

# Some Remarks on the US/UK Submarine Deception In Swedish Waters in the 1980s

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## Abstract

After a Soviet Whiskey submarine was stranded in 1981 in the Swedish archipelago, massive submarine intrusions took place within Swedish waters – later described as the first Soviet military initiative against a Western European state since the Berlin crisis.<sup>1</sup> After a dramatic hunt in 1982, a parliamentary commission stated that six Soviet submarines had ‘played their games’ in the Stockholm archipelago – one even in Stockholm harbour. The Swedish government protested strongly, and relations between the two countries were icy for several years.<sup>2</sup>

Today, all evidence for Soviet intrusions appears to have been manipulated, or simply invented. Classified documents point to covert US and UK activity. Former US secretary of defense Caspar Weinberger stated that Western submarines operated ‘regularly’ and ‘frequently’ in Swedish waters in order to ‘test’ the Swedish coastal defences, and former British navy minister Sir Keith Speed confirms the existence of such operations. Royal Navy submarine captains admit having carried out top-secret operations in Swedish waters, and that a member of Cabinet signed approval for every single operation.

In a new book, *The Secret War Against Sweden – US and British Submarine Deception in the 1980s*, published by Frank Cass (Naval Series), I discuss these problems in detail. I have used a large amount of now declassified or partly declassified documents from the submarine hunt as well as hundreds of interviews with senior officers and local commanders as well as interviews with officers and officials in various Western countries. This article is based on material from this almost 400-page volume, which also includes maps and excerpts from documents. The maps in this article are derived from this book.

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\* The author is a Research Professor at the International Peace Research Institute in Oslo (PRIO) and was for several years heading its Foreign and Security Policy Program. In 1987, he published a report for the Swedish Defence Research Establishment about the US Maritime Strategy and Scandinavian geopolitics, pre-supposing Soviet submarine intrusions into Swedish waters. The report was used as one of two major textbooks for the Swedish Military College. Two years later, he wrote a larger volume on the same theme, *Cold Water Politics – US Maritime Strategy and Geopolitics of the Northern Front* (London: Sage, 1989), he visited the Naval War College in Newport and lectured at the Center for Naval Analysis in Washington and at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey. In the 1990s, more and more indications pointed to covert US and UK activities. In 2000, after US former secretary of defense Caspar Weinberger had spoken about US/NATO submarines operating ‘regularly’ and ‘frequently’ in Swedish waters, the Swedish government appointed Ambassador Rolf Ekéus as a one-man investigation of the political and military dealing with the submarine incidents. Ekéus invited Tunander as an expert to this investigation, which gave Tunander access to archival material and interviews with military officers. He also made hundreds of interviews himself for the book *The Secret War Against Sweden – US and British Submarine Deception in the 1980s* (London: Frank Cass 2004, pp. 392).

## Introduction

The submarine incidents in Swedish waters in the 1980s had an enormous impact on Swedish mentality and threat perceptions. In a report for the US Air Force from 1990, Gordon McCormick writes:

*Since 1980, Swedish sources indicate that an average rate of between 17 and 36 foreign operations are being conducted per year.... For the first time Soviet intruders began to penetrate into the heart of Sweden's coastal defence zones, including the harbours and the country's major naval bases. More often than not, these operations now involved the use of multiple submarines, mini-submarines, and combat swimmers operating in a coordinated manner.*<sup>3</sup> (italics in original).

The submarine hunts were major media events. During a two-week hunt at Muskö Naval Base 1982, journalists from all over the world visited the Navy Press Centre. They filmed helicopters and small Swedish attack crafts carrying out complex operations against the intruder and dropping large numbers of depth charges. The anti-submarine war entered the living room of every Swede, and many people believed that Sweden was already at war with the Soviets. The submarine hunt was first-page news in US and European newspapers, and the Swedish Commander-in-Chief, General Lennart Ljung, talked about using 'war methods in peace time',<sup>4</sup> and Prime Minister Olof Palme said that the state responsible for the intrusions had to consider that Swedish military forces might sink a submarine in Swedish waters.<sup>5</sup> From early 1984, Swedish Defence Minister Anders Thunborg was given daily briefings about the submarine intrusions as if there were continuous reports from the front.

Still, only on two occasions – after the stranded Whiskey submarine in October 1981 and, in April 1983, after the presentation of the parliamentary report on the 1982 submarine incidents – did the Swedish government point to the Soviet Union and protest against Soviet intrusions. In 1985, after four years of continued reported submarine intrusions, Foreign Minister Lennart Bodström told the mass media that only in two cases had it been proven that these sub-surface operations originated from the Soviet Union, and that it was impossible to protest against an intruder that had not been identified. The public, however, was convinced that all of the intrusions originated from the Soviet Union and that the government was adapting to Soviet pressure. According to journalists criticizing Bodström, the Foreign Minister even seemed to express scepticism about the 1982 incident and the Submarine Defence Commission Report that had already pointed to the Soviets. Bodström's statements were perceived as unacceptable. A few months later, after a harsh political debate, Prime Minister Olof Palme had to sacrifice his Foreign Minister.<sup>6</sup>

