Swiss Intellectuals and the Cold War: Anti-Communist Policies in a Neutral Country

Hadrien Buclin

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Nowadays many Swiss citizens would be surprised to learn that in the 1950s some Swiss journalists and lecturers were sentenced to prison or lost their jobs because of "thought crimes." The 1950s are generally remembered as the time of the "Swiss economic miracle"—with the construction of highways and large hydroelectric dams—rather than of strong political confrontation. The picture of a neutral country does not really mesh with the evocation of anti-Communist restrictions. What can explain the strength of Swiss Cold War policies in the 1950s—policies that left their mark on many aspects of political and cultural life in the country? Exactly what form did such official anti-Communism take in a neutral country like Switzerland, and how did it fit with other Western countries' anti-Communist policies? Was Switzerland an exception, or can parallels be established with other neutral European states—in particular, Sweden, a small neutral country in many ways similar to Switzerland? These are just some of the questions this article addresses.

The legal barriers facing Swiss Communist intellectuals during the early Cold War have been underexamined in the current historiography and are in need of reassessment. The legal proceedings were specifically motivated by the Swiss government's determination to defend a slick image of neutrality against severe criticism from the Communist states, which accused Switzerland of covertly allying with the Western camp. Two Swiss Communists were sentenced for slander, and their trials are emblematic of how a neutral country coped with the Western anti-Communist battle. They also illustrate the tension between the—at least officially—neutral foreign policy of Switzerland and the domestic anti-Communist commitment of Swiss authorities. Swiss Communists exploited the salient ambiguities of the neutrality concept—as well as its prestige among the population—while demanding that Switzerland remain truly *neutral* toward the Eastern bloc.

The difficulties of jointly managing anti-Communism and neutrality that the Swiss government faced can be better understood if we distinguish four aspects of the neutrality policy; that is, its legal, political, economic, and moral aspects. From the *legal* point of view (international law), neutrality in peacetime—as the Cold War was treated in Europe, despite tensions running high—obliged the Swiss authorities to eschew any connection with military alliances, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and to refrain from providing military support to a foreign country. This simple legal definition was, however, subject to a wide variety of political interpretations. Thus, although NATO clearly represented a military alliance incompatible with neutrality, what is to be made of Switzerland's accession to the United Nations (UN) or to the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC)?

From the *political* point of view, the domestic and international credibility of the neutrality policy plays a crucial role in explaining the government's choices.[1] This credibility itself depended on power balances: at the domestic level between the Communist Party and democratic government or at an international level between the Western bloc and a small European neutral country. In this respect, despite the similarities, differences between the Swiss and Swedish neutrality policies at this time can be seen; for example, the United States valued Swiss neutrality as a strategic asset but had difficulty accepting the neutrality of Sweden.[2] At the beginning of the Cold War, even as Sweden considered its neutrality compatible with adherence to the UN and OECC, Switzerland strove to maintain a distinction between "political" agreements deemed incompatible with neutrality, such as adherence to international organizations, and those deemed compatible; that is, "technical" agreements.[3] On these grounds the Swiss government refused to join the UN even though it participated in the Marshall Plan and OEEC (considered a technical program), in spite of the obvious anti-Communist function of these institutions.[4] This example illustrates how the

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1. Harto Hakovirta, *East-West Conflict and European Neutrality* (Oxford, UK: The Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 5.

2. Marco Wyss, "Neutrality in the Early Cold War: Swiss Arms Imports and Neutrality," *Cold War History*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Winter 2012), pp. 25–49.

3. For a systematic comparison of Swiss and Swedish neutrality during this period, see Jean-Marc Rickli, "The Western Influence on Swedish and Swiss Policies of Armed Neutrality during the Early Cold War," in René Schwok and Victoria Curzon-Price, eds., *Europe: Interaction Globales—Global Interactions* (Geneva: Institut Européen de l'Université de Genève, 2004), pp. 117–134.

4. Hans-Ulrich Jost, *Europa und die Schweiz 1945–1950: Europarat, Supranationalität und schweizerische Unabhängigkeit* (Zurich: Chronos, 1999), pp. 114–120.

concept of neutrality can be interpreted in a multitude of ways from a political perspective.

Ambiguity concerning neutrality also resulted from *economic* constraints faced by a small but highly globalized country that was almost completely dependent on commercial exchanges with the Western bloc.[5] As for the OEEC and the Marshall Plan, the economic factor got the upper hand on the international credibility of neutrality; all the more so as economic rules regarding neutrality remained vague.[6] This complex equation between legal, political, and economic aspects of neutrality policy explains why neutrality during the Cold War played out in a remarkable variety of ways among neutral countries such as Switzerland, Sweden, Austria, Finland, and Ireland.[7]

The equation was also complicated by a tension between political and *moral* neutrality (*Gesinnungsneutralität*; i.e., equanimity regarding both capitalist and Communist ideals). In theory, neither the legal nor the political aspects of neutrality implied that a neutral country had to remain ideologically or morally neutral. In practice, however, was it right for the neutral government of a democratic country with a clear anti-Communist majority such as Switzerland to refuse moral neutrality while simultaneously treating the Eastern and Western blocs on an equal footing, as required by official neutrality?[8] Would a domestic anti-Communist battle not necessarily lead to collaboration with other Western anti-Communist countries, thus going against the official line of neutrality? Swiss Foreign Minister Max Petitpierre brought this ambiguity to light at the beginning of the Cold War when he asked: "Is it not an illusion to think that we can be against communism, while remaining neutral toward states whose aim is the destruction of all that is not Communist?"[9] In even clearer terms, in 1948 Petitpierre argued that "full neutrality is

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5. See, for example, Mauro Mantovani, *Schweizerische Sicherheitspolitik im Kalten Krieg (1947–1963): Zwischen angelsächsischem Containment und Neutralitäts-Doktrin* (Zurich: Orell Füssli, 1999); and Marco Wyss, *Arms Transfers, Neutrality and Britain's Role in the Cold War: Anglo-Swiss Relations, 1945–1958* (Boston: Brill, 2012).

6. André Schaller, *Schweizer Neutralität im Ost-West-Handel: Das Hotz-Linder-Agreement vom 23. Juni 1951* (Bern: Verlag B. Haupt, 1987), p. 215.

7. Hakovirta, *East-West Conflict and European Neutrality*, pp. 1–36.

8. Daniel A. Neval, *"Mit Atombomben bis nach Moskau" Gegenseitige Wahrnehmung der Schweiz und des Ostblocks im Kalten Krieg 1945–1968* (Zurich: Chronos, 2003), pp. 122–129.

9. "Talk at the Foreign Affairs Committees of the National Council," 24 February 1948, in Swiss Federal Archives (SFA), E 2800 1990/106, Vol. 1. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from German or French into English are my own.

becoming a fiction and it is no more possible to distinguish moral neutrality and State neutrality."[10]

Taking into account this permanent tension between legal, political, economic, and moral neutrality, it is understandable why many of today's historians stress the extent to which Switzerland's neutrality was a "variable-geometry concept," that is, adjusted according to circumstances.[11] This observation is based above all on studies of Swiss policy during World War II, which focused a large part of historiographical debate in recent decades.[12] This article contributes to the debate by exploring the development of this problem during the early Cold War, taking into consideration new studies devoted to problematic aspects of Swiss neutrality at that time. The similar problems faced by the Swedish government as it attempted to enact its neutrality policy and anti-Communist commitment will also be briefly discussed.

Trials of Swiss Communist intellectuals took place not only at the intersection between foreign and domestic policy but also between the political and cultural Cold War. These trials implied the making of a "Cold War enemy," which involved the construction of stereotyped images of "the threat," as well as the mobilization of anti-Communist intellectuals.[13] Historiography about Swiss anti-Communism during the Cold War remains meager, although many studies suggest that Switzerland was one of the European pillars of transnational anti-Communism from the 1930s onward.[14] To what extent did the

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10. "Talk at the Conference of the Swiss Ministers in Bern," 9 September 1948, in *Swiss Diplomatic Documents* (Zurich: Chronos, 1999), p. 299.

11. Hans-Ulrich Jost, "Origines, interprétation et usages de la neutralité helvétique," *Matériaux pour l'histoire de notre temps*, Vol. 93, No. 1 (Winter 2009), p. 11.

12. Georg Kreis, "Zurück in die Zeit des Zweiten Weltkrieges (Teil II): Zur Bedeutung der 1990er Jahre für den Ausbau der schweizerischen Zeitgeschichte," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (Fall 2002), pp. 494–517.

13. For the "making of the Cold War enemy," see Ron Robin, *The Making of the Cold War Enemy: Culture and Politics in the Military-Intellectual Complex* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001); and Michaël Rogin, *Ronald Reagan, the Movie and Other Episodes in Political Demonology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). On the Swiss case, see Neval, "*Mit Atombomben bis nach Moskau*," pp. 30–32.

14. Luc van Dongen, "La Suisse dans les rets de l'anti-Communisme transnational durant la Guerre froide: réflexions et jalons," *Itinera*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Winter 2011), pp. 17–30; Luc van Dongen, "'Brother Tronchet': A Swiss Trade Union Leader within the US Sphere of Influence," in Luc van Dongen, ed., *Transnational Anti-Communism and the Cold War* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 50–63; Michel Caillat et al., eds., *Histoire(s) de l'anti-Communisme en Suisse* (Zurich: Chronos, 2009); Michel Caillat, *L'Entente internationale anticommuniste de Théodore Aubert* (Lausanne: Société d'Histoire de la Suisse romande, 2016); Christophe Von Werdt, "Peter Sager und die Ostforschung in der Schweiz," *Religion und Gesellschaft in Ost und West*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (March 2014), pp. 22–23; and Cyril Michaud, "Le dispositif du témoignage à travers la propagande filmique du Réarmement moral (1950–1960)," in Charles Coutel, ed., *Témoigner? Entre acte et parole* (Paris: Parole et Silence, 2017), pp. 85–104.

stereotypes assigned to Communists by mainstream political, intellectual, and press discourse legitimize legal proceedings against the Swiss Communists—proceedings that sometimes made a mockery of freedom of expression even though this was supposedly an essential tenet of the Western camp? Fortunately, cultural Cold War studies about anti-Communist policies in Western countries provide a useful analytical framework to understand the "making of the Cold War enemy," which can also provide a greater understanding of the Swiss case.[15]

Anti-Communism as a Guarantee of Stability

Official anti-Communism became one of the cardinal principles of Swiss domestic policy, perhaps even more so than in other European countries. The impressive continuity and stability of Swiss political and intellectual conservative elites, from the period of the 1930s, characterized by the rise of authoritarian and strongly anti-Communist right-wing movements in Switzerland, to the end of 1950s, is one of the key elements that explain its diffusion.[16] For example, at the beginning of the 1950s, the Swiss government was still predominantly formed by ministers who were already in place during the war. This continuity is a notable exception and sets itself apart from the situation of Switzerland's principal neighbors, or even that of Great Britain, where the Conservative majority was displaced by Labour, despite the Conservative government's successful direction of Britain's role in World War II.

