

## How East Germany Operated in Scandinavian Countries 1958–1989

### Intelligence, Party Contacts, Schooling and Active Measures<sup>1</sup>

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In September 1999 the East German Staatssicherheitsdienst (Stasi) or Ministerium für Staatssicherheit (Ministry for State Security, MfS) featured prominently in the headlines as former Stasi agents in Great Britain were exposed. The MfS had been created in 1950 and was not disbanded until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. It was responsible for both domestic surveillance and for foreign espionage. At the height of its power it employed 85,000 full-time officers as well as several hundred thousand informers, who assembled records on five million citizens – one third of the entire population. The files of the Stasi, if put in line, would cover more than 100 miles.

According to Mark Almond, lecturer in modern history at Oxford University, the Stasi assessed every student or researcher from the West who spent time in East Germany.<sup>2</sup> ‘Somebody who worked in a university for instance, might after all teach somebody who went into politics, went into the army or was a scientist who could be valuable, not just to the East German Stasi, but for all the former communist bloc secret services,’ so Almond. But in the strategy perfected by Markus Wolf, who headed the Hauptverwaltung Aufklärung (HVA), the foreign espionage branch, foreigners recruited for the Stasi were steered toward jobs in the heart of western governments or in the European Union or NATO. The British revelations in September 1999 included the director of post-graduate studies at Hull University.<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps more important than England was Scandinavia, an important target of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) influence operations during the Cold War.<sup>4</sup> One of the GDR’s main objectives was to achieve diplomatic recognition by the Scandinavian countries as part of the overall strategy of Soviet politics: to neutralize the Baltic Sea area and to persuade Denmark, Iceland, and Norway to resign from NATO and become non-aligned states instead. In as early as the 1950s, the Soviet Union and her Baltic Sea satellite states Poland and the German Democratic Republic put forward the slogan ‘The Baltic Sea – Place of Peace.’ It was suggested from the Soviet side that naval ships of countries from states not bordering on the Baltic Sea would be prevented from entering. In the late 1950s, the GDR had to a great extent been assigned by Moscow as the main base for influence operations in Scandinavia. Pomerania in northern Germany and western Poland was, at least concerning Sweden, an ideal base, as the province had

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1 The groundwork for this article was laid when I presented a paper on this subject at the 5th Annual Meeting of the International Intelligence History Study Group (June 18–20, 1999) at the Akademie für politische Bildung at Tutzing, Bavaria. The subject of the meeting was ‘Germany and Intelligence Organizations: The Last Fifty Years In Review’.

2 Fearsome Stasi held nation in its grip. In: BBC News online, 18.9.1999.

3 The university that taught Britons to spy for Stasi. In: Sunday Times on-line, 19.9.1999.

4 See booklet Östersjön – fredens hav? (Baltic Sea – Sea of Peace?). Lund, Sweden, 1963 (published in Sweden with the support of Büro Bonner Berichte of the Verein zur Förderung der Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands of the Ministerium für gesamtdeutsche Fragen). Also Ernst Nolte, *Deutschland und der Kalte Krieg*. München 1974, p. 403, on the organizations in the Federal Republic to counter East-German propaganda.

for several hundred years been Swedish, and it was thus natural for the regime in East Berlin to connect to the old historic ties.

My request for material on Sweden to the Stasi-archive in Berlin (BStU) was made in March 1999. Material related to Sweden from the so-called SIRA-files were received in the summer of 2000. The approximately 1,500 pages of material have been evaluated. In SIRA only the titles of documents are mentioned, most of which have not been found.<sup>5</sup>

### *Sweden*

The Communist Party of Sweden (Sveriges kommunistiska parti; SKP) was formed in 1921 as a section of the Comintern. After being weakened for years during the 1930s, it was revived by Soviet victories during the Second World War, and in 1944 it received 11 percent of the popular vote in the general election. Later, it was again reduced to a smaller party though still retaining members of parliament. In 1964, its Stalinist leader Hilding Hagberg was replaced by C. H. Hermansson, an academic and euro-communist. The party lives on as The Party of the Left (Vänsterpartiet) in Sweden, and until 2006 it was part of the social democratic (SAP) government's support in parliament. After the defeat of SAP in the 2006 elections, Vänsterpartiet joined the opposition. Currently, the party has a following of between four and five percent in the opinion polls. The party is seeking ministerial posts in 2010, should the non-socialist government led by conservative Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt fail to be re-elected.

During the Cold War era Sweden's social democrats were involved in an anti-American rhetoric, welcomed by the Soviet Union and of course by the GDR, especially during 1965–1975, the years of the Vietnam war. Sweden's anti-American circles were looked upon by the GDR as a respectable vehicle in the international communist campaign against US 'imperialism'. The Warsaw Pact also used Sweden for trying to 'persuade' Norway to loosen its ties with NATO.

### *Training of Communists*

From the early 1920s the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) gave training to members of West European communist parties.<sup>6</sup> Most Scandinavians (except Finns)

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5 At the end of 1998 it was possible for the BStU to decode tapes of the HV A (Hauptverwaltung Aufklärung), the Foreign Espionage Department of the MfS. This system was known as the System of HV A for Information Research (System zur Informationsrecherche der HV A). In many cases the SIRA-tapes contained code names of agents but only the titles of their reports. The HV A had reliability grades from A to E, with A as reliable. Estimates on the value of the reports were made on a scale from one to five, with one as 'very valuable'.

6 For more on Soviet training of foreign communist party members see Crozier, Brian, Aid for terrorism. In: Annual of Power and Conflict 1973–74. London 1974, pp. 2–11. Two trainees living in the United States have given evidence on their training at the Lenin School. Joseph Z. Kornfeder was born in Austria, but emigrated to the United States and became one of the founders of the Communist Party USA in 1919. He studied at the Lenin School and finally reached the position of member of the Anglo-American Secretariat of the Comintern. He left the party in the 1930s and devoted much of his time to uncovering communist goals and strategies. In 1959 he provided testimony during a Hearing of the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee of the Judiciary of the American Senate. He provided both a statement and an exhibit for the subcommittee (Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy. Washington 1959, pp. 113–118). The other trainee to have told about his training experience was the black communist Leonard Patterson who attended the Lenin School from 1931 to 1932. For an interview on communist infiltration techniques, see Eugene H. Methvin: The Riot Makers – The Technology of Social Demolition. New Rochelle, N.Y 1970, pp. 211–213.

were trained at the Lenin School in Moscow. From 1924 to 1938, half of the Scandinavians trained in Moscow were Swedes. Finns were trained separately. A leading Finnish communist, Yrjö Sirola, headed the Communist University of the Peoples of the West while it was still in Leningrad. The Finnish communists also named their own party school the Sirola Institute after this prominent communist. After 1930, the Wilson School was responsible for training communists in survival techniques, in the case should arise that their parties were to be declared illegal in their homelands. Comintern financed the school. After the Second World War, during the period from 1950 to 1964, training restarted in the Soviet Union and it can be estimated that around 100 Swedes received training in this period. In 1964, the communist party in Sweden stopped training in the East bloc countries as it joined the Euro-communist line.<sup>7</sup> Some of the more prominent communist party trainees include:

- Karl Danielsson received training during the 1950s in the Soviet Union. He was a member of the party board and secretary of the Sweden-Soviet Union Friendship Society in Stockholm from 1965 to 1970.
- Georg Greiff was trained in the Soviet Union at the beginning of the 1930s where he met his American wife. He was a businessman with a number of companies trading with the East Bloc. Greiff contributed to the establishment of the new party school at Syninge in Sweden after the party closed its school in East Germany.
- Harry Hagberg received his schooling in the Soviet Union during the 1950s. From 1972 to 1977 he was editor in chief of one of the leading communist newspapers in Sweden, *Norrskensflamman*. Afterwards, Hagberg was party secretary in the Workers' Party – The Communists (Arbetarpartiet kommunisterna, APK), a break-away Stalinist communist party.
- Eivor Marklund was trained in the Soviet Union from 1955 to 1956. She was a member of parliament and vice chairman of the communist party for many years.
- Bertil Måbrink, trained in the Soviet Union during the 1950s, was a party board member and member of parliament.
- Irja Strand underwent schooling in the Soviet Union in the beginning of the 1930s and was active in the party's organization for women.
- Rodny Öhman was trained for several years in the Soviet Union from 1927 onwards. She was a member of the party board and active in the party's organization for women.

