

Magdalena RATAJCZAK 

University of Wrocław

magdalena.ratajczak@uwr.edu.pl

Natalia BROŚ 

University of Wrocław

natalia.bros@uwr.edu.pl

HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY

THE CASE OF SWITZERLAND AND SWEDEN

ABSTRACT

The aim of our research is to explore the activities in the area of humanitarian diplomacy. We are seeking to find an answer to the question to what extent public diplomacy, based on humanitarian diplomacy, intercultural dialogue, respecting human rights can be effective in positioning a country in a high position on the international stage. The aim of this article is to analyze humanitarian diplomacy as a significant tool in the conduct of foreign affairs. We would also like to answer the question of the role that humanitarian diplomacy plays in the foreign policy of Switzerland and Sweden, and secondly to what extent values such as humanitarian aid, human rights and promotion of intercultural dialogue reinforce the images of the countries in question and constitute a key element of the Swiss and Swedish models of public diplomacy.

Keywords: humanitarian diplomacy, soft power, foreign policy, Switzerland, Sweden

INTRODUCTION

Societies around the world are exposed to natural disasters, climate change, wars, armed conflicts, and pandemics. The experience of danger has changed dramatically in the past two years, primarily due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the war in Ukraine. On the one hand, humanitarian aid has for years been the domain of international organizations, known for their commitment and experience in this field. On the other hand, we also observe the activity of states in the area of humanitarian aid. Some countries, such as Switzerland (as analyzed in this article) have a long tradition in this area. In fact, societies on all continents have been affected by numerous crises, most notably the COVID-19 pandemic, migrations but also climate refugees. Humanitarian aid took on a new dimension with the start of the war in Ukraine. We may observe an increase number of groups and communities around the world that need humanitarian assistance. At the same time, many countries such as Canada, Sweden and Switzerland have made humanitarian aid a permanent part of their foreign policy tasks. These are important soft power resources for these countries. Public diplomacy, including humanitarian diplomacy, which is considered in this article, is not the domain of states. There is also activity of non-governmental organizations, but also of companies and individuals, which we recognize as actors in humanitarian diplomacy. One must not forget about the role of the media, which actively carry out tasks within the framework of public diplomacy.

Soft power, according to J. Nye, means *getting others to want the outcomes that you want. Soft power rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others*.¹ The soft power of the country rests on three resources: culture, political values, and foreign policy. We would like to add some points of J. McClory's report from the Institute for Governance. McClory also uses Nye's three pillars as a foundation, but expands on them with a framework that assesses countries' soft power based on five categories: business/innovation, culture, government, diplomacy, and education.² The key component of research into public diplomacy, human rights and intercultural dialogue is culture and government. These contain both the values represented by a given country as well as the way of achieving the policy goals.

Beata Ocieпка believes that soft power should be understood as *a tool of foreign policy that aims at positioning countries, one that combines all possible means at the disposal of its actors*.³ One of the tools of soft power is public diplomacy, which aims at shaping such an external environment that would support the foreign policy of a given country by understanding and properly informing and influencing the international public. The public diplomacy is nothing new in international communication and international studies. *New wine in old bottles* is a kind of metaphor, which could be helpful to start

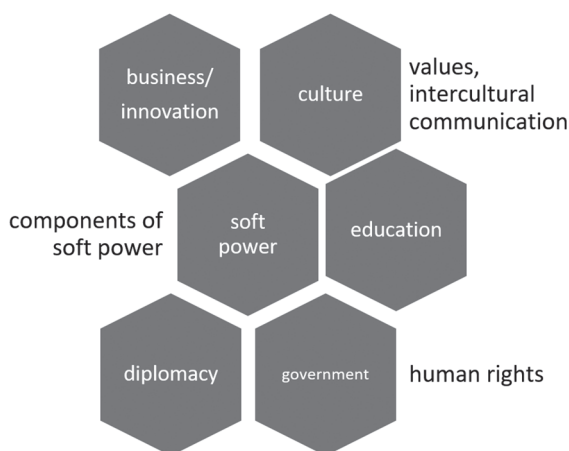
¹ J.S. Nye, *Soft power. Jak osiągnąć sukces w polityce światowej*, Warszawa 2007, s. 25.

² J. McClory, *The New Persuaders: An International Ranking of Soft Power*, London 2010, p. 7.

³ B. Ocieпка, *Miękka siła i dyplomacja publiczna Polski*, Warszawa 2012, p. 30.

understanding public diplomacy nowadays.⁴ Public diplomacy involves a much broader group of people than traditional diplomacy: foreign ministries, who represent the official face of a state abroad; NGOs; civic activists; politicians and political parties; writers; artists, musicians; journalists and media; academics and universities; religious and ethnic groups. Communication is the key word in this process, including intercultural communication and intercultural dialogue, as communication, understanding and building bridges are the key elements of public diplomacy.⁵ Understanding intercultural communication and communication competences is crucial in humanitarian diplomacy.⁶

Figure 1. Component parts of soft power



Source: based on J. McClory, *The New Persuaders: An International Ranking of Soft Power*, London 2010.

HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY

Humanitarian diplomacy emerged as a concept in the early 2000s. Humanitarian diplomacy has become a very important topic in discussion among researchers and humanitarian workers and governments. In 2007 L. Minear and H. Smith published a book on humanitarian diplomacy.⁷ D. Mancini-Griffolli and A. Picot presented in 2004 their research about humanitarian negotiations.⁸ We can also find books

⁴ J. Melissen (ed.), *The New Public Diplomacy. Soft Power in International Relations*, Basingstoke–New York 2005, p. 13.

⁵ R. Zaharna, *Battles to Bridges*, London 2010, pp. 115-133.

⁶ M. Leonard, C. Stead, C. Smewing, *Public Diplomacy*, London 2002, pp. 8-22.

⁷ L. Minear, H. Smith (eds), *Humanitarian Diplomacy. Practitioners and Their Craft*, Tokyo–New York 2007.

⁸ D. Mancini-Griffolli, A. Picot, *Humanitarian Negotiations: A Handbook for Security Access, Assistance and Protection for Civilians in Armed Conflicts*, Geneva 2004.

and papers focused on some cases (A.D. Cook,⁹ L. Gong,¹⁰ A. Gazzanti Pugliese di Cotrone,¹¹ Ch. Churruca-Meguruza¹²). One of the well-known and very often described is Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) or International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC).¹³

Humanitarian diplomacy is not a new term, of course. As we show it in this article, the cases of Switzerland and Sweden show a long tradition in this area. So why is this topic so current today? In our opinion mostly for three reasons. First of all, humanitarian diplomacy generally is not a yet established concept, recognized by international community.¹⁴ Secondly, since the beginning of 21st century we may observe the new crucial areas of activity, relating to such as issues as climate change, access to water, health or new type of war. The last reason is related to the new forms and tools of communication and new actors and partners. According to P. Regnier, humanitarian diplomacy is used not only by humanitarian organizations, but also by national co-operation agencies and ministries and a wider group of actors on international level: politicians, leaders of ethnic and religious communities, and academics¹⁵. According to Kelly-Kate Pease, there is in fact a network of actors who provide network diplomacy.