Today, these large and coordinated submarine operations along the Swedish coast, deep inside the Swedish archipelagos with midgeet submarines and Special Force divers appearing among the Swedish summer houses, have become more of a mystery. It is now clear that the alleged evidence presented to prove Soviet involvement in connection with the 1982 submarine hunt was invented for political reasons. In this dramatic submarine hunt, which was presented as the final proof of the Soviets' extremely provocative nature and demonstrated that all other intrusions most likely originated from the USSR, the Swedes had nothing on the Soviets. Rather, the evidence that has since emerged points in another

direction. These high-profile submarine operations appear as a form of US and UK psychological warfare. They may possibly have been what William Taylor recommended: ‘Psychological operations to induce the government and/or population to resist Soviet intervention or psychological operations to undercut support of an undesirable government.’<sup>7</sup>

### **The 1982 Operation in the Stockholm Archipelago**

The submarine hunt at Muskö Naval Base, started on 1 October 1982. Less than two weeks earlier, on 19 September, the Social Democratic Party had won the parliamentary elections. The new government was due to replace the previous Centre-Liberal government on 8 October. Whereas Prime Minister Thorbjörn Fälldin’s government was on its way out, the new Social-Democratic government of Olof Palme had not yet been established.

In September, NATO had carried out a naval exercise in the Baltic Sea, BOLD GUARD. On 25 September, when this exercise was finished, some of the US vessels went on a port visit to Stockholm, while others, a cruiser and a frigate, went to Helsinki. The US cruiser *USS Belknap*, the frigate *USS Elmer Montgomery* and the US Navy depot ship *USS Monongahela* stayed in Stockholm on 25–27 September. After lunch on 27 September,<sup>8</sup> they left for another naval exercise in the Baltic Sea, US BALTOPS, which ended on 2 October. At 14.00 on 26 September, people travelling with a small ferryboat saw a small silver-grey periscope in the waters at Kastellholmen in central Stockholm only a few metres from US cruiser *Belknap* and frigate *Elmer Montgomery* and not more than a few hundred metres from the royal palace. Indeed, several people saw the periscope. It was 35–40 centimetres high and 10–15 centimetres in diameter. It turned around and displayed its aperture, and a detailed drawing of the periscope was made by the couple on the ferryboat.<sup>9</sup> This behaviour is not typical for a covert operation, and does not indicate Soviet activity. This submersible might have been part of a routine security arrangement for the US ships: there is a long tradition of sabotage in foreign harbours,<sup>10</sup> and US ships would routinely have a sub-surface presence – usually in the form of divers – to protect the ships from sabotage. Half a year later, when the issue was brought up by the Submarine Defence Commission, General Ljung also indicated that there was a link to the US ships.<sup>11</sup> The small submersible was most likely a US vessel released from the US tanker *Monongahela*, which could easily have been adapted for such a purpose.

At 13.10 on 29 September, a small submarine sail was seen a couple of kilometres further out in the Stockholm harbour.<sup>12</sup> The observer saw bubbles, the water was seemingly boiling, and then, for ten seconds, something dark grey, with an antenna – a small submarine sail, 1 metre high and 1.5 metre wide – before it disappeared.<sup>13</sup> Most likely, the ‘small submersible patrolling the US ships’ had been left on its own in order to exercise its way out from Stockholm. The naval base war diary contains the following entry at 18.00: Tomorrow morning, exercise will take place in interesting area.<sup>14</sup> At 22.00, forces for the mine barrages were deployed at the narrow channel at Oxdjupet, Vaxholm, outside Stockholm harbour. They were waiting for magnetic indications from a submarine. Naval Special Forces were brought to the area. ‘The submarine was expected,’ wrote Colonel Lars-G. Persson, Chief of the Coastal Defence Regiment KA1, in his diary.<sup>15</sup> At 05.00, an object, perhaps above mentioned ‘US submersible’, passed the mine barrage on its way out from Stockholm, and

the ‘ASW exercise’ – with helicopters, patrol boats and a fast attack craft – started. At 14.00, there was supposedly a new indication in the mine barrage at Oxdjupet.<sup>16</sup>

It is always very difficult to say anything for sure about all these technical indications and visual sightings, but one or possibly two small US submersibles seem to have exercised an escape operation while Swedish anti-submarine forces exercised a submarine hunt. It is very unlikely that Swedish military authorities would have been willing to use force against a Swedish submarine. Furthermore, from 28 September, Swedish submarines were not allowed to operate submerged in the archipelago.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, a Warsaw Pact submarine would never surface in central Stockholm, it would never have been used in an exercise, and it is unlikely that the exact timing of such a submarine would have been known in advance. Instead, all information point to US submersibles. One submarine was described as ‘not Warsaw Pact’. The naval base war diary states: ‘not to be reported to the Commander of the Eastern Military District and not to be reported to the Commander-in-Chief’.<sup>18</sup> All the preparations on 28–29 September indicate that somebody in the Swedish Navy leadership knew about one or two US submersibles were going to exercise their way out from Stockholm, which would presuppose US-Swedish Navy-to-Navy consultations facilitating this exercise (see interview with former US secretary of defense Caspar Weinberger below). In a PM signed by the Chief of the Naval Base, Rear-Admiral Christer Kierkegaard, this operation was described as an anti-submarine warfare exercise that the local forces and the regional staff were not informed about.<sup>19</sup>