#### *The Swedish Communist Party School in Bad Doberan*

With the aid of the ruling party, Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (SED), the Swedish Communist Party ran a party school in Bad Doberan in the GDR not far from Rostock. The SED paid for food and lodging in a former hunting castle and the salaries of the German teachers. The school was controlled by the SED from the regional SED party headquarters in Rostock. But there were also Swedish teachers. The courses could take from a week to a year. Around 300 Swedish communists are believed to have been trained in Bad Doberan in courses lasting longer than a month. There are

7 Hjertqvist, Johan (ed.): *Myten om VPK's oberoende – En dokumentation av Vänsterpartiet kommunisternas politiska, ekonomiska och organisatoriska bindningar till utländska kommunistregimer* (The Myth of VPK Independence – A Documentation on the Political, Economic and Organizational Contacts of VPK to Foreign Communist Regimes). Stockholm 1980, pp. 17–18.

several documents in the author's archive from Germany establishing a link between the Swedish director of the school, Jan Kempe, and employee Lia Ihns at the SED in Rostock in the office of the regional party secretary. Apparently, the training school was established in the summer of 1959. There is also a record on allowing Finnish communists to train at the school in the SAPMO files (Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv). At the beginning of the 1960s the Swedish evening newspaper *Aftonbladet* managed to get a reporter and a photographer inside the school, and after a series of articles the party found it necessary to close it down.<sup>8</sup>

### *Financial Support*

A method to financially support the communist parties not only in Scandinavia but also elsewhere was through media and print operations.<sup>9</sup> The Swedish communist party printing company, Västermalm Tryckeri AB, printed for the GDR, and books published by the communist party in Sweden were printed cheaply or at no cost in the GDR. For decades until at least 1973, the publishing house of the Swedish party, Arbetarkultur, printed books at C. G. Röder or Röderdruck in Leipzig. These cheaply produced books were then bought at full price by East German organizations for additional support. This means that a book that had been printed by Röder at no cost was then bought for expensive foreign currency at full price by East German organizations to be re-introduced in the GDR. The Sweden-GDR Society ran a travel agency, and there were companies named 'DDR-Revyn' (The GDR Review), Baltor AB and 'DDR-Press' (GDR-Press).<sup>10</sup> Documents available in the author's archive show close cooperation between the society and the SED.

### *The Baltic Sea Weeks and Other Regular Conferences*

Scandinavian communists and leftists met East German and other Soviet controlled functionaries in Rostock for the Baltic Sea Week annually in June/July since 1958.<sup>11</sup> During the week in Rostock, a 'Workers' Conference of the Baltic Sea Countries,' a Youth Conference and a Writers' Conference were held as well as dancing events, theatre, film, concerts, and art festivals under the motto 'art for the people.' The events

8 Ibid., pp. 18–19.

9 Ibid., pp. 9–16.

10 For further information on this technique see Hjertqvist (ed.): *Myten om VPK's oberoende*.

11 For an American view of Soviet and East German influence activities in Scandinavia see Leighton, Marian K.: *The Soviet Threat to NATO's Northern Flank*. New York 1979: 'Aside from KGB and GRU (Soviet military intelligence) activities in the northern flank states, the Polish intelligence services focus special attention on Scandinavia. In addition, the East German city of Rostock houses a number of agencies and front organizations that promote subversion in northern Europe. On January 22, 1978, for example, Tass announced a meeting in Rostock of the standing committee of an international trade union forum for "the many-million-strong army of working people of Baltic countries, Norway and Iceland". Representatives of these countries voted to hold their 21st working conference in Leningrad under the motto "trade union cooperation in the struggle for peace, disarmament and social progress." East Germany also provides training in espionage and sabotage for Scandinavians recruited by the USSR. Soviet-bloc intelligence services in Scandinavia (as well as West Germany) frequently blackmail former Nazi collaborators into working for them by threatening to expose their past activity' (p. 32). In the sections 'The Special Case of Sweden' (pp. 68–75) and 'Soviet Military Diplomacy and Espionage on the Northern Flank' (pp. 25–33) background material can be found in Leighton's book on the then existing situation in Sweden and other northern flank countries.

were spread out to other cities and holiday resorts along the Baltic Sea coast of the GDR: Wismar, Warnemünde, Greifswald, Graal-Müritz and others.

Documents from German archives demonstrate that the Stasi was deeply involved in preparing and carrying through the Baltic Sea Weeks. The author has access to documents from the Stasi operation in 1967 (Code name 'Seestern' – Sea Star). These documents confirm that Stasi had agents among the participants to 'undertake political-operational measures, collect information and possible subversive activities.' The following 'unofficial collaborators' were deployed: GMS 'Rudi', IMS 'Harald', IME 'Gerda', IME 'Dagmar', IMS 'Renard', IMS 'Roberta'.<sup>12</sup> The University of Greifswald, which had established a large number of contacts to Scandinavia during the last centuries, was given a central role. In particular the Nordic Institute, originally established in 1918, was revived to inform about the achievements of the 'workers' and peasant state'. A German-Nordic Society and a Nordic German Church Convention served as further bridges of influence to the Scandinavian countries.

Unsurprisingly, the events and organizations described above were used by the MfS to gather intelligence and for the recruitment of agents. Representatives of the East German intelligence service often posed as press representatives of the 'Internationale Wirtschaftskorrespondenz'. East German intelligence concentrated on Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian representatives while Finns were taken care of by the KGB. Especially important was the work in Sweden and other Nordic countries to have the GDR diplomatically recognized, a successful work (sadly) led by former social democratic MP Stellan Arvidsson in Stockholm.

In January 2001, the Swedish Minister of Justice, Thomas Bodström,<sup>13</sup> had to disclose that counterintelligence police (SÄPO) had opened 45 cases against suspected Stasi agents. In seven of these cases enough evidence existed to continue the investigation, but all have later been closed due to statutory limitation, or because no criminal activity could be proven. In additional cases, SÄPO had summoned persons for 'talks.'

#### *Stasi 'Active Measures' against Sweden*

Department X of HV A was responsible for disinformation and so-called 'active measures'.<sup>14</sup> This department was headed by Colonel Rolf Wagenbreth since 1966. Its main objective was to disinform and destabilize the West by forging letters, newsletters, and official documents as well as spreading rumors. The department was also involved in the writing and publishing of booklets and books. One operation (code name 'Flanke') targeted strategic efforts of NATO on the northern and southern flank in Europe. In Denmark and Norway the Stasi provided material for questions in both of the countries' parliaments.

12 GMS was 'Gesellschaftlicher Mitarbeiter für Sicherheit' (Public collaborator for security); IMS was 'Inoffizieller Mitarbeiter, der mit der Sicherung eines gesellschaftlichen Bereichs oder Objekts beauftragt ist' (Unofficial collaborator with responsibility for security in a public area of interest or object); IME was 'Inoffizieller Mitarbeiter im bzw. für einen besonderen Einsatz' (Unofficial collaborator for special action).

