China's European Headquarters

During the Cold War, the People's Republic of China used Switzerland as headquarters for its economic, political, intelligence, and cultural networks in Europe. Based on extensive research in Western and Chinese archives, *China's European Headquarters* charts not only how Switzerland came to play this role, but also how Chinese networks were built in practice, often beyond the public face of official proclamations and diplomatic interactions. By tracing the development of Sino-Swiss relations in the Cold War, Ariane Knüsel sheds new light on the People's Republic of China's formulation and implementation of foreign policy in Europe, Latin America, and Africa, and Switzerland's efforts to align neutrality, humanitarian engagement, and economic interests.

Ariane Knüsel is Associate Researcher at the University of Fribourg and the University of Basel's Europainstitut.

Cambridge Studies in the History of the People's Republic of China

Series Editors

Jeremy Brown, Jacob Eyferth, Daniel Leese, Michael Schoenhals

Cambridge Studies in the History of the People's Republic of China is a major series of ambitious works in the social, political, and cultural history of socialist China. Aided by a wealth of new sources, recent research pays close attention to regional differences, to perspectives from the social and geographical margins, and to the unintended consequences of Communist Party rule. Books in the series contribute to this historical re-evaluation by presenting the most stimulating and rigorously researched works in the field to a broad audience. The series invites submissions from a variety of disciplines and approaches, based on written, material or oral sources. Particularly welcome are those works that bridge the 1949 and 1978 divides, and those that seek to understand China in an international or global context.

Cambridge University Press 978-1-009-16946-2 — China's European Headquarters Ariane Knüsel Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

China's European Headquarters

Switzerland and China during the Cold War

Ariane Knüsel University of Fribourg



Cambridge University Press 978-1-009-16946-2 — China's European Headquarters Ariane Knüsel Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009169462 DOI: 10.1017/9781009169486

© Ariane Knüsel 2022

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2022

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Names: Knüsel, Ariane, author. Title: China's European headquarters : Switzerland and China during the Cold War / Ariane Knüsel, University of Fribourg. Other titles: Switzerland and China during the Cold War Description: Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2022. Series: Cambridge studies in the history of the People's Republic of China Includes bibliographical references and index. Identifiers: LCCN 2021056136 (print) | LCCN 2021056137 (ebook) ISBN 9781009169462 (hardback) | ISBN 9781009169479 (paperback) ISBN 9781009169486 (ebook) Subjects: LCSH: Switzerland - Foreign relations - China. | China - Foreign relations - Switzerland. | Cold War. | China - Foreign relations - 1949-1976. | Switzerland - Foreign relations - 1945- | BISAC: HISTORY / Asia / General Classification: LCC a DQ76.S9 K58 2022 (print) | LCC a DQ76.S9 (ebook) | DDC 327.494051-dc23/eng/20220111 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021056136 LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021056137 ISBN 978-1-009-16946-2 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press 978-1-009-16946-2 — China's European Headquarters Ariane Knüsel Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

To Alanna, Holly, and Daryl

Cambridge University Press 978-1-009-16946-2 — China's European Headquarters Ariane Knüsel Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Contents

	List of Figures	page ix	
	Acknowledgements	х	
	Note on the Text	xii	
	List of Abbreviations	xiii	
	Introduction	1	
1	Creating a European Hub: Recognition, Potential,		
	and Frictions (1949–1958)	16	
	1.1 Establishing Sino-Swiss Official Relations	17	
	1.2 The Chinese Missions in Bern and Geneva	24	
	1.3 Swiss Neutrality and Political Relations in the 1950s	37	
	1.4 Evading the Embargo	48	
	1.5 Sino-Swiss Trade from 1950 to 1957	61	
2	Becoming a Global Hub: The Sino-Soviet Split, the Great		
	Leap Forward, and Tibetan Refugees (1958–1965)	83	
	2.1 The Sino-Soviet Split and Bern as a Global Chinese Hub	84	
	2.2 Tibet and Tibetan Refugees in Switzerland	107	
	2.3 Economic Relations from 1958 to 1965	119	
3	'A Sick Man Shaken by Fits of Madness': Dealing with		
	China during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976)	144	
	3.1 Rebels in the Chinese Foreign Ministry	145	
	3.2 The Diplomatic Scandal of 1967	154	
	3.3 The Calm after the Storm: Bilateral Relations from 1970 to 1976	167	
	3.4 Sino-Swiss Trade during the Cultural Revolution	174	
4	Dr No in Switzerland: Bern as a Chinese Intelligence Hub 19		
	4.1 Chinese Intelligence and Foreign Policy	195	
	4.2 The Federal Police, Anti-communism, and Swiss		
	Counterintelligence	201	
	4.3 The Press and Chinese Agents in Switzerland	206	
	4.4 Intelligence Agents among Chinese Diplomatic Staff	210	
	4.5 Keeping Track of Chinese Agents	228	
	4.6 Intelligence Networks Operated by Chinese Diplomats	237	

vii

viii		Contents		
	5	Conclusion: A New Cold War or More of the Same?	270	
		Bibliography Index	277 302	
		Index	302	