The Naval Analysis Group report writes that two observers were traveling in a boat at 12.50 on 1 October, when they observed a periscope entering the waters at Muskö Naval Base. They saw two dark pipes (0.3 metres high, flat top, 0.1 metres in diameter, and distance from each other about 1–1.5 metres) going towards Berganäs. They observe them for about one minute with an estimated the speed of 5 knots.<sup>20</sup> A submarine, however, has to put up the periscope only for a few seconds and not more than centimetres above the surface.<sup>21</sup> The behaviour of this submarine showing ‘two periscopes’ (or rather a periscope and a short-wave antenna) for a minute or more close to the major Swedish naval base of Muskö indicates that it wanted to demonstrate its presence. This behaviour does not indicate war preparations, but a test of the Swedish readiness, which rather points to a Western operation. It is also interesting to note that, a few hours after this first observation of a submarine at Muskö the new chief of staff, Vice-Admiral Bror Stefenson, ordered the information division to prepare for a press centre with up to 500 journalists as if he already knew that this incident was going to become a major international event.<sup>22</sup>

On 4 October, there was a clear observation of a submarine at Sandhamn further out.<sup>23</sup> The local Coastal Defence commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Sven-Olof Kviman, told me that a large submarine sail – a ‘huge wall’ – passed through a narrow channel only a few metres from his people at Sandhamn. He gave orders to prepare for an artillery attack – to lay a carpet of shells – but the submarine submerged before live shells had been brought up from storage. The attack boat *Mode* was sent out. It made contact with the submarine and dropped depth charges. The Naval Analysis Group report has an attachment covering this incident: ‘At 18.15 [dusk],... W sees a square [submarine] sail. The height of the sail is about ten metres. The sail is higher than it is wide. The ship is travelling at high speed (about 15 knots)’.<sup>24</sup> This five-minute observation of a huge submarine sail passing close to the observer is in all documents described as the sighting of a

‘certain submarine’. However, all Soviet submarines had rather flat sail, while several Western submarines had such a design with a high square sail.

According to the Naval Base War Diary on 5 October, the reading from one echo in the Muskö area – an object 35–40 metres in length and 15 metres above the sea floor – indicated a small submarine.<sup>25</sup> Several depth charges were dropped against this submarine. The figures relating to the echo reading – 6 metres high, 35–40 metres long – have been confirmed by intelligence personnel at the naval base. This may possibly indicate a West German, Danish, Italian or US submarine. Closest to this estimate is the US *NR-1* (41 metres; 2 propellers), which has wheels for crawling on the bottom. It has been used for deploying SOSUS systems on the ocean floor, but also for conducting top-secret operations ‘into territorial waters of those nations considered friendly to the US’.<sup>26</sup> At the time, there were, to my knowledge, no Soviet submarines between 20 and 55 metres long. The Soviet Quebec submarine (probably no longer operational in 1982) was 56 metres long.

General Ljung writes: ‘At 07.30, I called [State Secretary for Defence Sven] Hirdman and demanded a meeting with [Defence Minister Torsten] Gustafsson at 09.15 to brief him about the submarine incidents.... The minister agrees on the necessity of using force – to force the submarine to the surface’.<sup>27</sup> Later, at 14.40, General Ljung and the Chief of Staff Stefenson gave a briefing to a high-level meeting, including Prime Minister Thorbjörn Fälldin.... The participants expressed unity over detaining the submarine once in Swedish military possession.<sup>28</sup> Defence Minister Torsten Gustafsson stated publicly: ‘It seems that the only way to force the submarine to the surface is to damage it.... If foreign powers believe that they can enter Swedish waters safely, they take a great risk’.<sup>29</sup>

This submarine hunt was carried out a few hundred metres from land, while hundreds of journalists followed the events from the new press centre at Berga. TV cameras followed the spectacular ‘battle’. This was a TV war – like the Gulf War of 1991 or 2003, though on a much smaller scale and with an evasive opponent. A detailed investigation of the sea floor, carried out in late October, found parallel tracks from a bottom-crawling vessel.<sup>30</sup> A number of sonar echoes, Doppler and forceful air boil-ups also indicates the presence of a submarine. On 6 October, 300 journalists turned up at the Navy Press Centre at Berga, of which 70 were foreign correspondents (22 from the USA). The next day, there were about 100 foreign correspondents. On one particular day, there were 500 journalists at Berga at the same time, and altogether 750 received accreditation cards from the Swedish military authorities.<sup>31</sup> *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Times*, and *Stern* as well as the TV-channels like *ABC*, *NBC*, and *CBS* were all present.<sup>32</sup> The submarine hunt was first-page news. Every day, the *New York Times* and other major newspapers had one or two stories about the Swedish submarine hunt.<sup>33</sup> Commander Sven Carlsson from the Navy Information Division said that his ‘private guess’ was that the submarine originated from the Soviet Union.<sup>34</sup>

