

Security Assistance and the Neutral States of Western Europe

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INTRODUCTION

Most people involved in security assistance programs generally understand why the United States is engaged in such programs with our allies. However, there is less understanding of the purposes served by our nation's security assistance relationships with nations which maintain a neutral politico-military orientation. As the following discussion will illustrate, the United States has many common interests with such neutral nations and stands to benefit from cooperating with them in matters of defense.

In order to limit the discussion to a manageable number of countries, this article will briefly discuss the nature of U.S. security assistance relationships with four neutral West European states: Austria, Finland, Sweden, and Switzerland. The basic principles justifying U.S. cooperation with these nations apply just as well to other neutral nations.

AUSTRIA

For centuries Austria has stood at the center of European traffic between east and west along the great Danubian trade route and between north and south through the Alpine passes. The Austria of today is a relatively small nation, slightly smaller than the state of Maine, with a population of about 7.5 million. Although modern Austria is only a small remnant of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, it still occupies a strategic position in central and eastern Europe.

The diversity and extent of Austria's security requirements can be judged by a consideration of the number of nations with whom she shares a common border along her 1,604 mile frontier. Borders are shared with two NATO allies (the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy), as well as two Warsaw Pact members (Hungary and Czechoslovakia). Austria also shares borders with another major neutral nation of Europe (Switzerland), and with Liechtenstein and Yugoslavia as well.

Austria is a stable, western-oriented nation, with a market economy. Only about five percent of her trade is with the Soviet Union, while most is with the countries of Western Europe.[1] Culturally and economically she belongs to the West, but geographically she extends well into the East. Vienna, for example, is farther east than either Prague or Berlin. In September, 1983, Pope John Paul II visited the city to participate in ceremonies commemorating the defeat of invading Turkish forces from the east by Christian armies at the gates of Vienna three centuries ago.

Like Germany, Austria was divided into zones of occupation after World War II, but unlike the German case, the occupying powers in Austria were able to establish a representative and democratic government with full authority throughout the country. The Austrian State Treaty was signed at Vienna in May, 1955, and all occupation forces were withdrawn by October, 1955. The same month the Federal Assembly passed a constitutional law by which Austria declared her perpetual neutrality. Austria declared that she would not join in any military alliances and would not permit the establishment of any foreign military bases on her territory.[2]

At the same time, Austria has taken steps to develop the necessary military force to defend her independence and neutrality. As early as 1955, cadre units of the *gendarmarie* were organized into the first units of the Austrian Federal Army. In 1956, during the Hungarian popular uprising, and again in 1968, during the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the Austrian armed forces were put into a sufficient state of readiness to indicate that Austria would not tolerate the spread of armed conflict to her territory.[3]

Austria spends about three percent of her total government budget on defense, maintaining a total active force of about 50,000 men. Military service consists of six months active duty followed by reservist training for 12 years.

The major U.S. long term objective in Austria is the maintenance of Austrian independence, neutrality, and good relations with the West.[4] Austria's policy of armed neutrality is a significant contribution to the stability of Central Europe. It is in the interest of both the United States and NATO that Austria continue to modernize and strengthen its armed forces in order to enable it to defend its neutrality and to delay any advance of hostile forces through Austrian territory. It would be of serious consequence for NATO if a Warsaw Pact invasion outflanked NATO by attacking through Austria, just as Imperial Germany attacked France through Belgium during World War I. Another reason for U.S. security assistance to Austria is that it is in our interest, as well as Austria's, that Austria not have to depend on the Soviet bloc as sources for military materiel.

Security assistance to Austria is furnished within the limitations defined by the 1955 Austrian State Treaty (to which the United States is a signatory) as well as by Austrian constitutional law, both of which prohibit Austrian participation in military alliances and also prohibit the establishment of foreign military bases on Austrian territory. Major objectives of the U.S. Security Assistance Program are to promote a strong modernized military deterrent force and to strengthen Austrian ties to the West. The limited U.S. training program is designed to develop effective Austrian defense management and to maintain close U.S.-Austrian military relations.