Figures

0.1	René Gilsi, 'Die chinesische Botschaft in Bern beschäftigt einen unverhältnismässig grossen Personalbestand',	
	Nebelspalter, 91:45 (1965)	page 3
1.1	Swiss trade with China in million CHF, 1950–1989	72
1.2	Chinese trade with Switzerland in million US\$, 1950–1989	9 72
1.3	Most valuable exports from the PRC, Hong Kong, and the	2
	ROC to Switzerland in million CHF, 1950–1957	74
1.4	Most valuable Swiss exports to the PRC, Hong Kong, and	
	the ROC in million CHF, 1950–1958	76
1.5	Gregor Rabinovitch, 'China', Nebelspalter, 77:40 (1951)	81
2.1	Lindi, untitled cartoon, Nebelspalter, 91:37 (1965)	89
2.2	A. M. Cay, 'Chinesische Plage über Tibet' (Chinese Plague	e
	over Tibet), Nebelspalter, 85:27 (1959)	110
2.3	Most valuable Chinese exports to Switzerland in million	
	CHF, 1960–1965	126
2.4	Most valuable Swiss exports to China in million CHF,	
	1960–1965	127
2.5	Western European exports to China in million US\$, 1962-	_
	1966	132
2.6	Geographic distribution of embargo goods dealers in	
	contact with the Chinese embassy in Bern (1964–1965)	138
2.7	Contact network of embargo goods dealers involved with	
	the Chinese embassy in Bern (1964–1965)	142
3.1	Swiss trade with China in million CHF, 1963–1969	175
3.2	European exports to China in million US\$, 1972–1976	181
3.3	Swiss residents in China, 1966–1989	189
3.4	Most valuable Chinese exports to Switzerland in million	
	CHF, 1970–1979	192

ix

Acknowledgements

This book has been as much a labour of love as a test of endurance. While I was researching close to 100,000 archival files, scouring countless books for potentially relevant information, and writing the manuscript, I was also working as a history teacher and had two babies. This book grew out of the research that I carried out for the Swiss National Science Foundation research project 'Les relations sino-suisses au temps de la guerre froide: Une "rupture impossible"? (1949–1989)' at the University of Fribourg. I tremendously enjoyed being part of the team along with Cyril Cordoba and James Barras, and would like to thank Claude Hauser for having been such a wonderful supervisor. I am also grateful for the Swiss Federal Archive's permission to research and discuss thousands of archival files that are still classified. Several former Swiss diplomats, including Dominique Dreyer, Peter Hutzli, Rodolphe Imhoof, Erwin Schurtenberger, Uli Sigg, and Gaudenz von Salis, allowed me to interview them about their experiences in China, and their insights were invaluable. I would also like to thank all the other people who shared their experiences around China with me. Sacha Zala and Thomas Bürgisser at Dodis have been very supportive of this project, as has the Kantonsschule Baden, where Daniel Franz, Karl Kürtös, and many others allowed me to balance my teaching and research loads. I am also thankful for Claude Hauser, Madeleine Herren-Oesch, and Ralph Weber's support, allowing me to join the University of Fribourg and the Europainstitute's research and teaching networks.

A stay at the Wilson Center allowed me to focus completely on my research; discuss my findings with Chuck Kraus, Christian Ostermann, Riccarda Toriani, and others; and take advantage of interlibrary loans (thank you, Wilson Center librarians!). I am extremely grateful to Marco Wyss, Christof Dejung, Thomas Bürgisser, Anja Dogan, Simon Hofmann, and Cyril Cordoba, who took time off from their own busy schedules to read chapters and write thoughtful feedback. I also benefited a great deal from comments made on article manuscripts by Giles Scott-Smith, Marco Wyss, Janick Schaufelbuehl, Sandra Bott, Chuck Kraus,

x

Cambridge University Press 978-1-009-16946-2 — China's European Headquarters Ariane Knüsel Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Acknowledgements

Enrico Fardella, and Valeria Zanier, as well as anonymous reviewers for the *Journal of Cold War History* and the *Journal of Cold War Studies*. I would also like to thank the editors of this series, Jiang Huajie, and an anonymous reader for their suggestions.