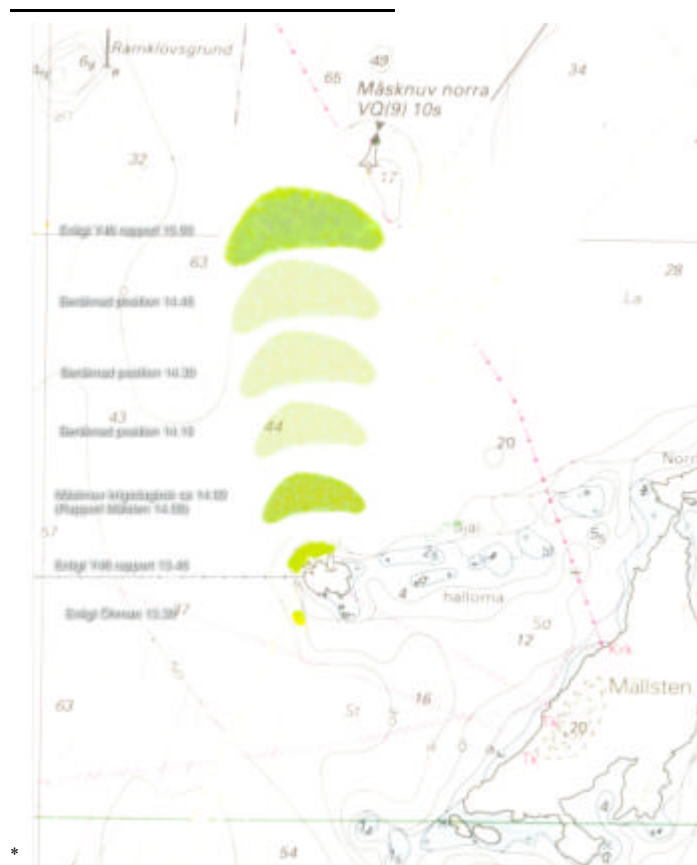
At 15.25 on 7 October, a submarine sail was observed at Berga.<sup>35</sup> A helicopter received contact with the submarine, a Doppler echo and a depth charge was dropped. An attachment to the Naval Analysis Group Report speaks about a 3-4 metres dark square sail. The top of the sail is ‘rugged’, possibly because of masts or other instruments.<sup>36</sup> Neither the behaviour of the submarine, nor the description of the sail seem to fit with a Soviet submarine but rather with the 35-40 metres submarine reported on 5 October and this information fits best with the US *NR-1*. This is no proof of Western or US involvement, but it is still remarkable that all significant

information (including that of submarine sails in daylight) was classified. Nothing appeared in any open sources afterwards. There were a number of visual observations of submarines during these days. These submarines seemingly demonstrated their sails or periscopes, as if they wanted to play with the Swedes, as if they wanted to trigger the submarine hunt to test Sweden's capability and will to defend itself. It is difficult to understand why the Soviets would want to do such a thing. Rather, these observations point to a testing of Swedish will and readiness by Western submarines (see interview with Weinberger below).

### A US Submarine Damaged in the Stockholm Archipelago in 1982

At 12.20 on 11 October, the personnel registered a clear indication in the mine barrage west of Mälsten (MS2) at the final exit from the Muskö Naval Base area. The magnetic sensors indicated a submarine, a magnetic field passing out. There was nothing on the surface. One mine was detonated.<sup>37</sup> The explosion of the 600-kilogramme mine created a pillar of water some 60 metres above the surface, Lieutenant-Colonel Kviman told me. Not only Mälsten but also the town of Nynäshamn further east and the underground naval base at Muskö 15 kilometres north were shaking.

One hour after the explosion, one observer went into a bright yellow patch of 20x30 metres perhaps 100 meters from the explosion. It was a 'chemical substance'. It was 'bright yellow', he said.<sup>38\*</sup> At 13.45, about 15 minutes later, the helicopter *Y46* observed a [yellow- or] green-coloured area in the water (according to *Y46*'s drawing about 50x150 metres) at the island of Måsknuv 'about 10 metres from land'<sup>39</sup> – perhaps 150 metres north of the first observation. About 14.00, Chief of Måsknuv



