# Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of Figures</th>
<th>page ix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note on the Text</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Abbreviations</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## 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 194

- 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
5 Conclusion: A New Cold War or More of the Same? 270

Bibliography 277

Index 302