The term 'Humanitarian diplomacy' is used by the International Federation of the Red Cross and other humanitarian aid organizations to refer to the process whereby NGOs are involved with *persuading decision makers and opinion leaders to act at all times in the interests of vulnerable people and with full respect for fundamental humanitarian principles*.¹⁶ According to Kelly-Kate Pease, this is an important aspect of NGO Diplomacy. *Humanitarianism seeks to minimize the harm during violent conflict, and alleviate suffering during times of crisis, fundamental humanitarian principles involve not only the conduct of armed but also the delivery of humanitarian aid [...]. The principles surrounding the delivery of humanitarian assistance include neutrality, impartiality, humanity and independence. Humanitarian diplomacy is conducted multiple actors,*

⁹ A.D. Cook, "Humanitarian Diplomacy in ASEAN," *Asian Journal in Comparative Politics*, vol. 6, no. 3 (2021), pp. 188-201.

¹⁰ L. Gong, "Humanitarian Diplomacy as an Instrument for China's Image-building," *Asian Journal in Comparative Politics*, vol. 6, no. 3 (2021), pp. 238-252.

¹¹ A. Gazzanti Pugliese di Cotrone, "Humanitarian Diplomacy," *Diplomatic Ukraine*, no. 19 (2018), pp. 382-392.

¹² Ch. Churruca-Meguruza, "Everyday Migrant Accompaniment: Humanitarian Border Diplomacy," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, vol. 17, no. 1 (2022), pp. 1-31.

¹³ M. Harroff-Tavel, "The Humanitarian Diplomacy of the International Committee of the Red Cross," International Committee of the Red Cross, 1 June 2006, at <https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/resources/documents/article/other/humanitarian-diplomacy-articles-040310.htm>, 12 November 2019.

¹⁴ P. Regnier, "The Emerging Concept of Humanitarian Diplomacy: Identification of a Community of Practice and Prospects of International Recognition," *International Review of the Red Cross*, vol. 93, no. 884 (2011), p. 1213.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1212-1214.

¹⁶ "Humanitarian Diplomacy Policy," International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, [online] https://www.ifrc.org/sites/default/files/Humanitarian-Diplomacy-Policy_EN.pdf, 10 IV 2023.

*through a variety of channels, using a wide range of tools and instruments. States are the main actors of humanitarian diplomacy. [...] Non-state actors, with their own agendas, are also part of this landscape.*¹⁷

Minear and Smith in their book propose the following definition: *The concept of humanitarian diplomacy encompasses the activities carried out by humanitarian organizations to obtain the space from political and military authorities within which to function with integrity. These activities comprise such efforts as arranging for the presence of humanitarian organizations in a given country, negotiating access to civilian populations in need of assistance and protection, monitoring assistance programmes, promoting respect for international law and norms, supporting indigenous individuals and institutions, and engaging in advocacy at a variety of levels in support of humanitarian objectives.*¹⁸

Humanitarian diplomacy can also be defined *as persuading decision makers and leaders to act, at all times and in all circumstances, in the interest of vulnerable people and with full respect for fundamental humanitarian principles.*¹⁹

We understand humanitarian diplomacy as activities involving actors (governmental, inter-state, organizations, media and private ones) at different levels. Their main aim is to protect or help victims and any other vulnerable population groups. The need for assistance is the result of war, crisis, violence, migration and human trafficking, famine, lack of water, climate and environmental disasters, or public health problems. Humanitarian diplomacy takes a variety of forms, depending on the specific cultural context (ethnic, religious and linguistic) and geographical location. Therefore, in addition to financial and organizational factors, the level of intercultural competence of humanitarian diplomacy actors will determine the effectiveness of humanitarian diplomacy.

Today, in the time of growing number of diversity of crisis the role media (local, regional and global) is fundamental to construction the knowledge about humanitarian aid. *New technologies can also play a role in the professionalization of humanitarian action in general and humanitarian diplomacy in particular. For instance, some organizations have teamed up to develop virtual platforms to share experiences and knowledge in humanitarian affairs.*²⁰

RESEARCH AIMS AND CONCEPTUAL FOCUS

The aim of our research is to explore the activities in the area of humanitarian diplomacy. We are seeking to find an answer to the question to what extent public diplomacy, based on humanitarian diplomacy, inter-cultural dialogue, respecting human rights can be effective in positioning a country in a high position on the international stage.

¹⁷ K.K. Pease, *Human Rights and Humanitarian Diplomacy: Negotiating for Human Rights Protection and Humanitarian Access*, Manchester 2016, p. 19.

¹⁸ L. Minear, H. Smith (eds), *Humanitarian Diplomacy...*, p. 1.

¹⁹ A. De Lauri, "Humanitarian Diplomacy: A New Research Agenda," *CMI Brief*, 2018, p. 1.

²⁰ P. Regnier, "The Emerging...", p. 1234.

The aim of this article is to analyze humanitarian diplomacy as a significant tool in the conduct of foreign affairs. We would also like to answer the question what role humanitarian diplomacy plays in the foreign policy of Switzerland and Sweden, and secondly to what extent values such as humanitarian aid, human rights and promotion of intercultural dialogue reinforce the image of the countries in question and constitute a key element of the Swiss and Swedish models of public diplomacy.

Two cases of small states, namely Switzerland and Sweden²¹ demonstrate that making use of these values plays a significant role in building on a positive image of these countries and boosting their recognition. Building this 'brand image' is not only the effect of actions undertaken in the domain of public diplomacy. We aim to show, however, that these elements of Swiss and Swedish public diplomacy significantly boost the image and status of these countries. This study is based on reports, academic literature, country rankings, interviews and case study. The study also includes the analysis of governmental documents on foreign policy of Switzerland and Sweden. The research in Switzerland is a result of study visits in Bern, Zurich, Geneva, Lugano and Neuchâtel in 2018 and 2019. During these studies the authors have also conducted interviews.

The research thesis we are trying to prove is that Switzerland and Sweden have achieved success in the fields of public diplomacy and national branding, the evidence of which are rankings of the competitiveness of countries on the international stage as well as those which point to the role played by soft factors in international affairs. The needs, potential and expectations of countries differ, too. There are attempts to measure soft factors that impact the image of countries on the international stage and despite their shortcomings they often point the people who govern countries in the direction they should be taking their promotional actions and, more widely, the policies being implemented by them. Here we use well-known rankings that estimate the influence of soft factors on the image of countries. In many such rankings both Switzerland and Sweden rank very highly.

