down the tension, the political milieu works out the
political strategies of regional development.

The political justification of this process is based on a sort of «collective consciousness».
The process of democratic corporativism relies on three characteristics: the first one is
of ideological order and shows itself in an implicit «social contract» (as for example
industrial peace). The second one shows the relative centralisation and concentration of
group interests. And the third one is constituted by a continuous search for political
consensus based on the permanent consultation of the parties. Eventually it was this
policy that helped Switzerland to provide itself an advantage of position which constitute
the synthetic indicator for a rent of position, the determinant factor of its prosperity. But
will this golden rule still be pertinent and practicable even in the future? Some external
and internal factors are indeed menacing not so much the goodness of the golden rule
itself but rather the conditions for its applicability. The most important of these factors
are the transition from the internationalisation to the transnationalization / globalization
of the Swiss economy and those phenomena of functional and strategic fragmentation
of the economic-social operators who are typical for the new scenario of the relations
between the global and the local.

3. THE CHALLENGE OF GLOBAL ECONOMY: RUNNING THE RELATIONS
BETWEEN THE GLOBAL AND THE LOCAL

The internationalisation and globalization of economy is indeed nothing new. The
historian FERNAND BRAUDEL, creating the term of «economy-world», or EMMANUEL
WALLERSTEIN with his succeeding work have well shown how these processes of
internationalisation appeared in the 17th century already. According to ROBERT REICH,
though, the novelty today is the inversion of the direction of the strategic relations that
play a decisive or determinant role in the relations between the local and the global.

Apparently this inversion comes from the fact that the state and the national econ-
omies lost their part in the definition of the parameters of inter-national exchange. What
appears to be more concrete and decisive is instead what seems to be the fundamental
rule of global economy: in a global economy neither capital nor labour nor raw materials by themselves constitute the strategic economic factors on which one could rely one’s compared advantages any more. It rather is much more important to find the best possible relation between these three factors. On the international level, therefore, the global company does not have a true centre any more but rather a «network» made of different complementary nods that are distributed in the different economic spaces. The rational principle behind their distribution follows the objectives of optimum performance and productivity.

As a consequence the productive economy, which we call the «production space», «de-territorialises» and «de-nationalises» itself. This means that it changes the localisation of its own economic functions more easily without worrying too much about the impact and the consequences on the economic and social structure of a region. Everything becomes more fragile because of the instability of the technical but also of the commercial conditions of production prevailing on a world-wide scale.

On the one hand, this might appear coherent with the logic of the liberalisation of markets (GATT, Uruguay Round) and of the division of labour in a global communication system (as a result of computer technology). On the other hand though, the impact of globalization on a territory like Switzerland will much depend on the ability to act on the level of what we called the «supporting space», which means the relations outside of the market or preceding the market.

Switzerland – as probably other countries as well – has to ask itself whether the thesis of the utmost external flexibility compensated by large internal solidarity can in the future still be the rule to face the relations between the global and the local.

The analysis of the main factors of the supporting space of the Swiss economy shows the following negative signs:

- democratic corporativism – being the origin of an innovative, efficient and in the same time solidary culture of production – has partly degenerated and determined dualistic structures of production: On the one hand, we find companies and economic branches largely orientated towards the external market and subject to the game of competition. On the other hand there are the firms and operators in the field of protected market structures (cartels, national law). This is a rather perverted effect of a policy that wanted to build a supporting space and that was once created in order to challenge external competitors and to guarantee internal solidarity. With the time, corporativism has turned out to be a good opportunity to profit from the rents of position of a rather rich internal market (agriculture, building sector, sanitary and pharmaceutical sector, transports, liberal professions). It might be significant that the most protected branches of all showed the greatest resistance against the adherence of Switzerland to the European Economic Space Treaty that had been rejected by the Swiss voters on the 6th of December of 1992 and that would have meant the application of the four freedoms of the unique European market to the Swiss context.