13 Riksdagens snabbprotokoll 2000/01:56, Torsdagen den 25 januari 2001 (the parliament's protocol 2000/01:56, Thursday, 25 January, 2001).

14 On Department X see Herbert Romerstein's paper 'Disinformation as a KGB Weapon in the Cold War', p. 1, at the 5th Annual Meeting of the International Intelligence History Study Group, 'Germany and Intelligence Organizations: The Last Fifty Years in Review', 18–20 June, 1999, Akademie für politische Bildung, Tutzing, Bavaria, Germany.

An odd project (code name 'Trojanisches Pferd') was to harm the Swedish monarchy by revealing material from Nazi archives that supposedly showed cooperation between the Royal house and the Nazis. Responsible for this was Professor Kurt Vieweg (see also the section about Carl Madsen and Erik Jensen on page 103) at the Nordic Institute in Greifswald. After receiving and evaluating hundreds of files from the Central Archive in Potsdam, Professor Vieweg actually wrote a book, and in the middle of the 1970s handed the manuscript over to his superiors. But the political leadership in the GDR had changed their view. The Swedish monarchy was then, they now thought, a 'progressive' force and in order to make contacts easier with Sweden it was not considered a good move to reveal the old sins. Professor Vieweg was also used for contacts with the SPD politician Herbert Wehner, a man with extensive contacts in the Scandinavian countries.<sup>15</sup>

Three days after the assassination of Swedish premier Olof Palme in 1986, an operation involving Stasi activities created false leads to ensure that the investigations pointed to a right-wing extremist assassin.<sup>16</sup>

### *Denmark*

The Danish Communist Party (Danmarks Kommunistiske Parti) joined the Comintern in 1920. In the 1932 elections the DKP won two seats in parliament, which was a breakthrough, and the party reached peak influence after the Second World War with around 10 percent of the popular vote. In 1960, Aksel Larsen, a leading communist, broke away and founded the Socialist People's Party (Socialistisk folkeparti; SF), and he took with him many votes. Since 1960 the DKP has failed to receive parliamentary seats in national elections until it was dissolved.

### *Successful East German Influence Operation Against a Danish Political Party*

The main contact of the SED in Denmark was the Danish Communist Party (DKP), but other political parties were also targeted. The Radical Left Party (Det Radikale Venstre) is a moderate party in Denmark. During the 1980s it cooperated with the Demokratische Bauernpartei Deutschlands (DBD) in the GDR, and the Danes were invited to several meetings at 'Haus Muldenberg' south of Zwickau near the Czech border. In 1986, the Radical Left Party was co-organizer of the World Peace Conference held in Copenhagen by various communist international front organizations. Much of the preparatory work was done by the Danish party's secretary, Jens Clausager, and his wife Margrethe. From 17 to 20 November 1986 a Danish party delegation visited the GDR, meeting with the DBD Chairman, Ernst Mecklenburg, the head of the Scandinavia Department of the East German Foreign Ministry, Kurt Nier, and the secretary of the Friendship Society GDR-Denmark, Gerhard Kasper. Later the Danes were invited to the 12th Party Congress of the DBD in Rostock in April 1987, and in July 1987 the Clausager couple was rewarded with a free trip to Muldenberg. The Stasi agent in charge of the Radical Left Party operation was Ernst-Otto Christalle, heading the DBD-chairman's office in East Berlin. In the late 1950s, Christalle (code name 'Harry,' 'Paul,' 'Egmont,' and 'Werner'), who had been recruited by the Stasi as a young man, had been promoted to Geheimer Hauptinformator (GHI, Main Secret Informant). There were contacts between the two parties as early as at the beginning of the 1980s. A member of the International Department of the

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15 Der Spiegel 23/1991.

16 Löw, Konrad: Bis zum Verrat der Freiheit, Munich 1993, p. 247.

DBD, Jörg Zöllondz, has testified that the Stasi was behind the cooperation between the two parties.<sup>17</sup>

### *The Danish Social Democrats and the Stasi*

Denmark was not an enthusiastic joiner of NATO in 1949. Many Scandinavians seem to have preferred a Scandinavian defense alliance, and in the 1970s only 60 percent of the population supported NATO. The opposition was constituted particularly by radical liberals (Radikale Venstre) and the left wing of the Social Democrats. Denmark's strategic importance as guardian of the entrance to the Baltic Sea made the country crucial in NATO strategy, yet Denmark forbade nuclear weapons or allied troops on her territory in peacetime. During the Cold War, the parliamentary situation in Denmark was often unstable which was used by certain key personalities in the Social Democratic Party to exert influence on defense and foreign policy issues. One such person was Lasse Budtz, now retired, who was chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee in the Danish parliament for many years. He bears a large responsibility for the so-called footnote policy of Denmark in NATO 1983 to 1988, which isolated Denmark in the North Atlantic community. One of the main efforts was undertaken against the NATO Double-Track Decision concerning the Soviet SS-20 missiles. Along with other left wing social democrats Budtz tried to sabotage the NATO-decision.

Many observers were wondering if the anti-NATO policy of Budtz and others might have depended on foreign influence. And the documents seem to confirm some of these suspicions. There was undoubtedly a growing contact between Budtz and the left and the East German SED. Budtz played a central role in the so-called Scandilux-group, an association of 'small' NATO countries (Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Luxemburg and Norway). Scandilux had its own channels to communist parties in Eastern Europe, and its last meeting was held in East Berlin 16–18 February 1989. All expenses were paid for by the SED, which offered the guests free accommodation in the guesthouse of the Central Committee overlooking the river Spree.<sup>18</sup> The Stasi was represented in the Foreign Policy Commission of the SED Politbureau by Colonel Ralf-Peter Devaux. The exact figures of the SED payment for the expenses cannot be revealed because the receipts were destroyed in 1990.

But for Budtz, more or less multilateral contacts were not enough. He wanted bilateral contacts, and documents in East German archives confirm those contacts. Before these contacts several secret meetings took place at the East German embassy in Copenhagen in the presence of the GDR ambassador, Heinz Oelzner. The international secretary of the Social Democratic Party, Steen Christensen, also played an important role in these contacts.<sup>19</sup> Budtz first appears in East German SED-documents in 1982 when he had dinner with Oelzner. One of Budtz's close associates, Erik Boel, met with Stasi agent Dr. Franz Stepanek (Stasi code name 'Jochen') of the Nordic Institute in Greifswald. He had received a scholarship from the Danish Foreign Ministry, and in September 1986

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17 For details on the cooperation see the chapter 'Stasi var med på vægtskålen' in Herborg, Mette/Michaelsen, Per: *Stasi og Danmark – De østtyske arkiver afslører agenter og medløbere* (Stasi and Denmark – The East German Archives Reveal Agents and Fellow Travellers), Lyngby 1996, and pp. 34–36 for the statement by Zöllondz.

18 An internal SED memo states: 'All costs to be born by the main financial office of the Central Committee', Herborg/Michaelsen: *Stasi og Danmark*, p. 53.

19 For more information on Ambassador Oelzner's reports to East Berlin see Herborg/Michaelsen: *Stasi og Danmark*, p. 58.

he spent a month in Copenhagen. Stepanek had his own office and free telephone at the Center for Udviklingdforskning (Center for Development Research; CUF) in Copenhagen, which was a research center financed by the ministry. Documents in East German archives reveal that the KGB was also interested in using Stepaneks contacts, mainly in Sweden.