Immediately after the war, anti-Communism became a mainstay of this Swiss stability and played a key role in maintaining national cohesion. But in 1945, political cohesion was far from being achieved. The government was severely criticized by the Allies as well as by domestic left-wing forces, particularly Communists, who had a fleeting but significant success, despite posing no real political threat.[17] The reason behind this questioning was the Swiss

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15. For the development of cultural Cold War studies in Western countries, see Peter Coleman, *The Liberal Conspiracy: The Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Struggle for the Mind of Postwar Europe* (New York: Free Press, 1989); and Giles Scott-Smith, *The Politics of Apolitical Culture: The Congress for Cultural Freedom, the CIA, and Post-war American Hegemony* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

16. Hans-Ulrich Jost, "Menace et repliement (1914–1945)," in Jean-Claude Favez, ed., *Nouvelle histoire de la Suisse et des Suisses* (Lausanne: Payot, 1983), pp. 91–178.

17. André Rauber, *Histoire du mouvement communiste suisse* (Geneva: Slatkine, 2000), pp. 53–69. For a more general view, see Jakob Tanner, *Aufbruch in den Frieden? Die Schweiz am Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges* (Bern: Federal Archives, 1996).

authorities' key adjustment to the "New Order" imposed by the Third Reich.[18] In unison with many right-wing politicians, the influential Swiss diplomat Walter Stucki warned about this in February 1945, signaling that the time had come to catch up with the European left-wing turn, because Switzerland was, "along with Sweden," the only country still "frozen in the 30s ideology," thus earning "hatred from the whole world."[19]

To a certain extent, the diplomatic crisis of 1945–1946 with the Allies reinforced a wave of questioning on the domestic political level.[20] For example, in February 1945 the left-wing theologian Karl Barth severely attacked the Swiss authorities during a conference in Zurich: "You have showed the greatest eagerness to acknowledge as soon as possible and de jure the infamies of Hitler, Franco and Mussolini . . . besides the business of the war industry, it is difficult to understand why you even have helped the German war with a one billion Swiss francs loan."[21] This kind of severe criticism took its toll on Swiss political elites, all the more so as they feared a repetition of the general strike that occurred after the First World War. As the chief editor of an influential conservative journal wrote in 1946:

> During the war, we accumulated a wonderful wealth of national solidarity. . . . But for a few weeks, a wind of madness has been blowing on the country. Some stupid . . . politicians . . . demand an interior purge. . . . [T]hey want . . . to substantiate a myth: . . . like everywhere in Europe, in Switzerland there were some resistance fighters and some collaborators; that the resistance movement was left-wing and the collaborators right-wing . . . now only the Left is worthy of governing the country. It is a scandalous lie.[22]

The head of the Swiss intelligence service displayed a similar anxiety as he wrote to the commander-in-chief of the army: "The Russian victories . . . arouse a 'revolutionary enthusiasm.' It is the age of confusion between the

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18. This adaptation is now well known thanks to the 25 volumes of the report of the "Independent Commission of Experts," mandated by the Swiss government in 1996. See Jean-François Bergier, ed., *Switzerland, National Socialism and the Second World War: Final Report* (Zurich: Pendo Verlag, 2002).

19. Stucki quoted in Marc Perrenoud, *Banquiers et diplomates (1938–1946)* (Lausanne: Antipodes, 2011), p. 50. See also Konrad Stamm, *Der "grosse Stucki": Eine schweizerische Karriere von weltmännischen Format: Minister Walter Stucki (1888–1963)* (Zurich: NZZ Verlag, 2013), pp. 298–341.

20. Alain Moser, "Réactions et opinions en Suisse romande à l'Accord de Washington (1946): Analyse de la presse," MA Thesis, University of Lausanne, Lausanne, 1999.

21. "Die Deutschen und wir," February 1945, in Karl Barth, *Eine Schweizer Stimme 1938–1945* (Zurich: Evangelischer Verlag, 1945), p. 363.

22. Olivier Reverdin, "Ceux qui nuisent au pays," *Journal de Genève*, 8 February 1946, p. 1. Fearing social trouble, the Swiss government also mobilized troops in 1945. See Sébastien Guex and Marc Perrenoud, "Prévenir la grève générale," *Traverse: Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Winter 1995), pp. 17–19.

military conquests of the Russian Army and the value of the Communist doctrine."[23]

The Swiss army played a decisive role in the framework of the postwar anti-Communist counteroffensive, and its influence among the conservative elites as "social glue" beyond the "cantonal borders" inherent in a federalist political system was potent: From 1920 to 1968, for example, 40 percent of the deputies in the national parliament were military officers.[24] As in Sweden during the same period, the army and "armed neutrality" rode on a tide of popularity after 1945 because they were considered key factors in Switzerland's preservation during wartime.[25] This fundamental myth, necessary for restoring the national cohesion of Switzerland, omitted any mention of the close economic relations with Adolf Hitler's Germany, an omission that was crucial to keep the peace in Switzerland.[26]

With the aim of diverting the population from this diffuse aspiration of political renewal and of limiting Communist progress, the Swiss authorities revived the so-called spiritual national defense (*geistige Landesverteidigung*), a cultural policy already common during the 1930s and the war, which was spread by cultural institutions or the army's propaganda service.[27] The declared objective was to protect Switzerland against totalitarian threats and to maintain national cohesion based on clearly conservative values.[28] After the war the renewed official ideology mainly focused on developing anti-Communist policies.[29] Thus, in 1947, the Schweizerischer Aufklärungsdienst,

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23. Roger Masson to Henri Guisan, 25 January 1945*,* in *Swiss Diplomatic Documents* (Bern: Benteli, 1992), pp. 850–851.

24. A large majority of these military officers were right-wing politicians. In 1957 the parliament comprised 80 officers belonging to the conservative and liberal parties, versus nine who were social-democrats. Moreover, the social-democrats were mostly subordinate figures (sometimes promoted against their will), whereas the conservative politicians were high-ranking. See Andrea Pilotti, "Les parlementaires suisses entre démocratisation et professionnalisation (1910–2010)," Ph.D. Diss., University of Lausanne, Lausanne, 2012, p. 418.

25. Mikael af Malmborg, *Neutrality and State-Building in Sweden* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p. 164.

26. Luc van Dongen, *La Suisse face à la Seconde Guerre mondiale, 1945–1948: Émergence et construction d'une mémoire publique* (Geneva: Société d'histoire et d'archéologie, 1998).

27. See, for example, on the cultural institution Pro Helvetia, Claude Hauser and Jakob Tanner, eds., *Entre culture et politique: Pro Helvetia de 1939 à 2009* (Geneva: Slatkine, 2010), pp. 2–32.

28. Hans-Ulrich Jost, *Le salaire des neutres* (Paris: Denoël, 1999), pp. 321–326.

29. Igor Perrig, *Geistige Landesverteidigung im Kalten Krieg: Der Schweizerische Aufklärungsdienst und Heer und Haus 1945–1963* (Brig: Perrig, 1993); and Jakob Tanner, "Staatschutz im Kalten Krieg: Mit dem Feindbild Moskau den politischen Burgfrieden zementieren," in Komitee Schluss mit dem Schnüffelstaat, eds., *Schnüffelstaat Schweiz: Hundert Jahre sind genug* (Zurich: Limmat Verlag, 1990), pp. 36–46.

an anti-Communist and patriotic association linked to the army and the federal police, welcomed several leaders of the social-democrat Socialist Party to its executive committee (Robert Bratschi, Walter Bringolf, Hans Oprecht).[30] The report the government published in 1946 on its own actions during the war against "antidemocratic maneuvers" was also important because it emphasized that the Communists were deemed to constitute a constant threat, whereas the fascist threat was considered a thing of the past.[31] Even though a considerable number of Swiss Nazi collaborators or fascists were put on trial in the aftermath of WWII, they were not considered representative of powerful authoritarian trends in Swiss society but as mere isolated exceptions.

In May 1945, Petitpierre, then the head of the Political Department and a member of the main liberal party in Switzerland, the Free Democratic Party, substituted the USSR for the "Third Reich" in the role of the principal threat against Switzerland.[32] As foreign minister he thus illustrated the continuity and strength of Swiss anti-Communism ahead of similar key speeches or documents by Winston Churchill or George F. Kennan in 1946. Such frequent comparisons between the two "totalitarianisms" also justified the idea that any concession by the Western camp to "ideological" power would only stimulate its aggressiveness, in this case the Soviet Union's intention to increase its "vital space" (similarly to Germany at the time of the Munich Agreement).[33] This omnipresent idea helped to legitimize new anti-Communist legislation.

However, even as the authorities were trying to set up this anti-Communist *cordon sanitaire*, some concessions were made to the Swiss Socialist Party (social-democrat), which, for the first time in Swiss history, was integrated into the government in a minority position in 1943. These elements are representative of the politico-cultural dimension of the Swiss government's wider strategy, which reached its desired result. Following a critical period in 1944–1946, the Swiss authorities managed to hold in place a conservative

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30. Daniel A. Neval, *"Mit Atombomben bis nach Moskau,"* p. 327; Jürg Frischknecht et al., *Die Unheimlichen Patrioten* (Zurich: Limmat Verlag, 1979), pp. 51–52; and Matthieu Gillabert, *Dans les coulisses de la diplomatie culturelle suisse* (1938–1984) (Neuchâtel: Alphil, 2013), p. 331.