U.S. security assistance for Austria consists of International Military Education and Training (IMET) and cash purchases through Foreign Military Sales (FMS) and direct commercial sales. Sales may include ammunition, miscellaneous support equipment, and spare parts for equipment previously purchased from the United States. The Austrian Ministry of Defense has also expressed interest in purchasing M60A3 conversion kits to upgrade its armor capabilities, and will continue to purchase Centurion tanks from the Netherlands, which were originally furnished under the former Military Assistance Program (MAP) and are now excess to Dutch requirements.

The IMET program for Austria has two major goals. The first goal is to assist Austria in developing the expertise needed for the effective management of its small, militia-oriented defense force, which has borrowed somewhat from the Swiss model (discussed below). The second goal is the enhancement of relations between U.S. and Austrian Armed Forces. For FY 1986 the first goal is being fulfilled through training in air traffic, flight safety, and weapons control. The second goal is being achieved through training at advanced courses, including one of the senior service colleges and the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College.

Security assistance to Austria thus contributes directly to the accomplishment of U.S. foreign policy goals with respect to Austria, which include maintaining the current friendly relations between our two countries, helping Austria remain free and independent, helping maintain Austria's political and economic stability, helping implement the Austrian State Treaty, and encouraging Austria's continued active participation in the Western community.

FINLAND

Finland is a neutral democratic state located between the northern regions of the Soviet Union and the strategic areas of Norway and neutral Sweden. With a coastline of 700 miles and land boundaries of 1,575 miles, Finland is about the combined size of New England, New Jersey, and New York, but has a population of just under five million. The capital city of Helsinki is the northernmost capital on the European continent.

Finland's trade is mostly with the West, principally West Germany, Sweden, Britain, the United States, and Norway. About 25 percent of her trade is with the Soviet Union, though 70 percent of her energy supplies comes from the Soviet Union.

From the Middle Ages until the time of Napoleon Bonaparte, Finland was part of Sweden. In 1809 she was conquered by Russia's Czar Alexander I and became an autonomous Grand Duchy within the Russian Empire. In 1917, in the midst of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, Finland declared her independence.

In November 1939, after the Finnish government refused to make territorial concessions to the Soviet Union related to strengthening the defense of Leningrad, the Soviets attacked Finland along the entire 800 mile frontier separating the two countries. Over 600,000 well-armed Soviet troops, supported by hundreds of tanks and aircraft assaulted Finland, wearing their summer uniforms in what was expected to be a short campaign.[5] Even as the Soviets struck Finland, however, the harshest winter in many years began to carpet the country with fresh snow. In the north the Russians faced a mobile army on skis, virtually invisible in snow-white parkas, and perfectly suited for hit-and-run tactics against the unwieldy Russian columns. The Finns knew every inch of the terrain and were quite at home in temperatures of 50 degrees below zero. The Soviets had a manpower superiority ranging to over 40 to 1, but the Finns made their invasion very costly.[6]

Even after suffering the loss of a million lives and 2,300 tanks, as well as 1,000 aircraft, the Soviets prevailed through sheer numbers. Finland was left with 25,000 dead and 55,000 wounded, but in proportion to her population, it would have been like the United States in 1940 losing 2.6 million dead in 105 days. On March 13, 1940, Finland had to make peace with her gigantic, aggressive neighbor.[7]

Russia took Finland's second largest city, Viipuri (now Vyborg), her largest Arctic Ocean port, Petsamo (now Pechenga), and the entire Karelian Isthmus, home for 12 percent of Finland's population. Finland was forced to relinquish 22,000 square miles of territory to the Soviet Union, and about 400,000 Finns became refugees, leaving their homes rather than remaining behind to be absorbed into the expanding borders of the workers' paradise.[8]