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mine barrage (MS2), Captain Johan Eneroth writes in his war diary: ‘a yellow cloud in the water 200 metres north [of Måsknöv, 150 metres north of the former observation], extension 300x100 metres.’<sup>40</sup> At 15.00, *Y46* report states: ‘the patch had moved further north since we were there last time [13.45]: about one kilometre’,<sup>41</sup> and, according to the drawing, expanded from 50x150 metres to the size of about 150x450 metres.<sup>42</sup> At 14.35, the commander at Mälsten gave order to a small patrol craft to take samples.<sup>43</sup> Ambassador Rolf Ekéus report writes that no result from the analysis of the samples has been found. However, ‘it was noted when samples were taken that the layer of the patch was thin, that the patch kept together, was floating as a film on the surface for hours, and that it consisted of a fine substance that did not mix with water.’ It was described as ‘artificially green’.<sup>44</sup> General Ljung writes in his diary: ‘Mine detonated at Mälsten – directly under [the indicating object/submarine] – green patch. Ceasefire for the mine barrages until investigation is made.’<sup>45</sup> By saying that the mine was activated ‘directly under’ the submarine, General Ljung implied that the submarine may have been seriously damaged or even sunk. The next day, he wrote in his diary: ‘In the afternoon, no new information on a possibly sunken submarine.’<sup>46</sup>

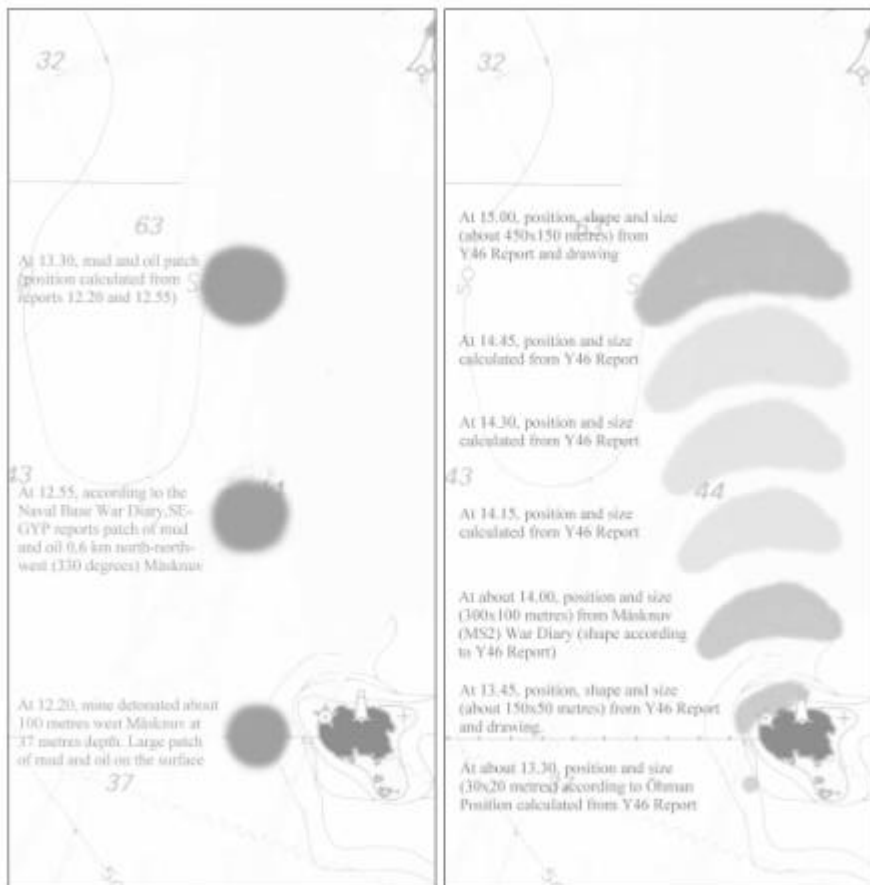
There is no other explanation for this yellow/green patch than a yellow/green sea-marker dye from a submarine. The US Navy Research Laboratory describes how the sea-marker dye ‘spreads rapidly over the sea surface and ... [creates a] one-molecule-thick film ... readily detectable both visually and by radar, with radar providing nighttime and poor weather detectability’.<sup>47</sup> The US Navy textbook for search and rescue procedures (referring to the 1983 US Navy Manual) states that ‘EVENT SUBSUNK [search and rescue of sunken submarine] must be started ... [if s]ighting green dye marker’.<sup>48</sup> Today, US, British and a couple other Western countries use a yellow/green dye as a visual distress signal (VDS) for submarines.<sup>49</sup> In 1982, this yellow/green sea-marker dye was primarily used by the US Navy. Actually, a messenger buoy, a yellow/green sea marker dye and a red flare were standard VDS for US Navy submarines, and a dye was most likely used in foreign waters, because it would be detectable from satellite both visually and by radar.<sup>50</sup>