31. "Rapport du Conseil fédéral concernant l'activité antidémocratique (1939–1945); Motion Boerlin: Troisième partie," 21 May 1946, in *Feuille fédérale* (Bern: Office des imprimés et du matériel, 1946), pp. 212–271; and Frédéric In-Albon, "La motion sur les 'menées antidémocratiques': Acte d'oubli ou de mémoire?" MA Thesis, University of Lausanne, 2000, pp. 99–105.

32. "Objectively, it is impossible not to note an analogy between the methods of 1938, 1939 and 1940 implemented by the German government and the present methods of the Soviet government." Quoted from "Talk at the Foreign Affairs Committees of the National Council," 23 May 1945, in SFA, E 2800(-) 1967/60, Vol. 1. On Petitpierre, see Daniel Trachsler, *Bundesrat Max Petitpierre: Schweizerische Aussenpolitik im Kalten Krieg 1945–1961* (Zurich: NZZ Verlag, 2011).

33. Neval, *"Mit Atombomben bis nach Moskau,"* p. 120.

domestic political consensus while restoring confident diplomatic relations with the Allies. Such international diplomacy eventually led to strong politico-economic and military integration in the Western bloc in the 1950s.[34]

Although the Swiss Communist Party was banned during the war (from November 1940), the changing international situation after Stalingrad allowed the Swiss Communists to rebuild a legal organization in October 1944, which they named the Labor Party. Similarly, the repeal of the official censure at the end of the war allowed the Communist press to circulate. In November 1944, immediately after the birth of the Labor Party, the authorities discussed whether a new ban would be appropriate. But, as the public prosecutor of the confederation noted: "In a democracy, a powerful political movement can never be stopped by means of interdictions."[35] This was to be the first occurrence of an issue that went on to preoccupy the authorities, at least during the early Cold War. What was the appropriate balance between legal repression of Communists on the one hand and the need to maintain both freedom of speech and democratic rights, fundamental parts of Western identity during the Cold War, on the other? Such weighing up of interests was to be adapted according to the balance of international and national power. In 1944, such a ban would have been extremely problematic because the official anti-Communism at the domestic level did not prevent the government from deeming it urgent to restore diplomatic relations with the powerful Soviet Union. The USSR, however, dismissed Swiss attempts until March 1946 because of the so-called pro-fascist Swiss policy.[36]

The Soviet Union and the European Communist parties had the wind in their sails immediately after the war, and the shrewdness of the Swiss Communists, who attempted to present their party as a large popular movement rather than an orthodox Stalinist organization, induced several new intellectuals to become members or sympathizers. The writer Max Frisch consequently participated in the World Congress of Intellectuals for Peace in Wrocław (Poland) in August 1948, although he criticized the dictatorial nature of the East

34. Sandra Bott et al., eds., *Die internationale Schweiz in der Zeit des Kalten Krieges* (Basel: Schwabe, 2011), p. 8; and Manfred Linke, *Schweizerische Aussenpolitik der Nachkriegszeit, 1945–1989* (Zurich: Rüegger, 1995), pp. 11–16. As Petitpierre highlighted in 1948, "Our interest is to avoid at all costs that France, Italy and other European countries become easy prey for Communism." Quoted in Luc van Dongen, "De la place de la Suisse dans la 'guerre froide secrète' des Etats-Unis, 1943–1975," *Traverse: Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Spring 2009), p. 55.

35. Franz Stämpfli to Eduard von Steiger, 3 November 1944, in SFA, 4320 (B) 1974/47, Vol. 201.

36. Christine Gehrig-Straube, *Beziehungslose Zeiten: Das schweizerisch-sowjetische Verhältnis zwischen Abbruch und Wiederaufnahme der Beziehungen (1918–1946) aufgrund schweizerischer Akten* (Zurich: H. Rohr, 1997).

European regimes.[37] From the time of this journey until 1989, Frisch was kept under surveillance by the federal police.[38]

Nevertheless, increasing international tensions promptly disturbed this brief honeymoon between a new generation of left-wing intellectuals and the Communist movement.[39] The Communist takeover in Czechoslovakia in February 1948 was a decisive event. Although official circles had come to see the Soviet Union as a serious threat to Swiss security well before 1948, many people in Switzerland, particularly among the left-wing intellectuals, became increasingly aware of the antidemocratic and Stalinist face of the Labor Party, which enthusiastically welcomed the Communist seizure of power in Czechoslovakia.[40] By December 1948, the Labor Party had lost more than half its members compared to 1946, counting only 11,000 militants. Moreover, after the Prague "coup" the Social Democratic Party sustained the new anti-Communist measures of the authorities. This anti-Communist rallying of the Swiss socialists hastened the marginalization of the Communists, especially in the German-speaking part of the country. In the French-speaking part, the Labor Party remained stronger, notably because of the influence of French political life in which the "Parti communiste français" continued to be a mass movement.

The debilitation of the Communist movement in Switzerland and the successful restoration of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union allowed the government to reassess the 1944 analysis that considered political movements impossible to stop via legal procedures. In October 1948, "for the best protection of the state," socialist deputies in the Swiss parliament unanimously took new legal steps explicitly directed against the Communists. These included a framework of systematic surveillance of Communists citizens, and the authorities sometimes got around Swiss bank secrecy rules to locate the income sources of Communist militants or sympathizers. This practice often occurred with the collaboration of Swiss banks and without legal legitimacy.

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37. Agence Télégraphique Suisse, "Des intellectuels suisses en Pologne," *Journal de Genève*, 24 August 1948, p. 1.

38. Urs Bircher, *Vom langsamen Wachsen eines Zorns: Max Frisch 1911–1955* (Zurich: Limmat Verlag, 1997), pp. 161–162.

39. Hadrien Buclin, "Entre culture du consensus et critique sociale: les intellectuels de gauche dans la Suisse de l'après-guerre (1945–1968)," Ph.D. Diss., University of Lausanne, 2015, pp. 137–160.

40. Max Petitpierre, "Talk on the Politico-military Situation at the Conference of the Swiss Ministers in Bern," 12 September 1947, in SFA, E 2800 1967/61, Vol. 91. After Stalin successfully coerced Czechoslovakia to stay out of the Marshall Plan in 1947, the Swiss authorities began to view the country as a Soviet puppet. See "Swiss Legation in Czechoslovakia to Petitpierre," 14 July 1947, in SFA, E 2300(-)-/9001, Vol. 371. See also Peter Braun, *Von der Reduitstrategie zur Abwehr: Die militärische Landesverteidigung der Schweiz im Kalten Krieg 1945–1966* (Baden: Hier+Jetzt, 2006), p. 56.

Were a Swiss bank to collaborate overtly with tax authorities, serious legal problems would occur. Thus, at a time when the authorities inflexibly defended bank secrecy against international demands of legal assistance from the tax authorities of Western countries such as the United States, who suspected Swiss banks of being a hub for shadow Eastern investments, the Swiss Federal Office of the General Attorney put all the financial transactions of the Labor Party under surveillance.[41] The office also secretly stopped the Société de Banque Suisse from loaning money to the Communist newspaper's printing office.[42] The federal police also systematically collaborated with the public Swiss Postal Telegraph and Telephone agency (PTT) to gain intelligence about the Communist militants' postal bank accounts and transactions.

In the aftermath of the Prague coup, the government became increasingly concerned about Communist infiltration of the state, as the head of the federal police highlighted:

> According to specialists of the Czech situation, some disguised communists, officially belonging to another party or none at all, had a strong say during the final phase of the coup d'état; [. . . from now on,] several countries are trying to unmask the crypto-communists; they are to be found amongst civil servants, scientists, cultural or charities organisations.[43]

The authorities were all the more concerned because they were convinced that such infiltration tactics were occurring not only in Eastern Europe but also in Western countries, even in West Germany, where "the Russians developed everywhere a tremendous . . . propaganda among the Germans. . . . In contrast, the political activities of the Allies are weak."[44] One of the main characteristics of these declarations was the emphasis on what the enemy *could do* rather

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41. Unsigned, "U. S. Freeze Shows How Reds Cover Up," *The New York Times* (International Edition), 22 March 1952, p. 9; George H. Morison, "Swiss Ire Stirred Anew against U.S.," *The New York Times* (International Edition), 26 January 1953, p. 6; and "Commerce avec l'Est," *Journal de Genève*, 8 September 1952, p. 7.

42. "Report from the Federal Office of the General Attorney," 13 May 1952, in SFA, E 4001 D, 1976, Vol. 136; and Markus Feldmann, *Tagebuch*, 14 March 1952 (Basel: Kommissionsverlag Krebs, 2004), CD-ROM.

43. Werner Balsiger, speech, 9 July 1948, quoted in Georg Kreis, *La protection politique de l'Etat en Suisse* (Bern: Haupt, 1993), p. 271. At the end of 1948 the Swiss authorities worried all the more because they were convinced that Stalin's next victim after Czechoslovakia would be Italy. See "Swiss Legation in Italy to Petitpierre," 27 February 1948, in SFA, E 2300 Rom/55.

44. "Franz Rudolf von Weiss (Swiss legation in Cologne) to Alfred Zehnder (Department of foreign policy)," 16 March 1948, in SFA, E 2300 Köln/12. Such concerns were often relayed by the conservative press. See, for example, B.-I., "Der Kominform-Wolf im Schafspelz," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Zurich), 10 November 1948, p. 8; and E. G., "Sowjetische Propagandaoffensive in Ostdeutschland. Gesellschaft für deutsch-sowjetische Freundschaft," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Zurich), 5 July 1949, p. 4.

than what it *intended to do*.[45] This way of thinking was legitimized by the shadows surrounding Soviet diplomacy and the stereotypes about "Slav mentality," which would be difficult to understand for a "rational" Swiss brain.[46] This stereotypical image of the Cold War enemy facilitated the extension of legal measures that aimed to allow authorities to take action *preventively* "for the best state protection."[47]

This anxiety led authorities to implement administrative measures in September 1950 permitting the dismissal of Communist civil servants. Although the government hesitated from 1948 to 1950 to make this leap, the start of the Korean War and the rise of McCarthyism in the United States finally put an end to its hesitation. Despite the limited number of dismissals—about 30 out of the 500 investigated—these new legal steps encouraged the strengthening of anti-Communist repression in the professional world.[48] This was seen in implicit "professional disqualifications" (*Berufsverbote*) and employers' blacklists.[49] Communist civil servants were also under pressure in the cantonal administrations, which were in charge of the anti-Communist struggle; in particular, the systematic surveillance of the Red militants. In 1950 in Basel, the president of the socialist party suggested removing Communists with a motion entitled, "Stalin's mercenaries must have no place in public service."[50] Left-wing resistance against these measures remained extremely limited in the context of a more general "social pacification" reflected in a significant decrease in strikes and street demonstrations.[51]

During the same years the authorities imposed curbs on speeches by foreign Communists in order to dampen the international Communist influence.[52] They also seized an international Communist pamphlet against the

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45. Ron Robin points out the same kind of reflexion concerning the U.S. situation. Robin, *The Making of the Cold War Enemy*, p. 7.

