

Online Appendix for *Trade and the Politics of Electoral Reform*

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A Data and main case

A.1 Sources and descriptive statistics

Table A.1 provides summary statistics and sources for key district-level variables used in the analysis of the vote for the protectionist tariff and subsequent votes on the introduction of PR in Switzerland. Recall that the unit of observation is the administrative district (*Bezirk* in German and *district* in French). Data on popular votes and district characteristics based on the 1900 population census are from the comprehensive database on referendums and social structure compiled by Linder, Bolliger and Zürcher (2007). While there are 186 districts, the number of observations is 183 because in the original votes dataset districts within the cities of Geneva and districts within the city of Basel are merged.

Data on the agricultural structure of the district, the structure of industry, and skills were manually coded from district-level tables of the first business/firm census (*Betriebszählung*) conducted in 1905 and whose results were published in multiple volumes over multiple years. The firm census covers all sectors and economic establishments, including family farms of at least 0.5 ha. Variables concerning the structure of industry were coded from volume 1 on establishments and people working in them (BFS, 1906, 1907*a,b,c,d,e*, 1908). Concerning agricultural structure, the Gini of land inequality, the share of land used for meadows and pasture, the average farm size were calculated from volume 2 on agriculture (BFS, 1910). Proxies for skill were calculated from volume 3 on industry (BFS, 1911). While the Historical Statistics of Switzerland database (<https://hssso.ch/en>) includes canton-level data on several of these variables, it generally does not provide the more fine-grained district-level data for the period under study. Hence we coded the original district tables of the firm census, which are available in PDF format from the Swiss Statistics Office (*Bundesamt für Statistik*, BFS), with the help of research assistants, and then calculated the specific variables of interest.

Table A.1: Descriptive statistics for key district-level variables

	Mean	Std.Dev.
<i>Popular votes</i> ¹		
Vote for protectionism (general tariff of 1903)	0.64	0.23
Vote for PR (1910)	0.44	0.21
Vote for PR (1918)	0.64	0.20
Common factor, votes 1897-1902	0.00	1.00
<i>Demographics from Population census of 1900</i> ²		
Agricultural workforce (share)	0.43	0.20
Population (logged)	9.51	0.73
German speakers (share)	0.66	0.42
Protestants (share)	0.54	0.40
Language fractionalization	0.11	0.12
Religious fractionalization	0.19	0.15
<i>Agricultural structure from Firm census of 1905</i> ³		
Land inequality (Gini)	0.52	0.15
Land used for meadows and pasture (share)	0.72	0.16
Average farm size (ha.)	9.22	6.19
<i>Composition of industrial employment from Firm census of 1905</i> ⁴		
Women	0.31	0.13
a. Food	0.10	0.07
b. Clothes	0.17	0.09
c. Building	0.35	0.17
d. Textiles	0.19	0.24
e. Paper	0.01	0.02
f. Chemicals	0.01	0.03
g. Metal	0.15	0.17
h. Print	0.02	0.03
i. Water	0.01	0.01
k. Institutions (prisons, monasteries)	0.00	0.01
<i>Skills from Firm census of 1905</i> ⁵		
Apprentices in vocational school (share)	0.40	0.04
Observations	183	

*Notes:*¹ Source: Linder, Bolliger and Zürcher (2007). Factor scores were calculated by authors and exclude tariff and PR votes.² Source: Linder, Bolliger and Zürcher (2007). Fractionalization scores were calculated by authors.³ Source: Calculated from district-level tables of 1905 firm census, volume 2 on agriculture (BFS, 1910, Table 16, pp. 364-483).⁴ Source: District-level tables of 1905 firm census, volume 1 on establishments and the number of people employed in them (BFS, 1906, 1907a,b,c,d,e, 1908).⁵ Source: Calculated from district-level tables of 1905 firm census, volume 3 on industry (BFS, 1911). Shift-share measure: share of apprentices who receive professional training in a vocational school in a given sub-industry at the national level (BFS, 1911, Table 8, pp. 116-129) weighted by the sub-industry employment shares at the district level.

To give a sense of the primary data, Figure A.1 provides a two-page extract of the district-level Table 16 (pp. 364-483) from volume 2 of the firm census on the agricultural sector (BFS, 1910). The extract covers three districts (Affoltern, Andelfingen, Bülach) in the canton of Zurich. The table is labelled in German (left page) and French (right page). Columns 1-4 of the table lists the number of farms according to six different size categories and the overall area in each category. This information is used to calculate the average farm size and the Gini coefficient. The latter is calculated with the *gini.wtd* function from the R package *dineq* (Schulenberg, 2018). Columns 6-28 report the use of the land, from which we calculate land used for meadows and pasture, as a share of all land use for agriculture in the district.

Figure A.1: Extract from firm census of 1905, vol. 2, on agriculture

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Tabelle 16.

Der bewirtschaftete Boden nach
Terres exploitées, réparties d'après leur étendue

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Tableau 16.

Die Betriebe mit Grund und Boden nach Grösseklassen	Niveau des exploi- tation	Umfang im allgemeinen <i>Rendues en général</i>	Pac- satial- zahl	Benützungsort	Zahl der Be- triebe	Flächeninhalt <i>Superficie</i>	Niveau des exploi- tation	Ackerland <i>Champs</i>	Zahl der Be- triebe	Weinland <i>Vignes</i>	Zahl der Be- triebe	Flächeninhalt <i>Superficie</i>	Niveau des exploi- tation	Reisland <i>Riz</i> (mit Lagerfeldern ausserhalb) <i>Riz (hors champs de réserve)</i>	Zahl der Be- triebe	Streuholz <i>Monts à bois</i>	Zahl der Be- triebe	Flächeninhalt <i>Superficie</i>	Niveau des exploi- tation	Exploitations foncières, d'après, l'étendue du sol cultivé																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																											
Spalte 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372	373	374	375	376	377	378	379	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479	480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490	491	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512	513	514	515	516	517	518	519	520	521	522	523	524	525	526	527	528	529	530	531	532	533	534	535	536	537	538	539	540	541	542	543	544	545	546	547	548	549	550	551	552	553	554	555	556	557	558	559	560	561	562	563	564	565	566	567	568	569	570	571	572	573	574	575	576	577	578	579	580	581	582	583	584	585	586	587	588	589	590	591	592	593	594	595	596	597	598	599	600	601	602	603	604	605	606	607	608	609	610	611	612	613	614	615	616	617	618	619	620	621	622	623	624	625	626	627	628	629	630	631	632	633	634	635	636	637	638	639	640	641	642	643	644	645	646	647	648	649	650	651	652	653	654	655	656

A.2 Switzerland during the first globalization

In this section, we extend the discussion of Switzerland during the first globalization. Over the course of the 1800s, the new transportation technologies had given way to a global market, where trade was the defining economic policy issue in the second half of the nineteenth century. The great debates were “about whether and how countries should join the global market” (Frieden, 2006, 4). A number of important changes in the international political economy at the end of the nineteenth century had paved the way for a protectionist turn in Europe. This, in turn, fueled conflict over electoral institutions.

The decline in transportation costs due to steamships and the expansion of railroad

networks exposed domestic producers to competition in commodities such as grain and textiles (Findlay and O'Rourke, 2006; Rogowski, 1989). The subsequent rise of agricultural tariffs in Germany and other European economies from the early 1880s reduced the market for Swiss producers and, along with the depression of 1870, drove up support for protectionism in the agricultural sector and parts of industry (Gruner, 1956; Humair, 2004).

Shortly thereafter, the federal government, dominated by the Free Democratic Party, proposed a sweeping new tariff law. Historically, the Free Democratic Party was the party of national unity and liberalism, identified emblematically with the 1848 constitution and its 1874 revision. In economic terms, it represented a mix of agricultural, commercial, and industrial interests. In the 1890s, it took a protectionist turn benefiting farmers and some industries (Emmenegger and Walter, 2022).

The stated goal of the tariff was to substantively increase protection for Swiss producers. The government also argued that making higher tariffs the new status quo policy would enhance its bargaining position when negotiating bilateral trade agreements with other countries. As noted in the main text, the proposed tariff law was significantly more comprehensive than the existing 1891 law and the government stated that the new general tariff law would increase tariff “on a large part” of positions (Bundesblatt 1902, 488; also see Humair 2004, 669-676). Specifically, from a total of 1,113 product categories, the proposed policy increased tariffs on 48% of positions, it left 39% unchanged and tariffs on the remaining positions were lowered or saw mixed change (13%). The new law entailed a strong increase in agricultural protection, increasing the tariffs on agricultural products between 75% and 200% compared to the 1891 law (Humair, 2004, 673). From a comparative perspective, by 1913 (the closest year with available cross-national data) tariffs in Switzerland stood at about 14.7% for foodstuffs and at 9.3% for industrial manufactured goods (in terms of ad valorem equivalents). These tariffs are considerably higher than in free-trade Britain at the time and just somewhat below Germany: the Swiss rates correspond to about 67% and 93% of the German rates (Findlay and O'Rourke, 2006, 395-403, 443-445).

