THE CORNERSTONES OF THE SWISS SECURITY POLICY

Summary:
In order to comprehend the specific features of Switzerland and its security policy in today’s geopolitical context, the author first refers to the historical figure of Lieutenant Colonel Franz von Erlach, who participated in the Polish insurrection of 1863 as an observer, drawing valuable conclusions therefore, which had at the time an impact on Swiss military thinking. He then follows with a short overview of Swiss military history, which subsequently leads to situating contemporary Switzerland in its geographical, political and institutional environment. Finally, the author addresses the essential aspects of Switzerland’s current national defence, military organisation and security policy.

Keywords:
Swiss Armed Forces, territorial defence, Swiss security policy

Poland and Switzerland – two democratic states of law: analogies and differences

Whereas Poland is a parliamentary republic, Switzerland is a federal state, or a Confederation of 26 administrative cantons, each of which has preserved its sovereignty, government, parliament and courts, while renouncing part of its sovereignty as regards diplomacy, national defence, customs and currency – for which they delegated responsibility to the superior state, i.e. the Swiss Confederation. Certain competencies are shared between the Confederation and the cantons. The special characteristic of the Swiss Confederation, whose creation dates back to 1291, is that it is composed of four linguistic regions. Four national languages are spoken in the same country: French, German, Italian and Romansch. In Poland, just as in Switzerland, the Constitution sets out the rights, the division of competencies and the organisation of the state. The Constitution is the supreme legal norm, comprising the guiding principles of the State law and order. The Constitution of the Republic of Poland dates from 1997. The Swiss Federal Constitution, in turn, dates from 1999. It replaced one
from 1874 that had been amended almost 140 times over 125 years. In democratic states of law, such as Poland and Switzerland, power is divided among the legislative, the executive and the judiciary.

Lieutenant Colonel Franz von Erlach and the Polish insurrection of 1863

Before I get into the main body of the subject that is the foundations of Swiss security policy and the organisation of its military forces, I would like to start with a political and historical reminder.

On 4 December 2012, when the President of the Republic of Poland paid an official visit to Switzerland, Madam Eveline Widmer-Schlumpf, President of the Swiss Confederation, said: Two of your predecessors who played prominent roles in the Polish Republic in the period between the two World Wars, Gabriel Narutowicz and Ignacy Mościcki, were also Swiss citizens and lived and worked in our country for a long time. (...) Conversely, Swiss citizens also participated in Poland’s fight for freedom in many ways. Franz von Erlach, Lieutenant Colonel of the Swiss army, participated in the Polish insurrection in 1863. The experiences that he reported in a book exerted a durable impact on the development of the Swiss army. You brought this fact up yourself, Mister President, during a visit by the President of the Swiss Confederation in Poland in 2011.

Who was Franz von Erlach? As a superior officer of the artillery and a member of the General Military Staff, he was sent to Poland in 1863 as an observer of the Polish so-called January insurrection. When he returned, he wrote a work titled Die Kriegsführung Der Polen Im Jahr 1863 Nach Eigenen Beobachtungen (Polish people’s warfare in 1863 according to my observations). This book was destined to become during a short period an important landmark in Switzerland’s military history.

In fact, in Switzerland, the ideas developed by von Erlach were discussed in the highest military circles with a view to setting up a model of national defence inspired by the Polish example, uniting the state, the people and the army.

In other words, the point was to develop a strategy in Switzerland based on a levy en masse of all men capable of carrying arms, and applying the guerrilla concept – a strategy and tactics based on efficient action by groups of partisans and the Swiss people’s well-known skills in shooting. A doctrine that builds on the desire for defence and independence that has characterised the Swiss cantons and their well-trained militias for so many centuries. For von Erlach, the example of Polish insurgents proved that an army of volunteers, well-organised

---

and morally strong, with robust and rustic armaments, was able to resist against powerful armies. Based on his Polish experience, von Erlach subsequently developed his vision of a “small war” or “Kleinkrieg” in his work published in 1867: *Die Freiheitskriege kleiner Völker gegen große Heere (Liberation wars of small peoples against large armies)*. His books were a great success.