According to the Global Soft Power Index and Switzerland's ascension to sixth place in 2019 (7th in 2017 and 2018), Switzerland remains one of the most trusted nations globally. *Switzerland's longstanding, impenetrable policy of neutrality has seen the*

²¹ There is not a universal agreed upon definition of small states. Most commonly, small states are defined by categories such as: military power, economic power, gross domestic product (GDP), population, administrative capability or the lack of capabilities. The category defining the smallness of a state is referring to the potential of bigger states – in the context of their structural disadvantages compared to bigger states. As per Panke (Panke, 2010) small states suffer from structural disadvantages – which results from the fact that big states have more voting power and more resources to manage their agenda in many areas while small states have to prioritize only some of them and proceed with specialization as strategy (such as conflict prevention, framing, agenda setting, diplomatic tactics including public diplomacy, niche diplomacy, normative power etc.). Number of research placed Sweden in the category of small states (Goetschel, 2013; Jones, 2008; Steinmetz & Wivel, 2016). This is mainly due to the fact of limited size of economy, peripheral location, relatively small population (10 million), limited possibilities of exerting pressure on other states, especially superpowers and taking the path of niche diplomacy. Switzerland is recognized as a small state mainly due to the small population and the size of its territory.

country become a byword for stability and counts the World Economic Forum and Red Cross as among the hundreds of international organisations that call Switzerland home.²²

The Authors stress that *balancing four national languages hasn't stopped the Swiss political system from continuing to foster a near-unmatched rate of civic engagement, which is crucial here. What is important abroad, Switzerland holds form as a beacon of stability in an increasingly conflicted world unmatched in its role as a broker for peace. As for Switzerland's foreign policy, the ultimate neutrality principle of 'do no harm' seems to be pretty attractive to the rest of the world.*²³ Sweden received the 4th place, jumping from 8th in 2018 (9th in 2017). *Sweden is known for its exemplary model of governance, with well-protected civil rights, high levels of human development, and low levels of income inequality. In international relations Sweden continues to leader global causes including gender equality and combating climate change.*²⁴ What is important in this research – one of the indices is 'government', which includes metrics that capture political values such as freedom, human rights, democracy, and equality. It also includes measures of government effectiveness and broad metrics on citizen outcomes like Human Development Index scores. Switzerland and Sweden have received the highest notes for government effectiveness, human development, and the protection of civil rights.²⁵

In the ranking 'Best countries' in 2022, Switzerland received the title of the best country in the world and Sweden ranked on 5th position. Switzerland scored well on quality of life and social purpose attributes. It is also perceived as a country that cares about human rights, as well as gender and racial equity and the environment.²⁶ It's one of the world's wealthiest countries, and has been well-known for centuries for its neutrality and politically stable country. Switzerland received almost 100% for caring about human rights and religious freedom.

According to Authors of the report *despite its militaristic roots, Sweden has remained neutral in times of war for centuries. Instead, commitment to human rights, public service and sustainability have helped to make it a leader in international affairs.*²⁷ Both countries are recognized through their high quality of life and international alliances.

From the perspective of the topic of our research we would like also present the results of the Good Country Index. This ranking is an effort to highlight and rank

²² The Soft Power 30, Switzerland, at <https://softpower30.com/country/switzerland/>, 20 November 2019.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ The Soft Power 30, Sweden, at <https://softpower30.com/country/sweden/>, 20 November 2019.

²⁵ *The Soft Power 30. A Global Ranking of Soft Power 2019*, USC Center on Public Diplomacy, Portland 2019.

²⁶ "The 2022 Best Countries Report Ranks Switzerland as No. 1 in the World," The Wharton School, The University of Pennsylvania, 27 September 2022, at <https://news.wharton.upenn.edu/press-releases/2022/09/the-2022-best-countries-report-ranks-switzerland-as-no-1-in-the-world/>, 28 September 2022.

²⁷ "U.S. News Best Countries," U.S. News, at <https://www.usnews.com/news/best-countries/rankings>, 12 September 2022. These rankings are part of U.S. News' government rankings initiative, which measures government performance at the international, state and local levels. It is good to know that in some subcategories: 'for women', 'for social purpose' Sweden was ranked on the 1st position and for 'racial equality' on 2nd.

the countries that are doing good for the rest of the world. In the last edition Sweden ranked on the 1st position and Switzerland on the 15th. This ranking is based on several categories: contributions to science & technology, contributions to culture, contributions to international peace and security (including number of peacekeeping troops sent overseas for UN missions, financial contribution to UN peacekeeping missions, attributed number of casualties of international organised violence), contributions to world order (including number of refugees hosted), contributions to planet and climate, contributions to prosperity and equality (including number of aid workers and volunteers sent overseas) and contributions to health and wellbeing (including food aid funding, voluntary excess contributions to World Health Organisation and humanitarian aid contributions).²⁸

At the end of this part we would also mention the well-known Nation Brand Index (Anholt GfK). In 2022 Switzerland ranked there on the 7th position (2021 and 2020) and Sweden on 9th (since 2018).

For small and medium-sized states public diplomacy is a kind of opportunity to gain influence and stay visible at international stage. According to J. Batora, *foreign perceptions of small and medium-sized states are usually characterized by lack of information and/or long-established stereotypes. The main problem of such as countries is visibility. So that why the small and medium-sized countries usually focus their public diplomacy efforts at a few niche-areas.*²⁹ We may observe it in a case of Switzerland and Sweden. One of the 'niche-areas' is their activity on the international level in humanitarian aid, promoting human rights and peaceful cooperation.

THE SWISS CASE

The Swiss strengthen the recognition of their 'brand' by engaging in undertakings aimed at protecting human rights as well as humanitarian aid and promotion of inter-cultural dialogue. What is stressed is the promotion of democracy, including direct democracy. What is noteworthy is that in recent years democracy, including direct democracy and the protection of human rights, has taken on a new significance in the Swiss foreign policy.³⁰ These are actions strongly linked to development aid such as humanitarian aid in regions affected by war and natural disasters, for example support for the reconstruction of countries, including rebuilding of schools and public buildings.

According to the Swiss Foreign Policy Strategy 2020-2023, 'Peace and security' is one of the four main areas: *Switzerland strives to build bridges in the current volatile international environment to ensure a peaceful and safe world that allows people to live*

²⁸ The Good Country, at <https://www.goodcountry.org/index/source-data/>, 10 September 2022.

²⁹ J. Batora, "Public Diplomacy in Small and Medium-Sized States: Norway and Canada," *Discussion Papers in Diplomacy*, 2005, p. 6.

³⁰ See L. Goetschel, M. Bernath, D. Schwarz, "Swiss Foreign Policy: Foundation and Possibilities", London 2005.

*without fear or need, where their human rights are protected and where they can enjoy economic prosperity. Peace, security and the rule of law are the foundations of prosperity and sustainable development. Switzerland's foreign policy reinforces these foundations. To this end, it focuses on the proven instruments of its good offices, security policy, human rights policy, migration policy, its humanitarian commitment and science diplomacy.*³¹

Humanitarian diplomacy in Switzerland is recognized through activities in three main areas:

- *Protection of civilian populations – aimed at ensuring the security and full respect of the rights of civilians and persons hors de combat.*
- *Multilateral peacebuilding – aimed at achieving the sustainable peace goals of the 2030 Agenda. Humanitarian disarmament – aimed at ensuring the prohibition of the use of weapons banned by international treaties, the proper management of conventional weapons and ammunition, and humanitarian demining.*
- *Climate change and environmental degradation – aimed at safeguarding human security in addressing the adverse effects of climate change and environmental degradation.*³²

