#### 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.

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# China's European Headquarters

Switzerland and China during the Cold War

Ariane Knüsel University of Fribourg



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To Alanna, Holly, and Daryl

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### 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
	*

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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