#### *The Danish Stasi Agent for Church Contacts*

The Danish citizen William Flyckt was a Stasi agent for 20 years. He died in East Berlin on 23 February, 1986. His code name was 'Bill' or 'Henry,' and he worked for HA XX/4, the branch responsible for church affairs. Most of the time Colonel Jochen Wiegand was his contact. It started with Flyckt's bankruptcy in Aalborg, where he owned a radio and TV shop. He moved on to become the correspondent of a Danish newspaper in East Germany and was one of the most successful agents of the department he worked for. He was a courier between East and West Germany for the Gustav Adolf Werk (GAW), founded in 1832 in Leipzig. The GAW was involved in intra-German church contacts, and it was the task of the Stasi to disrupt these contacts. The Stasi was also interested in how the Danish protestant state church attempted to help the parishes in East Germany.

#### *Jens-Peter Bonde: How to Oppose the European Union*

Jens-Peter Bonde was a leading figure in the Danish opposition to the European Union (EU), a member of the Danish Communist Party from 1975 to 1991, and a Member of the European Parliament (MEP). He also lectured on resistance to the EU at the SED party school 'John Schehr' in Lütten-Klein near Rostock. Every year, the Danish party sent around 200 leading members for schooling to courses in East Germany that lasted from seven to fourteen days.<sup>20</sup>

#### *Otto Sand – Leading Stasi Agent in Denmark*

For 15 years Otto Sand (code name 'Solist') was a leading Stasi agent in Denmark. He was active in a number of organizations in support of the North Vietnamese communists. Many of the books that Sand wrote against the United States, NATO, and West Germany were financed and even written by the Stasi.<sup>21</sup> Sand had all his expenses paid for by the Stasi. He had been recruited by the HV A NATO-department XII around 1967. The most important Stasi agents in charge of Sand were Heinz Becker and Kurt Vieweg (code name 'John' or 'Nordland'). Becker worked in the Scandinavian Department. During the 1960s he had been involved in a Stasi operation to help American Vietnam deserters to Sweden. Around 60 or 70 deserters are claimed to have made it to Sweden with the aid of the Stasi. Another of Sand's controlling officers was Günter Bohnsack<sup>22</sup> of the HV A Disinformation Department. Bohnsack claims to have seen Sand's file, and according to him this Danish left winger was recruited by the MfS officer Edgar Gladitz who led the Scandinavian Department of HV A for some years during the 1960s and 1970s. 'Solist' stopped working for the MfS at the beginning of the 1980s. Sand was an

20 All costs were paid for by the SED. In as early as 1973 Bonde had contacts to Olaf Schlaak who studied at the Nordic Institute in Greifswald. Schlaak was a Stasi agent (code name 'Eberhard'). Herborg/Michaelsen: *Stasi of Danmark*, chapter 'På skolebaenken i Rostock', pp. 116–131.

21 *Europahaeren pa Vej* (The European Party on the Move), 1972, *Amerikanske Tropper i Europa* (American Troops in Europe), 1972, *Det Fjerde Rige* (The Fourth Reich), 1973, and *I skyggen av en Stovle* (In the shadow of a boat), 1975.

22 For a detailed account of HV A disinformation activities see Bohnsack, Günter: *Auftrag: Irreführung*. Hamburg 1992.



indefatigable organizer of demonstrations. His greatest success was that he and his aids managed to rally 25,000 Danes in front of the U.S. Embassy in Copenhagen to protest against the Vietnam war on 27 April 1968. In September 1970, violent street battles between Danish police and demonstrators occurred during a World Bank Conference in Copenhagen. Otto Sand was one of the leading organizers. He died in 1984.

#### *Carl Madsen and Erik Jensen – Working on Book Manuscripts for the Stasi*

In 1977, while researching for the book *Flygtning 33*, the Stalinist Danish lawyer Carl Madsen received help from Erich Mielke himself in getting access to East German archives. When the manuscript was completed it was never published because it contained some parts which were not acceptable to the East-German regime. A prominent extreme leftist publisher in Denmark, Erik Jensen, cooperated with Kurt Vieweg in Greifswald researching for a book on Nazi German preparations for bringing the Second World War to northern Europe. Jensen was Madsen's secretary and had come to know Vieweg by introduction through Madsen in 1971. Vieweg worked closely with Markus Wolf's HV A (Department XII). The purpose of the book was to show that anti-communist social democrats had indirectly contributed to the German war efforts in northern Europe.<sup>23</sup>

#### *A Leading Danish Journalist and the Stasi*

Leif Larsen is a Danish journalist of some repute. In 1973 and 1987 he was a member of the board of the Danish Union of Journalists. In the 1970s Larsen had been a member of the DKP. His main idea was to create links between the Danish union and its counterpart in East Germany, Verband der Journalisten (VDJ). One of Larsen's contacts in this venture was Hans Eichorn (code name 'Conny'), a Stasi agent with the rank of major but formally a functionary of the VDJ. The attempts of Larsen went as far as producing a formal cooperation agreement, but it was never signed, because Larsen could not find enough support in the Danish union. Since 1982 Larsen was active in the communist front organization 'Journalists for Peace,' which was involved in opposing the NATO Double-Track Decision in the 1980s. Larsen also actively took part at the World Peace Congress in Copenhagen in 1986. With Danish journalist Eva Bendix, Swedish journalist Susanne Björkenheim, and an American, Ron Ridenour, Larsen published a booklet on the Congress in 1986, which was funded by the communist international front International Organization of Journalists (IOJ), headquartered in Prague.<sup>24</sup>

#### *Continuing Operations for Others?*

In March 1999, a former MfS agent, Jan Aage Jeppesen, was detected infiltrating one of the largest evening newspapers in Denmark, *Ekstra Bladet*.<sup>25</sup> He had worked for the East Berlin Hauptverwaltung Aufklärung from 1981 to 1989 under the code name of 'Apollo.' Possibly he was now working for Russian intelligence services. He had close social links to Poland and Russia, having been married three times to Polish women and twice to Russian women. From November 1998 to March 1999 Jeppesen was employed by the newspaper until exposed.

Extensive material from Jeppesen's MfS case file (Rostock I/848/83) is known. He re-

23 On Jensen and Vieweg, see Herborg/Michaelsen: *Stasi og Danmark*, pp. 157–158.

24 For more on Larsen and his contacts with East Germany, see Herborg/Michaelsen: *Stasi og Danmark*, pp. 227–235.

25 Daily newspaper *Ekstra Bladet* 23/24.3.1999.

ported numerous East Germans to East German authorities, his own father-in-law to the Polish police, and he is known to have infiltrated the office of Solidarity in Copenhagen, Denmark. To make extra money, Jeppesen was obviously involved in extensive smuggling activities. Although Jeppesen's work on behalf of the East German HV A is probably known to Danish authorities, he has never been charged in Denmark. Jeppesen also infiltrated political parties and was a member of the Danish Conservative Party and infiltrated the Arbeitsbemeinschaft Ost-West-Transfer (OWT), which was involved in organizing escapes from the GDR. He started by writing to OWT that he needed help to bring out his wife's daughter from Poland. The initial contact led to meetings that 'Apollo' reported to Rostock in detail in 1983. In 1983, 'Apollo' was also contacted by the Danish police intelligence service (PET), which ironically wanted to warn him of recruitment attempts by the HV A and the Polish intelligence service. The result was that Jeppesen was asked by the HV A to infiltrate the PET. The Jeppesen disclosure has led to a debate in Denmark on the need for information in Scandinavia on the 4,500 East German agents that worked for the HV A in the west and are probably known to German authorities at present.