At Mälsten, on 11 October 1982, the dye’s appearance as a small concentrated yellow patch – exactly where a damaged submarine would most likely have bottomed, about one hundred metres from the place of the explosion – about one hour or more after the explosion, its expansion to 40-50 times its original size within half an hour, and finally its dissolving after less than three hours all indicate a VDS or marking chemical from a damaged submarine. The size and positions of the patch given by helicopter *Y46* and by the war diaries MS (Mälsten) and MS2 (Måsknöv) indicate that the patch expanded (fast in the beginning), and that it moved northwards at a speed of about 750-800 metres in an hour (almost 200 metres every 15 minutes from 13.30-15.00). This is the same speed as recorded for the patch of mud and oil that appeared immediately after the mine explosion. This

patch drifted northwards one hour earlier.<sup>51\*</sup> There is no doubt that a yellow/green sea-marker dye was sent up by, most likely, a damaged US submarine. Commander Anders Hammar, a member of the Naval Analysis Group, who briefed the Submarine Defence Commission, says today that he never had access to my material. However, this material leaves no doubt, he says. He is now supporting my analysis about a Western or rather US submarine.<sup>52</sup> Commander Bengt Gabriellsson, Chief of Naval Operations, Eastern Military District, says that he wrote drafts for the Submarine Defence Commission, and his war diary was used when writing the Commission's report, but he was never informed about the green patch.<sup>53</sup> A Norwegian admiral told the Ekéus Investigation: 'if I had received information about a yellow/green dye appearing on the surface after a mine explosion, this information would have been presented to the government at very moment I received it.'<sup>54</sup> This did not happen in the Swedish case.

During the night of 11–12 October, the bottom-fixed sonar system at Mälsten registered metallic sounds, apparently work on or in a damaged submarine. Around 21.25 on 11 October, it was possible to hear work with a hammer. Later, there were knocking metallic sounds and high-frequency sounds. In the morning, there were propeller sounds, and something was shuffling and scraping against the sea floor.<sup>55</sup> The Mälsten technical report writes about metal objects (1-1.5 metres) found at 150 metres south-southwest of the mine explosion<sup>56</sup> (exactly at the place where the dye first appeared). Pictures showed square objects believed to be steel-plates. The Commanding Officer at Mälsten, Lieutenant-Colonel Kviman, stated on Swedish TV: '[After the mine explosion on 11 October], we had tape-recorded sounds that indicated repair works. We had hammering several

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times from some kind of activity below the surface.<sup>57</sup> The Mälsten war diary states: ‘At 21.25 [on 11 October], hammering registered by the sonar system.’<sup>58</sup> The naval base war diary confirms: ‘At 21.35, report from Mälsten: at 21.25, metallic hammering registered by the sonar system. Tape-recorded. At 21.45, report to MBÖ [Commander of the Eastern Military District]. Also to ÖB [Commander-in-Chief], CM [Chief of Navy], CFK [Chief of the Coastal Fleet].’<sup>59</sup> When Prime Minister Olof Palme briefed the Conservative Party leader Ulf Adelsohn a couple of days after this incident, Palme talked about a ‘seriously damaged submarine’ (in Swedish, ‘havererad’).<sup>60</sup>

At 18.00 on 12 October, the war diaries and protocols speak about a tape-recording of a ‘certain submarine.’<sup>61</sup> All reports made the following years describe this tape-recording as evidence for a ‘certain submarine’.<sup>62</sup> The submarine was seemingly moving towards the microphones and then passed the microphones out to the open sea. General Lennart Ljung writes:

At 21.00, CFst [the Chief of Staff, Bror Stefenson] turned up at my home after having visited CM [Chief of Navy, Vice-Admiral Per Rudberg]. FOA’s sonar system at Mälsten has received a positively certain contact with a submarine at a distance of 1,000 metres outside the minefield. We both went to MSB [the Defence Staff].<sup>63</sup>

In early 1990s, a part of the 12 October tape was brought to Moscow by Prime Minister Carl Bildt to prove Soviet responsibility for the intrusions. However, this 3.47 minutes tape-recording is not the same as the almost half an hour tape-recording made around 18.00 on 12 October. Arne Åsklint, who made the analysis in 1982 three days after the incident (on 15 October), says that this tape had nothing to do with what he listened to in 1982. The 1982 tape had hydraulic sounds from the rudder and had low rotations per minute (less than 60 rpm or perhaps 30-40 rpm), while the 3.47 minutes has about 200 rpm.<sup>64</sup> Similar to Åsklint, the sonar operator Anders Karlsson speaks in his first report from 14 October about ‘low turns per minute’<sup>65</sup> (less than 60 rpm). Commander Erland Sönnertstedt, Chief of Defence Staff Security Division, speaks in a first report already from late 12 October about 30-40 rpm for this tape-recording.<sup>66</sup> The Ekéus Investigation actually found that the 3.47 minutes was recorded earlier, possibly hours earlier, on the same tape and nobody knows who recorded it, while at 18.00, there is today nothing on the tape, only sounds from the sea. When the sonar operator Anders Karlsson, on the tape’s speaker channel (for half an hour), speaks about ‘probable submarine’ and later ‘certain submarine’ there is nothing on the other channels. All submarine sounds have been erased.<sup>67</sup>