Jiang Huajie, Michael Schoenhals, Zuoyue Wang, Chuck Kraus, Jon Howlett, and others suggested or shared literature and/or archival files, and several members from the H-PRC community replied to questions I posted there. Since I carried out most of the research and writing on my own without being part of a large university network, I am deeply grateful for all emails and conversations I have had with scholars over the last few years on this topic. Marco Zanoli, Pim van Bree, and Geert Kessels helped me with map-related issues. Michael Laufer answered many questions relating to economics and visualising graphs, and Daniela Tenger's Dutch skills are awesome. My parents, Gisela and Otto Knüsel, have been extremely supportive throughout the research and writing of this book. Swiss libraries did not stock relevant Chinese books, forcing me to buy most of them myself. Several people helped me track down books in China whenever I was unable to do so, which is highly appreciated. Thank you also to Lucy Rhymer, Rachel Blaifeder, Lisa Carter, John Gaunt, and everybody else involved in the production of the book at Cambridge University Press.

Travelling to archives as a breastfeeding mother was a logistical nightmare. Large parts of the final text were written with a sleeping baby either on my lap or next to me. It also did not help that both of my girls think that sleep during the night is overrated. I ended up spending many weekends and most holidays over the last few years working on this project. For this, I would like to apologise to my husband Daryl and the girls. Daryl has single-handedly kept our family going, and he has not only patiently listened to me discuss my ideas and research issues but also read and commented on numerous drafts of this manuscript. I cannot express how grateful I am for this and how much I am looking forward to spending future weekends (and holidays!) with my family.

xi

Note on the Text

Chinese printed sources are cited in Pinyin in the footnotes. They are listed in the bibliography in Pinyin and with Chinese characters for the authors, titles, and publishers. However, as archival documents are not listed in the bibliography, the references to archival documents in the footnotes include Chinese characters. Chinese terms in the text are in Pinyin. Chinese names are in Pinyin whenever it has been possible to reconstruct them with certainty, unless they are known by another spelling (e.g. Chiang Kai-shek). Where I have not been able to verify the Pinyin spelling, Chinese names are spelled the way they appear in archival documents. In telegram sources, capitalisation follows the format of the original message.

Abbreviations

AfZ	Archiv für Zeitgeschichte, Zurich
BBC	Brown Boveri & Cie
BKA	Bundesarchiv Koblenz
BND	Bundesnachrichtendienst
BVD	Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst
CCC	Chinese Commercial Code
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CCPIT	China Council for the Promotion of International
	Trade
CCRG	Central Cultural Revolution Group
CDSA	Central Department of Social Affairs
CERN	European Organization for Nuclear Research
CHARO	Chinese Aluminium Rolling Mills
CHF	Swiss francs
CHINCOM	China Committee of the Coordinating Committee for
	Export Control
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CID	Central Investigation Department
CNIEC	China National Import-Export Corporation
COCOM	Coordinating Committee for Export Control
CWIHP	Cold War International History Project
DEL	Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, Abilene, KS
DODIS	Diplomatic Documents of Switzerland
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EJPD	Eidgenössisches Justiz- und Polizeidepartement
EPD	Eidgenössisches Politisches Departement
EVD	Eidgenössisches Departement für Volkswirtschaft
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FREPOL	Eidgenössische Fremdenpolizei
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GCHQ	Government Communications Headquarters
	*

xiii

xiv

Cambridge University Press 978-1-009-16946-2 — China's European Headquarters Ariane Knüsel Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

List of Abbreviations

GDR German Democratic Republic HA ABB Historisches Archiv ABB, Baden HTL Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, MO IBVA Vorort-Archiv International Criminal Police Organization Interpol Kommunistische Partei KPS/ML der Schweiz/Marxisten-Leninisten Schweizerische Mustermesse, Basel MUBA NA Nationaal Archief, The Hague National Archives, College Park, MD NARA NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization **NNRC** Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission NNSC NZZ Neue Zürcher Zeitung OSEC Office suisse d'expansion commerciale PLA People's Liberation Army PRC People's Republic of China PRC FMA Chinese Foreign Ministry Archive, Beijing ROC Republic of China Schweizerische Bundesanwaltschaft SBA SFA Swiss Federal Archives SITEX Swiss Industrial Technology Exhibition Swiss Instrument and Watch Exhibition in Peking SIWEP SMA Shanghai Municipal Archive Schweizer Radio und Fernsehen SRF **SWA** Schweizerisches Wirtschaftsarchiv TNA The National Archives, Kew UN United Nations **UNESCO** United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization WHO World Health Organization