As former Swiss Ambassador to Poland Jürg Burri admits, that although Switzerland is not among the largest countries in Europe, it has become a country with a strong, visible brand. Humanitarian aid is a crucial element of Switzerland's tradition. If we look at it from a historical perspective, it has been organized in various directions, with the participation of many groups and institutions. At the same time, such crisis as the war in Ukraine intensify activities and cooperation in humanitarian aid between countries, as evidenced by Polish-Swiss relations.³³ Very similar opinion is represented by the Fabrice Filiez, current Swiss Ambassador to Poland. He was hosted by the Speaker of the Sejm, Elżbieta Witek on October 6, 2022. Ambassador Filiez pointed out then that Switzerland had adopted sanctions against Russia similar to those of the EU, strongly condemned Russian aggression and was among the first countries to provide humanitarian aid, but it was thanks to the Polish authorities that all these measures could be effective.³⁴

Swiss humanitarian aid shows, on the one hand, cooperation and support, including financial support for regions covered by conflicts. In this sphere this is cooperation with bodies such as the UN, Council of Europe and the European Parliament, but also NGOs. We would also like to pay attention on important work of many Swiss organizations such as the Swiss Peace Foundation, or the Center for Humanitarian Dialogue.³⁵

³¹ "Swiss Foreign Policy Strategy 2020-23," Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, 2020, at <https://www.eda.admin.ch/eda/en/fdfa/foreign-policy/implementing-foreign-policy/aussenpolitischestrategie.html>, 11 November 2022. The four thematic focus areas according to strategy for 2020-2023 are: peace and security, prosperity, sustainability and digitalization.

³² "Humanitarian Diplomacy," Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, at <https://www.eda.admin.ch/eda/en/fdfa/foreign-policy/human-rights/humanitarian-diplomacy.html>, 22 August 2022.

³³ Interview conducted by the author with J. Burri, Cracow, 4 May 2022.

³⁴ Meeting of the Speaker of the Sejm with the Swiss Ambassador, at <https://www.sejm.gov.pl/sejm9.nsf/komunikat.xsp?documentId=6778282D6300C1B7C12588D20081F9D3>, 12 October 2022.

³⁵ *Swiss Neutrality*, Federal Department of Defence and Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, Bern 2005.

According to B. Schedler, the cooperation, networking, and working with NGOs of partners are crucial in humanitarian diplomacy. This is also the ability to communicate about values that are important and fundamental to us. This is a part of Swiss identity. The relations and cooperation with other countries and exchanging of experiences is also very important.³⁶

On the other hand, there is a very significant help for migrants and refugees. The Swiss feel obliged to act in this domain as there is a growing population of refugees in their country. Their aid covers different geographic areas and different needs of migrants and refugees. This is diverse kind of support for war victims, but also climate refugees. This is a very important part of Switzerland's development aid, with participation of organizations from countries affected by disasters and crises.³⁷ These undertakings in Swiss foreign policy have recently been called 'humanitarian security.' Activity in the domain of humanitarian security is understood as help in conflicts, in particular help for women and children who have become their victims, facilitating dialogue to seek peace, cooperation in organizing democratic elections, protection of refugees and also building a platform of cooperation on behalf of migrants and refugees. The Swiss have also created a Council of Experts in the domain of Building Peace.³⁸

The essence of our research is also to indicate the characteristic of these two countries is consistency and coherence in the implementation of foreign humanitarian policies. The range of activities outlined above on the international scene has a long tradition.³⁹ The position of authority of the Swiss began to increase in the second part of the 19th century for reasons such as its neutrality and sovereignty, boosting its army and the providing political asylum. Switzerland also became an arbiter in international conflicts more often. Neutrality and humanitarian traditions became the main pillars of Swiss foreign policy.⁴⁰

An important event with major implications in today's international activities, including humanitarian aid, was the founding of the International Committee of the Red Cross by Swiss Henri Dunant in Geneva in 1863, which is still headquartered there today (since 1991, it is the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies). It is also important to note the key role of the Swiss in the work and ratification of the so-called Geneva Convention. This friendly climate created over the years, was an important factor at the turn of the 20th century for many refugees to choose

³⁶ Interview with B. Schedler Deputy Head of the Human Security Division, Federal Department of Foreign Affairs of Switzerland, Zurich, 1 March 2018.

³⁷ Interview with Y. Diallo Sahli, Deputy Head, Global Programme Migration and Development, Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation SDC, Bern, 22 November 2018.

³⁸ J. Ross, *Neutrality and International Sanctions: Sweden, Switzerland and Collective Security*, New York 1989.

³⁹ A. Riklin, "Neutralität am Ende? 500 Jahre Neutralität der Schweiz," *Humboldt-Nachrichten*, no. 30 (2008), pp. 13-22.

⁴⁰ E. Bonjour, *Geschichte der Schweizerischen Neutralität*, Basel 1978; M. Andrey, "Security Implications of Neutrality: Switzerland in the Partnership for Peace Framework," *Connections: The Journal Quarterly*, vol. 9, no. 4 (2010), pp. 83-96.

Switzerland, seeking political asylum there. Switzerland has also been a venue for international meetings and congresses since the 19th century. After First World War, it was decided that Geneva would become the seat of the League of Nations. The situation was similar after the outbreak of First World War and First World War, when many countries turned to neutral Switzerland to represent their interests.⁴¹ In the 1950s and 1960s, the principle of 'neutrality and solidarity' was supplemented by the principle of 'disposition.' In practice, this meant the promotion of 'active neutrality,' understood as the development of intermediary and humanitarian activities, current to this day. These were activities of the so-called 'good services.'⁴²

According to McClory, *Switzerland's global reputation also benefits from its frequent role as 'protecting power' for a number of states without formal diplomatic relations. The Swiss effectively combine their unique international position with an efficiently run political and economic model to carve out a huge global role for a country of its size.*⁴³

SWISS AID – SYRIA AND UKRAINE AS A CASE

Switzerland has supported victims in Syria and in the region since 2011. It has provided over CHF 522 million (2011-2021), *making it the biggest humanitarian undertaking in Switzerland's history. The Swiss Cooperation Programme 2019-22, which covered Syria as well as neighbouring Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq and Turkey, aimed to protect conflict-affected persons and alleviate their suffering, promote peaceful co-existence and improve the prospects of the civilian population. Efforts were concentrated on four key areas: protection and migration; education and income; conflict prevention and peace promotion; and water and sanitation*⁴⁴. The Directorate of Political Affairs, The Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) and the Directorate of International Law *are working on behalf of the Swiss government on three pillars: the search for a political solution to the conflict, humanitarian aid and promotion of resilience, and the defense of international law.*⁴⁵

Since March 2022, Switzerland has provided humanitarian aid to Ukraine. In the first days of November the Swiss government has promised CHF 100 million in aid to Ukraine to help residents access drinking water and to repair energy infrastructure damaged by the war. Since the start of the war in February, Switzerland has sent more

⁴¹ J.M. Rickli, "European Small States' Military Policies after the Cold War Strategies," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, vol. 21, no. 3 (2008), pp. 307-325.

⁴² M. Ratajczak, "Uwikłani w historię – korzenie szwajcarskiej dyplomacji publicznej," in B. Ociepa (ed.), *Historia w Dyplomacji Publicznej*, Warszawa 2015, pp. 169-170.

⁴³ J. McClory, *The New...*, p. 7.