**Swiss military concept**

This takes us to the core of a Swiss military concept, which was, however, quite rapidly abandoned due to the development of the military art and new dimensions taken by modern wars, namely at the time of the Prussian victory over Austria at Sadowa in 1866, and over France in 1870-71, with a combination of various elements such as firepower, shock and engagement, manoeuvre and uncertainty.

As far as the military strategy and “military thinking” is concerned, we know the famous figures of Clausewitz in Prussia, or Chevalier de Folard and Comte de Guibert in France. In France and in Switzerland, the school of thought illustrated by Antoine-Henri de Jomini was celebrated for a long time, and often those two giants of the military art – Jomini and Clausewitz – were compared and contrasted with each other.

However, it is good to remember today that Jomini was a citizen of the Vaud and a Swiss officer. Being a theoretician of military strategy, being part of the General Staff of Napoleon and then that of Tsar Alexander I, he well deserves his nickname of “Devin de Napoléon”.

This proves that is a real “military thinking” in Switzerland. This specific Swiss concept had been developing since the Middle Ages. It evolved, taking into account the geography and history of the swiss cantons, sovereign states that had their own armed forces, and, from the beginning of modern Switzerland in 1848 and in particular from 1874, taking into account the Swiss political culture founded on federalism, direct democracy and the search for consensus, the very specific concept that some call “the Swiss compromise”.

**Brief review of Switzerland’s military history – 1291 until 1798**

In order to understand the current foundations of Swiss security policy and the organisation of its military forces, it is first necessary to know a bit more about Switzerland’s military history.

It is often an unknown fact abroad that, in its history, Switzerland has experienced several wars between the Confederates on political or religious

---

grounds, as well as a short civil war (25 days) between the seven Catholic conservative cantons and the majority liberal cantonal governments – the Sonderbund – in 1847. Since the beginning of their common history in 1291, the Swiss cantons established what can nowadays be called a military organisation in the form of cantonal militias. In fact, until the French invasion in 1798 and the collapse of the old Confederation, there were no centralised armed forces. The first “Swiss military law” dates back to 1393. It was called “Convenant de Sempach” at the time when the Confederation was composed of eight former cantons. In order to discuss issues of general interest concerning all the cantons, Diets - assemblies were established and held in various places, to which each canton delegated its deputies. When there was a threat of war, the cantons proceeded to perform the necessary military preparations and army service was compulsory for all men of an age capable of carrying a weapon. This system lasted until 1798 when the old Confederation of 13 cantons collapsed following the invasion by the armies of the French Republic\(^5\).

**Swiss neutrality**

It was in 1674 that the assembled “Federal Diet” proclaimed, for the first time in the history of the Swiss people, neutrality as a principle of the state government at the time of the war between France and the Netherlands\(^6\).

Since the military defeat of the Swiss by the king of France François I at the battle of Marignan in Italy (1515), which represented a halt to the external conquests of the Swiss cantons, as well as the consequences of the Thirty Years’ War, the Swiss tendency to avoid any conflict with other powers was reinforced. This attitude was dictated by political pragmatism, given that the Swiss Confederation was an alliance requiring permanent care due to the diversity of the cantons. Let us skip forward a few centuries in order to examine Switzerland’s situation during the wars that followed the French Revolution. After the collapse of the old Confederation in 1798, Switzerland's territory was the battlefield of Europe, with the armies of France, Austria and Russia clashing there in 1799.

After a period of both internal and external upheaval, which ended after Napoleon’s defeat, diplomats throughout Europe gathered in Vienna and decided that Switzerland’s neutrality was in Europe’s interest. On 20 November 1815, the great powers declared that Switzerland’s neutrality and inviolability, as well as its independence from any external influence, was in the true interest of all of Europe\(^7\).