46. See, for example, Feldmann, *Tagebuch*, 28 November 1956.

47. As the public prosecutor Franz Stämpfli highlighted: "we want to take action before the act of trahison of the country is committed." Quoted in Tanner, "Staatschutz im Kalten Krieg," pp. 39–40.

48. Kreis, *La protection politique de l'Etat*, pp. 305–320. The limited number of dismissals can also be explained by the "purge" already carried out during the war.

49. Michel Jeanneret, "Les mouvements ouvriers communiste et socialiste à Genève dans les années cinquante," MA Thesis, University of Geneva, 1983, pp. 50–60.

50. Unsigned, "Vom Ausland in jeder Beziehung abhängig . . . Die Auseinandersetzung über die Fünfte Kolonne im Basler Grossen Rat," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 2 October 1950, p. 2.

51. Laurent Duvanel and René Lévy, *Politique en rase-mottes: Mouvements et contestations en Suisse: 1945–1978* (Lausanne: Réalité sociale, 1984), pp. 22–25. A Communist meeting against the measures concerning civil servants gathered about 1,000 people in Geneva. See Jeanneret, "Les mouvements ouvriers communiste et socialiste à Genève dans les années cinquante," p. 50.

52. See, for example, the injunctions against the Communists Roger Garaudy, Louis Saillant, Bertrand Simone, and Nguyen Xuan Lai: "Administrative Decision of the Department of Justice and Police,"

Korean War and banned a Communist "World Peace Council" meeting. In some regions—Geneva in particular—the anti-Communist offensive simultaneously provided the opportunity to weaken the left wing of the workers' movement, which was often composed of Communists. After the war, a series of left-wing social-democrat militants had switched from the Socialist Party to the Labor Party. They criticized the "Peace of work agreement" between social-democrat trade unions and employers, an agreement that became a pillar of the exceptional social stability and consensus in Switzerland.[53]

Yet the multiplication of private anti-Communist offices, often managed by officers of the Swiss army, which informed against the activities of intellectuals known or suspected of Communist sympathies, gave further impetus to the crackdown.[54] Several pro-Communist secondary school teachers lost their job or had to move to another canton after public denunciation by such offices. In the Canton of Vaud, for example, the Swiss Center for Civic Action, which regularly exchanged information with the federal police, was managed by Brigadier Roger Masson, former chief of the Swiss Intelligence Service during World War II. The Center publicly denounced not only Communist militants but also young poets, existentialist writers, students affiliated with far-left associations, and investigative journalists, all suspected of "antipatriotic activities."[55] These offices may have gained importance because Switzerland was considered a center of European international anti-Communism from the 1920s. One notable example was the Entente internationale anti-Communiste, a very active organization established in Geneva in 1924.[56] In the 1930s, strong and internationally well-connected anti-Communist organizations developed, including Action Nationale contre le Communisme, led by Federal Councilor Jean-Marie Musy. Such anti-Communist organizations

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24 February 1950, in SFA, E 1004.1(-)-/1/514. See also Boris Burri, "Notrechtliches Vorgehen gegen die Kommunisten: Der Umgang der Schweizer Behörden mit ausländischer Propaganda nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg (1945–1953)," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (Spring 2004), pp. 158–172.

53. Jeanneret, "Les mouvements ouvriers communiste et socialiste à Genève dans les années cinquante," pp. 53–55.

54. See the example of Marc-Edmond Chantre's anti-Communist office in Karl Odermatt, "Activités de Marc-Edmond Chantre et de son bureau anti-Communiste," in Pierre Chessex, ed., *Cent ans de police politique en Suisse* (Lausanne: En Bas, 1992), pp. 155–186; and Julien Sansonnens, *Le comité suisse d'action civique (1948–1965): Contribution à une histoire de la répression anti-Communiste en Suisse* (Vevey: L'Aire, 2012).

55. Cantonal Archives Vaud, Marc-Edmond Chantre Personal Papers, PP 286. On the denunciations against poets and existentialists intellectuals, see Jacques Chessex to Henri Debluë, 22 May 1955, in Cantonal and Academic Library of Lausanne, Personal Papers of Henri Debluë, File "correspondence"/letter C.

56. Caillat, *L'Entente internationale anticommuniste de Théodore Aubert.*

lobbied for a ban on Communists and met success in some cantons (Neuchâtel, Vaud, Geneva, Schwyz, Uri).[57] Symptomatic of an official legitimization during the Cold War, a significant number of these organizations collaborated with army and police services. The establishment of such "state-private" networks was typical of Western Cold War anti-Communism.[58]

International Dynamics of Swiss Anti-Communism

Anti-Communist radicalization in Switzerland at the beginning of the 1950s, which led to administrative measures against Communist civil servants and journalists, was encouraged by the situation in other Western countries. Several documents in the Swiss Federal Archives show that the rise of McCarthyism influenced Swiss policy. The head of the Swiss legation in Washington wrote several reports in the early 1950s explaining that the infiltration of the United States by Communists had to be taken seriously. According to the report, Communist infiltration led to the Democratic Party's loss in the 1952 presidential election because Americans wanted stronger leaders to defend against this new threat.[59] The trials and convictions of U.S. citizens, he added, underscored the extent of Communist infiltration. The report also congratulated leaders of U.S. trade unions, who took the Communist threat seriously: "Precisely their long practical experience with the Communists makes them cautious . . . [contrary to] the credulous naifs and right-thinking 'liberal' intellectuals, who always fall into the many psychological and political traps of the Kremlin." The overzealousness of U.S. officials and members of Congress was rarely questioned in Swiss official circles.[60] Karl Weber, a professor at the University of Zurich and close associate of Petitpierre, was entrusted with a report on the risk of Communist infiltration of the Swiss government, especially the Political Department. He presented the U.S. government's vigilance

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57. Daniel Sebastiani, "Jean-Marie Musy (1876–1952): Un ancien Conseiller national entre rénovation nationale et régimes autoritaires," Ph.D. Diss., University of Fribourg, 2004, pp. 519–567.

58. See, in particular, Helen Laville and Hugh Wilford, *The State-Private Network: The United States Government, American Citizen Groups, and the Cold War* (London: Frank Cass, 2005).

59. Carl Bruggmann, "Report from the Swiss Legation in Washington about the Reinforcement of the National and International Struggle against Communism," 23 January 1953, in SFA, E 2001 (E) 1969/121, Vol. 236.

60. See, however, the letter from Swiss Ambassador Roy Hunziker to Alfred Zehnder in which the ambassador describes U.S. Senator Joe McCarthy's opinion—he held that Korea had fallen into the hands of the Communists because the Secretary of State Dean Acheson was himself a Communist—as "*demagogical*." McCarthy's role in U.S. policy was, however, "*very important*." Hunziker to Zehnder, 15 February 1951, in SFA, E 2300 Washington/52; emphasis in original.

as an example to follow, arguing that stringent limits on Communist activities and close surveillance would be the only way to guard against security risks.[61]

During the same period the United States influenced Switzerland within the framework of the international struggle against Communism. Switzerland entered into an informal agreement—the so-called Hotz-Linder-Agreement—that committed it to reduce its strategic exports to the USSR.[62] Several employees of the Swiss federal police were also sent to Washington in the 1950s to receive training from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on means of struggling against Communists.[63]

Swiss Communists criticized the "Swiss McCarthyism." The militants noted that, whereas the press and conservative politicians in Switzerland had protested the bestowal of a PhD on a Communist at the University of Zurich, the French Communist Roger Garaudy had received a PhD in Paris without encountering problems. They reached the following conclusion: "This proves once again that the Swiss bourgeoisie is degenerated, ranking among the best supporters of McCarthyism."[64]

In Switzerland, the purge of the administration and the intellectual field was, however, not as systematic as in the United States. This was probably because the balance of power in Switzerland was more favorable to the Communists, who always had some role in public life. As the head of the Swiss federal police noted in 1950, the "U.S. measures are clearly stronger" and would be impossible to implement in Switzerland because of "the legitimacy of the Labor Party."[65] The influence of the United States on Swiss politics was also offset by Swiss officials' desire to defend their interests as well as to conduct proper policies on the domestic level. Switzerland thus initially attempted to resist U.S. pressure to participate in the strategic embargo against the Soviet Union, believing that it would go against the country's economic and commercial interests.[66] It was of paramount importance that Switzerland

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61. "Report on Communist Influence in the Political Department," 8 September 1950, in SFA, E 2800(-) 1967/59, Vol. 27.

62. Schaller, *Schweizer Neutralität im West-Ost Handel.* Swiss authorities worried in 1953 about McCarthy's criticism of Swiss exports to Communist China. See Swiss Legation in Washington to Petitpierre, 26 May 1953, in SFA, E 2001(E) 1969/121, Vol. 261.

63. Dongen, "La Suisse dans les rets de l'anti-Communisme transnational," p. 25.

64. "McCarthy, l'Université, la Suisse et la France," *Voix ouvrière*, 23 June 1954, p. 1.