The Catholic-Conservative Party also supported increasing the tariff. Its strongholds were in catholic areas that were on the losing side of the short 1847 civil war, and it repeatedly clashed with the government during the cultural wars of the 1870s and 1880s. By the early 1890s, the conflict with the Free Democratic Party had diminished, without disappearing entirely, and the party was included in the executive (Bolliger and Zürcher, 2004).

In contrast, the younger Social Democratic Party opposed the new tariff in the name of consumer interests, similar to the position of labor in most of Western Europe (Rogowski 1989, ch. 2; Emmenegger and Walter 2022). Beyond possible income effects, workers benefited from free trade through lower consumer prices on food and industrial products. While the law was passed by both chambers of parliament, opponents tried to stop it by calling for a popular vote—the referendum on the general tariff—in 1903.

Economic interest groups understood the need to organize at a mass level in order to

defend their interests at the ballot box. The tariff issue in particular provided farmers with the incentives to organize nationally. By the time of the referendum on the general tariff in 1903, the Farmers' Association (*Bauernverband*) was recognized as the leader of the protectionist camp, willing to mobilize across the country in support of protection (Gruner, 1956; Humair, 2004; Neidhart, 1970).

In turn, a cross-class coalition between the Social Democratic Party, labor unions, hotel associations, and export-oriented industries such as clock-makers formed a "League against the Tariff" to mobilize opposition against the law. They successfully requested a national referendum on the general tariff. The powerful Industry Association (*Industrieverein*) did not take a unified position on the tariff, acknowledging differences across different industries (Humair, 2004, 36-44, 128-138, 667-694). Divisions were apparent at the peak level. Some producers of machinery as well as cotton producers in East Switzerland were leaning toward the protectionist tariff, though this was not monolithic. Export-oriented parts of the metal industry (that used the abundant factor, capital, intensively) were against higher tariffs. Capital-intensive clock-makers and silk and embroidery, concentrated in the West, tended to be pro-trade (Gruner 1956, 31-35; Humair 2004, 36-44, 128-138, 657-69). Historical accounts of elite differences suggest various reasons for this, including differential capital intensity, as well as firm heterogeneity and product differentiation within industries in the wake of the 1870s recession and rising tariffs among European neighbors Humair (2004).

The evidence presented in the next section shows that, at the mass level (where producers or capitalists are a small minority) the agricultural cleavage plays a central role (also after adjusting for industry effects). Based on the literature on the period (Rogowski, 1989; Findlay and O'Rourke, 2006; Gruner, 1956; Humair, 2004) and our data analysis, we think that the factor endowments model of trade has significant purchase to explain the cleavage between agriculture and labour. At the mass level, the main cleavage was between agriculture (based on scarce land) and abundant labor. In line with this, a seminal study of Swiss trade politics at the time emphasizes "class struggle" (Humair, 2004, 676). Industrial workers were also consumers, who had additional reasons to want trade in the wake of rising food prices. In sum, the agricultural population was a central pillar of support for protection relative to industrial workers and urban consumers. That said, below we also explore and discuss further the possible role of industry level differences in shaping support for protectionism.

Political parties were also polarized on electoral reform. The latter part of the nineteenth century saw repeated attempts to reform the national electoral system used for the lower house (*National Council*) of the federal assembly. As in several other countries at the time, before the introduction of PR in 1919 Switzerland used a majoritarian electoral system with multi-member districts and run-off elections, with the last run-off decided by plurality rule (Gruner, 1978). Through its majority in the lower house, the Free Democratic Party (*Freisinn*) controlled the drawing of electoral districts within cantons, and gerrymandered its parliamentary majority in the face of rapid industrialization and the rise of the working class and the political left, and opposed the introduction of PR

(Emmenegger and Walter, 2021; Gruner, 1978). Given the majoritarian electoral system and gerrymandered electoral districts, the Social Democratic party was severely under-represented in the lower chamber of parliament. Between 1890 and 1908, its seat share was one-third or less of its vote share. It also suffered from a highly inefficient translation from votes into seats, which it attributed to the winner take-all nature of the electoral system combined with the partisan drawing of district boundaries by the incumbent Free Democratic Party, and campaigned in favor of PR. In section C, we provide additional examples from historical newspaper sources of how party elites explicitly linked the issue of trade policy to the issue of electoral reform.

B Additional results

B.1 Agriculture and the protectionist vote

In this section, we provide quantitative evidence that agriculture was a central pillar of the protectionist camp. We use regression analysis to test the relevance of agriculture in support for the protectionist camp in the 1903 referendum on the general tariff. Empirically, our baseline model takes the following form:

$$V_i^T = \beta_1 A_i + f(\mathbf{X}_i)\beta_2 + \delta_c + \epsilon_i \quad (\text{B.1})$$

where V_i^T is the vote share in support of the general tariff (1903) in district i , A_i is the share of the agricultural workforce in the district (from the 1900 census), and $f(\mathbf{X}_i)$ is a control function including a matrix of district-level control variables and δ_c are fixed effects for cantons. In this specification, canton fixed effects capture differences in the political-economic environments between cantons, such as canton political institutions, culture, and critical historical junctures. District-level controls are the same as in the main text. They account for the structure of the population, agriculture, industry, skill formation, and popular votes on issues other than trade and the introduction of PR.

The estimation results in Table B.1 show that the relationship is robust to accounting for canton fixed effects (model 2) and to sequentially adding district-level controls (models 3-5). The most conservative estimate (model 1) suggests that a ten percentage point increase in the size of the agricultural sector is associated, on average, with a six percentage point increase in the vote for protection. The estimate is fairly precise. The 95% confidence interval is clearly bounded away from zero, covering a range of 4-8 percentage points. With canton fixed effects and all controls, the estimate is somewhat larger. We also find the same pattern when we use the DSLR model that relaxes functional form assumptions (model 6).

In additional analyses discussed below, we further explore the robustness and heterogeneity of these results.

Table B.1: Agriculture and protectionism

	Vote for protectionist general tariff (1903)					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	DSLRL
Agricultural workforce 1900 (share)	0.60*	0.75*	0.84*	0.87*	0.88*	0.73*
	(0.09)	(0.07)	(0.12)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Canton fixed effects		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
District controls: Population census ¹			✓	✓	✓	✓
District controls: Agricultural structure ²				✓	✓	✓
District controls: Industrial structure ³				✓	✓	✓
District controls: Skill formation ⁴				✓	✓	✓
District controls: Other votes ⁵					✓	✓
R ²	0.27	0.70	0.77	0.83	0.83	n.a.
Observations	183	183	183	183	183	183

Notes: Coefficient estimates from district-level OLS regressions (cols. 1-5) and double-selection lasso regression (DSLRL, col. 6), which allows for interactions between all district controls and second-order polynomials (it selects 32 out of 255 possible control terms). The dependent variable is the yes vote share in the referendum on the general tariff (1903). Robust (heteroskedastic-consistent) standard errors in parentheses.

¹ Log of population, German speakers (share), Protestants (share), language fractionalization, religious fractionalization (from 1900 census).

² Land inequality (Gini), pastureland (share), average farm size (calculated from 1905 firm census).

³ Composition of industrial employment (10 subsectors, textiles is baseline), share of women (calculated from 1905 firm census).

⁴ Share of apprentices attending vocational school (calculated from the 1905 firm census).

⁵ First-dimension factor score from other popular votes 1897-1902 (excluding tariff and PR votes).

* $p < 0.05$ (two-tailed tests)

Between industry variation. An auxiliary analysis explores the relevance of variation between different industries in the second sector for the vote for protectionism in 1903. The baseline specification regresses the protectionist vote on the share of the agricultural workforce, the share of the workforce in the second sector, and the composition of employment in the second sector based on ten industries (food, textiles, clothing, building materials, paper, printing, chemicals, metal, water, production in institutions), with textiles as the reference category. While not the focus of this study, this specification some sheds light on the question of whether between-industry variation (as captured by industry size in terms of relative employment) matters for the protectionist vote conditional on the overall size of the industrial sector. It also provides a robustness check for the impact of agriculture.