⁴⁴ "10 years of the Conflict in Syria: Switzerland Commits to Peace and Helps with 60 Million of Francs," Federal Department of Foreign Affairs FDFA, 30 March 2021, at <https://www.eda.admin.ch/deza/en/home/sdc/aktuell/newsuebersicht/2021/03/syrien-konferenz.html>, <https://www.swiss-solidarity.org/fundraising-campaigns/syria/>, 20 July 2022.

⁴⁵ "Switzerland's Engagement in Syria," Swisspeace, at <https://www.swisspeace.ch/apropos/switzerlands-engagement-syria/>, 19 July 2022.

than 680 tons of relief supplies to Ukraine plus 4,750 tons of food.⁴⁶ Swiss President Ignazio Cassis discussed the issues related to the aid in Ukraine and for Ukrainian refugees in Switzerland with Ukraine's president, Volodymyr Zelensky, during the meeting in Kyiv on October 20, 2022.

SWEDISH CASE

Swedish foreign policy over the past decades has undergone a significant transformation, moving from isolationist tendencies towards neutrality and then towards international commitment and solidarity.⁴⁷ The key concepts for the country is its internationalist orientation, promotion and implementation of such specific values as: solidarity, peaceful settlement of disputes, human rights, support for law and international organizations, social justice.⁴⁸ The Swedish concept of state and society translates not only into its internal economic and social policies (under the concept of the Nordic model of a welfare state) but also on foreign and security policy. Specific Scandinavian norms and values are also projected into the profile and direction of the external actions undertaken by this country.⁴⁹ Due to the nature of its foreign policy, Sweden is considered a reliable partner in multilateral relations. It achieved this status as a result of many years of activity for peace, democracy, freedom, human rights, responsible and generous development aid, consistent opting for free trade and multilateral cooperation, and the ambitious use of soft power tools. As described by Minister for Foreign Affairs Ann Linde: *We have a long history of standing up for international law, solidarity, disarmament, democracy and gender equality. This will be our future too. We will continue to promote greater respect for human rights, a rules-based world order and global security, with mediation as a tool and against terrorism [...]. Diplomacy will remain our first line of defence and national defence capabilities are of fundamental importance.*⁵⁰

It is characteristic for Sweden to attach greater importance to normative and ethical and non-military aspects of foreign affairs. Due to the size of the country, Sweden prefers to use soft power, practicing social power, acting in the international community as a follower, promoter and guardian of norms. It uses niche diplomacy based on peaceful diplomacy, the promotion of human rights, the principle of equality, social justice and feminism. In its foreign policy, Sweden has a strong track record of international humanitarian aid, environmental and human rights, fighting poverty and disease,

⁴⁶ Swissinfo.ch, at <https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/politics/swiss-to-send-chf100-million-in-aid-to-help-ukraine-get-through-winter/>, 1 November 2022.

⁴⁷ See R.M. Czarny, *Sweden: From Neutrality to International Solidarity*, Berlin 2018.

⁴⁸ See J. Ross, *Neutrality...*

⁴⁹ K. Lin, "Cultural Traditions and the Scandinavian Social Policy Model," *Social Policy and Administration*, no. 39(7) (2005), pp. 723-739.

⁵⁰ "Statement of Government Policy in the Parliamentary Debate on Foreign Affairs," Government Offices of Sweden, 10 June 2022, at <https://www.government.se/4a9eb2/contentassets/9e7ed2449dc54caa99f326f876a43322/statement-of-foreign-policy-june-2022.pdf>, 11 November 2022.

promoting democratic standards, and its special involvement in peacekeeping missions, which constitutes its strategy of acting in the framework of niche diplomacy. Given these types of topics and themes emerged in diplomatic activity, many commentators attributed 'missionary tendencies' to Sweden, both in its international politics as well as its image.⁵¹ Without a strong military or nuclear weapon potential, Sweden uses such assets as efficient diplomacy and the image of a stable and credible country for international peace. Even a small contribution in peacekeeping operations shows Sweden as a country working for world peace and human rights, which has given it a particular international presence.

Sweden's success in pursuing active foreign policy, including public diplomacy, through the establishment of an agenda for international peace, must find its place in the government's capacity to capitalize on the common belief that the Swedes are a 'peaceful nation' with a mission to fulfill (thanks to this, the idea of international engagement in Sweden gets broad public support). This belief is based on different traditions, including the tradition of liberal internationalism and institutionalism, solidarity with others, experience, and a culture of cooperation and a high level of social trust.⁵² The Swedish government effectively benefits from various instruments of peace diplomacy, such as international peace mediation, humanitarian aid and development policy. Sweden fulfills a specific niche in international relations, thus allowing it to consolidate its position in the world discourse and politics. As part of a broader concept of diplomacy, its humanitarian diplomacy is mainly focused on general concept of human rights, promoting disarmament, protecting small countries, promoting the principles of justice based on international law, creating international law and instruments ensuring its respect, participation in international peace-keeping operations, mediation, limiting conflicts and tensions between states or other entities in dispute, sustainable development, agreement on climate change. One of the mechanisms of humanitarian diplomacy is an ambitious development policy and guarantees of providing development aid to countries in need. The starting point for Sweden's overall development policy is poverty reduction by promoting sustainable and equitable development, human rights, democracy and a strong civil society.⁵³ Swedish foreign policy aims to promote respect for human rights. Efforts to support human rights influence all areas of its foreign policy, including security policy, development cooperation, conflict prevention, migration policy and trade policy. It defines Sweden's actions in global and regional forums and permeates bilateral contacts with other countries. Such a structure of relations taking place in the field of national and international politics: strong legal and institutional protection of human rights, coordinated and systematic work with human rights within the public services sector and strong support for work with human

⁵¹ T.S. Edvardsen, B. Hagtvet, *Nordycki model demokracji i państwa dobrobytu*, Warszawa 1994, s. 10.

⁵² W. Anioł, *Szlak Norden. Modernizacja po skandynawsku*, Warszawa 2013, p. 153.

⁵³ A. Arklund, "The Slow Reunification of Development Assistance and Public Diplomacy: Exchange and Collaboration Activities Through the Swedish Institute 1973-2012," in J. Pamment, K.G. Wilkins (eds), *Communicating National Image through Development and Diplomacy: The Politics of Foreign Aid*, Berlin 2018, pp. 143-167.

rights in civil society and in business. The Government gives special priority to listed areas in its work on human rights in foreign policy: building democracy, strengthening freedom of expression, acting for the abolition of the death penalty, combating torture, combating summary executions and arbitrary detention, upholding the principles of the rule of law, protecting human rights and international humanitarian law, combating discrimination, drawing attention to the human rights situation in individual countries in public statements or speeches in international contexts, raising human rights issues in its dealings with other countries and, when necessary, calling on the authorities of the country to condemn human rights violations, helping to strengthen countries' ability to comply with and achieve human rights through development cooperation.⁵⁴ The overriding aim of human rights work in Swedish foreign policy is to help enable people in other countries to enjoy the rights that have been established within the UN and EU frameworks and other international organizations.