65. Werner Balsiger, note, 25 September 1950, quoted in Kreis, *La protection politique de l'Etat*, p. 317.

66. Feldmann, *Tagebuch*, 11 June 1956; and Mantovani, *Schweizerische Sicherheitspolitik*, pp. 26–27.

not make more concessions to the United States than Sweden did at the same time.[67] The Swiss government similarly considered McCarthyism something that did not fit with the "typical Swiss sense of proportions and discretion," values necessary for political credibility of official neutrality both domestically and internationally.[68]

The start of the Korean War in 1950 was, however, a shock for the authorities and provided an opportunity to intensify measures against Swiss Communists. The war "demonstrated that the pacifist principles of the Stockholm Appeal inspire neither the international communism, nor the Soviet Union. . . . One can deem that this war is the beginning of the third great war of this century."[69] The Swiss foreign minister also compared the situation in Korea and the threat of a Communist fifth column in the West: "In Germany, the situation is more worrying, because an action against Bonn's government and West Germany could, like in Korea, start a civil war between Germans. That would be accompanied by internal actions in France and Italy."[70]

The Swiss authorities observed the situation in West Germany and Austria more closely than in the United States or Korea. The wave of strikes in September and October 1950 in Austria was thus considered a new coup attempt instigated by the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Austria. Based on the Prague model, the attempted coup took place close to Swiss borders.[71] As Alfred Zehnder of the Swiss Political Department wrote, these events "provided evidence that the communists, with the support of an occupation force, can occupy without difficulty and in a short time, all the vital centers of Vienna and all the traffic points to the West."[72] In this context an informal collaboration was set up between the home secretaries of Switzerland, Austria, and West Germany to exchange information about their respective systems of state protection against Soviet infiltration tactics. For example, just after the Austrian strikes, the Austrian Social Democrat home secretary, Oskar Helmer, oversaw a confidential conference in Bern on the recent events.

67. "Report from Alfred Zehnder to its visit in Stockholm," 21 March 1951, in SFA, E 2800(-) 1967/60, Vol. 20.

68. Kreis, *La protection politique de l'Etat*, p. 317.

69. "Max Petitpierre's Speech at the Conference of the Ministers," 8 September 1950, in SFA E 2800 1967/61, Vol. 94.

70. Ibid.

71. The historical interpretation of the events of 1950 in Austria is more complex. See Warren C. Williams, "Flashpoint Austria: The Communist-Inspired Strikes of 1950," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Summer 2007), pp. 115–136.

72. Zehnder to Balsiger, 26 October 1950, in SFA, E 4320(B)1981/141, Vol. 44. See also Louis de Montmollin to Petitpierre, 4 December 1950, in SFA, E 2800(-), 1967/59, Vol. 36.

The Swiss minister Eduard von Steiger and the heads of the Swiss federal police, justice, railways, and postal service were present. During his talk Helmer insisted on the worrying permeability of intellectuals to Communist "crypto-propaganda." "Intellectuals are weaker than the people," he argued.[73] After this secret meeting the Swiss government decided to reinforce the army's surveillance of strategic public buildings such as central post offices, national broadcast outlets, and railways.[74]

The legal anti-Communist measures adopted in neutral Switzerland were aligned with similar processes in neighboring countries during the same years. In France and Italy, anti-Communist dynamics were on the rise at the beginning of the 1950s. In October 1950, the French Communist Henri Martin received a five-year prison sentence for anti-militarist propaganda against the war in Indochina.[75] In West Germany, simultaneous to similar measures in Switzerland, Communist civil servants were dismissed. The Swiss Communist Emil Arnold lost his seat as national deputy following his trial, and the Communist group in the West German Bundestag was deprived of many of its parliamentary rights.[76] Similar anti-Communist dynamics were also triggered in the 1950s in neutral Sweden. A far-reaching organization was extra-legally set up by the Social Democratic Party and the military intelligence services. Its aim was to register Communists and deny them employment in certain sectors. This was done in secret, without discriminatory parliamentary laws, in contrast to the Swiss situation.[77] From the point of view of the anti-Communist struggle and despite its neutrality, Switzerland well and truly belonged to the heart of Western Europe.

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73. "Aufzeichnungen über eine Aussprache mit Herrn Bundesminister Helmer, Innenminister Österreichs, über den kommunistischen Putschversuch im September/Oktober 1950 in Österreich," December 1950, p. 6, in SFA, E 4320(B)1981/141, Vol. 44. See also Balsiger to Peter Anton Feldscher (Swiss Legation in Vienna), 1 November 1950, in SFA E 2200.53(-)-/22, Vol. 13. For Germany, see Werner Lüthi to von Steiger, 9 October 1951, in SFA, E 4001(C)-1, Vol. 20; and van Dongen, "La Suisse dans les rets de l'anti-Communisme transnationale," p. 5.

74. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Federal Council," 12 January 1951, in SFA E 1003(-)1970, Vol. 343.

75. Alain Ruscio, ed., *L'affaire Henri Martin et la lutte contre la guerre d'Indochine* (Paris: Le Temps des cerises, 2005). For Italy, see Paul Ginsborg, *Storia d'Italia dal dopoguerra a oggi* (Turin: Einaudi, 1989), p. 251.

76. Till Kössler, *Abschied von der Revolution: Kommunisten und Gesellschaft in Westdeutschland 1945–1968* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2005), pp. 269–297.

77. Mikael Nilsson, "Science as Propaganda: Swedish Scientists and the Co-production of American Hegemony in Sweden during the Cold War, 1953–68," *European Review of History*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Spring 2012), p. 278.

Anti-Communism in the Intellectual Domain and the Making of the Cold War Enemy

Communists had almost no chance of being appointed university professors. At the University of Zurich in 1954, when a member of the Labor Party was defending a history Ph.D. thesis on the rise of Communism in Switzerland, it triggered a national press scandal and the intervention of a conservative politician in the parliament.[78] That same year, one of the only Communist-sympathizer lecturers in Switzerland, André Bonnard, was taken to court for questionable reasons. Bonnard was accused of espionage after giving a member of the World Peace Council a file of press clippings and other publicly available information about well-known Swiss members of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). His intention was to show the links between members of the ICRC and the Swiss military-industrial lobby. At the time the ICRC was participating in a mission requested by Dwight Eisenhower to refute Chinese and Soviet Communist allegations that U.S. troops in Korea had used biological weapons. Bonnard's casting of aspersions on the ICRC was particularly unacceptable in the eyes of the authorities because the Red Cross was considered a pillar of the Swiss policy of neutrality.[79] Once again, the "credibility and respectability" of neutrality played a decisive role in the framework of anti-Communist legal proceedings undertaken by the authorities. Bonnard's questioning of Swiss neutrality was all the more problematic in the eyes of the authorities because Switzerland planned to buy tanks from the United States. Petitpierre highlighted the tension: "This set of circumstances, largely used by Swiss and international communist press, could question the reality and the sincerity of our policy of neutrality."[80] Bonnard finally received a suspended sentence of fifteen days in prison.[81]

Anti-Communist dynamics contributed to a suspicious climate among intellectuals. One paradox of this climate was that, although no Communist could envisage an academic career, universities were nonetheless suspected of harboring and breeding Red partisans. Any nonconformist opinion was suspected of playing into the hands of Moscow. Among many others, the

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78. A. G., "Eine Dissertation im Dienste kommunistischer Propaganda," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 9 June 1954, p. 2; and the police file "Heinz Egger," in SFA, E 4320 B, 1978/121, Vol. 69.

79. "Speech of Max Petitpierre at the Conference of the Ministers," 5 September 1952, in SFA, E 2800(-)1990/106, Vol. 8. See also Francisca Buchheim, "André Bonnard et son procès," MA Thesis, University of Lausanne, 1978.

80. "Speech of Max Petitpierre at the Conference of the Ministers," 5 September 1952. See also Feldmann, *Tagebuch*, 9 September 1952.

81. File "André Bonnard," in SFA, E 4320 B, 1978/121, Vol. 58.

"Esprit groups," sympathizers of Emmanuel Mounier's French Catholic Left, and the Protestant theologian Barth were often denounced as dangerous crypto-Communists, despite holding non-Communist political positions.[82] Neutralism, a posture developed by the Non-Aligned Movement and exploited in the West by pacifist militants among left-wing circles in response to the polarization of both camps in the early 1950s, was also considered a kind of crypto-Communism.[83] From the Swiss official perspective, neutralism was all the more dangerous because it could create confusion with the official posture of "armed neutrality," another example of the tension between neutrality and "moral neutrality."[84] Neutralism, which developed among pacifists and antiwar activists, demanded that diplomatic neutrality be coherent with domestic policy.[85]

The authorities' fear of Communist infiltration was particularly focused on the intellectual field. As the head of the federal police emphasized in 1948: "In Switzerland, the crypto-communists are mainly recruited among graduate students."[86] In the Swiss conservative press and in political discourse, "crypto" became a keyword, omnipresent to mark the threat that had spread across the country. This was the case in the influential *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, *Basler Nachrichten*, and *Journal de Genève*, the three main pillars of the "spiritual national defense" among the press, closely linked to Swiss economic circles. Beyond this frontal criticism, a more general discourse developed, paternalistically denouncing intellectual "naïveté" and "idealism," which could have unintended and dangerous consequences for the country. To explain intellectuals' sympathy with Communism, Markus Feldmann, head of the Department of Justice and Police, said that intellectuals follow the "fashion of the day" because of their well-known "snobbism."[87] Hans Huber, manager of the Schweizerischer Aufklärungsdienst, one of the semi-official institutions in charge of the "spiritual national defense," warned against intellectuals "because today they are often unable to understand the impact of their

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82. Pierre-Olivier Amstutz, "Les Amis d'Esprit en Suisse romande (1933–1950): Une réflexion sur les rapports entre la politique et la morale," MA Thesis, University of Fribourg, Fribourg, 1987, p. 86; Feldmann *Tagebuch*, 9 July 1956; and Daniel Ficker Stähelin, *Karl Barth und Markus Feldmann im Berner Kirchenstreit 1949–1951* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2006).

83. Anne Dulphy, "La gauche et la guerre froide," in Jean-Jacques Becker et al., eds., *Histoire des gauches en France* (Paris: La Découverte, 2005), pp. 416–434.

