

Documents Diplomatiques Suisses. Vol. 22: 1.VII.1961–31.XII.1963, ed. Antoine Fleury and Mauro Cerutti (Zurich: Chronos Verlag, 2009; pp. lvi + 462. SFr. 78).

This is the seventh volume of the post-war series of the *Documents Diplomatiques Suisses*, the Swiss equivalent of the *Documents on British Policy Overseas* or the *Foreign Relations of the United States* series. It covers the period between 1 July 1961 and 31 December 1963, which witnessed a further escalation of the Cold War and the inauguration of a new era in Swiss foreign policy under the stewardship of Friedrich Traugott Wahlen. A member of the now defunct Party of Farmers, Traders and Independents, he enjoyed great popularity for increasing Switzerland's self-sufficiency in food supplies during the Second World War, and had, as an agronomist, gained high-level international experience within the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization. This, together with his previous government service, provided him with the necessary political weight to succeed the liberal Max Petitpierre, who had shaped Switzerland's foreign relations for sixteen years, in the Federal Political Department. In office, he benefited from co-operation with Hans Schaffner, the mastermind of Swiss post-war commercial relations, who had taken over the Federal Department of Public Economy. This co-operation, as Antoine Fleury so rightly points out in the introduction, was crucial in the conduct of foreign affairs (p. xix), and should be borne in mind by those scholars of Swiss foreign policy who neglect economics.

The documents, which stem from the Swiss Federal Archives, are presented in chronological order, but have been selected according to seven themes. The first (and from Berne's perspective the most important) is European integration. The British decision to start negotiations on European Economic Community (EEC) membership took the neutral Swiss by surprise. It seemed as if they had lost, at one blow, their most potent ally in the fight against European political integration and a co-founder of the European Free Trade Association. Whereas some in the Federal Council felt betrayed, others saw in Britain a future advocate for the neutrals inside the EEC (pp. 67–8). Yet there emerged the consensus that Switzerland had to pursue—in consultation with the other neutrals (Austria and Sweden)—a middle course leading to an association with the Six. Although de Gaulle's veto on British membership made the issue less urgent, it was clear for Swiss policy-makers that neutrality forbade them to join the EEC.

The policy of neutrality also influenced decision-making in most of the other areas covered here. In economic and technical co-operation with developing countries, Switzerland acted on a bilateral and a multilateral level. Yet it preferred to provide aid bilaterally, in order to avoid being drawn through international organisations into Moscow's and Washington's global Cold War. This position accounted also for Berne's relations with international organisations and its reluctance to respond favourably to requests for financial support by the UN, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank or the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. If, despite this reluctance, Switzerland was still willing to pay, this was in order to show its solidarity with the world and thereby improve the image of neutrality. The major boon to neutrality was, however, Berne's good offices and humanitarian activities. It was thanks to this intermediary role that the two super-powers came to realise the diplomatic utility of neutrality, and Swiss diplomats were propelled into the heart of international tensions in Algeria, Cuba and other theatres. This function of neutrality certainly compensated for Switzerland's ambivalent foreign and domestic security policy.

In line with their armed neutrality, the Swiss aimed at an autonomous defence, and for this they even wanted to keep the option of a Swiss nuclear deterrent open (p. 379). But their security outlook nevertheless remained western-oriented. They were willing to co-operate in the intelligence field with the western powers (p. 213), and to keep Spanish workers under surveillance—not least to please Franco (p. 36). Even though Switzerland tried to uphold the credibility and respectability of its neutrality by ostensibly not choosing sides, and believed that it acted as an example for third-world countries, it remained on the western side of the Iron Curtain. This attitude could even influence development aid, which had a western bias and was sometimes seen as 'a contribution in the fight against communism' (p. 116). This aid was not only driven by ideals and altruism, but was also seen as a means to win new markets. Economic considerations remained a dominant factor in Swiss foreign policy, and can be most clearly observed in Switzerland's commercial and financial relations, and in its policy on migration. The documents in these two themes are of contemporary relevance, for they relate to Switzerland's banking and taxation practices, as well as to economic, domestic and international pressures on immigration. Accordingly, this volume has the potential to fulfil the editors' aim to be a source for both scholars and practitioners of Swiss foreign policy (p. vii).

However, the choice of documents and themes has imposed limitations. Switzerland's security and defence policy is not sufficiently covered. During the early Cold War, the Swiss entertained defence and armament relations with Britain, France and the US. But, in contrast to previous volumes, these neutrality-compromising relationships are absent here. Instead, the editors seem to have over-emphasised Switzerland's relations with newly-independent states in Africa and Asia. Although this is in line with recent Cold War scholarship, the documents often lack substance and are limited to courtesy visits and modest development aid. Meanwhile, the absence of cultural and scientific diplomacy is marked. Yet these are pardonable lacunae, since the book is a stepping-stone to a wealth of documents on many more themes in the database accessible through the online platform of the *Documents Diplomatiques Suisses* (www.dodis.ch). Thanks to an excellent search engine, cross-references,

thematic dossiers and registers, this database provides free access to the world of Switzerland's foreign relations.

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