### *Latest Danish Developments*

On 16 August 1999, Joachim Gauck, then head of the BStU, visited Copenhagen to discuss Danish interest in gaining access to the Stasi Archive to find material on Danish Stasi agents. The Danish Minister of Justice, Frank Jensen, the head of the Police Intelligence (PET), Birgitte Stampe, and a leading official from the Ministry of Justice, Michael Lunn, participated in the talks. Earlier, the Chief of Public Relations for the Stasi Archive, Johannes Legner, had stated that extensive material, including information on Danish Stasi agents, would be published in the Danish media as a result of the release of Stasi material in the possession of American intelligence services. Legner is quoted as having said that the Stasi Archive wanted the material published and that persons who spied for the GDR, irrespective of nationality, should not be protected.<sup>26</sup> Later in September 1999 the Danish government was reported to have made renewed requests to the German Federal Chief Prosecutor in Karlsruhe to release information on Danish Stasi agents. Already in May 1999 the Danish parliament had requested that the Danish government should do everything possible to find Danish citizens who had cooperated with the East German intelligence organization to guarantee that they were brought to justice. The government had been accused in parliament of dragging its feet on the matter.<sup>27</sup>

In 2002, a non-socialist government was formed after elections for parliament. This coalition has been in power since then. An addition to the study of Soviet bloc intelligence activities in Denmark has been achieved by the foundation of the 'Center for koldkrigsstudier' (funded by the Danish parliament) at the South Danish University in Odense on the Island of Funen. In November 2007 the center headed a very successful international conference on the Stasi, 'Hauptverwaltung A – Geschichte – Aufgaben – Einsichten'.

### *Norway*

As in the other Scandinavian countries the political left was for a long time splintered

<sup>26</sup> Danish daily newspaper Berlingske Tidende 27.8.1999.

<sup>27</sup> Berlingske Tidende 7.9.1999.

in Norway. But it may be of interest to note that the Norwegian Labour Party remained in the Comintern until 1923. It led to the formation of the Communist Party of Norway (NKP), which rarely gained more than one percent of the voters in elections. After the Second World War the influence of the party grew, and it won a record share of the electorate in 1945 (over 11 percent of the votes). Building on its role in the anti-Nazi resistance, the party even entered into a coalition government. When the NKP supported the communist takeover in Czechoslovakia in 1948, the party's influence started to dwindle and its support was cut in half. In the 1960s a new left wing party was formed, the Socialist People's Party (SF), which would drain many of the votes of the NKP. In 1977, for instance, the popular support for the NKP was 0,4 percent. The SF was very actively against a Norwegian membership in the European Common Market and against nuclear weapons. The NKP continued to decline.

#### *East German Archives on GDR Influence Operations in Norway*

According to information widely spread in 1994, the first chairman of the SF in Norway, Knut Løfsnes, had been a correspondent of the East German radio since 1956 for a number of years, and he had contacts with an East German citizen in Oslo who was deported from Norway in 1961. Løfsnes, who chaired the party from 1961 – 1968, was one of East Germany's most important contacts in Norway. He obviously received support from the GDR, as a document in the archives of the East German Ministry of Foreign Affairs dealing with the SF party chairman notes: 'Die Finanzen müssen geregelt werden.' He received good marks by the East Germans, who had a very positive impression of him. Another leading Norwegian leftist politician, Berge Furre, is noted to have remarked that in the GDR we have found the New Germany where 'fascism, militarism, imperialism, and war' have been crushed.<sup>28</sup>

In the winter of 1960/61, the East German Dieter Stropp came to Oslo as head of the GDR Trade Office in Norway and sought contact with the foreign policy opposition in the social democratic party. On 1 June 1960 he met with Furre, Løfsnes, and Finn Gustavsen, another prominent left-wing politician. Stropp reported about the meeting and later sent a 48-page report to his superiors in East Germany in which he remarked on the importance of this group in Norway for the GDR. They were, Stropp wrote, strong critics of Norway's official security policy and of her foreign policy. But Stropp soon had to leave Norway. In as early as January 1961, the Norwegian authorities notified him that his visa would not be prolonged. Stropp had detailed instructions to see to it that articles by East Germans were published in the Norwegian press, and he was to make detailed notes (Aktenvermerke) on conversations he had with Norwegians.

In the summer of 1990 the German historian Michael Scholz investigated the archival holdings on unofficial leftist Norwegian contacts with the GDR. The result of his research has been published.<sup>29</sup> Scholz described the extensive efforts of the GDR to establish contacts in Norway, yet compared to Denmark and Sweden, he states, the interest in Norway was limited. There were much thicker files about Denmark and Sweden, Scholz remarked.

28 30 år gamle DDR-dokumenter frigis – østyske arkiver kaster lys over SF. Aftenposten Morgen, Oslo, October 13, 1994.

29 Scholz, Michael F.: DDR og venstresida i Norge. Tysklands Sosialistiske Enhetsparti, Orienteringskretsen og stiftelsen av SF. In: Arbeiderhistorie 1991, p. 190–203.

### *Stasi and Lebensborn Children*

A bizarre effort by the Stasi was the attempt to recruit children of Norwegian mothers and German fathers born during the Nazi occupation of Norway from 1940 to 1945. About one hundred of these children had grown up in the GDR and the Stasi launched a ten-year effort to recruit some of them as agents.<sup>30</sup>

### *30–35 Norwegian Suspects in 1996*

In 1996 it was revealed that the Norwegian counterespionage police (Overvåkningspolitiet) had asked the German government to release information from the East German archives on 33 Norwegians. As one of them, Berge Furre (see above), was a member of a Commission to Investigate Government Intelligence Operations during the Cold War (the so-called Lund Commission), this created a sensation. It was believed in left-wing circles that the request for information from the Stasi Archive was made to discredit Furre and the commission. This resulted in further police requests being stopped, but after the National Prosecutor had reviewed the archival material, he ordered further investigation in a number of cases. It was later confirmed that some of the material concerned Norwegian Stasi agents. Some of the agents had presumably operated in Norway even as late as 1989. One Norwegian had already been recruited in 1963, and he had his last meeting with his Stasi controller in the summer of 1989. In July 1999,<sup>31</sup> when a Norwegian daily newspaper asked about the possible prosecution of suspects, it received the answer ‘no comments.’ The risk that the cases against the Norwegian Stasi agents will be statute-barred is obvious.

### *New Developments in Sweden*

It was not until early 2000 that information on Swedish Stasi agents appeared in the Swedish media. In parliament, a question was put to Laila Freivalds, then Justice Minister, and she had to admit that investigations were ongoing. Around 20 cases were pending according to Freivalds, but the prosecutors had seen no reason to prosecute. According to Freivalds, it had not been possible to establish criminal activity, and besides the statute of limitation was applicable. New material might come to light, so there was reason for the Swedish counter-intelligence police (SÄPO) to continue investigations. One might have certain doubts about the sincere interest of a government of socialists, which has support of the former communist party, to pursue the investigations with vigor. In February 2000, however, Norwegian newspapers revealed the code names and backgrounds, but not the real names, of several Swedish Stasi agents. Since then some code names have also been published in Swedish newspapers:

1. ‘Schuster,’ who was recruited in 1962. He reported and delivered secret material from Sweden’s Embassy in Bonn. One report from 1984 was on trade exchange between the GDR and Sweden. One week later it was to be the basis for trade negotiations between the two countries.
2. ‘Engelmann’ was recruited by the Stasi in 1960 and is probably a Swede. In 1984,

30 Tjønn, Halvor: 8 000 norsk-tyske Lebensborn-barn (8,000 Norwegian Born Lebensborn Children). In: Norwegian daily newspaper Aftenposten 16.6.1997.