Since that era, the principle of neutrality was confirmed on numerous occasions on the international arena. The reconstituted and enlarged Confeder-

---


\(^7\) C. E. Black et al., *Neutralization and World Politics*, Princeton 1968, p. XI.
tion adopted a new military organisation in 1817 by which all the cantons had to abide. The federal General Staff was established. This system showed its limits at the time of covering the borders during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. These experiences brought to light the defects of the Swiss military system, which led to the amendment of the Constitution in 1874, and to the establishment of a real federal army in the form of cantonal contingents, which, once gathered, formed the Federal Army under the command of a general appointed by the Federal Government in the case of great danger and general mobilisation. From that time on, all military training was assigned to the Confederation and a structure was created, composed of the “Elite” (age classes from 20 to 32), the “Landwehr” (age classes from 33 to 44). It was decided to build massive fortifications in the Alps. In 1907, a new organisation was adopted, and the “Landsturm” (age classes from 41 to 48) was established in addition to the Elite and the Landwehr. New improvements were implemented between 1924 and 1938.

1914-1918

During the general mobilisation at the beginning of the First World War, nearly 250,000 men and 400 artillery cannons were mobilised and deployed within three days. During the war, Switzerland was capable of ensuring that its armed neutrality was respected. In this context, as far as humanitarian issues are concerned, we have to recall today the important humanitarian and logistical operation conducted by the Red Cross, which ensured the repatriation of injured soldiers by sanitary trains with special equipment. The year 1914 was also the start of a period of high tension between the French-speaking and the German-speaking parts of Switzerland.

After the war, in the mid-1930s, important changes were made in order to enhance the efficiency of the Swiss army, as the political situation in Europe suggested that a new conflict was about to break out.

1939-1945

On 28 August 1939, the Federal Council (the Swiss government) mobilised its border troops and then, on 2 September, a general mobilisation took place.

---


After the defeat of France in June 1940, Switzerland found itself strategically in a very difficult situation. Already on 19 June, German troops were in Lyon, and the French and Polish forces still holding the French Jura and the Doubs were facing the risk of being surrounded by Guderian’s panzer units that were descending along the Swiss border. On 19 June, the 45th Army Corps of General Daille, which included the Polish 2nd Rifle Division under the command of General Bronislaw Prugar-Ketling (2. Dywizja Strzelców Pieszych), requested to be interned in Switzerland. When the war began in 1939, Switzerland mobilized 430,000 soldiers out and 200,000 men of the Complementary Service of a population of 4.2 million. In order to reinforce the fighting troops, General Henri Guisan, the chief of the army, ordered the establishment of local defence units in every town and village. Thus, age classes released from service but composed of good shooters formed Local Guards in 2,835 communities of the country. In addition, 18,000 women joined the Complementary Women’s Corp (Service complémentaire Féminin - SCF)\(^\text{11}\).

After June 1940, The Swiss commander in chief, General Henri Guisan adopted a new strategy of defence called *The Reduit national*. The army had to take new positions within the heavy fortified redoubt fortress of the Swiss Alps in July 1940 to resistant defend the independence in all cases. The «Reduit national» lasted until autumn 1944\(^\text{12}\).

**After 1945**

After the Second World War, in the climate of the Cold War that was taking over Europe, Geneva’s international vocation was reinforced and the city became the host for the European headquarters of the United Nations. Since that time, Geneva, the strong arm of Switzerland’s foreign policy, has established itself as one of the main centres of international politics where multilateral diplomacy is practised all the time. At the time when numerous conflicts, including that in Korea, on the Indian sub-continent as well as in Africa, set the world ablaze, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) made the spirit of Geneva radiate all around. At that time also, CERN was established in Geneva, following the ratification of the convention by 12 European states on 29 September 1954\(^\text{13}\).


Swiss concept of defence in the post-war era

In 1980s, the Federal Council (Switzerland’s collegial government) declared: Switzerland does not have an army... It is an army. Just this sentence symbolises what national defence represents for Switzerland and the Swiss people. Switzerland has just one desire: to defend its territorial integrity and its inhabitants in any situation whatsoever, in compliance with the neutrality policy that has characterised its action for centuries. Switzerland does not have any hegemonic ambitions, does not belong to any military alliance and does not have any colonial track record.