The Finns took up arms again during World War II, in which as an ally of Germany, they fought the Russians to regain their lost territory, but this effort gained them nothing. Karelia and Petsamo were lost forever. The Russians seized most of the Finnish merchant fleet and imposed \$300 million in war reparations on Finland. Finland faithfully paid it all, with the last train load of reparations leaving Finland in the autumn of 1952.[9]

A treaty of peace with the Soviet Union was signed in 1947, which limited the size of Finland's active duty forces to 41,900 troops (Army: 34,400; Navy: 4,500; and Air Force: 3,000).[10] Then, in 1948 Finland signed an Agreement of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union, under which Finland was obligated to resist armed attacks by Germany or its allies against Finland or against the Soviet Union through Finland.[11]

Both the United States and Britain encouraged Finland to sign the 1948 treaty, viewing it as a way to remove at least one potential source of tension from the rapidly growing cold war. Two years earlier Moscow had abrogated the Yalta Agreement, which called for the establishment of a democratic government in Poland, and in February 1948 there had been a communist coup in Czechoslovakia. The naval and air base on Finland's Porkkala Peninsula, 12 miles from Helsinki, was under "long term lease" to the Soviet Union, and there were Soviet troops poised outside Helsinki. Nikita Khrushchev later wrote: "The Finns knew perfectly well that our troops stationed right outside their capital weren't there to make shashlik and go fishing." [12]

By statesmanship and prudence, the Finnish leaders were able to convince Moscow that a neutral, Western-oriented Finland would not be used as a corridor or staging area for an attack on the Soviet Union. At last, in 1955, the Soviet Union withdrew its forces from the Porkkala Peninsula, one of the rare instances in which the Soviet Union ever withdrew forces from occupied territory. Some observers attribute this move not so much to reasonableness and good faith on the part of the Soviet Union as to a ploy to influence Sweden, the major Scandinavian power, and persuade her not to move closer to NATO. [13]

In order to maintain the necessary military forces to meet her defense requirements, Finland requires conscription of all males. Annually, 90% of all eligible males are found fit for military service. While adhering to the limits imposed on its active duty forces, Finland has been able to train a military reserve force of 700,000. An additional 400,000 people are committed to civil defense operations in an emergency. [14] Finland spends about seven percent of its annual government budget on defense.

Beside some military purchases from abroad, Finland manufactures much of its own military equipment, such as assault rifles, anti-tank weapons, mortars, transport equipment, gunboats, mine sweepers, army radio equipment, and some of its artillery. The Finnish Air Force has made use of both Soviet MIGs and Swedish Drakens (some of which have been assembled in Finland). [15] Finland also maintains stockpiles of fuel, food, fodder, and civil defense equipment, with shelters for at least two million people. [16]

Although Finland is culturally, socially, and politically western, the Finns realize they must live in peace with their giant eastern neighbor and not take any action that the Soviet Union might interpret as a threat to its security. It has long been United States policy to express sympathy and understanding for the particular conditions of Finnish neutrality and to encourage the Finns to be as balanced as possible in their neutrality. The U.S. also favors maintaining and reinforcing Finland's historic cultural and economic ties with the West.

U.S. security assistance for Finland consists of a small IMET program. Finland may also make limited FMS and commercial cash purchases of general purpose infantry and anti-tank equipment, as well as advanced electronic equipment. Specifically, Finland will continue to purchase I-TOW anti-armor missiles, launchers, and spares through FMS procedures. In addition, it may obtain some launchers through direct commercial purchases. Finland is also expected to procure a suitable night sight for use with the I-TOW system, and there is a potential for additional FMS/commercial purchases of artillery and mortar barrel forgings and ammunition components.

The Finnish IMET program emphasizes professional military education. The Finnish Defense Forces select their best officers to participate in U.S. training. These officers return to take up key command staff positions.

The small IMET program and the modest military purchases from the U.S. are important elements in Finland's efforts to remain a neutral country by offsetting Warsaw Pact influence. A country that has worked and fought for its independence as has Finland is worthy of continued U.S. support.