31 Aftenposten 10.7.1999. On Stasi operations in Norway see also Stasi vervet flere nordmenn. In: Aftenposten 13.12.1996. Also De ga STASI rapporter om Norge (They Provided STASI with Reports on Norway), Norwegian Daily newspaper Verdens Gang 25.1.2000 (code names included ‘Lanze,’ ‘Cello,’ ‘Hein,’ ‘Christoph,’ ‘Harry,’ ‘Toeppfer,’ ‘Akker,’ and ‘Sydow’).

he provided the Stasi with information on plans for protection against chemical warfare. This agent sometimes posed as a priest and helped to infiltrate the church opposition to the regime in the GDR.

3. 'Magdalena' was recruited in 1979 and reported on trade between the GDR and Sweden.
4. 'Pionier' reported on Swedish, Brazilian, and Portuguese connections with Mozambique (then a communist ally of East Germany).
5. 'GK' was recruited in 1963. For six years he reported on East German refugees in Sweden. He later returned to the GDR and was sentenced to three years imprisonment there.
6. 'Schneller' was active since 1968. He provided the Stasi with information on Swedish disarmament initiatives.
7. 'Krone' spied for the Stasi since 1980. He reported on very personal information about Premier Olof Palme (who was assassinated in 1986), which means that he was probably close to the Prime Minister.
8. 'Martin' was recruited in as late as 1986. He reported on Swedish contacts with Namibia and SWAPO's activities in Scandinavia.
9. 'Kiesling' was an agent since 1982. His area was Swedish peace organizations and their cooperation with similar movements in the Warsaw Pact countries.
10. 'Segel' reported on Swedish security policy since 1970.
11. 'Dom' was recruited in 1985 and specialized in infiltrating Swedish anti-apartheid solidarity groups in Sweden.

In the early summer of 2000, the Swedish media<sup>32</sup> revealed that the agent code-named 'Koenig,' who had access to the Social democratic leadership in Stockholm, was a journalist living outside Stockholm and was not prosecuted.

During a visit to Stockholm, Markus Wolf (1923–2006), the former head of East German intelligence, claimed that the Stasi had had contacts with two or three Swedish members of parliament. Wolf also stated that Denmark and Norway had been more important targets for the Stasi than Sweden, as they were NATO members. This might, however, be disinformation. Sweden, due to possibly unsatisfactory border security, was often used for meetings between Stasi officials and agents in Western Europe.<sup>33</sup>

There are over 1,000 SIRA entries related to Sweden. Most of the related documents

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32 Ingvar Carlsson berättar om spionen – 'Jag vet vem det är' (Ingvar Carlsson Informs About the Spy – 'I Know Who He Is',). In: Aftonbladet 5.7.2000; Spionen lever i skräck – 'Koenigs' familj vet ingenting om hans tid som Stasi-agent (The Spy Lives in Fear – His Family Knows Nothing About His Time As Stasi Agent). In: Aftonbladet 6.5.2000; Jag är Stasi-spionen – Aftonbladet träffade 'Koenig' i natt (I am the Stasi Spy – Aftonbladet met 'Koenig' Tonight). In: Aftonbladet 7.7.2000.

33 In an interview in Cederberg's book (see p. 111, note 37 below), Markus Wolf (1923–2006) said that he never hid when he was head of the HV A. He openly watched parades from the stand in East Berlin. Wolf was disappointed that the Säpo in neutral Sweden managed to take photos of him when he was in Stockholm in 1978. These photos were later handed over to the BND, which angered Wolf. He also told Cederberg that the HV A had several Swedish agents on location. The objects were mainly the Swedish industry, cultural matters and the parliament. Wolf mentioned Bofors and the Swedish Peace Society (Svenska Freds och Skiljedomsföreningen). Wolf met with representatives of the peace organization in Stockholm. The GDR embassy in Stockholm handled the practical details of the meetings.

have not been discovered. In his archive the author of this article has several documents, which have indeed been found.<sup>34</sup> These were enquoteStreng geheim, and it was noted on each document that the contents could not be used in the media to guard the identity of the source.

### *New Developments in Denmark*

In 1996 two Danish journalists, Mette Herborg and Per Michaelsen, published a revelatory book on Stasi contacts and agents in Denmark (*Stasi og Danmark*, Lyngby). In 1999, they continued their work to reveal the secrets of East Berlin activity in NATO member country Denmark (*Ugraes. Danske Stasikontakter*, Lyngby). During Christmas 1999, the Danish police arrested the former Stasi agent 'Lenz.' He was an employee of the European Union, had worked for the Danish Foreign Ministry, and had provided the communist regime in East Berlin with secret Danish government documents. He was later released and no charges were brought against him. It is not known if he has resumed his work in Brussels. A German agent, Rainer Rupp, who worked under the code name 'Topas' was reported to have delivered 24 confidential reports on Danish Defense to the Stasi. He stole, for instance, documents from NATO's Defense Planning Committee and Defense Review Committee.

Danish media also reported on Knud Wollenberger, who had already been exposed in 1995. From 1973 he infiltrated the Danish and American diplomatic environment in Berlin to give the Stasi drawings of the embassies and their security equipment. Agent 'Donald,' as his code name was, had a father, who had lived in the United States. 'Donald' was exposed when his wife read their file in the Stasi Archive and detected that her husband had spied on her for ten years. She had been a dissident and later became a member of the German Parliament for the Green Party and the CDU from 1990 to 2005 under her maiden name, Vera Lengsfeld. 'Lenz' was a member of the Communist Youth Organization. He also infiltrated left-wing organizations in Denmark for the Stasi.<sup>35</sup>

34 Code names 'Schuster,' 'Magdalena,' 'Pionier,' 'Engelmann,' 'Schneller,' 'Krone,' 'Martin,' 'Kiesling,' 'Segel,' 'Peter,' 'Gaertner,' 'Fuhrmann,' 'K. Schulz,' 'Andreas,' 'Faust,' 'Ahmed,' 'Tell,' 'Alfred,' 'Florian,' 'Delitzsch,' 'Weber,' 'Esche,' 'Junior,' 'Etsel,' 'Boden,' 'Marbach,' 'Koenig,' 'Pasat,' 'Sydow,' 'Akker,' 'Naumann,' 'Pohl,' 'Reif,' 'Jack,' 'Tenne,' 'Condor,' 'Zielke' and 'Boden'.

35 Dansk EU-ansat faengslet for spionage (Danish EU Employee captured for espionage). In: Berlingske Tidende 28.12.1999; Dansk Stasi-spion anholdt (Danish Stasi Spy Arrested). In: DR Nyheder Online 28.12.1999; Dansker faengslet for Stasi-spionage (Dane Arrested for Stasi Espionage). In: TV 2 Nyheder 28.12.1999; Dansk stasi-agent anholdt juledag (Danish Stasi Agent Arrested on Christmas Day). In: Jyllands-Posten 28.12.1999; Dansker sigtes for spionage (Dane Arrested for Espionage). In: Jyllandsposten 28.12.1999; Dansk EU-ansat faengslet for spionage (Danish EU-employee Arrested for Espionage). In: Jyllands-Posten, Internet Edition, 28.12.1999; Stasi-agent faeldet af sine egne (Stasi Agent Trapped By His Own). In: Jyllands-Posten, Internet Edition, 29.12.1999; Spion laekkede EF-udspil (Spy Leaked European Initiative). In: Politiken 29.12.1999; Mysteriet om skygge-agenten (The Mystery of the Shadow Agent). In: Berlingske Tidende 30.12.1999; Stasi-mistaenkt naegter sig skyldig (Stasi Suspect Pleads No Guilty). In: Berlingske Tidende 3.1.2000; Spionagesigtet i isolationsfaengsel (Espionage Suspect In Isolation Confinement). In: DR Nyheder Online 7.1.2000; Stasis danske Donald slap fri (The Danish Donald of Stasi Was Released, on Knud Wollenberger, code name 'Donald'). In: Jyllands-Posten, Internet Edition, 9.1.2000; Spion-sigtet var ungomunist (Espionage suspect Was Member of Young Communist League). In: Berlingske Tidende 11.1.2000; Endnu en Stasi-spion i Danmark (Another Stasi Spy in Denmark, on spy with code name 'Bettina'). In: Berlingske Tidende 13.1.2000; Stasi vidste alt om dansk forsvar (Stasi Knew Everything About Danish Defense). In: Berlingske Tidende 16.1.2000; Dansk storspion er taus (Danish Superspy Is Silent, on Danish Stasi spy Flemming Sørensen). In: Aftenposten 25.1.2000; Endnu en dansker mistaenkt som Stasi-agent (Another Dan-

