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Autor:	A.T.S.
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large extent in that organization. Its aims and principles are in general the same as ours and on their realization also depends the security of Switzerland. Our country could perhaps exercise a moderating and mediatory influence on antagonisms. Switzerland's accession would reinforce the Western camp. Finally, it would enjoy the protection of the organization in case of aggression.

Considering the development of UNO since 1945, it looks as if accession without abandoning neutrality would seem possible. However, an explicit recognition of neutrality would be necessary so as to have a clear situation.

But in spite of such a recognition, it would hardly be possible to follow a policy of neutrality in the long run. If the United Nations took sides in a conflict, this would transform the organization into an alliance. In spite of its juridical personality, the United Nations would not confront the nations as a superior and independent power. Within its framework and by means of UN resolutions Member States are placed on the same level.

In addition, Switzerland would have to define her attitude with regard to numerous problems which have nothing to do with her. Abstention of voting would at length be neither practically possible nor compatible with the dignity and the prestige of a Member State, and would be contradictory to the purpose of the world organization which is entitled to an expression opinion. Besides, Tallyrand's saying: "La non-intervention est aussi une intervention" is also applicable in many cases here. Taking a stand in controversial issues would certainly incur the antagonism of certain States. We would expose ourselves to the pressure of the great powers which would try by all means to gather the necessary votes. As a small State we are too weak to have a decisive influence on world politics to further our own ends. The difference between neutral and neutralist policies would become blurred. Our own security would not be increased by accession either. As experience has shown, because of structural defects the system of collective security is hardly likely to function reliably. UN practice when maintaining peace and quelling aggression can hardly be said to be based on principles. Legally, the prohibition of violence according to Art. 2, § 4 of the UN Charter, is universally applicable, and not only between members. Moreover, Art. 35, § 2, even gives a non-member-State the possibility of appealing to the General Assembly or to the Security Council. But be this as it may, in case of aggression against Switzerland the then prevailing political situation will be decisive, whether we are a member of the Organization or not.

Therefore it seems preferable not to change our present relationship with UN. There is no necessity to join. Our problems are not such that their solution ought to be sought within the framework of the Organization. The position which our country owes to its unequivocal policy of neutrality is respected and acknowledged. Accession to the United Nations as a token of solidarity would hardly carry great weight in its political implications; it would only be of symbolic value. As a non-member-State we are in just as good a position to co-operate with numerous international organizations. In certain cases it is even of advantage not to belong to UNO in order to render "good offices" to the organization. We are as well informed on political developments by our observer as by a delegate entitled to vote. This applies also to the assertion of our points of view with the Secretariat and the delegations. An extension of the Swiss Observer's Office, which is really a diplomatic mission, seems, however, to be indicated.

10) The question of **closer co-operation with other neutral or neutralist States** crops up more frequently with regard to universal international organizations and within the framework of European integration. The opinion is often voiced that the position of smaller States could be strengthened by such closer co-operation and that an influence could thus be exercised which would be beneficial to the promotion of peace.

When considering this point of view, we must be cautious. There is too little common interest in such co-operation beyond the minimum, e.g. to prevent being involved in armed conflicts, and there is not enough power, even if several States combine, to show effective results.¹¹⁾ Besides, there is the risk of blurring the difference between permanent neutrality and neutralism. We are not interested in this. Neutralism does not mean neutrality in every conflict but only in certain conflicts and is not identical with a policy of abstention in the sphere of foreign policy nor with an attitude of renouncing territorial expansion.¹²⁾

The foreign policies of the neutral States — in the proper sense of the word — also differ because their interests are different. This shows up in their attitudes towards the United Nations and in their activity within it and within other international organizations, clashing with the interests of certain powers and thus annoying the latter, can have repercussions on other neutral States. Many States find it difficult to make distinctions between the various types of neutrality. It is, therefore, obvious that there are limits to co-operation.

(To be concluded.)

8) See the classical statement of the Federal Council in its message to the Federal Assembly of 4th August 1919, on accession to the League of Nations (author: Max Huber), p. 36/37. On 19th September 1939, National Councillor Th. Gut wrote the following considerations which still hold good: "As a first practical consideration the need of the hour suggests treating the concept of neutrality carefully, i.e. taking care not to overstretch it by applying it to fields which have nothing to do with it according to international law. Switzerland has a prominent share in the shaping of the law of neutrality. We therefore have to practise reserve when treating issues of domestic policy, manifestations or symptoms which have nothing to do with international law, in connection with and on using the concept of neutrality." Quote from the report of the Federal Council to the Federal Assembly of 27th December 1946, on Swiss press policy in connexion with war events from 1939 to 1945, page 117.

9) The same applies to this situation what the Federal Council has said in his report on the first atom initiative of 7th July 1961, with regard to the indirect protection given by armaments of other powers. Page 13.

10) "L'interdiction du marché suisse des capitaux aux Six a provoqué plus de sourires que d'inquiétudes," R. ARON, op. cit., p. 452.

11) H. J. MORGENTHAU: Neutrality and Neutralism, in *Dilemmas of Politics*, Chicago 1958, p. 198; R. ARON, op. cit., p. 525/26.

12) A. WOLFERS characterizes it pertinently as "neutralistische Unneutralität": Verbündete, Neutrale und Neutralisten in der Sicht der amerikanischen Wehrpolitik, *Schweizer Monatshefte* 42 (No. 8, November 1962), p. 791.

*("Schweizer Monatshefte" April 1963.
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THE SWISS PAPER INDUSTRY

The production of the Swiss paper industry reached a total of 555,000 metric tons in 1963, 395,000 of which was paper and 160,000 tons cardboard. Export of paper and cardboard stood at much the same level as in 1962 (about 9,000 tons), but import increased from 55,000 to 80,000 tons.

Prices have remained stationary for the past seven years.

The use of paper per head of the population amounted to 109 kg. With this figure, Switzerland has become the fourth largest user of paper in the world, behind U.S.A. (195 kg.), Canada (132 kg.) and Sweden (131 kg.).

[A.T.S.]