SWEDEN

Sweden is a relatively large European country, about the size of California, with a coastline of 1,245 miles, land boundaries of 1,360 miles, and a population of 8.3 million. It is bordered by Norway to the West, Finland to the northeast, and the Baltic Sea to the south. Extending almost 1,000 miles from north to south, Sweden occupies a critical region on NATO's northern flank that is longer in extent than the Central Front in Europe.

During the 17th century, the Swedish empire consisted of present day Sweden, and parts of Denmark, Finland, Russia, Estonia, Latvia, and northern Germany. Sweden fought wars against such powers as Denmark, Poland, and Russia. Her role in the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) was significant, helping determine the political and religious balance of power in Europe that prevails to this day.[17]

Sweden invaded Russia in 1700, and came close to defeating the Russians. However, the forces of Peter the Great overcame the Swedes in 1709, and thereafter Sweden's power declined, as one by one of her external conquests slipped away. In 1809, Sweden was forced to cede Finland to Russia.

Though officially neutral in both World Wars I and II, Sweden's neutrality in World War II was stretched on several occasions. When the Soviet Union invaded nearby Finland, many Swedes volunteered to fight for Finland. At thousands of mass meetings all over Sweden, the cry was: "Finland's cause is ours!" Sweden also gave extensive material aid to Finland. However, when the allies, particularly Britain, wanted to send troops through Sweden to aid Finland in March, 1940, Sweden refused.[18]

Germany's attack on Denmark and Norway placed Sweden in a difficult situation. Germany soon demanded to move military transports over Swedish territory to attack the defenders of Norway. These demands were turned down in April and May of 1940, with only Red Cross transports to northern Norway being permitted transit.[19] However, in June 1940, the Swedes felt constrained to allow the transit of German military equipment and personnel on leave between Norway and Germany, via Sweden. The Government and High Command agreed that a hopeless war with Germany would be unavoidable if the demands were refused.[20]

One more major concession was yet to be demanded. In connection with the German attack on Russia in June 1941, the transfer of a fully equipped German infantry division under the command of General Engelbrecht from Norway to Finland over Swedish territory was permitted.[21] Other such requests were refused.

Sweden continued to trade with Germany during the war, but after the battle of Stalingrad, Sweden cut back exports of iron ore to Germany. During the war some restrictions were placed on the press to placate the Germans.[22]

The present policy of Swedish neutrality is not laid down in the Constitution or required by any international agreement.[23] Rather, it is a policy which Sweden itself has chosen to pursue, based on the conviction that neutrality is the best possible guarantee of Sweden's being able to avoid involvement in a future war.

This policy is backed by a relatively strong national defense designed to deter or prevent the belligerents in any military conflict from trying to occupy or use Swedish territory. Defense appropriations have generally accounted for roughly eight to ten percent of the government's operating budget. In the Swedish view, the balance between the two great power blocs will

remain, with more than five million men under arms in Central Europe north of the Alps and west of the Urals. Unless Sweden maintains a credible defense, in the event of war, either side might try to prevent the other from gaining access to Swedish territory. Sweden feels it must be so strong that it deters any possible aggressor from attacking. Since the great powers would already be engaged against each other, the Swedish assumption is that any one of these powers could only detach a small portion of its total military force to deal with Sweden.[24] If Sweden's total force is great enough to deal with a partial force of a superpower, then Sweden would prove too hard a nut to crack. Moreover, advance knowledge of this Swedish capability is counted on to deter any such attack in the first place.

Sweden's defense policy today rests on a strong total defense embracing the entire population. Strategic planning is closely integrated with and supported by civil and economic defense plans. The four legs of Swedish defense are: military, civil defense, economic defense, and psychological defense.[25]

With a long landmass and a small population, Sweden cannot afford to rely upon large standing forces. Instead, Sweden bases its defense on the universal conscription of able-bodied males, with a smaller active duty force of about 70,000 during peacetime, and a total mobilizable strength during wartime of more than 850,000 persons.[26] The Air Force has about 500 active jet aircraft and several hundred more in reserve.[27] Swedish highways are so designed that portions of them can be used in emergencies as landing strips.