84. Feldmann, *Tagebuch*, 5 November 1956; and Neval, *"Mit Atombomben bis nach Moskau,"* pp. 77–78.

85. On neutralism in Switzerland, see Neval, *"Mit Atombomben bis nach Moskau,"* pp. 129–131.

86. Werner Balsiger, 9 July 1948, quoted in Georg Kreis, *La protection politique de l'Etat*, pp. 272–723.

87. Feldmann, *Tagebuch*, 17 July 1945.

political choices; that is one of the consequences of the specialization of higher education."[88]

Because intellectuals could be seduced against their will, the dominant discourse often referred to Communism—and other deviances, such as homosexuality—as a pathogen threatening the healthy body of society with infection. In 1946 the head of the federal police declared: "We have to identify those who are carrying the virus."[89] An article published in the Swiss press by the anti-Communist association Moral Re-armament likewise decried the "growing immorality among young people, illegal abortions, homosexuality, drugs: these are the breaches for Communism in our country."[90] Denis de Rougemont, a liberal intellectual linked to the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), added in the same vein, "the present Communist is a mentally ill person."[91]

Similarly, the Swiss left-wing journalist Franck Jotterand remarked that "the main law, which all censors apply, is the implicit separation of citizens into two camps: on the one side, the good Swiss, on the other side, the 'intellectuals,' who are automatically classified as being left-wing, along with peace marchers, conscientious objectors and film noir enthusiasts."[92] The "left-wing intellectual" thus became one stereotype of what the historian Ron Robin called the "Cold War enemy." Such stereotypical images of the enemy, based on mistrust, negative expectations, a unilateral vision of responsibility, and deindividualization, were present both in Western countries and in neutral Switzerland.

In Switzerland, in addition to anti-Communism, the predominance of such ideas can be explained by the long tradition of anti-intellectualism among Swiss elites.[93] The typical liberal Cold War discourse about the end of ideologies was grist for the mill of traditional Swiss anti-intellectualism. The idea that liberal capitalism is basically non-ideological and merely natural was

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88. Hans Huber, *Geistige Landesverteidigung im revolutionären Krieg* (Bern: Schweizerischer Aufklärungsdienst, 1962), p. 50.

89. Balsiger quoted in Kreis, *La protection politique de l'Etat*, p. 376.

90. Announcement quoted in Pierre Jeanneret, *Popistes: Histoire du parti ouvrier et populaire vaudois* (Lausanne: En bas, 2002), p. 87. On homophobia in Switzerland, see Thierry Delessert, *"Les homosexuels sont un danger absolu": Homosexualité masculine en Suisse durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (Lausanne: Antipodes, 2012); and Thierry Delessert and Michaël Voegtli, *Homosexualités masculines en Suisse: De l'invisibilité aux mobilisations* (Geneva: Le savoir suisse, 2012).

91. Denis de Rougemont, "Oserons-nous encore?" *Journal de Genève*, 6 November 1956, p. 1.

92. Franck Jotterand, "Aspects de la censure en Suisse," *Gazette de Lausanne*, 27 July 1963, p. 15.

93. Hans-Ulrich Jost, "Un juge honnête vaut mieux qu'un Raphaël: Le discours esthétique de l'Etat national," in H.-U. Jost, *A tire d'ailes* (Lausanne: Antipodes, 2005), pp. 17–40.

deemed a good reason to consider left-wing intellectuals as superfluous.[94] This way of thinking was made popular in Western Europe by the CCF, an organization secretly financed by the CIA. The organization had offices in some 35 countries, and two of its key members were Swiss: de Rougemont—related by marriage to Foreign Minister Petitpierre—and François Bondy.[95] Such connections between the Swiss "spiritual defense" and the cultural Cold War have been little explored in the existing historiography and deserve further investigation.[96] The Swiss conservative press also enthusiastically echoed the discourse about the end of ideologies and praised de Rougemont as one of the most important Swiss intellectuals.[97]

At the end of the 1940s the Swiss Communist press continued to call for a purge of the Swiss "pro-fascist" bourgeoisie and government. From 1946 onward, the Communists stepped up their denunciations of the new "rallying" of the Swiss government with the "Yankee warmongers." This propaganda sought to exploit pacifist feelings among people and earned a relatively warm reception in Switzerland, as shown by the support the Communist-backed Stockholm Appeal gained in 1950; it also irritated the authorities and the conservative milieu.[98] In the 1950s, pacifist Communist propaganda was often perceived as a tactic ordered by Moscow to prevent Switzerland from developing nuclear weapons.[99]

The Swiss Federal Archives show that, by the end of the 1940s, the ministers of the Swiss government—in particular, the conservative politician von Steiger, head of the Department of Justice and Police—regularly received

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94. On the "end of ideologies," see Coleman, *The Liberal Conspiracy*, pp. 108–131; Scott-Smith, *The Politics of Apolitical Culture*, p. 140; and Job L. Dittberner, *The End of Ideology and American Social Thought* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979), pp. 103–128.

95. Giles Scott-Smith, "A Radical Democratic Political Offensive: Melvin J. Lasky, *Der Monat*, and the Congress for Cultural Freedom," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (Spring 2000), pp. 263–280.

96. See, however, Dongen, "De la place de la Suisse dans la 'guerre froide secrète' des Etats-Unis, 1943–1975," pp. 55–71; and Gillabert, *Dans les coulisses de la diplomatie culturelle*, pp. 334–341.

97. See, for example, Georges Rigassi, "La lutte pour la paix et pour la liberté," *Gazette de Lausanne*, 7 January 1950, p. 1; "Le Congrès pour la liberté de la culture se prépare à un festival sensationnel," *Journal de Genève*, 5 December 1951, p. 2; and Jacques Monnet, "Espoir et peur du siècle: Un nouvel ouvrage de Raymond Aron," *Journal de Genève*, 8 May 1957, p. 1. On Rougemont, see, for example, "La Conférence Européenne de la Culture s'est ouverte jeudi à Lausanne," *Journal de Genève*, 9 December 1949, p. 12.

98. See, for example, Pierre Bernus, "Le danger de l'objection de conscience," *Journal de Genève*, 19 June 1950, p. 1; and René Payot, "Méfions-nous de l'appel de Stockholm," *Journal de Genève*, 22 June 1950, p. 1. See also Feldmann, *Tagebuch*, 4 June 1954.

99. Kreis, *La protection politique de l'Etat*, p. 265. About the Swiss nuclear weapons projects, which were not carried out, see Dominique B. Metzler, "Die Option einer Nuklearbewaffnung für die Schweizer Armee," Ph.D. Diss., University of Basel, 1995.

letters asking why the authorities did not take steps against Communist propaganda. These letters were written not only by anonymous anti-Communist citizens but also by influential conservative politicians.[100] Among other indications, this sign of anti-Communist radicalization in the political field prompted von Steiger to ask the public prosecutor of the Swiss Confederation what steps could be taken against the Communist press, in particular against the frequent accusations of violations of neutrality by the government. In a legal report the prosecutor underlined that a judicial procedure based on 1948 measures would be difficult because the constitutional right to freedom of expression could get the upper hand.[101] As the public prosecutor of the confederation wrote to Minister von Steiger in April 1950, "a lawsuit for an offense against the state that would be brought against some famous communists should lead to a grave sanction to produce a salutary effect and to be effective. . . . But the conditions for a severe sanction are not yet ready."[102] This is one of the reasons why von Steiger suggested revising the penal code against Communists in 1950, in particular by adding an article against "subversive propaganda." He wrote to his friend, the former National Deputy Ernst Flückiger, who denounced the Swiss authorities' passivity regarding the struggle against the Communist press, "While this year, the expected article [of law] is not yet in force, when the partial revision of the penal code will be current, things will be different."[103] The socialist deputies again voted for this new legal revision in 1950. The penal article against "subversive propaganda" was left out, however, because they feared it might target all forms of political opposition.[104]

The first opportunity to use the new legal weapon arose when the Communist journalist Pierre Nicole accused the Swiss authorities of preparing, in collaboration with the United States, a war against the USSR.[105] The article was published in November 1950 in the Prague-based magazine *MIR*. During the same period Communists were campaigning against visits to Switzerland by Western military commanders, for example, Field Marshal Bernard

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100. See, for example, the letters from the Catholic conservative and National Deputy Antoine Favre to von Steiger, in SFA, E 4001C, 1000/783, Vol. 212; and SFA, E 2800 1967/59, Vol. 27.

101. "Report from the Public Prosecutor Werner Lüthi to von Steiger," 27 April 1950, in SFA, E 2800 1967/59, Vol. 27; and Lüthi to von Steiger, 13 October 1950, in SFA, E 4001C, 1000/783, Vol. 212.

102. "Report from the Public Prosecutor Werner Lüthi to von Steiger," 27 April 1950.

103. Von Steiger to Flückiger, 30 November 1950, in SFA, E 4001C, 1000/783, Vol. 212.

104. *Bulletin of the Swiss National Council*, 28 September 1950, pp. 256–260.

105. A German translation of this article—titled "The End of Swiss Neutrality"—is available in SFA, E 4001 C 1000/783, Vol. 212.

L. Montgomery. The Communists cited these visits as "proof" that Swiss authorities were rallying Western military forces.[106] The Communist accusations were not wholly unfounded. British and Swiss armed forces had regular contact, in particular through Montgomery's frequent visits to Switzerland for holidays. This even led to the development of secret collaborative defense plans in the early 1950s.[107]

Moreover, during the same period Switzerland broke international law on neutrality by becoming dependent on Western weapons. To ensure access to U.S. weaponry, the Swiss government had to disclose its military secrets to U.S. officials (e.g., the strength of its air force) and subscribe to the same Mutual Defense Assistance Plan as U.S. allies. This last aspect indicated that the Swiss army would fight on the Western side.[108] Finally, in return for authorizing the export of weapons that were normally reserved only for NATO members, the United States demanded that Switzerland unrestrictedly sell Swiss weapons to NATO countries.[109]

Discussions regarding visits by Western military officers to Switzerland and government actions against anyone questioning neutrality policy also had parallels in Sweden. In the so-called Hjalmarson case of 1959, the leader of the Conservative Party, Jarl Hjalmarson, was banned from the Swedish UN delegation for having suggested that Sweden should tie its defense more closely to that of the Western powers. In the ensuing debate, the government depicted Hjalmarson as the bad boy, even though he had not suggested anything that had not already been done in secret. (Although Hjalmarson knew the real story, he did not oppose government denials during public debates.)[110]

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106. See, for example, Michel Buenzod, "Etrange courtoisie," *Voix ouvrière*, 27 February 1950, p. 1.