- the uncertainty about the role of the sixth Switzerland. Besides the four linguistic groups that make out the country (the Germans, the French, the Italians and the
Retoromansh) and the fifth one which are the Swiss living abroad there is a sixth kind of Switzerland: the Swiss investments around the world. As we said before, they amount to about 140 billion Francs and represent more than 1.3 million of jobs created abroad. The success of Swiss industry itself – and today also the success of services (banks and insurance companies) – has led to a transition from the internationalisation (exchange between national economies) to the transnationalisation of the companies. Even if we can prove the importance of certain links with the territory of origin (head-quarters of many holdings) it seems to be obvious that the national territory does not represent the preponderant element of the supporting space of those groups any more.

- less freedom for the national economic policy. This is the corollary of the globalization of economy and of the political processes of regional integration on a supranational scale (GATT; alignment to the European norms). In this way Switzerland loses its capacity to practice an efficient foreign policy of escorting the economic interests of its productive sectors. In the same time, the structures of public administration have become onerous and bureaucratic. The policy of consensus and of correction of the social and regional disparities is not the result of a social agreement fully assumed and integrated into the process of economic development of the whole country any more. New phenomena have appeared, such as marginalization, the so-called «new poor», or the fact that the employers are showing some resistance to assume the growing social costs, particularly for the jobless, or the steady conversion of the real economy into a financial economy.

- less incidence of the values of consensus and of reformism. In the past the great capacity of the social forces – of both social parties – to face the main internal problems by constantly searching for consensus and reforms has revealed itself as being crucial. After having lost a considerable part of their strength during the period of transformation after the Ford era, the trade unions nowadays don’t seem to be a polarising force any more. And the employers on their part lost their capacity to create a solid and coherent strategic policy of development (as was to be seen during the referendum against the adherence to the European Economic Space). The Swiss government therefore finds itself invested with less power, less means but with more responsibility. That’s why the policy of consensus has become a simple policy of compromise, a policy which is rather dangerous and – already on medium-terms – even unbearable. As a result, Swiss policy is now showing a considerable amount of nervousness (there are several demonstrations for a lack of loyalty inside of the Swiss government as it was the case for the project of some new railway roads across the Alps). On the other hand, there is a growing appeal to a majoritarian system, a system of confrontation of the opposites which in Swiss tradition is hardly known.

Concluding we can say that a historical congruence in which the interests of the Swiss economic sectors used to coincide with a great degree of territorialisation of their supporting space has been interrupted. This supporting space, which is not overcome yet, now places itself inside of a network of relations at a trans-national level. Switzerland
thus shows the apparent contradiction of excellent economic benefits realised by its big production companies and the fact that the whole of the social network cannot benefit from them. This is leading to two problems:
- Can the productive sector allow itself to dissociate itself in the medium and long run from an own territorialised milieu which is essential for its medium and long term capacity of innovation?
- Can the «Swiss model» be regenerated inside of the new contest of the «global – local»?

4. THE FUTURE OF SWITZERLAND: A MODEL TO BE REGENERATED

The response to the above questions might and probably will be negative. This would mean the end of a successful Swiss model and it would jeopardise the political system of the country. Indeed, the model of the system of Swiss reformism on a national scale and in particular its expression of something close to democratic corporativism does not constitute the secure motor any more with which one can at the same time aim at economic development and at congruence in the political and social management of the relations between the global and the local. The globalisation of economy forces us to define new ways of development and new congruences between the elements of a system that is becoming more and more complex.

We think that there is no solution without a process of «reterritorialisation», according to the orientative principles of a systemic equilibrium asking for the constant capacity of dynamically managing the territoriosity. Territoriality is more to us than a simple concept (in ethological terms it simply is the living space that an animal marked out by means of a certain behaviour and a certain number of rules and signs). It rather becomes a paradigm for a complex dynamic relation between a group of people and their surroundings. Territoriality therefore is a construction, a socio-cultural, economic and political fact (and therefore not reducible to a physical-geographical fact), and a complex procedure helping a society to create its own capacity to respond to and to manage change (at the in- as well as at the outside). Territoriality is therefore open to historical dynamics and prevents from jurisdictional and institutional christallisations. The search for the components and the transformation processes of this territoriality (where the transformations of the structures and of the economic relations play a major role) becomes the lecture key for the spatial development.
The search for a new balance and more precisely the search for a regeneration of the Swiss territoriality passes through some general or orientative principles of a development process (RATTI, 1995). These principles can be summarised as follows:

The «Swiss model» can be regenerated by a process of regionalisation which is the territorialisation at several spatial scales and functional dimensions. Today and in the future the response to the «global» can not any more be found only inside of a defined space of the State-Nation, but rather inside of a process which implies several spatial scales hierarchically ordinated according to a principle of subsidiarity. It is important to regenerate the couple «regionalism-federalism».

Figure 3 is showing the evolution of the historical dimensions of the areas of power, even if the case is historically referred to France.
The illustration shows how – in an epoch in which one part of the power of the National States is in decline and in which the States linked with economic-functional logics are increasing – one should reason on the level of a hierarchy of four spatial subsystems which are each inserted in the dynamics of the globalisation:

- the space of everyday’s life (common neighbourhood)
- the space of developments (job basins; countries)
- the framework intervention space (macro-regions)
- the integration space (Europe).

Stressing this process out means that the existing institutions such as the municipalities, the Cantons and the Confederation must adapt themselves to these new spatial realities. This not so much by means of institutional reforms (which require an enormously long period of time) but by new forms of projectuality, of negotiation and of interventions with a variable geometry. These interventions focus on essential themes of the current debates of regional science. Referring to the Swiss case we can in particular strike out:

- the importance of the urban and metropolitan development. For over two third of its population, Switzerland has indeed become a large metropolitan and policentric area (LERESCHE et al., 1995). This means that new ways of searching for the social and regional equilibrium which has been one of the characteristics of the Swiss model, have to be found;
- the constitution of transborder regions and of inter-cantonal macro-regions. Even for Switzerland it seems to be evident that the space of general intervention englobes
territorial entities of one to two million of inhabitants. Figure 4 shows the regions (of a specifically alpine space) which potentially could form a supporting space for the economic culture on a «local» level. Inside of these spaces one could program infrastructural, social, educational, formative and innovative strategies. The question of transborder collaboration and of intercantonal collaboration has emerged, not without a certain surprise, properly during these past years of difficulty.

**Figure 4: Emerging macro-regions in Switzerland**

- the policy of integration into the European Union. We think that the negative vote of the Swiss population of December 1992 is a No of «wait-and-see». On the one hand, we think that the rapid process of deterritorialization of the Swiss model has (even unconsciously) alerted the German part of Switzerland where we find the «golden triangle» of the Swiss economy, as well as the Italian part of Switzerland which at that moment was conjuncturally exposed to the destabilizing example of the Italian economy and society. But it seems to be inevitable that the question of joining Europe, and therefore of fully participating in a process of European regional integration will have to be faced again. The fact that the country wants (and needs) to negotiate its membership conditions is nevertheless understandable and it certainly is the result of Swiss tradition. Some people are pretending a membership «à la carte». This claim
GLOBAL VERSUS LOCAL: LESSONS FROM THE SWISS EXPERIENCE

Certainly expresses a true need – not only for Switzerland – to build a Europe by respecting more fully its diversities and its different regions. In 1996/97 an intergovernmental conference for the examination of the institutions of the European Union and its reforms will critically re-examine and review the Maastricht Treaty. After Great Britain and Denmark having put certain conditions to their signature of the Maastricht Treaty, it is probable that a new Europe is going to arise. It will have to be as open as possible towards the East as well as towards the South. It will probably be a Europe of the second generation, more democratic and with a variable geometry, a Europe of differentiated integration or of an integration at different speeds. This is a scenario built around the couple «federalism-regionalism» which, as we described it, could represent the new response to the processes of globalization of the markets and of transnationalization of the productive economy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

COASE, R.H. (1937), The nature of firm, Economica, n.s. 4.
GAUDARD, G., L'évolution de la dépendance économique extérieure de la Suisse, La Vie Economique, Berna, 1984/1.