All military services have underground installations blasted out of rock. For example, at Musko Naval Base, Sweden has an underground installation the size of a fair sized town, tunnelled into the rocky coastline of an island, with workshops, office buildings, a hospital, restaurants, police, fire brigade, and docks to repair warships.[28]

The Swedish Navy, partly as a result of numerous intrusions into their territorial waters by Soviet submarines, has continued to place increased emphasis on antisubmarine warfare. The Soviet Whiskey-class submarine W-137 that ran aground in Swedish territorial waters near the naval base at Karlskrona in October 1981, merely confirmed what the Swedish Navy had known all along, that the Soviets had been engaged in a series of violations of Swedish territorial waters.[29] This latest incident proved quite unusual, with radioactive material detected aboard the submarine, plus *two* Soviet Navy captains also aboard the vessel. The violation was resolved through diplomatic channels, a far cry from an incident in the 1950s when two Swedish Air Force planes approached Soviet territory and were shot down while still over international waters.[30]

At least four kinds of Soviet intruders have been identified by the Swedish Navy: submarines, mini-submarines of the type that can crawl along the sea floor, frogman vehicles, and frogmen.[31] In January 1985 Sweden bought two "scooters" (i.e., mini-submarines) from Yugoslavia to bolster and test Sweden's coastal defense system and help prevent future intrusions.[32]

Such intrusions are not of recent vintage. Soviet submarine reconnaissance against Sweden goes back to at least the 1930s. During World War II, Soviet submarines exploited Swedish neutrality by transiting in or close to Swedish waters in order to escape German antisubmarine warfare forces and to cover their moves from German reconnaissance.[33]

Since the Soviets did not fully trust Swedish neutrality during World War II, they probably conducted substantial intelligence collection against Sweden in anticipation of possible hostilities. While no one can say for sure what was the cause, there were interesting and unanswered questions as to the loss of the Swedish submarine ULVEN in 1943 and the explosion at Musko Naval Base that same year in which three Swedish destroyers were sunk. While the Germans had

nothing to gain from such actions against Sweden, the Soviets did not hesitate to carry out at least three known air raids on Swedish territory during World War II.[34]

Arkady Shevchenko, the most highly placed Soviet official ever to defect to the West, has stated that the Kremlin made a decision in 1970 to initiate submarine probes of Swedish and Norwegian waters.[35] The reasons have less to do with diplomatic considerations, such as neutral status, than with broad strategic imperatives that the Soviets feel must be considered, regardless of the embarrassment that may temporarily occur when one of the missions is discovered. These strategic imperatives include the need to control the Baltic approaches in wartime, to control or neutralize Swedish natural resources and industrial capability, to protect the Karelian Isthmus land approach to the Soviet Union, and to support Soviet ground forces in any drive to seize the northern flank of Europe.[36]

The Soviet Union continues to probe Swedish waters and airspace and occasionally to harass Swedish air traffic. In September 1984 Sweden protested an incident in which a Soviet military aircraft followed a Swedish tourist charter flight for four miles in Swedish air space over the Baltic.[37]

Not all violations of Swedish territory, however, are so serious. On 8 February 1983, a helicopter flown by two defecting Polish Air Force officers landed undetected on Tarn Island (near the southern port of Karlshamn), designated as a top secret Swedish military zone. They searched the island until they found the only inhabitant and submitted to him their request for political asylum.[38]

As part of Sweden's policy of armed neutrality, all able-bodied males between the ages of 18 and 47 are liable for military service. Swedish males receive 15 months of basic training plus a series of refresher courses. Basic training is provided for 50,000 new conscripts each year. The Home Guard, a force of 100,000 older men, is equipped with assault rifles, submachine guns, and anti-tank weapons. These men keep their weapons at home and can respond to a mobilization order within hours.[39]