107. Neville Wylie, "Switzerland and the United Kingdom during the Second World War and the Early Cold War," in Madelon de Keizer and Ismee Tames, eds., *Small Nations: Crisis and Confrontation in the 20th Century* (Zutphen, Netherlands: Walburg Pers, 2008), pp. 119–138; Mauro Mantovani, "Another 'Special Relationship': The British-Swiss Early Cold War Coordination of Defence," *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Vol. 10, No.1 (Winter 1999), pp. 127–146; Mauro Cerutti, "La politique de défense de la Suisse pendant les premières années de la guerre froide (1945–1950): Entre neutralité armée et solidarité avec les Occidentaux," *Itinera*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Winter 1996), pp. 89–129; and Mauro Cerutti, "La Suisse et la sécurité européenne: à propos d'un entretien entre le chef de l'Etat-major général suisse et le Maréchal Montgomery en 1949," *Relations internationales*, Vol. 86 (1996), pp. 213–220.

108. Marco Wyss, "Neutrality in the Early Cold War," p. 40.

109. Mauro Cerutti, "La Suisse dans la guerre froide: La neutralité suisse face aux pressions américaines à l'époque de la guerre de Corée," in Michel Porret et al., eds., *Guerres et paix: Mélanges offerts à Jean-Claude Favez* (Geneva: Georg, 2000), pp. 321–342.

110. Mikael Nilsson, "The Editor and the CIA: Herbert Tingsten and the Congress for Cultural Freedom: A Symbiotic Relationship," *European Review of History*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Spring 2011), p. 162.

As for Switzerland, at the government's request the public prosecutor launched a criminal investigation against Pierre Nicole for offenses against the state and the independence of the country and for subversive propaganda. The government additionally lodged a complaint for slander.[111] The trial did not take place in the city of the defendant, Geneva, because the authorities considered the Communists too powerful in the region.[112] A special prosecutor was appointed by the authorities, "a specialist for many very long years on the far Left, having already assisted in the repression of Communists in the Suisse romande," von Steiger said.[113] Nicole, convicted on all three charges, was sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment in December 1951. The conservative press approved of the sentence, but socialist newspapers considered it too harsh even though they acknowledged that Nicole was clearly "guilty."[114] Swiss Communists and Soviet officials denounced "the settling of scores of the Swiss reactionaries against a progressive journalist."[115]

In a continuation of this first trial, the public prosecutor began a second criminal investigation of a Communist from Basel, Emil Arnold, a journalist who had declared during a conference of international journalists in Budapest in May 1951 that Switzerland was a center of operations for the U.S. secret services and propaganda.[116] At the court hearing the public prosecutor called as witnesses a variety of conservative politicians and academic specialists on military and diplomatic issues. Their testimony was intended to show the robustness of Swiss neutrality and the absurdity of Arnold's accusations against Switzerland. One of these specialists, Felix Iselin-Merian—a member of several important boards of directors and a colonel in the Swiss army—also stressed the importance of Swiss neutrality toward Nazi Germany, basing his argument on trade statistics. Arnold had indeed accused Switzerland "of always following the strongest side: yesterday Hitler, today the imperialists."[117] This episode illustrates how, from a historical point of view, the "making of the Cold War enemy" coincided with the construction of the nation's identity. At the same time the federal government tried to prevent historical research

111. "Minutes of the Session of the Swiss Federal Council," 13 March 1951, in SFA, E 4001 C 1000/783 Vol. 212.

112. Lüthi to von Steiger, 27 April 1950, in SFA, E 4001 C 1000/783, Vol. 212.

113. Von Steiger to the Swiss Federal Council, 8 June 1951, in SFA, E 4001 C 1000/783 Vol. 212.

114. *La Sentinelle* (La-Chaux-de-Fonds), 3 December 1951, quoted in "Bericht über die ersten Reaktionen zum Urteil i.S. Pierre Nicole," 8 December 1951, in SFA, E 4001 C, 1000/783, Vol. 212.

115. *Pravda*, 3 December 1951; German translation available in SFA, E 4001 C 1000/783, Vol. 212.

116. File "Emil Arnold," in SFA, E 2800, 1967/59, Vol. 27.

117. "Der Kommunist Arnold vor Bundesstrafgericht," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 27 April 1953, p. 8.

that might cast doubt on Switzerland's policy of neutrality during World War II.[118]

The conservative newspaper *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, which was closely linked to the Free Democratic Party and to the Zurich business community, stressed that Arnold's accusations were not only absurd but dangerous. The paper pointed out the emotional climate caused by the Korean War and by the fear of another world war: "The political tensions between East and West are so important that even a small motive can trigger a war. . . . The statement of Arnold can be enough to arouse hatred toward Switzerland."[119] In April 1953 Arnold was finally sentenced to eight months' in prison, losing both his civil rights and his seat as a national deputy. As for Nicole, the international press was surprised by the harsh sentence and sought to explain it by suggesting that Swiss neutrality necessitated a tough stance against those aligned with foreign powers. As *The New York Times* wrote,

> Although there are differences in legal theory, the Government's case essentially was based on the same idea as that widely accepted in the United States—namely, that membership in the Communist party involves allegiance to a foreign power and that statements by Communists must be judged in the light of that political allegiance and not as statements by ordinary persons.[120]

The timid beginning of East-West "peaceful coexistence" in the second half of the 1950s did not lead to a real weakening of the anti-Communist spirit in Switzerland, at least during the first years after Iosif Stalin's death in 1953. In the minds of the Swiss authorities, the Soviet Union continued to bear the main responsibility for the Cold War. Petitpierre, the head of Swiss diplomacy, underscored this view in a speech in September 1955: "Initially, the USSR, or if you want, Stalin, sought to obtain the maximum benefits and profits of war and victory for his country and for Communism. . . . Similarly, the USSR attempted to impose Communism to certain countries by means of civil conflicts or war."[121] The policy of détente following Stalin's death was similarly depicted by Petitpierre as a mere tactical trick intended to undermine the West's military efforts: "The contradiction between the policy of cold war and the policy of détente is an illusion. . . . What are really the goals of the

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118. Sacha Zala, "Das amtliche Malaise mit der Historie: Vom Weissbuch zum Bonjour-Bericht," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (Fall 1997), pp. 765–766.

119. "Der Kommunist Arnold vor Bundesstrafgericht," p. 8.

120. Michael L. Hoffman, "Swiss Sentenced for Saying Abroad His Nation Is Center for U.S. Spies," *The New York Times* (International Edition), 29 April 1953, p. 3.

121. "Max Petitpierre's Speech at the Conference of the Ministers," 9 September 1955, in SFA, E 2800 1967/61/65.

détente?. . . To weaken the military organization of the West." Détente was less present on the Swiss agenda after the departure of Western armed forces from Austria in 1955, which reinforced the military threat against Switzerland: "In case of a new conflict in Europe, there would be practically no obstacle between Communist Europe and Switzerland. We could very promptly have Russian troops at our borders."[122]

The period between the Korean Armistice Agreement of July 1953 and the events in Egypt and Hungary in 1956 was, however, characterized by a climate of relative domestic relaxation. The judges' leniency toward Bonnard in 1954—in comparison with the harsh sentences given to Nicole and Arnold during the Korean War—can be somewhat explained by this new political context. Before the trial, key ICRC members worried that the proceedings might have a counterproductive impact on their institution's image in the new context of détente. They worried that the trial could increase the risk that the Soviet Union might create its own Red Cross. Once Petitpierre heard about this concern, he even suggested halting the prosecution of Bonnard.[123] From 1953 to 1956 Petitpierre was even more concerned about the credibility of a neutral ICRC based in a neutral Switzerland because he was involved in two important diplomatic operations: the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in Korea and the organization of the Geneva Summit of the "Big Four" in July 1955. But the new "Spirit of Geneva" did not bring about a deep change of mood among Swiss leaders. This is reflected in Petitpierre's words just after the summit: "There is no sign of solution for present difficulties. The summit is finished, the problems remain complete: Germany, Satellite States."[124]

Events in Hungary in 1956 offered a new opportunity for official anti-Communist actions, even though the crisis was less worrying than the Prague "coup" or other Communist successes had been for the Swiss government. This time the Soviet Union's position seemed somewhat weaker, and its international reputation showed signs of deterioration. Anti-Communist circles thus had the opportunity to ostracize the Swiss Communist movement. The strategy proved largely successful, especially in the German-speaking part of the country, where a new wave of departures reduced the party to a small group.

122. Ibid. See also Feldmann, *Tagebuch*, 19 April 1955, 14 May 1955, 26 May 1955, and 11 October 1955.

123. Feldmann, *Tagebuch*, 18 November 1953.

124. "Speech of Max Petitpierre at the Conference of the Ministers," 9 September 1955.

A three-minute silence was observed throughout the country in memory of the Hungarian victims, and anti-Communist demonstrators attacked the Labor Party's headquarters.[125] Petitpierre boasted about the Swiss government's firm opposition to the new Hungarian government: "Among all peoples, we are the most critical of the Hungarian government, much more than NATO is."[126] *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* published an editorial that revealed the address of the "chief ideologist of the Labor Party," the Marxist intellectual Konrad Farner, in the area around Zurich.[127] His house was subsequently vandalized, and he had to flee to another canton.[128] The Swiss Writers Association demanded the resignation of Communists unless they condemned the Soviet intervention, and liberal intellectuals such as de Rougemont demanded the dissolution of all Western Communist parties.[129] A ban on the Labor Party, as in West Germany where the German Communist Party (*Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands*) was banned in 1956, was again discussed by the authorities but ultimately not implemented because the anticipated effects were judged counterproductive.[130]

Despite this, the "spiritual national defense" began to be questioned among Swiss officials in the 1960s. The new context of East-West détente after the Cuban missile crisis seemed to make rigid cultural policy progressively anachronistic. In 1961 the historian Jean Rudolf von Salis warned the authorities against the risks of "totalitarian" excess of the "spiritual national defense." Although as director of the official cultural institution Pro Helvetia he was close to the establishment, he particularly denounced a

> regrettable mentality . . . which throws stink bombs in a cinema where a Russian film is shown, which—on the banks of Lake Zurich—gives a rough ride to a family and refuses to sell them food because the father is a convinced Marxist [a reference to Farner's case], which—at the railway station—attacks young people who come back from the Moscow youth festival . . . which stigmatizes as an enemy of the state anyone who strays from the official way of thinking, and

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125. Pierre Jeanneret, *Popistes: Histoire du parti ouvrier et populaire vaudois*, p. 128; and Feldmann, *Tagebuch*, 8 November 1956.