Sweden provides a consistently high level of Official Development Assistance (ODA) through its diplomacy by investing in long-term partnerships with multilateral and civil society organizations.⁵⁵ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is responsible for the policy and budget of development cooperation, with the largest implementing agency – the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida).⁵⁶ *Sweden has a long tradition of generous and ambitious development aid. Humanitarian assistance refers to Sweden's activities to save lives, alleviate suffering and maintain the human dignity of those affected by natural disasters, armed conflicts or other similar circumstances.*⁵⁷ Swedish goals, related to official development assistance, are reflected in the sums spent on ODA. *Sweden provided USD 5,9 billion (preliminary data) of ODA in 2021, representing 0,92% of GNI. (2022 forecast estimates USD 6,2 billion).*⁵⁸ Moreover, Sweden is the third-largest donor in proportion to the size of its economy, spending close to or

⁵⁴ "Human rights, democracy and the principles of the rule of law in Swedish foreign policy," Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 8 December 2016, at <https://www.government.se/contentassets/f864bf87a5d64f11b033f32e6e1fed3f/human-rights-democracy-and-the-principles-of-the-rule-of-law-in-swedish-foreign-policy.pdf>, 16 April 2023.

⁵⁵ Most of Sweden's development aid funding takes the form of direct bilateral support and is channeled through non-state actors in recipient countries in the form of project aid interventions, core contributions, joint programs and funds, and technical assistance. Targeting non-state actors is intended to reduce the risk of aid funds being seized by governing regimes and build strong partnerships with pro-democratic non-state actors and institutions that may be the only entity supporting democratic values in autocracies and emerging or developing democracies.

⁵⁶ "Strategy for Sweden's Humanitarian Aid Provided Through the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) 2021-2025," Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 6 December 2021, at <https://www.government.se/country-and-regional-strategies/2021/12/strategy-for-swedens-humanitarian-aid-provided-through-the-swedish-international-development-cooperation-agency-sida-20212025/>, 11 November 2022.

⁵⁷ "International development cooperation," Government Offices of Sweden, at <https://www.government.se/government-policy/multilateral-cooperation/>, 11 November 2022.

⁵⁸ OECD Library, Development Co-operation profiles: Sweden, at <https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/8a6be3b3-en/index.html?itemId=/content/component/8a6be3b3-en#notea43z2>, 11 November 2022.

above 1% of its gross national income on development cooperation and humanitarian aid, worldwide.⁵⁹

In recent years, the factors that forced Sweden to take clear steps on the international forum, also affecting its domestic policy, were the conflicts in North Africa (Arab Spring) and the war in Syria, which resulted in, among others, the influx of migrants and refugees from the areas covered by conflict and neighboring states. Sweden was committed to providing financial aid to UNHCR, but also to accepting refugees, sparking a wide public debate in the country about the appropriateness of this decision.⁶⁰ The demands of the Swedish diplomatic service place a strong emphasis on focusing on the root causes of displacement and conflict prevention, as well as increasing support for UNHCR and the International Organization for Migration. Over the past decade, Sweden's ODA efforts have focused on Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia and the Middle East and North Africa region, especially to support decentralization and local government building, aid to the public sector, legal and judicial development, building of anti-corruption organizations, supporting civil society, free and fair elections, free media.⁶¹ The events of 2022 and Russia's aggression on Ukraine shifted the concentration of aid provided by Sweden towards Ukraine.

SWEDISH AID – UKRAINE

Russia's invasion of Ukraine sparked an immediate reaction from Sweden. Government announced aid packages, covering both military and civilian assistance, to Ukraine. Recent support given to Ukraine is in line with the broader idea of the ODA that Sweden has provided to Ukraine over the past years, however dramatic situation caused by Russia's invasion made it necessary to provide aid on a larger scale than ever before.

⁵⁹ Donor Tracker by Seed Development, at <https://donortracker.org/country/sweden>, 31 October 2022.

⁶⁰ Over the past decade Sweden is still viewed as a welcoming country, but at the same time there is also increasingly suspicious narrative towards migrants and refugees. Various polls indicate that the 2015 influx of predominantly Syrian refugees into Europe marked a turning point in attitudes towards immigration. According to the Eurobarometer public opinion survey, *in 2009 only 9% of Swedes believed that migration was the most important issue facing their country; by 2015, 53% of people believed this to be true*. In 2021 54% believed that refugees who come to Sweden would not be able to successfully integrate into Swedish society (Ipsos MORI, 2021). The narrative around refugees and migrants in Sweden has become increasingly negative since the early 2010s. Anti-immigration parties have *steadily gained in popularity over the past five years, with the main anti-immigration party, the far-right Sweden Democrats, going from obtaining 1.4% of the vote in the 2002 general election to 17.5% in 2022*. This shift shows how migration issues have been successfully politicised by the Sweden Democrats. *As migration became a more salient issue in political discourse, Sweden Democrats were able to mobilise people with more xenophobic views, picking up voters for whom migration was their most pressing concern and who had traditionally voted for other political parties* (Pelling, 2019). *While most narratives are negative, there is one aspect where the discussion remains relatively positive: Sweden's view of the economic impact of refugees and migrants*.

⁶¹ M.N. Zarazúa, R.M. Gisselquist, A. Horigoshi, M. Samarin, K. Sen, *Effects of Swedish and International Democracy Aid*, Rapport 2020:07 till Expertgruppen för biståndsanalys (EBA), Stockholm 2020.

Sweden is a longstanding partner to Ukraine. Since 1995, Sweden has invested significant political, financial and human resources in Ukraine.⁶² In 2014, Sweden launched a Regional Strategy for Cooperation with Eastern Europe, the Western Balkans, and Turkey, in which Ukraine is the biggest recipient. The strategy focuses on reforms in three main areas. Its aims are to:

- *Enhance economic integration with the EU and develop the market economy;*
- *Strengthen democracy and respect for human rights and a more fully developed state under the rule of law;*
- *Improve the environment, reduce climate impact and enhance resilience to environmental impact and climate change.⁶³*

Minister for Foreign Affairs Ann Linde in her speech summarized long-term support towards Ukraine and focused on next portion of spending to support the country: *Sweden has supported Ukraine for many years – from the time of its independence to February this year, this support has amounted to approximately SEK 4 billion. Since Russia's full-scale invasion on 24 February, that support has been more than doubled through a number of decisions concerning another SEK 5.2 billion thus far for military support, humanitarian support, financial guarantees, reform support, civilian operations and reconstruction support.⁶⁴*

After making this decision, Sweden is set to offer more assistance for the upcoming rebuilding phase, which encompasses the sustainable administration of ruined infrastructure. Additionally, Sweden will be in charge of arranging waste management and recycling procedures throughout Ukraine's reconstruction.⁶⁵ To aid countries struggling with food shortages and at risk of starvation due to the aggravation of Russia's aggression, such as Afghanistan, Ethiopia, and Yemen, the civilian aspect of Sweden's aid package comprises the acquisition of Ukrainian wheat (Sweden will cover the expenses for a minimum of 40,000 tons of wheat) which will be transported to these nations. Moreover, this endeavor intends to enhance Ukraine's economy and independence by enabling the implementation of the agreement pertaining to the export of Ukrainian grain from Black Sea ports.

⁶² In 2014-2020, the overall reform cooperation with Ukraine will amount to approximately 175 million EUR. That makes Sweden the 7th largest donor in the country.

