

# Contents

.....	
<b>Introduction</b> .....	13
<b>Chapter 1 Theoretical background for the research of Swiss national socialism</b> .....	27
1.1. Theory of fascism .....	27
1.1.1. Marxist theories of fascism .....	28
1.1.2. Non-Marxist approaches to the study of fascism .....	31
1.1.3. The international dimension of fascism .....	38
1.1.4. Implementation of the theory of fascism in the present research .....	44
1.2. History of Frontism in Switzerland .....	46
1.2.1. Frontist discourse: The context of formation and limitations .....	49
1.2.1.1. Switzerland and the threat of the Third Reich .....	49
1.2.1.2. Non-Frontist nationalism .....	53
1.2.1.3. Anti-Semitism and racism .....	56
1.2.2. Frontist movements and their appearance and development .....	60
1.2.2.1. <i>Neue Front</i> and <i>Nationale Front</i> .....	63
1.2.2.2. Moderate Frontist movements: <i>Das                         Aufgebot, Neue Schweiz, Bund für                         Volk und Heimat, Eidgenössische                         Front, and Nationaldemokratischer                         Schweizerbund</i> .....	68
1.2.2.3. <i>Volksbund, Volksfront, and SGAD</i> .....	70

1.2.2.4. <i>Bund treuer Eingenossen nationalsozialistischer Weltanschauung and Nationale Bewegung der Schweiz</i> .....	73
1.2.3. The sample .....	74
1.3. Methodology .....	78
1.3.1. Formulating a hypothesis .....	78
1.3.2. Ideology and individual ideologies .....	81
1.3.3. Discourse analysis and its features .....	86
1.3.4. Discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe .....	91
1.3.5. Data analysis and the case-research matrix .....	96

## **Chapter 2 Empirical analysis of the ideological alignment of Swiss national socialists** .....

2.1. Between Catholic conservative and Frontist identities: The border case of Jakob Lorenz .....	113
2.1.1. Political views .....	114
2.1.2. German National Socialism .....	118
2.1.3. Foreign policy and international relations .....	118
2.1.4. Economy .....	119
2.1.5. Race and discrimination .....	121
2.1.6. Political enemies .....	125
2.1.7. Conclusion .....	127
2.2. From classic liberalism to the legal “overhaul”: Robert Tobler, a Frontist parliamentarian .....	129
2.2.1. Political views .....	130
2.2.2. German National Socialism .....	137
2.2.3. Foreign policy and international relations .....	139
2.2.4. Economy .....	142
2.2.5. Race and discrimination .....	143
2.2.6. Political enemies .....	144
2.2.7. Conclusion .....	146

2.3. The “Swiss socialism” of Rolf Henne: Adaptation of the Swiss identity to the national socialist worldview .....	148
2.3.1. Political views .....	150
2.3.2. German National Socialism .....	158
2.3.3. Foreign policy and international relations .....	160
2.3.4. Economy .....	162
2.3.5. Race and discrimination .....	164
2.3.6. Political enemies .....	167
2.3.7. Conclusion .....	170
2.4. The fate of national socialist Europe and beyond: The internationalist fascism of Hans Oehler	172
2.4.1. Political views .....	174
2.4.2. German National Socialism .....	179
2.4.3. Foreign policy and international relations .....	180
2.4.5. The economy .....	184
2.4.6. Race and discrimination .....	186
2.4.7. Political enemies .....	188
2.4.8. Conclusion .....	190
2.5. On the way to the eternal Reich: Jakob Schaffner, poet and ideologist .....	192
2.5.1. Political views .....	193
2.5.2. German National Socialism .....	198
2.5.3. Foreign policy and international relations .....	202
2.5.4. Economy .....	205
2.5.5. Race and discrimination .....	206
2.5.6. Political enemies .....	208
2.5.7. Conclusion .....	210
2.6. Self-made tool of the foreign propaganda: The path to the pro-German collaborationism of Franz Burri .....	211
2.6.1. Political views .....	214
2.6.2. German National Socialism .....	219

2.6.3. Foreign policy and international relations .....	221
2.6.4. Economy .....	223
2.6.5. Race and discrimination .....	224
2.6.6. Political enemies .....	225
2.6.7. Conclusion .....	226
2.7. Endless purification: The ideological fanaticism of Ernst Leonhardt .....	228
2.7.1. Political views .....	229
2.7.2. German National Socialism .....	235
2.7.3. Foreign policy and international relations .....	238
2.7.4. Economy .....	240
2.7.5. Race and discrimination .....	241
2.7.6. Political enemies .....	243
2.7.7. Conclusion .....	247
2.8. Self-righteous racism of a German Swiss: Theodor Fischer, an unknown Frontist .....	249
2.8.1. Political views .....	251
2.8.2. German National Socialism .....	257
2.8.3. Foreign policy and international relations .....	260
2.8.4. Economy .....	261
2.8.5. Race and discrimination .....	262
2.8.6. Political enemies .....	264
2.8.7. Conclusion .....	265
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	269
Cross-case summary .....	283
Concluding remarks .....	288
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	295
Archives .....	295
Monographies and dissertations .....	297

Contents

11

Articles and reports .....	301
Web resources .....	302
Newspapers .....	303