Several Norwegian intelligence officers confirmed to me that the Norwegians had made an analysis of this tape in October 198, and ‘it was not a Soviet submarine’, they said. In 2001, the Ekéus Investigation turned to the Norwegian government asking for a briefing from its now retired intelligence officers about what they had told the Swedes in 1982. However, according to the letter from Oslo received by the Investigation, the responsible [Defence Ministry] official vetoed this. The letter states: ‘Despite several attempts from the [Norwegian] Foreign Ministry to convince the officials responsible for Norwegian intelligence these officials have considered themselves unable to comply with our wishes, because of the sensitivity of this issue in relation to the USA.’<sup>68</sup>

The following night on 13 October, Vice-Admiral Bror Stefenson ordered a ceasefire for the mines. Three hours later, at 23.00, a submarine

passed the mine barrage at Mälsten, and two hours after that, at 01.00, the ceasefire was over.<sup>69</sup> The sonar operator Anders Karlsson described how the submarine was moving forward in intervals of 10–15 seconds and then stopping in order to avoid detection. ‘It seems that the submarine is going with five-six-seven-eight turns with the propeller and then stops. He is possibly going very close to the sea-floor.’<sup>70</sup> The whole sequence was tape-recorded. A propeller blade or propeller axis was damaged, and this was clearly registered on the tape.<sup>71</sup>

Sven-Olof Kviman told that he had been denied to use the mines and because of this he prepared three vessels for a massive drop of 16 depth charges. The helicopter had contact with the submarine and was preparing for the drop. At 01.30, the helicopter gave the position of the submarine: ‘close to microphone no. 5. Contact close’. (At this very moment, the submarine hit or passed within in the range of one metre of the microphone. The signal reached maximum and the fuse melted).<sup>72</sup> A couple of minutes afterwards, at the moment of the drop of the 16 depth charges, the operation was interrupted by an order from the naval base: ‘drop only two’. The order was given when there were just seconds left before the drop. According to several participants, a voice suddenly appeared on the frequency, and the helicopter and the patrol vessels did not know who gave the order. They were disturbed and asked the voice to leave the frequency. Only two depth charges were dropped.<sup>73</sup>

At 17.20 on 14 October, ceasefire in darkness is terminated. A new order about ceasefire in darkness is not given until 17.00 on 21 October.<sup>74</sup> After the two submarines had passed out, there is a permanent right to use force at night for a week. On 13-14 October, the five-hour ceasefire for the mines and the denial of the massive drop of depth charges most likely saved the submarine. The commander at Mälsten, Lieutenant-Colonel Kviman, was upset. The naval base and Stockholm Coastal Defence were contacted. Two days later, Vice-Admiral Stefenson went to Mälsten by helicopter to talk with the personnel.<sup>75</sup> It seems to have been important to Stefenson to calm down the personnel, and particularly Kviman. Stefenson sent Kviman’s wife hundreds of red roses and a letter of thanks saying that her husband was still needed

The regional coastal defence chief, Brigadier-General Lars Hansson said later that he was forced to release a submarine.<sup>76</sup> Ambassador Rolf Ekéus found that the pages covering this incident in the Defence Staff War Diary (from afternoon on 13 October to early morning on 14 October) have disappeared both in the handwritten and the typed versions.<sup>77</sup> Also the tape-recording has disappeared. The first report about the two tape-recordings (12 October and 13-14 October), made in the evening on 14 October, states:

The subsequent analysis made of the tapes recorded on 12–14 October shows that the classification ‘submarine’ [‘certain submarine’] that was done on 12 and 13[–14] October is confirmed. C [Anders Karlsson] says that propeller sounds, turns per minute and cavitation sounds are clearly heard on the tapes.... The [12 October] submarine is very different from the one tape-recorded on 14 October. The sound of the former is richer, stronger and more distinct than the latter. Also, on 13[–14] October, is it possible to hear how the submarine starts up and moves and, when the helicopter arrives in the area, stops and hides on the sea floor.... The conclusion made by C [Karlsson] is that this submarine has a damaged propeller shaft, or one of the blades is broken.... The speed of both submarines are estimated at 1–2 knots. Low turns per minute.<sup>78</sup>

Three months later, General Ljung wrote in his diary that Henry Kissinger had said: 'it was smartly done by the Swedish Government to release the submarine the way they did it'.<sup>79</sup> Of course, by first damaging a submarine and then covertly releasing it, Sweden would have been able to demonstrate its resolve to defend its territory without causing a foreign power to lose face. But this does not make sense if this foreign power was the Soviet Union. Kissinger seems to speak about a Western, or rather US, submarine that Sweden had released after having first damaged it.