Fortunately, Switzerland came out of the war unscathed. Based on the experiences gained during the period of mobilisation between 1939 and 1945, the military organisation was improved, which led to the following changes within the military organisation in 1961 called Army 61, replaced by a new concept in 1995, which took into account the changed nature of threats at the end of the Cold War. A new adaptation and important reforms of the armed forces took place in 2004 with the implementation of the « ARMY XXI » project. The army personnel was set at 220,000 men, and the length of service for soldiers was reduced from 300 to 260 days for all men declared fit for service and aged between 18 and 35. The defence budget was then set at CHF 4.3 billion.

The features specific to Switzerland are:
- geographical setting;
- global interconnectness;
- several languages;
- federalism;
- direct democracy, collective government;
- militia system;
- no military attack since 1798;
- no colonial past;
- neutrality, not member of EU or NATO.

Switzerland today

Switzerland is a country with ca. 8.33 millions inhabitants (foreign population 24.6%):

---

from the geographical point of view, 41'285 km².
- structure: One Confederation, 26 cantons, 2551 Municipalities.

The Federal Palace (Bundeshaus, Palais fédéral, Palazzo federale, Chasa federala) is the name of the building in Bern in which the Swiss government (Federal Council) and the Swiss Federal Assembly (Parliament) are housed. Switzerland is a country of linguistic and religious diversity:
- four languages: German 63.7%, French 20.4%, Italian 6.5%, Romansh 0.4% Others 9%;
- religions: Roman Catholics 41.8%, Protestants, 35.3%, Muslims 4.3%, Orthodox 1.8% Other Christians 0.4% Hindus 0.4%, Buddhists 0.3%, Jews 0.2%, others 0.1% atheists 11.1%, without indications 4.3%.

The most important cities of Switzerland are:
- Zurich: ca 373’000 inhabitants;
- Geneva: ca 200’000;
- Basle: ca. 167’000;
- Lausanne: ca 130’000;
- Bern: ca 125’000;
- Lausanne: ca 130’000.

Direct Democracy

The people have „the last word“ with the system of direct democracy. On Federal level, the instruments of direct democracy are the Mandatory Referendum, the Optional Legislative Referendum and the Popular Initiative

Principle of Subsidiary

Every task shall be accomplished at the lowest possible level. Rather each new competence that is not mentioned in the constitution automatically falls within cantonal jurisdiction.

Table 1. Main distribution of policy areas provided by the Federal Constitution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Areas of responsibility</th>
<th>Confederation</th>
<th>Cantons</th>
<th>Municipalities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>External Policy</td>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>Local Service Delivery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Building and upkeep of local roads</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monetary Policy</td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Gas, electricity and water supply</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National sovereignty</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Waste removal services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social security</td>
<td>Health</td>
<td>Local and land use planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>Police</td>
<td>Election of teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy</td>
<td>Social Service</td>
<td>Building of schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructures</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### The Swiss Armed Forces

Mission-defence, support for civilian authorities, military peace support. Force development 100,000. Enhanced training, modern and complete equipment, higher readiness, regional roots.

The Swiss Armed Forces operate on land, in the air, and in also on our lakes (international waters).

Military service is obligation for all young Swiss citizens who are conscripted when they reach the age of 20. Women may volunteer for any position. People who are unfit for military service serve within the civil protection service.

The prime role of the Swiss Armed Forces is Home Defence. Switzerland is not part of any multinational war-fighting structure, but individual Armed Forces members do take part in international missions. Operating as a neutral country, Switzerland's army does not take part in armed conflicts in other countries.

However, over the years, the Swiss army has been part of several peacekeeping missions around the world. The Swiss Army play for example a key role as support unit with the Swiss Army Mission in Kosovo. Switzerland is since 1953 part of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission (NNSC) which was created to monitor the armistice between North and South Korea. Switzerland joined the Partnership for Peace programme of NATO in 1996 and is a member of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council since 1997\(^\text{18}\).


Personal equipment: the structure of the Swiss militia system stipulates that the soldiers keep their own personal equipment, including their personal weapons, at home.

