

Outsiderzy integracji europejskiej

Instytut Stosunków Międzynarodowych
Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego



Dariusz Popławski

Joanna Starzyk-Sulejewska

Outsiderzy integracji europejskiej

Szwajcaria i Norwegia
a Unia Europejska

Wydawnictwo Naukowe SCHOLAR
Warszawa 2012



Recenzje:

prof. dr hab. *Edward M. Haliżak*

prof. UW dr hab. *Dariusz Milczarek*

Redaktor prowadząca:

Anna Raciborska

Redakcja:

Marek Szczepaniak i Dorota Kassjanowicz

Korekta:

Marek Szczepaniak

Projekt okładki:

Katarzyna Juras

Copyright © 2012

by Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar Spółka z o.o.

**Publikacja dofinansowana przez
Instytut Stosunków Międzynarodowych
Wydziału Dziennikarstwa i Nauk Politycznych
Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego**

ISBN 978-83-7383-575-7

Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar Spółka z o.o.

ul. Krakowskie Przedmieście 62, 00-322 Warszawa

tel./fax 22 828 93 91, 22 826 59 21, 22 828 95 63

dział handlowy: jak wyżej, w. 105, 108

e-mail: info@scholar.com.pl

www.scholar.com.pl

Wydanie pierwsze

Skład i łamanie: WN Scholar (*Jerzy Łazarski*)

Druk i oprawa: Drukarnia Read Me, Łódź

SPIS TREŚCI

WSTĘP	9
--------------------	---

SZWAJCARIA

<i>Rozdział I</i>	
POCZĄTKI UZALEŻNIENIA SZWAJCARII OD HANDLU MIĘDZYNARODOWEGO . .	12
<i>Rozdział II</i>	
SZWAJCARIA WOBEC PROCESÓW INTEGRACJI EUROPY ZACHODNIEJ PO DRUGIEJ WOJNIE ŚWIATOWEJ	30
<i>Rozdział III</i>	
DROGA DO ZŁOŻENIA WNIOSKU O CZŁONKOSTWO W UNII EUROPEJSKIEJ	50
<i>Rozdział IV</i>	
BILATERALIZM W STOSUNKACH Z UNIĄ EUROPEJSKĄ	71

NORWEGIA

<i>Rozdział I</i>	
KSZTAŁTOWANIE PODSTAW NIEZALEŻNOŚCI NORWEGII	140
<i>Rozdział II</i>	
STOSUNEK NORWEGII DO PROCESÓW INTEGRACJI EUROPEJSKIEJ ORAZ ZWIĄZKÓW ZE WSPÓLNOTAMI EUROPEJSKIMI W LATACH 1945–1979	168
<i>Rozdział III</i>	
STOSUNKI NORWEGII ZE WSPÓLNOTAMI EUROPEJSKIMI ORAZ UNIĄ EUROPEJSKĄ W LATACH OSIEMDZIESIĄTYCH I DZIEWIĘDZIESIĄTYCH XX WIEKU	227

<i>ROZDZIAŁ IV</i>	
GŁÓWNE OBSZARY WSPÓŁPRACY NORWEGII Z UNIĄ EUROPEJSKĄ	257
ZAKOŃCZENIE	285
<i>ANEKS I</i>	
WYKAZ UMÓW BILATERALNYCH ORAZ MULTILATERALNYCH ZAWARTYCH PRZEZ WE/UE ZE SZWAJCARIĄ ORAZ UMÓW ISTOTNYCH DLA PROCESU INTEGRACJI EUROPEJSKIEJ WIAŻĄCYCH SZWAJCARIĘ	301
<i>ANEKS II</i>	
WYKAZ UMÓW BILATERALNYCH ORAZ MULTILATERALNYCH ZAWARTYCH PRZEZ WE/UE Z NORWEGIĄ ORAZ UMÓW ISTOTNYCH DLA PROCESU INTEGRACJI EUROPEJSKIEJ WIAŻĄCYCH NORWEGIĘ	318
LITERATURA PRZEDMIOTOWA	333
NOTY O AUTORACH	355
THE OUTSIDERS OF THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION. SWITZERLAND, NORWAY AND THE EUROPEAN UNION	357