There are two branches of the Home Guards. The general Home Guard protects airfields, harbors, borderlines, lines of communications, and mobilization depots. The industrial Home Guard protects most government agencies, industries of military importance, the Parliament building, the National Bank, Swedish State Railways, the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation, and other key facilities.[40]

Due to the sophistication of Swedish industry, about 90 percent of all military equipment acquisitions is met by Swedish contractors, of which only about 15 percent is handled by foreign subcontractors. An organization known as FMV, the Defense Material Administration, is responsible for procurement, maintenance, and storage of equipment for the Swedish Armed Forces. This organization, consisting of 3,000 employees utilizes more than 2,000 different suppliers within domestic and foreign industry. About 30,000 people are employed by the Swedish defense industry.[41]

Scattered all across Sweden there are 5,000 depots for stockpiling Army equipment required during mobilization. Many civilian vehicles are pre-designated for wartime use.[42] Minefields are laid out in peacetime and ready for quick activation during mobilization. Many key roads and bridges are pre-chambered with explosives for destruction in the event of invasion.[43]

As part of its psychological defense, the Swedish government conducts frequent public opinion polls to sample public attitudes toward defense issues. At least 80 percent of the population feel that Sweden should offer armed resistance in the event of an attack, even if the outcome is uncertain. About 85% of the population are of the opinion that all male Swedes should

perform military service. Another aspect of its psychological defense is that Swedish telephone books have a section telling the population exactly what to do in case of attack and warning them not to pay attention to disinformation broadcasts such as those stating that "the mobilization has been cancelled." [44]

The success of the psychological defense program can be judged from the fact that over a million Swedes do volunteer work in activities supportive of the Armed Forces, such as Women's Auxiliaries, who serve in air and sea control centers as communications specialists; Transport Corps personnel, who volunteer to drive all kinds of vehicles, including heavy cross-country vehicles for the Armed Forces; the Red Cross; and many other organizations. Also, more than 250,000 Swedes belong to rifle and pistol shooting clubs. [45]

The Soviets also may be playing a psychological warfare game against Sweden. There have been isolated incidents of Swedish arms depots being broken into. Further, on 27 January 1985, Sweden grounded its fighter jets on suspicion that the crash of a Viggen jet may have been due to sabotage. Investigation showed that the crash was due to loose screws and other metal objects in the guidance system. [46] In October 1985, there was also a collision in the Baltic between a Swedish navy surveillance vessel and a Soviet minesweeper. The Swedish ship was shadowing a new Soviet Kilo class submarine when a Soviet minesweeper violated the international rules of the road and struck the Swedish ship, inflicting slight damage. The Swedes filmed the entire episode and released photographs to the world press showing that the fault lay with the Soviets who were trying to bully the Swedes and make them leave the area. [47]

With respect to civil defense, Sweden has shelters for more than five million people. More than three million gas masks are in storage. All citizens between the ages of 16 and 65 may be called up for civil defense duty. In a war, more than 200,000 Swedes would be part of the civil defense effort. [48]

Economic defense is also an important part of Swedish defense readiness. Vast stockpiles have been created for thick fabrics to make blankets and warm clothing. Raw materials and semi-finished products are stored for the textile industry. Salt and coal are stored in covered piles and old mine shafts. Oil is stored in underground tunnels. About 20,000 companies are considered essential to the war effort and are required to make emergency plans. So important is economic defense that two million people would be engaged in economic defense in some capacity during a war. [49]

Sweden's neutrality notwithstanding, her customs officials have cooperated with the United States in intercepting shipments of computers and programs illegally headed for the Soviet Union. [50]

The United States government understands and supports Sweden's policy of nonalignment in peacetime aimed at neutrality in war, recognizing that this posture contributes to stability in northern Europe. The Swedish-U.S. security assistance relationship consists of sales through FMS and commercial coproduction and purchase procedures. It is expected that Sweden will consider purchases of missiles, anti-tank weapons, coastal defense weapons, support items, spares, and aircraft technology. In addition, the U.S. has entered into purchase agreements to procure Swedish cross-country vehicles and anti-tank weapons.