Table B.2 reports the results. Model 1 is the baseline specification, subsequent models add canton fixed effects (model 2), district level controls from the 1900 census (model 3), additional controls regarding the structure of agriculture, skills, and other popular votes (model 4), and a double-selection lasso regression with agriculture as the treatment variable that allows for arbitrary interactions between all controls in the treatment and outcome equation (model 5). Across all models, we can reject the joint null hypothesis that differences between specific industries do not matter (the p-value for the joint signifi-

cance test is less than 0.05 in all models). In models 1-3, we also see that some individual differences between industries are statistically significant. For example, the estimates suggest that the metal industry (producing tools and machinery) was less protectionist compared to the textile industry.

This finding is not necessarily at odds with factoral models of trade, to the extent that it is based on differences in capital intensity. Standard factoral arguments posit that protection benefits (and trade harms) owners of factors with which a given country is relatively scarcely endowed, as well as producers that use the scarce factor intensively (for instance, producers in the cotton industry). In contrast, protection harms (and trade benefits) factors with which the country is abundantly endowed, and producers that use the locally abundant factor intensively (producers of machinery used in optics). It is also consistent with historical accounts emphasizing that the cotton industry turned to protectionism after the 1870s recession whereas export-oriented parts of the metal industry (e.g., watchmakers) were against higher tariffs (Gruner 1956, 31-35; Humair 2004, 657-694). To be clear, this specific difference is no longer significant at the 5 percent level when all controls are entered in the most demanding OLS specification (model 4).

Most importantly for our purpose, accounting for industry differences does not change the estimated impact of protectionism as a central and broad-based pillar of support for protection. Tellingly, the industry shares on their own are not selected as controls in the DSLR model (model 5). It should be noted that compared to Table B.1, the models in Table B.2 make a different inter-sectoral comparison focused on agriculture vs. the third sector rather than on agriculture vs. all other sectors. Qualitatively, the findings are the same. There is a substantively important and precisely estimated positive relationship between the size of the agricultural sector and support for protection. In Table B.2 the agriculture coefficient increases and approaches one in most specifications.

Heterogeneity. Using interactive OLS regression models, Table B.3 looks at possible sources of heterogeneity in the relationship between the size of the agricultural workforce and support for the protectionist general tariff in the 1903 popular vote. The main quantity of interest is the agricultural workforce interacted, sequentially, with possible district-level moderators: the share of protestants, religious fractionalization, land inequality (Gini), land usage (the share of land used for meadows and pasture; the variable is called *pastureland*), and average farm size. All specifications include the constituent terms of the interaction and the same district-level controls used in Table B.1. Across all five models, we find that the interaction terms are substantively small, and not very precisely estimated. In none of the five specifications can one reject a null hypothesis of no heterogeneity at conventional levels of significance. The results underscore that the link between agriculture and the protectionist vote cut across other cleavages, notably religion, and it also varied little with the structure of agriculture, including land inequality, which plays a prominent role in a strand of the political economy literature on the development of democratic institutions.

Table B.2: Agriculture and protectionism: between-industry variation

	Vote for protectionist general tariff (1903)				
	(1) OLS	(2) OLS	(3) OLS	(4) OLS	(5) DSR
Agricultural workforce 1900 (share)	1.26*	0.95*	1.10*	1.12*	1.25*
	(0.25)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.23)	(0.22)
Industry 1900 (share)	0.90*	0.29	0.40	0.38	
	(0.38)	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.28)	
Industry: Food	-0.05	0.09	-0.00	4.84	
	(0.18)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(3.27)	
Industry: Clothes	0.56*	0.07	0.06	8.56	
	(0.17)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(5.69)	
Industry: Building	-0.10	-0.17	-0.15	-4.73	
	(0.18)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(3.01)	
Industry: Paper	0.98*	0.70	0.62	4.47	
	(0.47)	(0.43)	(0.45)	(2.53)	
Industry: Chemicals	-0.46	-0.19	-0.22	-4.09	
	(0.41)	(0.23)	(0.22)	(2.58)	
Industry: Metal	-0.30*	-0.37*	-0.39*	-4.59	
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(2.77)	
Industry: Print	1.14*	1.35*	1.24*	-5.91	
	(0.46)	(0.45)	(0.38)	(4.69)	
Industry: Water	0.88	1.27	1.14	-4.33	
	(0.74)	(0.75)	(0.63)	(3.56)	
Industry: Institutionalized	0.94	-0.02	-0.33	12.26	
	(0.64)	(0.67)	(0.53)	(8.53)	
Canton fixed effects		✓	✓	✓	✓
District controls: Population census ¹			✓	✓	✓
District controls: Agricultural structure ²				✓	✓
District controls: Skill formation ³				✓	✓
District controls: Other votes ⁴				✓	✓
R ²	0.41	0.77	0.82	0.83	n.a.
Observations	183	183	183	183	183
Joint test industry (p-value)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	n.a.

Notes: Coefficient estimates from district-level OLS regressions (cols. 1-4) and double-selection lasso regression (DSLR, col. 5), which allows for interactions between all district controls and second-order polynomials. The dependent variable is the yes vote share in the referendum on the general tariff (1903). Employment shares in 10 industries: textiles is baseline. Robust (heteroskedastic-consistent) standard errors in parentheses.

¹ Log of population, German speakers (share), Protestants (share), language fractionalization, religious fractionalization (from 1900 census).

² Land inequality (Gini), pastureland (share), average farm size (calculated from 1905 firm census).

³ Share of apprentices attending vocational school (calculated from the 1905 firm census).

⁴ First-dimension factor score from other popular votes 1897-1902 (excluding tariff and PR votes).

* $p < 0.05$ (two-tailed tests)

Table B.3: Heterogeneity: Agriculture and protectionism

	Vote for protectionist general tariff (1903)				
	(1) OLS	(2) OLS	(3) OLS	(4) OLS	(5) OLS
Agricultural workforce (AF)	0.886*	0.874*	0.866*	0.882*	0.864*
	(0.102)	(0.101)	(0.102)	(0.103)	(0.103)
AF $\times$ Protestants	-0.043				
	(0.074)				
AF $\times$ Religious fractionalization		-0.063			
		(0.072)			
AF $\times$ Land inequality			0.063		
			(0.062)		
AF $\times$ Pastureland				-0.029	
				(0.060)	
AF $\times$ Average farm size					0.063
					(0.055)
Canton fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
District controls: Population census	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
District controls: Agricultural structure	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
District controls: Industrial structure	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
District controls: Skill formation	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
District controls: Other votes	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
R ²	0.83	0.83	0.83	0.83	0.83
Observations	183	183	183	183	183

Notes: Coefficient estimates from district-level OLS regressions. The dependent variable is the yes vote share in the referendum on general tariff (1903). All variables are z-standardized. Robust (heteroskedastic-consistent) standard errors in parentheses.

¹ Log of population, German speakers (share), Protestants (share), language fractionalization, religious fractionalization (from 1900 census).

² Land inequality (Gini), pastureland (share), average farm size (calculated from 1905 firm census).

³ Composition of industrial employment (10 subsectors, textiles is baseline), share of women (calculated from 1905 firm census).

⁴ Share of apprentices attending vocational school (calculated from 1905 firm census).

⁵ First-dimension factor score from other popular votes 1897-1902 (excluding tariff and PR).

* $p < 0.05$ (two-tailed tests)

B.2 Trade and the popular vote for PR

In this section, we provide further discussion of extended DSLR model specifications and include partial regression plots (Figure B.1) for the results presented in the main text (Table 1). We also provide additional analyses based on alternative controls for issue bundling (Table B.4 and B.5), instrumental variables (Table B.6), and municipal-level data (Table B.7). Each analysis is discussed below.

DSLR models. As additional specification to mitigate concerns about confounding, Table 1 in the main text presents results from the double-selection lasso linear regression (DSLR) introduced by Belloni, Chernozhukov and Hansen (2014). The DSLR is more a more general approach to selecting variables for the control function that addresses the common problem that the researcher must select control variables from a large set and there is uncertainty about which variable and variable transformations are appropriate. It relaxes the assumption of perfect variable selection. Specifically, the model enables us to relax the assumption that the district-level control variables enter the specification in a linear way. For instance, perhaps land inequality has a non-linear effect, or population size should be interacted with religious fractionalization. There are two problems when aiming to address this. First, it is hard to know the right functional form of the controls. Second, there are more possible control terms than observations. Given their theoretical importance, all models include canton fixed effects. If we allow for interactions between all district variables as well as squared terms, there are 255 potential control terms. Given the sample size, controlling for all confounders is impossible, and naively including a large subset can lead to invalid inferences and imprecise estimates. We are thus faced with a common tradeoff between “controlling for very few variables which may leave us wondering whether we have included sufficient controls for the exogeneity of the treatment and controlling for so many variables that we are essentially mechanically unable to learn about the effect of the treatment.” (Belloni, Chernozhukov and Hansen, 2014, 638).