⁶³ "Swedish Reform Cooperation with Ukraine," Embassy of Sweden, at <https://www.sweden-abroad.se/en/about-sweden-non-swedish-citizens/ukraine/development-and-aid/reform-cooperation-with-ukraine/#>, 3 October 2022.

⁶⁴ "Government Offices of Sweden, Press release from Ministry for Foreign Affairs," Reliefweb, 2 September 2022, at <https://reliefweb.int/report/ukraine/government-approves-sek-500-million-ukraine-reconstruction-and-humanitarian-support>, 3 October 2022.

⁶⁵ "Government Approves SEK 500 Million to Ukraine for Reconstruction and Humanitarian Support," Reliefweb, 2 September 2022, at <https://reliefweb.int/report/ukraine/government-approves-sek-500-million-ukraine-reconstruction-and-humanitarian-support>, 11 November 2022.

CLOSING REMARKS

Humanitarian organizations, as well as states and their private sector, could use humanitarian diplomacy as an instrument for raising awareness, negotiating, and mobilizing humanitarian aid in emergencies. *Pooling the various practices related to humanitarian diplomacy while ensuring respect for local cultures and specific situations will open a path to the recognition of humanitarian diplomacy by teaching, training, and research institutions, and its subsequent validation at both conceptual and operational level.*⁶⁶ Public diplomacy is a significant tool that, among other aims, aids in the process of building the image of countries. It should be noted, however, that it is difficult to measure its efficacy in terms of building this image. Public diplomacy has specific aspects in different countries and many factors influence it, such as those connected with the political and cultural landscape of a given country. The case of Sweden and Switzerland shows how important it is to add soft power, public diplomacy and human rights to the building of state power and state position. The limited potential of the state, its shortcomings in certain categories need not imply barriers to effective foreign policy. However it required to fill a niche in diplomacy and politics that can be used to support strategic goals and interests of the state. Both Switzerland and Sweden point to their key role in humanitarian diplomacy. They serve as states that address the needs of other countries whose voices are less audible on a global scale. Thus, they gain enormous respect and strengthen their image as a credible partners, which translates directly strengthening their potential in other areas (trade, education, etc.). The case of Switzerland and Sweden the increase in the frequency, diversity of crisis requires higher level of professionalism from humanitarian actors. Both states focus on a very coherent humanitarian aid based on their tradition and history, but also current conditions. Humanitarian diplomacy is a foreign policy tool of these countries. Switzerland and Sweden are recognized as countries which have humanitarian donor programs that respond to most important humanitarian needs of victims of crisis. *During operations, these nations respect the rules and principles adopted by the humanitarian community, support pro-humanitarian reform of aid delivery regimes, and simultaneously engage in diplomatic and legal actions related to the crises, thus promoting positive role models, while being consistent with the expectation of humanitarian organizations and agencies.*⁶⁷

The example of support provided to Syria and Ukraine by Sweden and Switzerland shows that the policies of both countries are guided by norms and values, and that they consistently conduct their diplomacy (in terms of public diplomacy and humanitarian diplomacy) using development aid. The authors point to the use of these instruments as means of building trust in the donor state, both in direct relations (with the recipient of the aid) and, more broadly, in the international dimension,

⁶⁶ P. Regnier, "The Emerging...", p. 1213.

⁶⁷ J. Dobrowolska-Polak, "Humanitarian Diplomacy of the European Union," *Open Europe: Cultural Dialogue Across Borders*, vol. 5 (2014), p. 119.

which at a later stage may translate into building a position in global relations that supports achieving goals of a given state in the international space. Both Switzerland and Sweden, using niche diplomacy, show aspirations to play a much larger role than their hard power would imply.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- “10 Years of the Conflict in Syria: Switzerland Commits to Peace and Helps with 60 Million of Francs,” Federal Department of Foreign Affairs FDFA, 30 March 2021, at <https://www.eda.admin.ch/deza/en/home/sdc/aktuell/newsuebersicht/2021/03/syrien-konferenz.html>.
- Andrey M., “Security Implications of Neutrality: Switzerland in the Partnership for Peace Framework,” *Connections: The Journal Quarterly*, vol. 9, no. 4 (2010), pp. 83-96, <http://dx.doi.org/10.11610/Connections.9.4.06>.
- Aniol W., *Szlak Norden. Modernizacja po skandynawsku*, Warszawa 2013.
- Arklund A., “The Slow Reunification of Development Assistance and Public Diplomacy: Exchange and Collaboration Activities Through the Swedish Institute 1973-2012,” in J. Pamment, K.G. Wilkins (eds), *Communicating National Image through Development and Diplomacy: The Politics of Foreign Aid*, Berlin 2018, pp. 143-167.
- Batora J., “Public Diplomacy in Small and Medium-Sized States: Norway and Canada,” *Discussion Papers in Diplomacy*, 2005.
- Bonjour E., *Geschichte der Schweizerischen Neutralität*, Basel 1978.
- Churruca-Meguruza Ch., “Everyday Migrant Accompaniment: Humanitarian Border Diplomacy,” *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, vol. 17, no. 1 (2022), pp. 1-31, <https://doi.org/10.1163/1871191X-bja10088>.
- Cook A.D., “Humanitarian Diplomacy in ASEAN,” *Asian Journal in Comparative Politics*, vol. 6, no. 3 (2021), pp. 188-201, <https://doi.org/10.1177/20578911211019247>.
- Czarny R.M., *Sweden: From Neutrality to International Solidarity*, Berlin 2018.
- De Lauri A., “Humanitarian Diplomacy: A New Research Agenda,” *CMI Brief*, 2018.
- Dobrowolska-Polak J., “Humanitarian Diplomacy of the European Union,” *Open Europe: Cultural Dialogue Across Borders*, vol. 5 (2014), pp. 115-126.
- Donor Tracker by Seed Development, at <https://donortracker.org/country/sweden>.
- Edvardsen T.S., Hagtvet B., *Nordycki model demokracji i państwa dobrobytu*, Warszawa 1994.
- Gazzanti Pugliese di Cotrone A., “Humanitarian Diplomacy,” *Diplomatic Ukraine*, no. 19 (2018), <https://doi.org/10.37837/2707-7683-2018-24>.
- Goetschel L., Bernath M., Schwarz D., *Swiss Foreign Policy: Foundation and Possibilities*, London 2005.
- Gong L., “Humanitarian Diplomacy as an Instrument for China’s Image-building,” *Asian Journal in Comparative Politics*, vol. 6, no. 3 (2021), pp. 238-252, <https://doi.org/10.1177/20578911211019257>.
- “Government Approves SEK 500 Million to Ukraine for Reconstruction and Humanitarian Support,” Reliefweb, 2 September 2022, at <https://reliefweb.int/report/ukraine/government-approves-sek-500-million-ukraine-reconstruction-and-humanitarian-support>.

