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dissociation of a region within a State. In such cases the competence of the United Nations is doubtful.

On the basis of experience, the following guiding principles for rendering "good offices" can be set down:

— The appeal has to be issued by all the conflicting parties. Uncertainties as in Corea where each party designated "its" neutrals and above which — in the Prisoners of War Commission with India — even a super-neutral mediator was set, are apt to make Switzerland look like the deputy of a single group of States and can lead to a devaluation of neutrality. Such situations are to be avoided in the future.

— There has to be agreement on the contents and extent of the mandate by all parties involved.

— The task has to be unobjectionable from the point of view of neutral policy. Participation in coercive measures (as in the Congo) does not come into consideration.

— The task has to be materially practicable; there should be some concrete prospects of success.

— The neutral State offering "good offices" must be granted freedom of action.

— There has to be a time limit to the mission.

The difficulties of a policy of "good offices" lie in the danger of their being misused. This fact asks for subtle reflection. Neutrality finds itself quite frequently placed in the service of one-sided aims of power policy. Thus, for instance, one group of powers wishes the neutralization of the member-States of another group in order to break up existing alliances but declines the neutrality of States pertaining to its own group. Actions and "good offices" of the neutral country which have a one-sided effect in favour of a certain party are to be strictly avoided. Such actions are often furthered as a means of propaganda for one group's own political aims whilst these initiatives are passed off for a mere policy of peace. Switzerland will have to take scrupulous care not to become a mere means to an end and therefore to desist from every action — no matter how theoretically worthy — which could offer points of attack to one side. Appeals for the abolition of nuclear weapons or for the summoning of summit conferences must be mentioned as examples here. Such initiatives would only devalue neutrality. On the other hand, the tasks neutral States are entrusted with should not be merely fictitious solutions of embarrassing problems which the powers cannot or will not solve themselves. By so doing neutrality would again be discredited in the long run. There may, however, be cases which would at least permit a "freezing" of an acute tension. These considerations are just as valid for the International Red Cross Committee which should be careful not to take up tasks which are beyond its calling and which could imperil the fulfilment of its mission in the future.

Final considerations

The above explanations have only given a survey of basic principles without entering into details. There are many more facets to various aspects which ought to be examined more closely. The question of co-operation in international organizations of an economic, technical, financial and cultural nature has not been dealt with, nor has international organizations of an economic, technical, financial — the very important issue of international co-operation in the spheres of science and research and the endeavours at codifying and extending the law of nations. Questions have been raised and no definite answer given.

The particularly significant relationship — on account of our State structure — between foreign and domestic policy and the question of the suitability of our institutions

for the requirements of foreign policy ought to be examined. Discussions with regard to economic and cultural relations with the East and in connection with the plebiscite on international treaties — to single out a material and an institutional problem — show the necessity of such an examination. One point must be kept in mind: every Swiss citizen carries part of the duties of a Statesman; he is called to make the often difficult choice between considerations of ethical conviction — which only concerns him personally — and of the ethics of responsibility.¹⁵⁾

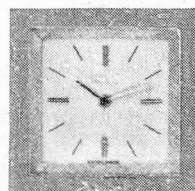
The policy of neutrality answers to this day the requirements of a realistic foreign policy of Switzerland. It does not need justification and publicity abroad. We have every reason to look upon neutrality as a constant element of policy and not to make it a subject for discussion abroad. But it must not be turned into a straightjacket and it cannot offer solutions of convenience. Each generation will have to come to terms with the basic problems of foreign policy. But this, our foreign policy, must always be sustained by solidarity and militant valour, carried out with courage and fearlessness and follow the guiding principles of "raison d'Etat" and of the idea of law.

¹⁵⁾ Max WEBER, op. cit., p. 55 ff.

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