The DSLR introduced in Belloni, Chernozhukov and Hansen (2014) provides a solution to this tension that adds flexibility to the usual approach of intuitive variable selection, by allowing the relevant control set to be found by the data from among a large set of controls. The model first selects a set of control variables that are useful in predicting the main explanatory variable using Lasso methods. Second, it selects additional controls that predict the dependent variable. Then it uses OLS regression to estimate the effect of agriculture on protectionism using all control terms selected in the first two steps. This two-step approach is designed to mitigate omitted variable bias, and not —as in variable selection methods for prediction— to provide the best prediction of the outcome variable. Importantly, in the first step the model also considers variables that predict the main explanatory variable, because a relevant confounder may drive the explanatory variable but have a moderate impact on the outcome. The DSLR approach includes as a special case standard OLS with all controls entering in a linear way.

Partial regression plots. To illustrate the cross-sectional estimation results reported in the main text in Table 1, Figure B.1 provides partial regression plots of the

estimated relationship between the vote on the tariff and the vote on PR. Panel (a) plots the relationship after factoring out the variation accounted for by canton fixed effects (model 1 in Table 1). Panel (b) plots the relationship net of fixed effects and all district-level controls (model 3 in Table 1).

Bundling. Here we present additional analyses to rule out policy bundling as an alternative explanation. First, the analysis reported in Table B.4 controls for the average district-level vote share of all votes between 1897-1902 (except trade and PR) endorsed by Social Democratic Party, as indicated by Linder, Bolliger and Zürcher (2007). This includes referendums where the party took a clear stance in favor. The results are nearly identical to the ones in the main text. Second, the analysis reported in Table B.5 separately includes all nine other votes as controls. Needless to say perhaps, this is fairly demanding given the data. The results again show a substantively and statistically significant relationship between the vote on trade and votes on PR.

IV analysis. In an additional analysis reported in Table 1, we use an instrumental variable (IV) approach to jointly estimate the link from the employment in agriculture in 1900, which is used as the instrumental variable, to support for protectionism in the popular vote on the general tariff of 1903, which is the explanatory variable of interest that is instrumented, and support for the introduction of PR in 1910 and 1918, respectively. This serves two purposes. First, an analytical value of the IV specification lies in formalizing the linkages between factor endowments, support for trade protection, and the vote on PR. The Two-Stage Least Squares (2SLS) regressions enable us to estimate the link between support for protectionism and subsequent support for PR when focusing on variation in support for protectionism stemming from variation in the agricultural workforce. Second, given concerns about ecological inference the IV also aims to mitigate concerns about measurement error.

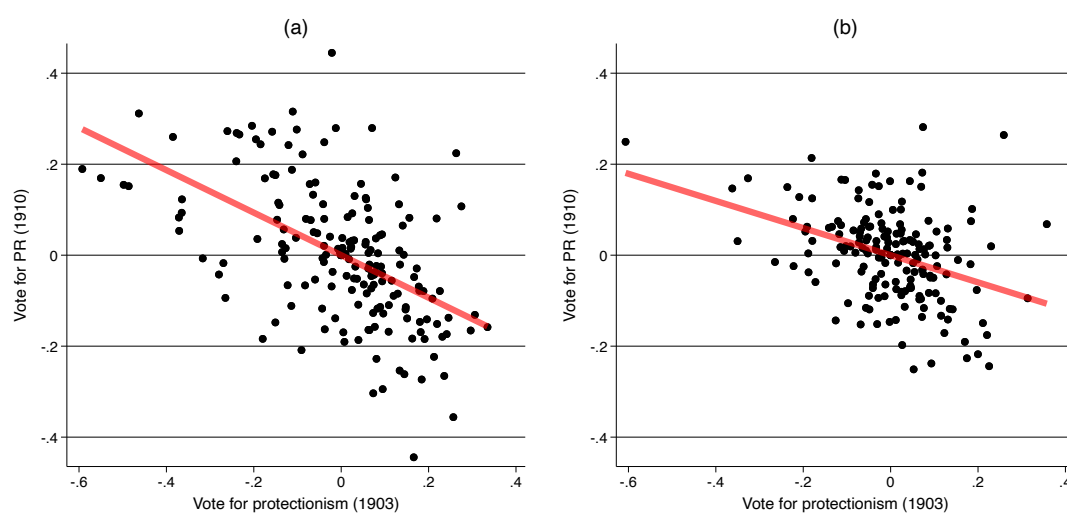
A valid instrumental variable must be relevant and satisfy an exclusion restriction. We already know from the analysis in the prior section B.1 that we have a relevant first stage. This is confirmed by the F -statistic reported in Table B.6. The exclusion restriction requires that the instrument is independent of unobserved confounders and only affects the referendum vote on PR through popular support for protectionism. We argue that the exclusion restriction holds approximately in the sense of Conley, Hansen and Rossi (2012). While the instrument is not randomized, the assumption of exogeneity is conditional on canton fixed effects and rich district-level controls. The second part of the exclusion restriction requires that the instrument (i.e., share of the agricultural workforce in 1900) only affects the referendum vote on PR (in 1910 and 1918, respectively) through popular support for protectionism. As an approximation, this assumption is plausible because we have strong theoretical priors that trade policy preferences are a central mechanism through which the instrument shapes mass preferences about electoral reform, given the importance of trade policy at the time. In Online Appendix B.3 below, we also provide auxiliary evidence suggesting that several potential direct mechanisms are less likely to be important. For instance, it was not the case that agricultural places were generally in favor of status quo policies. Of course, exclusion restrictions are not directly testable

and as such are frequently controversial. It is not impossible to come up with a story suggesting a violation. To go beyond dogmatic priors and relax the assumption that exclusion must hold exactly, we added a sensitivity test based developed by Conley, Hansen and Rossi (2012). The basic idea is to relax the exact assumption by allowing for some violations and simulate how they affect the estimation results. As we will see, the results are robust when relaxing the strict exogeneity assumption.

Table B.6 reports estimation results. The instrumental variable estimates confirm the results based of the OLS and DSLR estimators. Both in 1910 and 1918, there is a substantively important and precisely estimated negative link between support for protectionism in 1903 and support for PR. The IV estimates are fairly close to the DSLR estimates reported in the main text. Figure B.2 plots the result from a sensitivity analysis based on the local-to-zero approximation approach to IV inference when the exclusion restriction does not hold exactly (Conley, Hansen and Rossi, 2012), as implemented in the Stata command **plausexog** (Clark and Matta, 2018). Under the approximation, the IV estimate is the sum of the standard IV estimate (assuming exclusion) plus an arbitrary violation of the assumption that is simulated across a plausible range of the parameter space using a Gaussian prior on the effect of the instrument on the outcome in the structural equation. For both PR votes, the analysis reveals that IV estimates are robust to sizeable violations of the exclusion restriction (in either direction), ranging from -0.1 to 0.1. Across the whole range, the estimates are negative and the 95% confidence interval is bounded away from zero. Altogether, the IV provides useful robustness check against the models presented in the main text, which rely on somewhat different assumptions.

Municipal-level results. A further analysis draws on new data on municipal-level referendum results. Changing the unit of analysis provides an informative robustness check because employing fixed effects at lower level of aggregation can lead to changes in relationships based on unobservables. While canonical votes data is at the district level (Linder, Bolliger and Zürcher, 2007), an ongoing project is compiling municipal level data for historical referendum votes from a range of sources (Emmenegger et al., 2023). For the vote on the general tariff and the vote on PR in 1910, their data covers approximately 80% of the municipalities (there is no data for the canton of Aargau and votes are largely missing for the cantons of Bern and Freiburg; there are also missings in other cantons). While the advantage is that municipalities are located at a more disaggregate level than districts, further mitigating concerns about ecological inference, the disadvantage is that missingness may not be at random and we do not have municipal-level census data. However, using municipal-level data we can account for district fixed effects, and thus verify if the negative relationships between support for tariffs and the introduction of PR holds across different municipalities within districts. As shown in Table B.7, the estimates at the municipality level are very similar to the ones at the district-level. Standard errors are smaller. Given the large variation in municipality size, some specifications use the voting population (cols. 4-6) as weights.

Figure B.1: The association between support for the protectionist tariff and the introduction of PR



Notes: The partial regression plot in panel (a) factors out canton fixed effects, and the slope of the fitted line corresponds to the trade coefficient in model 1 of Table 1. The partial regression plot in panel (b) also accounts for all district-level controls included in model 3 of Table 1.