The proposed FY 1987 security assistance program will assist Sweden in maintaining and modernizing its sophisticated military forces. Modern air defense and anti-armor weapons acquired from U.S. sources are essential to a credible defense. During FY 1987 and through the early 1990s Sweden is expected to upgrade and increase the number of its TOW anti-tank missile launchers; acquire helicopter squadrons equipped with the improved TOW missile; and both produce and purchase components of the Hellfire anti-tank system. It will also purchase

components to be used in production of Sweden's new generation, all-purpose fighter aircraft, the JAS-39 "Gripen."

It is clear that Sweden is very serious about maintaining a defense force adequate to preserve its neutrality and independence. U.S. support for Sweden in ensuring an effective Swedish defense force contributes to regional stability by reducing the temptation for Soviet or Warsaw Pact forces to seek a military advantage on NATO's northern flank.

SWITZERLAND

For centuries the Swiss, situated at the very crossroads of northern and southern Europe, have defied tyrants and maintained their independence and neutrality against threats from whatever direction. Switzerland is a small nation, about twice the size of New Jersey, with a population of 6.5 million. Her land boundaries total 1,171 miles, and include borders with Italy, France, West Germany, Austria, and Liechtenstein. Switzerland's geographic position, astride the communications lines between NATO's central and southern regions is evidence of an importance to the West far beyond what its physical size would suggest.

Julius Caesar conquered this important region, and so later did the armies of the French Revolution. Aside from these conquests, Switzerland has been successful for most of its history in maintaining its independence--from the time of the founding of the Swiss Confederation in 1291 to the present. This success has been due in part to the unique militia system that bonds the civilian and military features of citizenship so completely and effectively in Switzerland.

All physically fit male citizens serve in the armed forces from age 20 to 50. Like the case in the ancient Roman Republic, the bearing of arms is the visible sign of full Swiss citizenship. The centuries-old tradition of compulsory military service for every physically fit male citizen has resulted in an intimate alliance between the people and the army, to an extent unknown in any other country. The idea of general military service has not only sprung from the military principle of military preparedness of the country, but also from the constitutional principle of the equality of all citizens before the law.[51]

After finishing initial training, the young soldier returns home with his personal weapon, ammunition, equipment, and uniform. He is responsible for looking after them until he receives his discharge from the army at the age of 50.[52]

Switzerland was neutral during World War II and, like Sweden, Switzerland found it difficult and dangerous to maintain that neutrality. On 30 August 1939, two days before Hitler attacked Poland, the Swiss Parliament confirmed General Henri Guisan as Commander in Chief of the Swiss Armed Forces. On September 1, when Germany invaded Poland, General Guisan went before the Government and asked for authority to mobilize the Army. It was ordered the same day, and by noon on 3 September, when Britain declared war on Germany, the Swiss Army of 435,000 (out of a population then of 4.2 million) was deployed for defense of the nation.[53]

After the fall of France in June 1940, many people in Switzerland feared for their country's existence. They felt sure that where larger and more powerful nations had been unable to withstand the German military might, so too their tiny country would be condemned to a similar fate. At this time of despair, General Guisan quietly assembled all the senior Swiss Army officers in Rutli Meadow, the hallowed ground on which the Swiss Confederation had been founded in 1291. He inspired them with the courage to defend their country, to fight on to the last man, if necessary, in a national redoubt, and appealed to the concept of the Swiss as the guardians of the mountains, a mystical theme that recurs in Swiss literature.[54] The effect was profound and energized the efforts not only of the Army but of the whole nation.