126. "Speech of Max Petitpierre at the Foreign Affairs Committees of the National Council," 26 November 1957, in SFA, E 1050.12 1995/5111, Vol. 5.

127. "Die Krise in der PdA," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 7 November 1956, p. 13.

128. Anita Walser, "Konrad Farner: Erlebter Antikommunismus in der Schweiz," MA Thesis, University of Fribourg, 2007, pp. 41–52; "Der Chefideologe der PDA reist ab," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 21 November 1956, p. 11; and K. Farner to Ingeborg Djacenko, 20 June 1957, in Zentralbibliothek of Zurich, Personal Papers of Konrad Farner, File 169.

129. Denis de Rougemont, "Oserons-nous encore?" *Journal de Genève*, 6 November 1956, p. 1.

130. Kreis, *La protection politique de l'Etat*, p. 264; and Feldmann, *Tagebuch*, 8 November 1956.

even, in the style of Dr. Goebbels, people who, for an official mission, go to Eastern countries.[131]

The authorities intervened to prevent the publication of this speech, which was given behind closed doors to a select official audience during one of the tensest periods in East-West relations, with the Berlin Wall about to be built. Seven years later, the wider public finally gained access to the speech.[132] By then, Von Salis's stand was even more representative of the weariness toward the earlier militancy of anti-Communism among liberal intellectuals.

In the 1960s the authorities grew increasingly concerned about the New Left and the pacifist movement and focused less on the weakened Communist organization. The implicit "professional disqualification" (*Berufsverbote*) and close surveillance of left-wing militants and intellectuals were to continue until the end of the Cold War. In 1989, a political scandal revealed that the Swiss federal police possessed 900,000 files describing the activities of citizens suspected of subversive activities. The public discovered that one in seven people had been placed under surveillance by the police.[133] But events such as the trials of the 1950s did not occur again. Such actions were politically possible only at a time when the Cold War seemed particularly dangerous.

Authoritarian Heritage and Questionable Neutrality

In the 1950s the Swiss government revived a legal arsenal—partly in force during the 1930s and World War II—that was noticeably authoritarian in nature. After the introduction of the 1950 penal code revision, the public prosecutor, who was in favor of a harsh policy during the 1930s and World War II, enthusiastically exclaimed: "This is a real event! What a difference with all these projects, which failed during the 20s and 30s. . . . Never since

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131. Speech published in Hans-Rudolf von Salis, *La Suisse diverse et paradoxale* (Neuchâtel: La Braconnière, 1971), p. 190. See also Gillabert, *Dans les coulisses de la diplomatie culturelle*, 2013, p. 402.

132. Sybille Birrer, "Jean Rudolf von Salis, 'Helvetie gebe ich nicht verloren,'" in Sybille Birrer, ed., *Nachfragen und Vordenken: Intellektuelles Engagement bei J. R. von Salis, G. Mann, A. Künzli und N. Meienberg* (Zurich: Chronos, 2000), pp. 71–74.

133. Jürg Frischknecht, *Schnüffelstaat Schweiz: Hundert Jahre sind genug* (Zurich: Limmat Verlag, 1990), pp. 11–13; and Georg Sonderegger and Christian Dütschler, "Ein PUK-Bericht erschüttert die Schweiz: Der Fichenskandal," in Heinz Looser, ed., *Die Schweiz und ihre Skandale* (Zurich: Limmat Verlag, 1995), pp. 209–218.

the birth of our federal State in 1848 have the government and people been so well armed."[134]

Given the strong political stability of Switzerland from the 1930s until the early Cold War, the persistence of authoritarian tendencies in the 1950s, linked to the persistence of a spirit of war, seems understandable. Such behavior reflects the aftermath of Switzerland's isolation during World War II. During the Cold War the Swiss adopted a "bunker mentality," building fallout shelters under every house and thousands of small armed fortresses throughout the country, especially in the Alpine "Swiss National Redoubt," another heritage of World War II. The bunker mentality was all the more important because Swiss neutrality implied, at least officially, that the country could defend itself by itself. This principle contrasted with the more recent and impermanent Austrian, Portuguese, and Irish neutrality.[135] After a government session devoted to the trial of Nicole, the conservative minister in charge of the Department of Justice and Police, Feldmann, confided to his diary:

> The debate clearly showed the links between foreign politics, domestic policies and the protection of the State; it was a contribution to the urgent necessity of conducting an active political war for the defense of Swiss independence. . . . [It] is urgently necessary, in addition to the military defense of the country, to establish a political defense of Switzerland.[136]

Feldmann illustrates how the subjective perception of a permanent state of war underpinned a way of thinking common in Swiss executive circles. He and Foreign Minister Petitpierre were convinced that the situation posed a greater risk to Switzerland's security than during World War II, when the economic links with Germany made Switzerland's independence necessary for Hitler. This was not the case with the Soviet Union.[137]

In the same vein, in 1959 the government decided to send all Swiss households a "Book of the Soldier," listing the duties of the Swiss male "soldier-citizen." The book states: "It is thanks to this constant military preparation, which holds all citizens under commitment, that our militia is able to accomplish the task of a professional army. . . How not to point out here the positive effects that military education has on all the people?"[138] This

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134. "Talk of the Public Prosecutor Werner Lüthi at the Conference of the Police Commanders," 8 May 1951, quoted in Kreis, *La protection politique de l'Etat*, p. 305.

135. Hakovirta, *East-West Conflict and European Neutrality*, pp. 9–10.

136. Feldmann, *Tagebuch*, 26 February 1952.

137. Ibid., 1 July 1952.

138. Albert Bachmann, *Le Livre du soldat: Sois vigilant et fort; Ton pays sera libre!* (Bern: Office central des imprimés et du matériel, 1959), pp. 16–17. See also Francesca Höchner, "Zivilverteidigung: Ein

military perspective, rooted in the "spiritual national defense" of the 1930s, represented a contrast to Sweden. Albeit strongly anti-Communist, the Social Democratic government in Sweden, in coalition or alone from 1945 to 1976, did not have such a traditional conservative political culture. Swedish Social Democrats were more receptive to the new context of East-West détente after 1953. Although Petitpierre and Feldmann condemned the détente as a "Muscovite tactical ruse," in Sweden Östen Undén saluted it as a positive step toward peace, triggering in passing the ire of U.S. diplomacy.[139] The gap between the two "neutrals" became even more evident in the 1960s when Olof Palme sharply condemned U.S. policy in Vietnam.[140]

Despite the resistance of the Swiss conservative political milieu, which, from the 1960s showed some nostalgia for a rigid version of the "spiritual national defense," the new international context of East-West détente made trials for thought crimes anachronistic. Legal procedures against thought crimes would have been counterproductive at a time when Swiss political elites believed that national cohesion and a conservative consensus had been achieved, when the economic miracle had turned a large majority of the population away from socialist ideals, and when the American way of life was being painted with glowing colors.[141]

Neither the legal nor the political dimensions of neutrality imply that a neutral country must remain ideologically or morally neutral. Therefore, as long as Swiss anti-Communist policies were restricted to a domestic level, without directly harming the Eastern bloc or benefiting the Western bloc, they did not run contrary to neutrality. It was, however, paradoxical to defend a clean-looking image of neutrality by means of anti-Communist trials and to listen in on a great number of citizens who criticized Swiss neutrality because they wanted Switzerland to place itself firmly in the Western camp. The legal sanctions against Communist intellectuals, in particular for

Normenbuch für die Schweiz," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (Spring 2004), p. 203.

139. U.S. embassy officials concluded that Foreign Minister Undén's view was "somewhat disquieting" and showed "considerable naïveté" about Soviet intentions. See Simon Moores, "Neutral on Our Side: Us Policy towards Sweden during the Eisenhower Administration," *Cold War History*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Autumn 2010), p. 37.

140. Aryo Makko, "Sweden, Europe, and the Cold War: A Reappraisal," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Spring 2012), pp. 68–97; and Carl-Gustaf Scott, "Swedish Vietnam Criticism Reconsidered: Social Democratic Vietnam Policy a Manifestation of Swedish Ostpolitik?" *Cold War History*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Spring 2009), pp. 243–266.

141. Jakob Tanner, "Switzerland and the Cold War: A Neutral Country between the 'American Way of Life' and 'Geistige Landesverteidigung,'" in Joy Charnley, ed., *Switzerland and War: Occasional Papers in Swiss Studies* (Bern: Lang, 1999), pp. 113–128.

"slander," were without doubt questionable. To a certain extent, Switzerland had violated its neutrality when it secretly cooperated militarily with the Western bloc. The historian Marco Wyss also comes to this conclusion in his study of Swiss arms imports, confirming long after the events the validity of some of the allegations made by the Swiss Communists.[142] This paradox illustrates the malleability of the Swiss concept of neutrality. Taking the concept literally—as many historians following a kind of "official historiography" did for a long time—would impede a full understanding of Swiss international and domestic policy.[143]

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142. Wyss, "Neutrality in the Early Cold War," p. 40.

143. Alois Riklin, "Die Neutralität der Schweiz," in Alois Riklin et al., eds., *Neues Handbuch der schweizerischen Aussenpolitik* (Bern: P. Haupt, 1992), pp. 191–209. For a critical approach, see, in particular, Hans-Ulrich Jost, "L'historiographie contemporaine suisse sous l'emprise de la défense spirituelle," *Archivio storico ticinese*, Vol. 25, No. 100 (December 1984), pp. 299–306; and Zala, "Das amtliche Malaise mit der Historie," pp. 760–777.