Table B.4: Protectionism and support for introduction of PR: Alternative control for bundling based on party endorsements

	Vote for introduction of PR (1910)			Vote for introduction of PR (1918)				
	(1) OLS	(2) OLS	(3) OLS	(4) DSL	(5) OLS	(6) OLS	(7) OLS	(8) DSL
Vote for Protectionism (1903)	-0.48* (0.07)	-0.49* (0.06)	-0.29* (0.08)	-0.32* (0.10)	-0.32* (0.06)	-0.32* (0.06)	-0.08 (0.07)	-0.31* (0.07)
Canton fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
District controls: Population census ¹			✓	✓			✓	✓
District controls: Agricultural structure ²			✓	✓			✓	✓
District controls: Industrial structure ³			✓	✓			✓	✓
District controls: Skill formation ⁴			✓	✓			✓	✓
District controls: Other votes ⁵		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
R ²	0.54	0.63	0.80	n.a.	0.72	0.73	0.83	n.a.
Observations	183	183	183	183	183	183	183	183

Notes: Coefficient estimates from district-level OLS regressions (cols. 1-3, 5-7) and double-selection lasso regression (DSL, col. 4, 8), which allows for interactions between all district controls as well as quadratic terms (it selects 26-28 out of 255 possible control terms). The dependent variable is the yes-vote share in favor of introducing PR in 1910 (cols. 1-4) or 1918 (cols. 5-8) referendum. Robust (heteroskedastic-consistent) standard errors in parentheses.

¹ Log of population, German speakers (share), Protestants (share), language fractionalization, religious fractionalization (from 1900 census).

² Land inequality (Gini), pastureland (share), average farm size (calculated from 1905 firm census).

³ Composition of industrial employment (10 subsectors, textiles is baseline), share of women (calculated from 1905 firm census).

⁴ Share of apprentices attending vocational school (calculated from 1905 firm census).

⁵ Average district-level vote share of all votes between 1897-1902 (except trade and PR) endorsed by Social Democratic Party.

* $p < 0.05$ (two-tailed tests)

Table B.5: Protectionism and support for introduction of PR: Alternative control for bundling - includes all other votes

	Vote for introduction of PR (1910)			Vote for introduction of PR (1918)				
	(1) OLS	(2) OLS	(3) OLS	(4) DSLRL	(5) OLS	(6) OLS	(7) OLS	(8) DSLRL
Vote for Protectionism (1903)	-0.48* (0.07)	-0.34* (0.06)	-0.36* (0.06)	-0.28* (0.06)	-0.32* (0.06)	-0.20* (0.04)	-0.14* (0.05)	-0.11 (0.06)
Canton fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
District controls: Population census ¹			✓	✓			✓	✓
District controls: Agricultural structure ²			✓	✓			✓	✓
District controls: Industrial structure ³			✓	✓			✓	✓
District controls: Skill formation ⁴			✓	✓			✓	✓
District controls: Other votes ⁵		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
R ²	0.54	0.87	0.91	n.a.	0.72	0.85	0.89	n.a.
Observations	183	183	183	183	183	183	183	183

Notes: Coefficient estimates from district-level OLS regressions (cols. 1-3, 5-7) and double-selection lasso regression (DSL, col. 4, 8), which allows for interactions between all district controls as well as quadratic terms (it selects 26-28 out of 255 possible control terms). The dependent variable is the yes-vote share in favor of introducing PR in 1910 (cols. 1-4) or 1918 (cols. 5-8) referendum. Robust (heteroskedastic-consistent) standard errors in parentheses.

¹ Log of population, German speakers (share), Protestants (share), language fractionalization, religious fractionalization (from 1900 census).

² Land inequality (Gini), pastureland (share), average farm size (calculated from 1905 firm census).

³ Composition of industrial employment (10 subsectors, textiles is baseline), share of women (calculated from 1905 firm census).

⁴ Share of apprentices attending vocational school (calculated from 1905 firm census).

⁵ District-level vote share in each referendum between 1897-1902 (except trade and PR): Law establishing the Swiss Federal Bank (1897); Federal competence in the hydraulic engineering and forestry police (1897); Federal competence for food police (1897); Law on the Swiss Federal Railways (1898); unification of civil law (1898); unification of criminal law (1898); Law on health, accident and military insurance (1900); Initiative for the popular election of the Federal Council (1900); Federal support for primary schools (1902).

* $p < 0.05$ (two-tailed tests)

Table B.6: Jointly modeling agriculture, protectionism, and support for PR

	Vote for PR (1910)			Vote for PR (1918)		
	(1) 2SLS	(2) 2SLS	(3) 2SLS	(4) 2SLS	(5) 2SLS	(6) 2SLS
Protectionist vote (1903)	-0.263* (0.133)	-0.375* (0.103)	-0.414* (0.097)	-0.280* (0.122)	-0.511* (0.092)	-0.380* (0.098)
Canton fixed effects		✓	✓		✓	✓
District controls: Population census ¹			✓			✓
District controls: Agricultural structure ²			✓			✓
District controls: Industrial structure ³			✓			✓
District controls: Skill formation ⁴			✓			✓
District controls: Other votes ⁵			✓			✓
First-stage F-Stat	48.3	105.3	74.7	48.3	105.3	74.7
R2	0.22	0.53	0.81	0.20	0.70	0.81
Observations	183	183	183	183	183	183

Notes: Coefficient estimates from district-level Two-Stage Least Squares (2SLS) regressions, which instrument the protectionist vote with the size of the agricultural sector in 1900. The dependent variable is the yes-vote share in favor of introducing PR in each referendum (1910 or 1918). Robust (heteroskedastic-consistent) standard errors in parentheses.

¹ Log of population, German speakers (share), Protestants (share), language fractionalization, religious fractionalization (from 1900 census).

² Land inequality (Gini), pastureland (share), average farm size (calculated from 1905 firm census).

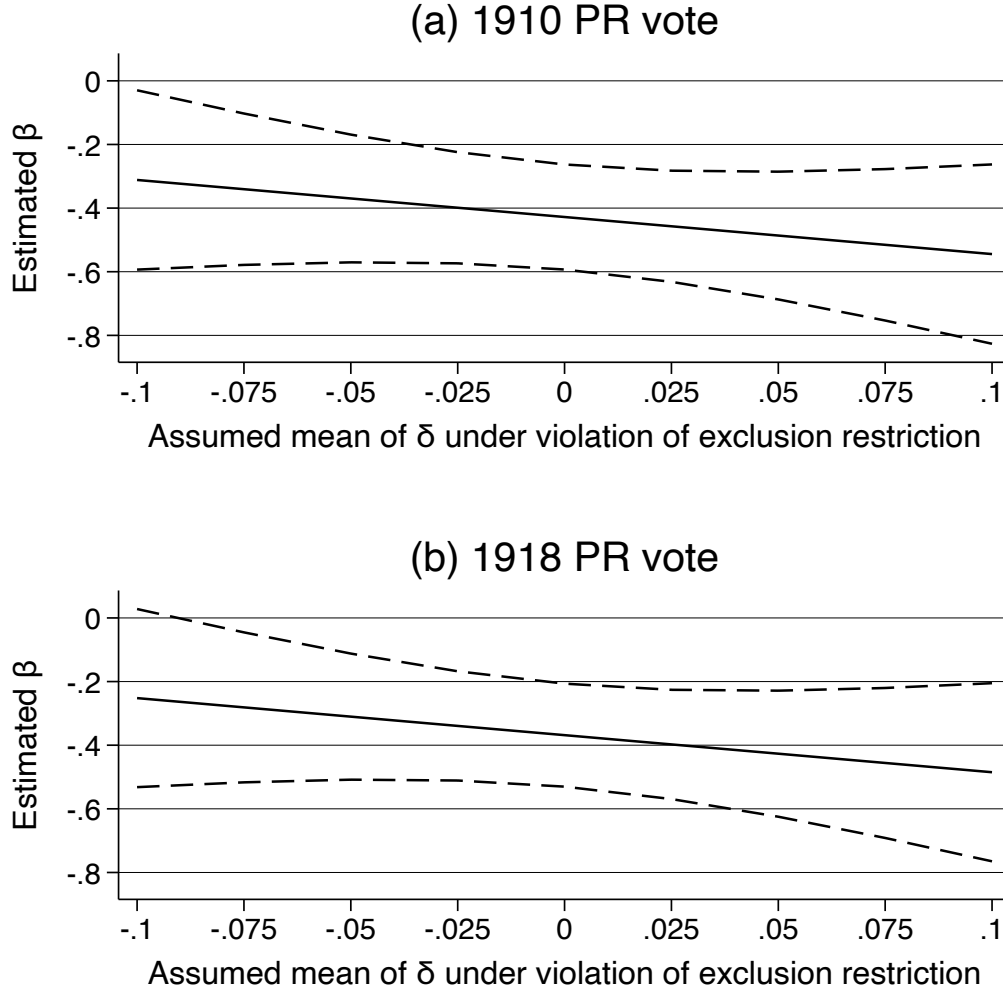
³ Composition of industrial employment (10 subsectors, textiles is baseline); share of women (calculated from 1905 firm census).