- "Government Offices of Sweden, Press release from Ministry for Foreign Affairs," Reliefweb, 2 September 2022, at <https://reliefweb.int/report/ukraine/government-approves-sek-500-million-ukraine-reconstruction-and-humanitarian-support>.
- Harroff-Tavel M., "The Humanitarian Diplomacy of the International Committee of the Red Cross," International Committee of the Red Cross, 1 June 2006, at <https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/resources/documents/article/other/humanitarian-diplomacy-articles-040310.htm>.
- "Humanitarian Diplomacy," Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, at <https://www.eda.admin.ch/eda/en/fdfa/foreign-policy/human-rights/humanitarian-diplomacy.html>.
- "Humanitarian Diplomacy Policy," International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, [online] https://www.ifrc.org/sites/default/files/Humanitarian-Diplomacy-Policy_EN.pdf.
- "International development cooperation," Government Offices of Sweden, at <https://www.government.se/government-policy/multilateral-cooperation/>.
- Interview with B. Schedler Deputy Head of the Human Security Division, Federal Department of Foreign Affairs of Switzerland, Zurich, 1 March 2018.
- Interview with J. Burri, Cracow, 4 May 2022.
- Interview with R. Gysi von Wartburg, Deputy Editor in Chief swissinfo, Zurich, 22 November 2018.
- Interview with Y. Diallo Sahli, Deputy Head, Global Programm Migration and Development, Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation SDC, Bern, 22 November 2018.
- Lamb Ch., "Humanitarian Diplomacy," The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 26 June 2008, at <http://ifrc.info/en/news-and-media/opinions-and-positions/speeches/2008/humanitarian-diplomacy>.
- Leonard M., Stead C., Smewing C., *Public Diplomacy*, London 2002.
- Lin K., "Cultural Traditions and the Scandinavian Social Policy Model," *Social Policy and Administration*, vol. 39, no. 7 (2005), pp. 723-739, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9515.2005.00466.x>.
- Mancini-Griffolli D., Picot A., *Humanitarian Negotiations: A Handbook for Security Access, Assistance and Protection for Civilians in Armed Conflicts*, Geneva 2004.
- McClory J., *The new persuaders: an international ranking of soft power*, London 2010.
- Meeting of the Speaker of the Sejm with the Swiss Ambassador*, <https://www.sejm.gov.pl/sejm9.nsf/komunikat.xsp?documentId=6778282D6300C1B7C12588D20081F9D3>.
- Melissen J., *The New Public Diplomacy. Soft Power in International Relations*, Basingstoke–New York 2005.
- Minear L., Smith H. (eds.), *Humanitarian Diplomacy. Practitioners and Their Craft*, Tokyo–New York 2007.
- Ministry for Foreign Affairs, *Human Rights in Swedish Foreign Policy*, March 2009.
- Nye J.S., "Soft Power and American Foreign Policy," *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 119, no. 2 (2004), pp. 255-270, <https://doi.org/10.2307/20202345>.
- Ociepka B., *Miękka siła i dyplomacja publiczna Polski*, Warszawa 2012.
- OECD Library, Development Co-operation profiles: Sweden, at <https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/8a6be3b3-en/index.html?itemId=/content/component/8a6be3b3-en#fnotea43z2>.
- Pease K.K., *Human Rights and Humanitarian Diplomacy: Negotiating for Human Rights Protection and Humanitarian Access*, Manchester 2016.

- Ratajczak M., "Uwikłani w historię – korzenie szwajcarskiej dyplomacji publicznej," in B. Ociełka (ed.), *Historia w dyplomacji publicznej*, Warszawa 2015.
- Regnier P., "The Emerging Concept of Humanitarian Diplomacy: Identification of a Community of Practice and Prospects of International Recognition," *International Review of the Red Cross*, vol. 93, no. 884 (2011), pp. 1211-1237, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1816383112000574>.
- Rickli J.M., "European Small States' Military Policies after the Cold War Strategies," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, vol. 21, no. 3 (2008), pp. 307-325.
- Riklin A., "Neutralität am Ende? 500 Jahre Neutralität der Schweiz," *Humboldt-Nachrichten*, no. 30 (2008), pp. 13-22.
- Ross J., *Neutrality and International Sanctions: Sweden, Switzerland and Collective Security*, New York 1989.
- "Statement of Government Policy in the Parliamentary Debate on Foreign Affairs," Government Offices of Sweden, 10 June 2022, at <https://www.government.se/4a9eb2/contentassets/9e7ed2449dc54caa99f326f876a43322/statement-of-foreign-policy-june-2022.pdf>.
- "Strategy for Sweden's Humanitarian Aid Provided Through the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) 2021-2025," Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 6 December 2021, at <https://www.government.se/country-and-regional-strategies/2021/12/strategy-for-swedens-humanitarian-aid-provided-through-the-swedish-international-development-cooperation-agency-sida-20212025/>.
- "Sweden to provide Ukraine with SEK 1 bln of aid, including SEK 500 mln of military support – PM," Interfax-Ukraine, 29 August 2022, at <https://en.interfax.com.ua/news/general/855166.html>.
- "Swedish Reform Cooperation with Ukraine," Embassy of Sweden, at <https://www.swedenabroad.se/en/about-sweden-non-swedish-citizens/ukraine/development-and-aid/reform-cooperation-with-ukraine/#>.
- Swissinfo.ch, at <https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/politics/swiss-to-send-chf100-million-in-aid-to-help-ukraine-get-through-winter/>.
- "Swiss Foreign Policy Strategy 2020-23," Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, 2020, at <https://www.eda.admin.ch/eda/en/fdfa/foreign-policy/implementing-foreign-policy/aussenpolitischestrategie.html>.
- "Swiss Neutrality," Federal Department of Defence and Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, Bern 2005.
- Swiss Solidarity, at <https://www.swiss-solidarity.org>.
- "Switzerland's Engagement in Syria," Swisspeace, at <https://www.swisspeace.ch/apropos/switzerlands-engagement-syria/>.
- "The 2022 Best Countries Report Ranks Switzerland as No. 1 in the World," The Wharton School, The University of Pennsylvania, 27 September 2022, at <https://news.wharton.upenn.edu/press-releases/2022/09/the-2022-best-countries-report-ranks-switzerland-as-no-1-in-the-world/>.
- The Good Country, at <https://www.goodcountry.org/index/source-data/>.
- The Soft Power 30. A Global Ranking of Soft Power 2019*, USC Center on Public Diplomacy, Portland 2019.
- The Soft Power 30, Sweden, at <https://softpower30.com/country/sweden/>.

The Soft Power 30, Switzerland, at <https://softpower30.com/country/switzerland/>.

“U.S. News Best Countries,” U.S. News, at <https://www.usnews.com/news/best-countries/rankings>.

Zarazúa M.N., Gisselquist R.M., Horigoshi A., Samarin M., Sen K., *Effects of Swedish and International Democracy Aid*, Rapport 2020:07 till Expertgruppen för biståndsanalys (EBA), Stockholm 2020.

Magdalena RATAJCZAK – professor in the Institute of International Studies, University of Wrocław (Section of International Communication). Her main research area: transcultural communication, diaspora and ethnic media in Europe, diaspora diplomacy, refugees and human rights, Swiss multiculturalism and Swiss media system.

Natalia BROŚ – PhD candidate in the Institute of International Studies, University of Wrocław (Section of International Communication). Her main research area: public diplomacy, Swedish foreign policy, Swedish official development assistance (ODA).