Adolf Hitler, who was not the easiest man to deter from committing acts of aggression, and who had annexed or attacked Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, and France, and was yet to attack many other nations, was dissuaded from launching an invasion of Switzerland because he knew the German tiger would get a mouth full of quills if it bit into the Swiss porcupine. Even so, Switzerland was not completely spared a taste of the war in Europe. There were numerous dogfights between intruding German aircraft and defending Swiss aircraft in which the Swiss gave a very good account of themselves. Upon the fall of France, thousands of French soldiers fled into Switzerland to be interned. British bombers, enroute to bomb German and Italian targets, often violated Swiss airspace, were regularly fired upon by Swiss anti-aircraft fire, and sometimes mistakenly dropped bombs on Swiss territory. The United States also violated Swiss airspace and mistakenly dropped bombs on Swiss territory, for which the United States later paid reparations.[55]

With an armed forces consisting at any given time of about 1,500 regulars and 18,000 recruits, Switzerland can mobilize 1,100,000 men within 48 hours, a rapidity and thoroughness of mobilization that would be hard to equal by any other nation in the world. Switzerland spends more than 20% of its national budget on defense and receives a very significant amount of voluntary support from its citizens in defense related activities that do not show up in budget figures. This includes the tens of thousands of Swiss servicemen who take part in voluntary rifle competitions, ski maneuvers, and cross-country marches, etc., which they do without pay.[56] Swiss defense forces are equipped with modern weapons of either Swiss design and manufacture or those purchased from other Western countries.

U.S. security assistance for Switzerland provides the basis for the upgrade and modernization of Switzerland's air defense artillery and anti-armor forces. Prospective FMS cash or commercial sales include: M-109 howitzers; Sidewinder, Stinger, and TOW missile systems; an anti-tank helicopter, such as the AH-1S, 500 MD, or S-76; a transport helicopter such as the UH-60; and possibly the Patriot air defense system.

Switzerland is a democratic country subscribing to many of the same ideals to which the United States is devoted. It is a stable, prosperous country occupying an important strategic position in Central Europe. It is in the best interest of the United States and Western Europe that Switzerland continue to have the necessary military strength to safeguard her independence and neutrality.

CONCLUSIONS

It is clear that the United States has many common interests with the neutral nations of Western Europe. These nations are Western-oriented, democratic in form of government, and have market economies. They have small, but highly proficient military forces, and occupy strategic locations on NATO's northern and southern flanks. It is very much in the best interest of the United States that we continue the existing security assistance arrangements with these nations and study their mobilization techniques, some of which may be applicable to the more effective defense of our own nation.

ENDNOTES

1. Virtually all statistics in this article dealing with size, population, borders, trade partners, defense spending, and size of military forces came from *Kaleidoscope: Current World Data*, an index card format information service also known as *Deadline Data on World Affairs*. This source will not be separately cited hereafter.
2. *Background Notes: Austria*, U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, August 1983.

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4. *Congressional Presentation Document (CPD) for FY 86*, p. 184. All statements in this article relating to U.S. objectives for a given country and the specific details of the U.S. security assistance relationship came from the applicable pages of the CPDs for FY 86 and for FY 87. These will not be separately cited hereafter.
5. Engle, Eloise and Paananen, Lauri, "Furious Front Across Finland," *Military History*, February 1986, p. 18.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
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12. Pasca, T.M., "Finlandization and the Finns," *The Nation*, May 1983, p. 633.
13. *Ibid.*
14. "Finnish National Defense," p. 10, p. 38; Brochure: *The Finnish Defense Forces*, undated.
15. *The Finnish Defense Forces*.
16. "Finnish National Defense," pp. 35-37.
17. *Background Notes: Sweden*, U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, October 1982.
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19. Andersson and Weibull, *Swedish History in Brief*, p. 58.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*; Hadenius, *Swedish Politics During the 20th Century*, p. 53.
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