⁴ Share of apprentices attending vocational school (calculated from 1905 firm census).

⁵ First-dimension factor score from other popular votes 1897-1902 (excluding tariff and PR).

* $p < 0.05$ (two-tailed tests)

Figure B.2: Sensitivity of IV estimates to local violations of exclusion restrictions



Notes: The graphs plot instrumental variable estimates of the effect of support for protectionism on support for the introduction of PR relaxing the assumption that the exclusion restriction holds exactly with 95% confidence interval based on the local-to-zero approximation of Conley, Hansen and Rossi (2012), as implemented in Stata by Clark and Matta (2018). The approach allows for non-zero effects of the instrument on the outcome not working through the support for protectionism. The analysis uses a Gaussian prior on the effect of the instrument on the outcome in the structural equation. On the x-axis, the parameter δ captures the magnitude of the mean violation of the exclusion restriction. The estimation assumes that the error follows a normal distribution with mean δ and variance δ^2 . The IV estimate is plotted on the y-axis.

Table B.7: Municipal-level estimates: Protectionism and the PR vote

	Vote for introduction of PR (1910)					
	(1) OLS	(2) OLS	(3) OLS	(4) WLS	(5) WLS	(6) WLS
Protectionist vote (1903)	-0.44* (0.02)	-0.31* (0.03)	-0.24* (0.03)	-0.40* (0.02)	-0.46* (0.05)	-0.40* (0.03)
R ²	0.19	0.44	0.68	0.23	0.43	0.72
Observations	2,091	2,091	2,091	2,091	2,091	2,091
Canton fixed effects		✓		✓		
District fixed effects			✓			✓

Notes: Coefficient estimates from municipal-level OLS regressions (cols. 1-3) and weighted least squares (cols. 4-6). The dependent variable is the yes-vote share in favor of introducing PR in 1910. Robust (heteroskedastic-consistent) standard errors in parentheses.

* $p < 0.05$ (two-tailed tests)

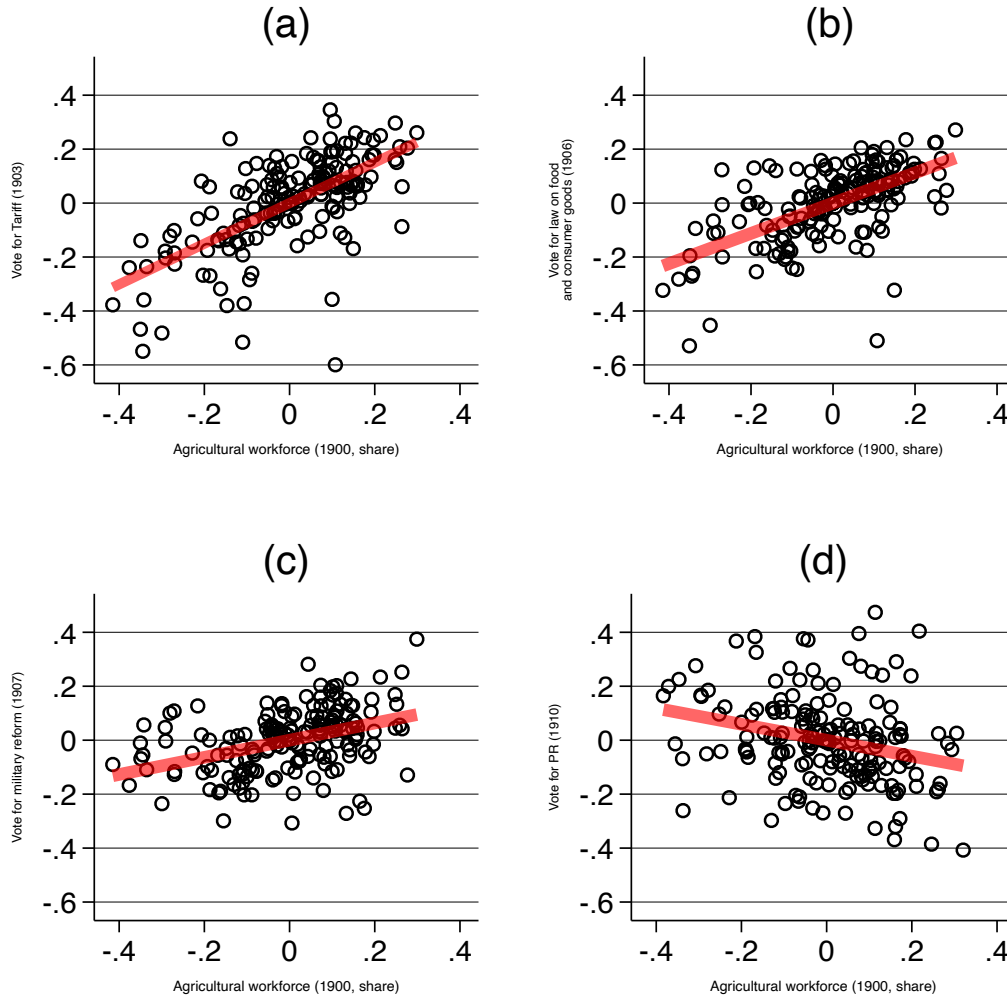
B.3 Agriculture and popular votes

Status quo bias. One potential alternative explanation for the results of the panel analysis in the main text is that people in the agricultural sector are generally opposed to changing the status quo across policy issues. In other words, they are conservatives with a small “c” and the introduction of PR is just another instance of status quo bias and has little or nothing to do with trade. However, turning to other popular votes shows that the status quo explanation does not hold up to closer scrutiny. Figure B.3 provides partial regression plots illustrating the relationship between the share of the agricultural workforce and four selected popular votes, after factoring out canton fixed effects. In all three votes other than the introduction of PR in 1910, the powerful Farmers’ Association favored the policy proposal changing the status quo. In each of these votes, there is a positive and statistically significant relationship between the share of the agricultural workforce and the yes vote share in the referendum. Beyond panel (a), which displays the vote on the general tariff already discussed in detail above, panel (b) includes the vote on the law about the commerce of food and consumer products in 1906. The law regulates the commerce and quality control of food and other consumer products (Bolliger, 2010b). Panel (c) includes the 1907 military reform, which increases the length of mandatory training for conscripts and allows the use of military against striking workers (Bolliger, 2010a). Another example not covered here is the 1903 vote on the constitutional reform proposal to change the apportionment criteria for federal elections to be based on citizens not residents.

Detailed cross-sectional analysis of 1910 and 1918 vote on PR. The panel analysis reported in the main text focuses on the within-district variation in agriculture and support for PR in order to account for time-invariant district heterogeneity as well as period effects using two-way fixed effects. As a complement, Table B.8 reports the results of a cross-sectional analysis, separately for 1910 and 1918, focusing on the between dis-

trict variation. While evidently unable to account for district fixed effects, these models can control for district characteristics from the 1905 firm census, which is not available as a panel, including for factors like land inequality and skill formation as possible mechanisms of economic development and modernization (Boix, 2003). Moreover, we include again the first-dimension factor score on other popular votes, which include key economic development issues like public education, railroads, and banking. Again, we find that a larger share of the agricultural workforce is linked to significantly lower support for PR.

Figure B.3: The relationship between the share of the agricultural workforce and selected popular votes



Notes: Each partial regression plot shows the relationship between the share of the agricultural workforce and a popular vote as the dependent variable, after factoring out canton fixed effects. The line of best fit is the slope coefficient on the share of the agricultural workforce. In the votes shown in panels (a) - (c), the Farmer's Association supported a change of the status quo. Panel (a) shows the relationship between the agricultural workforce (from 1900 census) and the vote on the protectionist tariff of 1903, the slope coefficient (0.75 with s.e. of 0.07) corresponds to model 2 in Table B.1. In panel panel (b), the vote is on the the law about the commerce of food and consumer products in 1906, and the slope coefficient is 0.56 (s.e. of 0.07). In panel (c), the vote is on the military reform of 1907, and the slope coefficient is 0.32 (s.e. of 0.06). In panel (d), the vote is on the introduction of PR in 1910, and the slope coefficient is 0.30 (s.e. of 0.09).