Actually the Landforces consists of:

---

the brigades – most military personnel do their refresher courses here;
the training units that provide basic training for every person liable to military service, i.e. recruit and cadres schools. They are also in charge of the professional staff;
the territorial regions, are responsible for the cooperation with the civilian authorities in the cantons and for the spatial coordination. Four territorial regions link the Land Forces on a military and political base with the cantons by coordinating territorial tasks inside of their sector and are immediately responsible for the security of their regions, depending only on the decisions of the Federal Government.

Development of the Army – Project DEVA 2016:
- strength: 100,000;
- reserve: 15%;
- budget CHF: 5 Billion;
- basic military duty for a soldier: Total duty: 245 days = basic training + 6 periods of 19 days = total 245 days, (actually 260)\(^9\).

The reserves are composed of citizens liable for military service who are no longer obliged to carry out the training service. Reserve officers – within the scope of troop training services, officers incorporated in the reserves can be called on to perform services with their units\(^20\).

A few facts about military equipment of the Swiss armed forces:
- tanks and armoured vehicles: 380 LEOPARD 2A4 tanks (Panzer 87 WertErhaltung), M113 APC and Grenadier APC, Piranha AFV (total number of 2000);
- artillery: 224 Armoured howitzers M 109 KAWEST;
- Swiss Airforce: the front-line air defence asset consists of F/A18 C/D Hornets and F-5 Tiger. The F/A-18 pilots are full-time professional military; the F-5 pilots are largely reservists. Other: Super Puma, Cougar, PC-6 Turbo-Porter; drones ADS-95\(^21\).

Since 1989, there have been several attempts to curb military activity or even abolish the armed forces altogether, but the last referendum held shortly


after the New-York terrorist attacks in 2001 was defeated by more than 77% of the voters\textsuperscript{22}.

**Swiss Security Policy today**

The cornerstones of the Swiss Security Policy are: the Federal Constitution, the Neutrality concept, the Cooperation and the Militia forces (general conscription).

What is Security Policy about?

Security policy includes all measures taken by the Confederation, the cantons and the municipalities to prevent, repel and overcome threats or actions motivated by criminal intent or power politics that may restrict the self-determination of Switzerland and its population or cause harm to them.

**Switzerland’s security policy interests and goals**

Swiss security policy is aimed at protecting Switzerland’s and its population’s freedom of action, independence and integrity as well as its essential resources against direct and indirect threats and dangers while contributing to stability and peace beyond our borders. The basic strategy of the security policy consists in establishing efficient and effective interaction of the security policy resources of Swiss Confederation, the cantons and the communes a Swiss security network and in cooperating with other states to prevent, ward off and overcome existing and emerging threats and dangers.

Security policy concern also cyber-aspects, illegal acquisition and manipulation of data, corruption of IT systems. The cyber-aspects exacerbate existing risks are: spying by states, companies and individuals. Corruption of IT by technologically advances states. Switzerland is an attractive target for espionage (economy, international organisations).

Another aspect concern terrorism and violent extremism. Switzerland is also facing threats of political and religious motives driven by events abroad. Swiss presence abroad is facing risks. Other aspects are the home grown terrorism, the return of foreign fighters. Disasters and emergencies aspects are natural disasters, storms, floods, avalanches, droughts, forest fires, earthquakes, pandemic, climate changes which lead to more extreme weather events. The technical disasters could be nuclear or chemical accidents, collapse of dams, tunnel fires.

**What about an armed aggression?**

Large consequences, low probability. Switzerland is geographically and politically well located. (Lessons from Ukraine conflict). Nevertheless, it is

\textsuperscript{22} L’armée suisse à lépreuve des urnes, <http://www.swissinfo.ch/fre/dossiers/l-arm%C3%A9e-suisse-%C3%A0-l%C3%A9preuve-des-urnes> (24.11.2016).
important to consider the risk of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and delivery systems. Today, what constitutes armed attack is subject to change (new weapons, new actors).