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	9
--------------------	---

SWITZERLAND

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF SWITZERLAND'S DEPENDENCE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE	12
--	----

CHAPTER II

SWITZERLAND AND THE PROCESSES OF WESTERN EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AFTER WORLD WAR II	30
---	----

CHAPTER III

THE PATH TO APPLICATION FOR EUROPEAN UNION'S MEMBERSHIP	50
---	----

CHAPTER IV

BILATERALISM IN THE RELATIONS WITH THE EUROPEAN UNION	71
---	----

NORWAY

CHAPTER I

SHAPING THE FOUNDATIONS OF NORWAY'S INDEPENDENCE	140
--	-----

CHAPTER II

NORWAY'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PROCESSES OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND TOWARDS THE RELATIONS WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES IN THE YEARS 1945-1979	168
--	-----

CHAPTER III

NORWAY'S RELATIONS WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES AND THE EUROPEAN UNION IN THE 1980s AND 1990s	227
---	-----

CHAPTER IV

THE MAIN AREAS OF NORWAY'S COOPERATION WITH THE EUROPEAN UNION	257
---	------------

CONCLUSION	285
-----------------------------	------------

ANNEX I

A LIST OF BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE EC/EU AND SWITZERLAND AGREEMENTS THAT ARE IMPORTANT FOR THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION	301
--	------------

ANNEX II

A LIST OF BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE EC/EU AND NORWAY AGREEMENTS THAT ARE IMPORTANT FOR THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION	318
---	------------

BIBLIOGRAPHY	333
-------------------------------	------------

ABOUT THE AUTHORS	355
------------------------------------	------------

THE OUTSIDERS OF THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION. SWITZERLAND, NORWAY AND THE EUROPEAN UNION	357
--	------------

THE OUTSIDERS OF THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION. SWITZERLAND, NORWAY AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

BY DARIUSZ POPŁAWSKI AND JOANNA STARZYK-SULEJEWSKA

Norway and Switzerland seem very different from each other, especially as far as geopolitical aspects are concerned. Switzerland is one of about a dozen typical landlocked countries in Europe. Norway is not only a classic littoral country, but it also belongs to a group of countries situated by an ocean, with a practically unlimited access to all seas. The two countries differ considerably also in their terrain and natural resources.

The traditions of their statehood are also nothing alike: for centuries, Norway was in Denmark's and then Sweden's sphere of influence, whereas the Helvetic Confederation was rather independent since the Middle Ages and in the 16th century it strengthened its position by adopting the policy of neutrality. Their societies, that of the "Norwegian fishermen" and that of the "Swiss highlanders", are also very dissimilar. The predominantly Lutheran tradition and the active approach of the Norwegian society towards missionary work contrasts deeply with the Swiss people's religious, linguistic and cultural diversity. The differences of political systems and organizations are also evident. The divergences are numerous, but one can also point out similarities, e.g. their attachment to traditional social values, the competition of two contradictory tendencies in their foreign policy – isolationism and internationalism, and their specific way of defining a state's sovereignty, etc.

Today, however, Norway and Switzerland are perceived first and foremost as two Western European countries that could become members of the European Union but choose not to. They have strong economic, cultural, scientific and social ties with EU member states. Although they are small, their wealth guarantees

that should they become members, they would be net contributors to the EU budget, which makes them very welcome as candidates. Even though their distance towards Brussels is different – Norway is a member of the European Economic Area (EEA), while Switzerland relies on bilateral and sectorial agreements – it is often said that they both participate in the European integration indirectly. The Norwegian society has more than once univocally rejected their country's European membership. In Switzerland, on the other hand, the question of membership has never been settled using the mechanisms of direct democracy. It is worth noting that, contrary to popular belief, the two countries' conflicting approaches to security policy – Norway's NATO membership and Switzerland's neutrality – have only a limited impact on their European policy. However, unlike their political and economic elites, the societies of both countries are very sceptical towards EU membership, but the political, economic and official circles in Brussels are currently analyzing if Norway's and Switzerland's developmental paths could be the model for the countries seeking their own method of integration. This question and other important issues are the topic of the present monograph.