Table B.8: Cross-sectional analysis of agriculture and support for introduction of PR

	Vote for introduction of PR (1910)			Vote for introduction of PR (1918)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	OLS	OLS	OLS	DSLRL	OLS	OLS	OLS	DSLRL
Agricultural workforce (share)	-0.30* (0.09)	-0.27* (0.11)	-0.38* (0.10)	-0.20 (0.14)	-0.38* (0.07)	-0.27* (0.08)	-0.35* (0.08)	-0.22* (0.09)
Canton fixed effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
District controls: Population census ¹		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
District controls: Agricultural structure ²			✓	✓			✓	✓
District controls: Industrial structure ³			✓	✓			✓	✓
District controls: Skill formation ⁴			✓	✓			✓	✓
District controls: Other votes ⁵			✓	✓			✓	✓
R ²	0.43	0.74	0.81	n.a.	0.73	0.83	0.86	n.a.
Observations	183	183	183	183	183	183	183	183

Notes: Coefficient estimates from district-level OLS regressions (cols. 1-3, 5-7) and double-selection lasso regression (DSLRL, col. 4, 8), which allows for interactions between all district controls as well as quadratic terms. The dependent variable is the yes-vote share in favor of introducing PR in 1910 (cols. 1-4) or 1918 (cols. 5-8) referendum. Robust (heteroskedastic-consistent) standard errors in parentheses.

1 Log of population, German speakers (share), Protestants (share), language fractionalization, religious fractionalization (from closest population census (1910 or 1920).

2 Land inequality (Gini), pastureland (share), average farm size (calculated from 1905 firm census).

3 Composition of industrial employment (10 subsectors, textiles is baseline), share of women (calculated from 1905 firm census).

4 Share of apprentices attending vocational school (calculated from 1905 firm census).

5 First-dimension factor score from other popular votes 1897-1902 (excluding tariff and PR).

* $p < 0.05$ (two-tailed tests)

C Qualitative evidence from newspapers

The main text quotes a newspaper article discussing the link between the representation of economic policy issues, prominently the tariff and consumer prices, and the issue of adopting PR or not leading up to the 1910 referendum on PR. Here we provide additional examples along with the the original newspaper articles in full.

Figure C.1 reproduces the page from Social Democratic newspaper *Berner Tagwacht* with an article reporting on a rally in favor of the introduction of PR during the 1910 referendum campaign. The main text quoted the opening paragraph summarizing the political speech as follows:

At the beginning of his speech, the speaker recalled the current inflation, from which people are suffering. This emergency is largely the fault of our current government and our legislative body. He recalls the unjust tariff and price policy. That is why the Swiss people should finally pull themselves together and ensure a different, better electoral system.

The above is our translation from the German text:

Zu Beginn seines Referates erinnerte der Vortragende an die gegenwärtige Teuerung, unter der das ganze Volk leidet. Dieser Notstand sei größtenteils auf das Konto unserer gegenwärtigen Regierung und unserer gesetzgebenden Behörde zu schreiben. Er erinnert an die ungerechte Zoll- und Wucherpolitik. Deshalb soll sich das Schweizer Volk endlich aufraffen und für ein anderes, besseres Wahlsystem sorgen.

Another article from the same year comes from *Der Grütli*, which was the largest Social Democratic newspaper and one of the largest newspapers in the country (Drommer and Gruner, 1988, 94-97) and was published in Zurich. Figure C.2 reproduces the page that contains the article, from which we quoted in the main text, reporting on the speech of “comrade Walter” before an assembly of workers discussing high food prices. The speaker attributes the high food prices to the protectionist policy of the federal government and concludes that the adoption of PR is the instrument to change the policy.

In the main text, we quote the concluding statement:

The most important thing is and will remain thorough enlightenment of the people about our tariff and food policy, which only serves the big capitalists, represented by the liberal government, which can only be dealt with through PR.

The above is our translation from the German text:

Das Wichtigste sei und bleibe aber eine durchgreifende Aufklärung des Volkes über unsere, nur den Großkapitalisten dienende Zoll- und Lebensmittelpolitik, welche verkörpert sei im radikalen Regiment, dem nur durch den Proporz beizukommen sei.

Figure C.3 features the “Appel Aux Citoyens Suisses” published by a trade union newspaper, *Le Prolétaire*, as its lead article before the 1910 referendum on the introduction of PR, quoted in the main text. The article, written in French, asks trade unionists and all citizens to support the introduction of PR, also because it provides an institutional means to change economic policy, prominently the tariff. Figure C.4 provides a similar but not identical version of the article in the German language edition of the newspaper. The frontpage article opens with the argument that the popular vote on the introduction of PR is an important issue for union members because of its relevance for economic policy. It then goes on to identify tariffs and the resulting high food prices as a major problem that would be ameliorated through electoral reform.

www.e-newspaperarchives.ch/?a=d&d=TGW19101020-01.2.17.2.7

Angewandte Biologie. Die Zuckerkornfliege ist eine der häufigsten Stubenfliegen. Sie ist ein wichtiger Überträger von Bakterien und Viren. Die Zuckerkornfliege ist ein wichtiger Überträger von Bakterien und Viren. Die Zuckerkornfliege ist ein wichtiger Überträger von Bakterien und Viren.

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meine Familie. „Hort mit Dremaurel!“ das muß der Kampfergeist sein. Diefe bunfte Wogst treibt hoch zu fehr fehr Wehen, als wenn man länger untätig liegen müßte. Im Standgerichte, wie in Gemeinderatssitzungen treiben ja die Protektionen, Intercessionen und Interventionen der freilebendsten Bürger, als ob nicht auch die Gemeinderäte und vorerstetlich freilebendste Bürger die Augen geöffnet würden. Das find nicht unerwünschte Vorkommnisse, das find Zuthaten, wie sie auch in unserer Gemeinde konstatiert werden können. Dem Ratte, das sein Gesicht in die Zukunft der edlen Rasse stellt, das jedem Bürger rufe zu: Roth ist es Zeit, das lebende Blut, das die Gliedmaßen am Vortreiben, und die geborne Macht der Dremaurel

[illegible][illegible]

Figure C.3: Lead article in trade union newspaper *Le Prolétaire* (15 October 1910, p. 1) on PR vote of 1910: “Appel Aux Citoyens Suisses”. Available from www.e-newspaperarchives.ch/?a=d&d=SDT19101015-01.2.2

II^{me} Année.

BERNE, le 15 octobre 1910.

N° 21.

LE PROLÉTAIRE

Organe de la Fédération Suisse des Ouvriers de l'Alimentation, des Produits chimiques et de la Verrerie

PRIX D'ABONNEMENT

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Appel

AUX CITOYENS SUISSES

membres de la fédération

Camarades,

Notre fédération, comme l'indique son programme, est neutre en matière politique, c'est-à-dire n'est inféodée à aucun parti politique et reçoit dans son sein les ouvriers de toutes les opinions, acceptant le principe de l'organisation de classe.

Est-ce à dire que nous devions nous désintéresser de tout ce qui ne touche pas exclusivement aux conditions du travail? Non, camarades. Cela n'est du reste pas possible, car les conditions du travail, dans les fabriques, dans les ateliers, dans le commerce, en ce qui concerne les salaires, la durée du travail, les responsabilités des employeurs, le droit de coalition, la liberté de grève ne dépendent pas seulement des rapports entre ouvriers et patrons, ou entre organisation ouvrière et organisation patronale, mais subissent l'influence, le contre-coup du mode de gouvernement et des lois qui régissent le pays.

Le pouvoir législatif et l'Etat sont deux formidables instruments de domination. Il ne suffit pas de le nier, comme font les anarchistes, pour qu'ils n'existent pas. Ils existent bel et bien. Nous nous en apercevons chaque jour davantage, parce que, en mains du capitalisme, celui-ci s'en sert pour édicter des lois contre la classe ouvrière et contre les libertés du peuple, pour gouverner en faveur des privilégiés.

Les salaires ont augmenté, mais à quoi bon. Les Chambres trompent le peuple, nous ont octroyé un tarif douanier qui a fait considérablement renchérir la vie. La spéculation a libre cours. Les charges militaires et les impôts augmentent. Que font les pouvoirs pour améliorer la situation du peuple? Rien. Ou lorsqu'ils font quelque chose, c'est insuffisant, ça reste lettre morte. Pourquoi? Parce que ces pouvoirs sont prisonniers du capitalisme; ils sont constitués en grosse majorité de représentants de la grande industrie, du grand commerce et de la grande propriété. Il n'y a pas à craindre que ces gens là légifèrent et gouvernent contre leurs intérêts.

Les pouvoirs législatifs et exécutifs sont-ils neutres vis-à-vis de nous? Certes pas. Ils ne manquent pas une occasion de nous opprimer matériellement et moralement par tous les moyens dont ils disposent.