Other threats can concern the interruption of supply, the « third area » of cyber effects in addition to espionage and crime. Interruption of supply can also be caused by natural dangers, accidents and armed conflicts, stockpiling and international arrangements and negative effects of shift of production facilities to other countries.

The instruments of the Security Policy are:
- on Federal level : The foreign policy, the armed forces, civil protection and intelligence services, the police, the economic policy and the customs administration;
- on Cantons and Municipalities level: Fire brigades, Health services, Utilities, Civil defence and police forces.

The Swiss Foreign policy instruments can be described as follow:
- civilian peace support;
- human right policy;
- international humanitarian law;
- arms control and disarmament;
- development cooperation;
- humanitarian assistance;
- policy of neutrality.

Conclusion

As the Swiss army is a so-called militia army, in other words, an army composed of citizens with regular military training, a credible territorial defence warrants a certain number of conditions to be satisfied in order to be operational. The conditions are as follows: a constitutional and legal framework requiring support from the civil society, financial means commensurate with the pursued strategic goal (budget), an engagement doctrine as well as a credible logistic infrastructure, efficient military organisation, both as regards the recruitment and the training of troops and cadres, and finally, clearly defined missions assigned to the armed forces by the political authorities. If those prerequisites were valid yesterday, they are even more so today. As far as the defence of the Swiss territory is concerned, a so-called militia-based army cannot be improvised. It is the result of a long process of maturation, with its foundations in the country’s history and in the past experiences on the one hand, and in the analysis of the threat on the other hand, both building on the strong desire for defence and on a prospective doctrine to be constantly reassessed.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Books:

✓ Black C.E. et al., Neutralization and World Politics, Princeton 1968
✓ Centre d'Histoire et de Prospective militaire, La pensée militaire suisse de 1800 à nos jours, Actes du Symposium 2012, Pully 2013
✓ Erlach von F., Die Kriegsführung Der polen Im Jahr 1863 Nach Eigenen Beobachtungen, Darmstadt & Leipzig 1866. Reprints from the collection of the University of Michigan Library, Mlibrary <http://www.lib.umich.edu>
✓ Guisan H., Rapport du Général Guisan à l'Assemblée fédérale sur le service actif 1939-1945, Lausanne 1946
✓ Halbrook S.P., La Suisse face aux Nazis, Bière 2011
✓ International Commission of Military History, Insurgency and Counterinsurgency – irregular Warfare from 1800 to the present, XXXVI International Congress of Military History Amsterdam, 29 August-3 September 2010, Hague 2011
✓ Langendorf J.J, Bühlmann Ch., Vuitel A., Le feu et la plume – hommage à Daniel Reichel, Bière 2010
✓ Schwok R., Politique extérieure de la Suisse après la Guerre froide, Lausanne 2012
✓ Walter F., Histoire de la Suisse – certitudes et incertitudes du temps présent de 1930 à nos jours, tome 5, Neuchâtel 2010
✓ Weber R., Vue d'ensemble de l'Histoire Militaire Suisse, Berne 1925

Internet portals:

✓ Evolution de la population suisse, des taux démographiques et de la répartition par âges aux XXe et XXIe s., <https://clio-texte.clionautes.org/Evolution-de-la-population-suisse.html> (24.11.2016)
✓ L'armée suisse à l'épreuve des urnes, <http://www.swissinfo.ch/fre/dossiers/l-arm%C3%A9e-suisse-%C3%A0-l-%C3%A9preuve-des-urnes> (24.11.2016)

Press:
✓ Maissen T., La neutralité suisse n'est pas née à Marignan, Tribune de Genève, Genève, 16 June 2015
✓ Vuilleumier Ch., l'histoire suisse en guerre, l'HEBDO, blog, Ringier, Lausanne, 16 April 2015

Scientific conference:
✓ Dr. Matthias Michel, Member of the Zug Cantonal Government and of the Conference of Cantonal Governments (CCG) Swiss federalism – a model for the European Union?, keynote address, College of Europe, Natolin Campus, Friday 22 March 2013, organised by the Swiss Embassy in Poland.