During the 1980s the Danish Social Democratic Party opposed NATO on several issues, among others the stationing of nuclear weapons on Danish territory. This was of great interest to the KGB and the Stasi. The regimes in Moscow and East Berlin were seeking weaknesses in NATO that they could exploit. Their goal was to have Denmark leave NATO altogether.

### *New Developments in Norway*

The search for Stasi agents in Norway has resulted in the exposure of agent 'Lanze,' a Norwegian journalist stationed in Brussels, Stein Viksveen, who was recruited in 1962, was charged with espionage for East Germany in 2001. However, the Chief Public Prosecutor (Riksadvokaten) decided not to pursue the case against Viksveen, but the formulation of the decision pointed to continuing suspicion concerning the journalist.<sup>36</sup>

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ish Stasi Agent Suspect, on Danish Stasi spy with code name 'Apollo' and 'Hamster'). In: Jyllands-Posten, Internet Edition, 26.3.2000; Udvidet anklage i spionsag (Additional Charge in Spy Case). In: Berlingske Tidende 1.4.2000; Spionagesag stadig for lukkede døre (Espionage Case Still behind Closed Doors). In: Berlingske Tidende 11.4.2000; Spionage-sitet: Jag har intet udleveret (Espionage Suspect: I have delivered nothing). In: Berlingske Tidende 12.4.2000; Spionsigtet sat på fri fod (Espionage Suspected Freed). In: Berlingske Tidende 13.4.2000; Mor till mistaenkt agent også sigtet (Mother of Suspected Agent Also Charged, on suspected Stasi agent 'Nelly'). In: Berlingske Tidende 13.4.2000.

- 36 Jakt på norsk Stasi-agent (Hunt for Norwegian Stasi Agent). In: Aftenposten 5.1.2000 (on 'Lanze' are most of the following references); Jager to norske spioner (The Hunt for Two Norwegian Spies). In: Nettavisen 6.1.2000; Spionerte om NATO og EF (Spied on NATO and EC). In: Dagbladet 6.1.2000; Spionen snart tatt (The Spy Soon Captured). In: Dagbladet 10.1.2000; Spionjegerne forholder seg tause (The Spy Hunters Remain Silent). In: Dagbladet 11.1.2000; Jakter på flere spioner (Hunt for More Spies). In: Verdens Gang 6.1.2000; Stasi-spionen 'Lanze' var norsk journalist (Stasi Spy 'Lanze' Was Norwegian Journalist). In: Verdebs Gang 11.1.2000; POT kartla deltakerne – Her ble spionene rekruttert av Stasi (POT Checked the Participants – Here the Spies Were Recruited by Stasi). In: Dagbladet 11.1.2000; Norsk spion ringes inn – 'Lanze' kan bli arrestert (Norwegian Spy is Encircled – 'Lanze' Can Be Arrested). In: Verdens Gang 5.1.2000; Stasi-spionen 'Lanze' trolig siktet (The Stasi Spy 'Lanze' Probably Charged). In: Dagbladet 12.1.2000; Tystet på av Stasi-avhoppere – Derfor ble Viksveen spionsiktet (Stasi Defector Testified - That Is Why Viksveen Was Charged, journalist Stein Viksveen was believed to be 'Lanze'). In: Dagbladet 22.1.2000; 'Lanzas' føringsoffiser kjente Viksveen (The Officer in Charge of 'Lanze' Knew Viksveen). In: Aftenposten 22.1.2000; Kunnskapsrik journalist som utelot Stasi i DDR-bok (Knowledgeable Journalist Who Left Stasi Out of Book on GDR). In: Aftenposten 21.1.2000; Rømte til Frankrike (Escaped to France). In: Verdens Gang 22.1.2000; Kan ha blitt registrert som Stasi-agent uten å vite det (Can Have Been Registered as Stasi Agent Without Knowing). In: Aftenposten 22.1.2000; Siktet for å ha overlevert strengt hemmelig Nato-dokument (Charged With Having Delivered a Top Secret NATO Document). In: Stavanger Aftenblad 23.1.2000; Må ha vaert topp-spion – Stasi-arkivet om 'Lanze' (He Must Have Been a Top Spy – the Stasi Archive on 'Lanze'). In: Verdens Gang 26.1.2000; Viksveen er Lanze (Viksveen is Lanze). In: Dagbladet 28.1.2000; Eftersforsker ny, norsk spion? (Searching For New Norwegian Spy?). In: Verdens Gang 5.2.2000; Fant liste over spionløn (Found List On Spy Payment). In: Verdens Gang 8.2.2000; Viksveen: Noen må ha brukt meg (Viksveen: Someone Must Have Used Me). In: Stavanger Aftenblad 15.6.2000; Ga STASI Amnesty-dokumenter (Gave STASI Amnesty Documents). In: Verdens Gang 15.6.2000; Spionlaerer vervet 'Lanze' (Spy Teacher Recruited 'Lanze'). In: Verdens Gang 16.6.2000; Stasi fikk Holst-manus (Stasi Received Holst Manuscript). In: Verdens Gang 18.6.2000; Stasi-oberst 'frifinner' Viksveen (Stasi Colonel Acquits Viksveen). In: Dagbladet 5.9.2000; Oppsiktsvekkende datafunn – Ny informasjon underbygger siktelsen (Sensational Computer Find – New Information Is Strengthening Charge). In: Verdens Gang 23.10.2000; Viksveen utpekt på foto (Viksveen Identified On Photo). In: Verdens Gang 24.10.2000; Syv personer knytter Viksveen til Lanze (Seven Persons Tie Viksveen to Lanze). In: Aftenposten 23.10.2000; POT med åpne Stasi-påstander (POT With Open Stasi Claims). In: Aftenposten 24.10.2000; Viksveen utpekt på foto (Viksveen Identified On Photo). In: Verdens Gang 24.10.2000; Skygger fra en kald krig (Shadows From A Cold

Other possible Norwegian Stasi agents are:

12. 'Cello,' who might have been a Foreign Ministry employee in Oslo. Recruited in 1974.
13. 'Hein' was recruited in 1965 and is of great interest to the Norwegian counter-intelligence police (POT). He reported on Norwegian foreign policy.
14. 'Christoph' was recruited in 1973 and reported on the situation in Norway.
15. 'Harry' was recruited in 1969 and provided information on Norway and the European Security Conference.
16. 'Toeppferl' was recruited in 1966 and delivered material on the foreign policy of East Germany and her relation to West European nations.
17. 'Akker' was recruited in 1966 and provided reports on meetings between social democratic leaders in Europe.
18. 'Sydow' was recruited in 1980 and delivered economic reports to the Stasi.