Nous serions dupes si nous restions neutres vis-à-vis d'eux; si nous ne cherchions pas à diminuer au sein de ces pouvoirs toute puissance de l'argent pour augmenter celle du travail plus noble et plus juste.

Nous avons en particulier un grand intérêt à ce qu'il y ait le plus grand nombre possible de représentants du parti de la classe ouvrière dans le *Conseil National* qui élabore les lois ouvrières et sociales (lois sur les fabriques, responsabilités des patrons, assurance accidents, maladie, invalidité et vieillesse, etc.)

Plus les représentants de la classe ouvrière seront nombreux dans ce Conseil, plus ces lois seront imprégnées de notre esprit, seront conformes à nos intérêts et à nos besoins; mieux elles seront appliquées.

Le Parti socialiste suisse, le seul Parti qui défend sans calcul et sans restriction nos intérêts, malgré ses 100,000 électeurs et quoique la classe ouvrière soit la classe la plus importante en Suisse, n'a que 7 représentants au Conseil National, sur 195. Pourquoi cela? Parce qu'il suffit à un parti, avec notre système électoral actuel, d'avoir quelques dizaines de voix de majorité souvent fictive pour acaparer tous les sièges, privant de toute représentation des milliers de citoyens. Est-ce juste? Non.

À chaque parti, une représentation proportionnelle au nombre de ses électeurs. Voilà la justice.

Camarades ouvriers,

Vos intérêts de travailleurs et votre devoir de citoyens vous commandent de voter *Oui*, le 23 octobre, c'est-à-dire pour la *Représentation proportionnelle*.

H. Viret.

Ennemis à combattre

Il est bien entendu que pas plus que le socialisme, le syndicalisme qui n'est du reste qu'une de ses formes d'action, ne s'occupe de la question religieuse en tant que croyance philosophique.

S'il exige de ces adhérents une entière solidarité prolétarienne et un esprit de classe parfaitement lucide, le syndicat, comme le groupe politique et la coopérative, n'entend pas s'immiscer dans les choses de la conscience en imposant telle croyance ou non-croyance quelconque.

C'est dire qu'il ignore les querelles dogmatiques, soigneusement entretenues par ceux qui trouvent leur intérêt dans l'acrobatie des sophismes, et qu'il ne s'arrête guère aux «*côtés*» de la question sociale: anti-cléricanisme bourgeois ou christianisme social, du moins pour autant que ce dernier fut une tentative honnête, courageuse même, d'émancipation ouvrière sur la base évangélique.

Mais de même que le socialisme a dû prendre position contre l'Eglise organisée en parti politique et la combattre ouvertement comme force de réaction, de même le syndicalisme est obligé dès maintenant, s'il veut conserver intacte la combativité de la classe ouvrière tout en ne permettant pas que soient annihilés ses efforts de chaque heure en vue d'une amélioration graduelle du sort des travailleurs, de lutter sans trêve ni repos contre les organisations ouvrières chrétiennes dégénérées, sinon créées pour ce seul but, en des associations de traîtres et de kroumirs.

Ce syndicalisme bâtarde, parce que patronné par les plus surs soutiens du capitalisme, a pu avoir un instant d'indépendance sous l'impulsion des éléments qui avaient compris leur devoir en face de la lutte engagée entre les organisations patronales et ouvrières. Un accord entre les syndicats rouges et les syndicats chrétiens avait même un moment semblé pouvoir se faire en Allemagne en face de l'intransigeance patronale et des persécutions du gouvernement.

Cela ne pouvait durer. Les premiers marchant d'après les principes et les méthodes socialistes, directement inspirés par les chefs de la «*Sozial-Demokratie*», quoique indépendants du parti, ne se contentent pas des timides revendications qui forment la principale activité des syndicats chrétiens, dirigés par les prêtres ou les laïques fidèles à Rome ou au roi de Prusse.

Les syndicats rouges ont leurs racines profondément plongées dans le sol révolutionnaire; les syndicats chrétiens bénéficient des sympathies et des subsides du cléricanisme conservateur trop heureux d'encourager cette diversion à son profit.

Et maintenant ces singuliers syndiqués ne jouent plus que le rôle de briseurs de grève. C'est de leurs organisations que sortent les escouades de kroumirs qui rendent les grèves de l'Allemagne du sud si longues et si meurtrières. Ce sont elles qui, dans le récent conflit des brasseurs, ont fourni les équipes d'occasion auxquelles nos camarades ont dû leur demi-défaite. C'est à elles que la classe ouvrière générale devra bientôt un recul sur toute la ligne si elle ne leur déclare pas une guerre sans merci; c'est sur leur docilité et leur complaisance que compte dorénavant le patronat pour vaincre la résistance ouvrière.

Il n'y a plus d'illusions à se faire. Le clergé a rendu une fois encore un précieux service aux classes dirigeantes en divisant la classe ouvrière, en cherchant et trouvant, hélas, chez elle-même ses pires ennemis.

Le cléricanisme arrivé à ce point-là n'est plus seulement une déchéance intellectuelle, il est l'obstacle le plus certain à l'émancipation

prolétarienne, l'ennemi contre lequel doivent être dirigés toutes les armes et tous les assauts.

Je ne sais pas de besogne plus urgente, puisque d'elle dépend l'avenir même du syndicalisme dans les contrées où, malgré la propagande active des syndicats rouges, le mal existe, progresse ou recule, tel un fleau dévastateur que la puissance de la ris tient en respect.

Que cette puissance s'exerce vigoureusement, c'est-à-dire que le syndicalisme travaille avec persévérance et méthode, qu'il donne à la classe prolétarienne la conscience de sa forme et de sa dignité; qu'il dénonce l'ignoble bassesse des gens d'Eglise servant au nom de la religion et, contre récompense, les intérêts du capitalisme; qu'il s'élève contre les jésuites de toutes les églises assez lâches pour utiliser le nom du va-nu-pieds de Nazareth pour soutenir le riche et écraser les miséreux. Le recrutement de syndicats jaunes dits syndicats chrétiens, l'œuvre mauvaise des prêtres indignes et des racoleurs, sera bientôt tari.

Et puisque l'Eglise ne veut s'occuper du prolétariat que pour y semer la division et y encourager la félonie; puisque non contente de béir le veau d'or, elle en partage les offrandes et en accepte l'immoralité, qu'elle sombre honteusement sous le poids de ses vices.

Tous les travailleurs conscients ont pour tâche, par leur propagande, d'en hâter la chute, ou tout au moins d'en diminuer la puissance néfaste entièrement dirigée contre l'émancipation prolétarienne, ainsi que le progrès en général.

Elle veut de prouver qu'elle est incapable pour rester elle-même, c'est-à-dire un dogme intangible, de suivre, ne serait-ce que de très loin, les idées modernes. Le Pape le déclare avec une superbe dénuilure.

Le cléricanisme catholique comme le cléricanisme protestant est donc bien décidé à faire obstacle au progrès. Et comme le syndicalisme est essentiellement progressiste, rien d'étonnant à ce que les cléricaux de tout acabit cherchent à le désagréger, opposant à ses troupes disciplinées pour les conflits économiques, ses organisations de pauvres inconscients fanatisés, instruments dociles de l'alliance des internationalistes jaunes et noirs.

C'est la plus grosse maladresse des dirigeants actuels de l'Eglise d'avoir obligé les organisations ouvrières à devenir anti-cléricales malgré elles, alors qu'en restant en dehors des conflits économiques, elle pouvait s'éviter le ressentiment et la puissante opposition de millions de travailleurs qui trop naïvement voulaient l'ignorer.

Mais devant les preuves accumulées de la duplicité du capital et des œuvres créées sous le patronage de l'Eglise, la neutralité des syndicats ouvriers deviendrait une duperie, puisqu'elle les exposerait désarmés aux coups sournois de celle qui s'est confirmée son ennemie la plus dangereuse.

Il ne peut plus être question en ce cas de liberté de conscience ou de tel autre distingué. Ce n'est pas à la conscience des individus que nous avons, nous syndiqués, désormais à faire. Aussi bien échappe-t-elle, dans ses manifestations de crédulité, à toute atteinte.

Ce que nous avons à combattre pour sauver notre propre existence et garder notre force devant l'adversaire, c'est l'organisation ouvrière chrétienne, c'est l'activité «*sociale*» ou plutôt anti-sociale de l'Eglise servante du capital. A ceux qui agissent en ennemi, nous devons déclarer la guerre.

Jean-René.

Les ouvriers qui ne sont pas syndiqués sont des feuilles mortes qui s'envolent au moindre souffle patronal.

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