### *Conclusion*

During the 1990s, the Stasi Archive records have been made available to authorities in the Scandinavian countries. Of the three countries treated here, Danish authorities and journalists seem to have been most active to gain access to records of Danish Stasi agents. There have also been investigations in Norway, but these have been hampered by the left because Berge Furre (see page 105) was among those in the searchlight. Sweden stands out as the country that seems to have made few attempts to gain access to material on Swedish agents in the Stasi Archive. Investigations are, thanks to questions by several members of the Swedish parliament, now being revealed. No member of the Swedish parliament has however called for setting up a parliamentary committee to investigate operations of the Stasi and other Warsaw pact agents.

An important development occurred, however, in 2007. In early April that year there were demands in Finland by Ambassador Alpo Rusi to have all names of Finnish Stasi agents released. He had been suspected himself of working for the Stasi and of having been investigated by the Finnish security police (Skyddspolisen). He was acquitted and later initiated a summons in court against the Republic of Finland asking for an indemnity of 500,000 Euro. Later, also in Sweden demands were made for the release of the names of the Swedish Stasi agents. In August 2007, the Swedish author Björn Ceder-

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War). In: Dagbladet 24.10.2000; POT-påstander i Viksveen-saken: Stasimøter helt til muren falt (POT Claims in Viksveen Case: Meetings Up Until The Wall Fell). In: Aftenposten 24.10.2000; Stasiavhopper vil ikke vitne i Norge (Stasi Defector Does Not Want To Testify In Norway). In: Aftenposten 10.1.2001; Norge ikke spesielt interessant (Norway Not Especially Interesting). In: Aftenposten 11.1.2001; Viksveen ble ikke gjenkjent i går heller (Viksveen Was Also Not Recognised Yesterday). In: Aftenposten 10.1.2001; Endret sin forklaring (Changed His Testimony). In: Verdens Gang 15.1.2001; De pekte ut 'Lanze' (They Identified Lanze). In: Verdens Gang 14.1.2001; Utpekt av ny Stasi-offiser – Stasioffiseren Heinz Becker utpekte fredag Stein Viksveen som spionen 'Lanze' (Identified By New Stasi Officer - Stasi Officer Heinz Becker Identified Stein Viksveen as Lanze on Friday). In: Verdens Gang 12.1.2001; Jeg vervet Viksveen - Stasi-oberst hevder en lært nordmannen op i bruk av spionutstyr (I Recruited Viksveen - Stasi Colonel Claims He Thought the Norwegian How To Use Espionage Equipment). In: Verdens Gang, 12.1.2001; Stasitopp beskrev Lanze i detalj (Top Stasi Officer Described Lanze In Detail). In: Verdens Gang 10.1.2001; Viksveen vurderer erstatning (Viksveen Is Considering Compensation). In: Dagbladet 2.11.2001.



berg, published a book on Sweden's role in the Stasi archives.<sup>37</sup> According to Cederberg, 900 Swedes had been contacted by the Stasi. The Swedish Security Police (Säkerhetspolisen) countered by claiming that it had only found 50 Swedes to investigate. The result was that Säpo refused to release the names.<sup>38</sup> The repeated revelation of information about the number of Swedish Stasi agents led to requests in parliament (Riksdagen) from a member representing the Conservative Party (Moderata Samlingspartiet), Hans Wallmark, that the Swedish names be revealed.<sup>39</sup>

Few agents of the MfS have been sentenced by Scandinavian courts. Most likely hundreds of Stasi agents operated in Scandinavia. The communist parties in Sweden, Denmark and Norway had well-established contacts with the SED. The Swedish communist party even ran a training school in the GDR for a while. 'Active measures' were planned and executed by the Stasi against Sweden. In early 2001, the Swedish Minister of Justice said in parliament that the Stasi Archive was to be used by a government commission recently created, the Commission to Investigate the Counterintelligence and Security Services (SÄKO). However, the report of the commission, released in December 2002, made it apparent that SÄKO showed little interest in investigating available documentation in German archives.<sup>40</sup> As demonstrated above, there is much material in the archives that would be of interest not only for the Swedish authorities but for authorities in Denmark and Norway as well.

Germany has presumably received most of the estimated 300,000 Stasi informant code names from the United States. The handing over seems to have started in January 2000 with CD-ROM copies with names, except for some people that need protection according to the American intelligence service.<sup>41</sup> According to the media, around 290,000 names of HV A agents in the West have been released to researchers via the BStU. The full story of East German intelligence operations in Scandinavia cannot be told until these names have been investigated. The parliamentarians in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway still have the responsibility to demand a full investigation by parliamentary or

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37 Björn Cederberg, *Kamrat spion. Om Sverige i Stasiarkiven (Comrade Spy. On Sweden in the Stasi Archives)*, Stockholm 2007.

38 Hundratals svenskar på Stasis lista (Hundreds of Swedes on the Stasi List). In: *Dagens Nyheter*, 8.8.2007; Säpo: Stasi hade svenska informatörer (Security Police: Stasi had Swedish informers). In: *Radio Sweden* 8.8.2007.

39 See also Wallmark, Hans: *Dags att offentliggöra Stasikontakterna (Time to Reveal Stasi Contacts)*. In: *Norra Skåne* 6.9.2007.

40 A Dr. Werner Schmidt of the Commission visited German archives in Berlin and Greifswald. Schmidt claimed that there was interesting material in the SAPMO archive and in Greifswald, but this was mainly related to internal Swedish Communist Party fights during the 1960s and 1970s. In the Stasi Archive there was no news. East German intelligence interest in Sweden could be studied with the aid of documents in the archive of SAPMO. Schmidt and the Commission are taking the archival material in Germany lightly. The result is that the Stasi and other Warsaw Pact agent activity in Sweden is not presented in the report of SÄKO. What is needed in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway is a thorough investigation of these matters by a special commission to enlighten the public on the subversive warfare of mainly Communist Poland and East Germany. Until all names of the Swedish Stasi agents are revealed to the public there has to be much Scandinavian reliance on the research of among other institutions Forschungsverbund SED-Staat der FU Berlin, the South Danish University of Odense, the Nordeuropainstitut der Humboldt Universität and the Forschungsabteilung der BStU and others for more information on Stasi in Scandinavia. See *Die Spionage der DDR in Dänemark. Pressemitteilung der BStU*, 22.3.2007.

41 CIA files stir up specter of East German secret police. In: *CNN*, 7.11.1999, <<http://www.snn.com/WORLD/europe/9911/07/berlin.wall.stasi/>> (reference as per that date).

government commissions about the Warsaw Pact intelligence activities in the Nordic countries during the Cold War.

I have investigated around 1,400 documents from SIRA and listed hundreds of reports in the Stasi Archive that concern Sweden. The list is in Swedish and may be consulted by researchers. In November 2003, at a conference of researchers, 'Das war die DDR', at the European Academy Otzenhausen, Germany, I had the opportunity to speak about 'DDR und Skandinavien – MfS und SED-Aktivitäten 1958–1989'. In October 2006, I was invited to the conference 'Civil Society in Transition', organized by the Södertörn University College near Stockholm. My paper, 'Stasi and Scandinavia – An Unfinished Chapter?' was not delivered as the organizers were not willing to pay transportation and lodgings as well as a fee. As I am an independent researcher, I do not have the resources of a research organization or a university to finance my work. One of the subjects presently studied by me is the Swedish Communist Party training center in Bad Doberan, East Germany, paid for by the SED in the 1950s and 1960s. It is a comparative study taking into account Comintern's training centers in the former Soviet Union.<sup>42</sup>

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42 See the unpublished manuscript of the author, *Training For Worldwide Insurrection – Soviet Political Warfare Academies – Some Western Sources*, 2007.