### **Manipulation of Government Policy**

The Submarine Defence Commission Report presented half a year after the October 1982 incident claimed that all submarines had been from the Warsaw Pact, most likely from the Soviet Union.<sup>80</sup> This conclusion was followed by a strong Swedish protest delivered to the Soviet Union.<sup>81</sup> The Commission used a Defence Staff Report from 18 April 1983. It stated, *firstly*, that all visual observations had been interpreted as submarines from the Warsaw Pact. *Secondly*, two acoustic observations were made. In both cases, the conclusion was submarine from the Warsaw Pact. *Thirdly*, the results of signal intelligence cannot be made public for security reasons. Signal intelligence proved definitely that there were Warsaw Pact submarines. *Fourthly*, the existence of tracks from midget submarines supported the conclusion that the Warsaw Pact was responsible for the intrusions. It would, according to the Defence Staff Report, be 'almost impossible to keep such systems secret in the West'.<sup>82</sup>

However, the 1995 Submarine Commission shows that all these arguments were made up to prove Soviet responsibility for the 1982 operation. The visual observations and tape-recordings did not point to Soviet submarines and the signal intelligence information did not exist. Swedish signal intelligence agency FRA stated in a letter to the Defence Minister that they had no information on signals linked to Soviet activities during this submarine hunt, and the Navy's signal intelligence had received a couple of signals from Swedish waters, but they were believed to originate from the west. The quality of instruments, however, made it impossible to draw any conclusion.<sup>83</sup> We have to admit that all information on Soviet submarines was invented by the Defence Staff under leadership of the Commission's military expert Vice-Admiral Bror Stefenson. The 'signal intelligence' information was, according to later Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, 'an important background material' for the strong Swedish protest against the Soviet Union.<sup>84</sup> Now, it is clearly established that this information was invented to prove Soviet presence. The Minister of Justice, Ove Rainer, was against pointing to the Soviet Union despite the conclusions of the Submarine Defence Commission. He said that the evidence or indications pointing to the Soviet Union would not hold water in a trial. Foreign Minister Lennart Bodström had the same view.<sup>85</sup> In 1994, Bodström said:

The Social Democratic Government was in doubt about the conclusions made by the Submarine Defence Commission Report in Spring 1983, but the Government yielded to the public opinion.<sup>86</sup>

In 1996, former defence minister Anders Thunborg said:

As Defence Minister I did not have the same view as the Submarine Defence Commission. I thought they were too self-confident.... But what could we do? We could not dive ourselves.<sup>87</sup>

In 1984, the Soviet General Secretary Yuri Andropov let the Finnish President Mauno Koivisto tell Prime Minister Palme: 'just bomb them'.<sup>88</sup> According to Koivisto, the Soviet leader had said: 'It will suit us very well if the Swedes use live ammunition against the intruding submarines'.<sup>89</sup> This attitude seems illogical if these submarines originated from the Soviet Union, and neither the Government nor the Commander-in-Chief wanted to touch the nationality issue the following years.

More and more people became sceptics. In January 1992, the Bildt Government started talks with Russia to get the final proof for Soviet intrusions into Swedish waters. The Swedes were able to convince the Russians about the existence of submarines. In January 1993, Prime Minister Carl Bildt, brought with him two tape-recorded cavitation sounds: one was the 3.47-minute tape from Mälsten on 12 October 1982; the other was a recording from May 1992. In July 1994, it was revealed that the May 1992 cavitation sound most likely originated from swimming minks.<sup>90</sup> In January 1994, a group of independent critics including former Foreign Minister Lennart Bodström, former Chief of Army, Lieutenant-General Nils Sköld, and former Chief of Naval Base South (Karlskrona), Captain Karl Andersson, demanded an independent commission.<sup>91</sup> The resulting criticism forced Defence Minister Thage G. Peterson (1994-7) to appoint a new official submarine commission in February 1995 with a majority of scientists, under chairmanship of Professor Hans G. Forsberg and with Major-General Bengt Wallroth, former Assistant Under-Secretary for Defence, former Deputy Chief of Staff and Chief of Swedish Military Intelligence (SSI) and Chief of Swedish Signal Intelligence (FRA), as its secretary.

The 1995 Commission went through all this material from the secret files made by the Naval Analysis Group from 1982 and onwards. Their critical investigation still confirmed the existence of 'certain submarines'. That there were regular, large scale operations threatening Sweden were confirmed, but the Commission did not find any particular state responsible for these threats.<sup>92</sup> In 1999, former defence minister Thage G. Peterson went one step further. He came up with some questions indicating US responsibility:

If such serious matters occurs as submarine intrusions into the waters of the neutral Sweden in this very sensitive area, and Soviet Union/Russia is believed to be responsible for these intrusions, shouldn't the Americans in that case be interested in what has happened or still is happening. In practical terms, this would be a forwarding of the positions of the other military bloc. But the USA has never been concerned about the submarine issue. Isn't that strange? ... In late 1996, I was visited by the US Secretary of Defence, William Perry.... I brought up the submarine intrusions. My American colleague smiles and looks at me with sympathy: 'It may be other things than submarines in the water, and if there is a submarine, it doesn't have to be Russian!'<sup>93</sup>

## The National Origin of the 1982 Submarines

The large number of Soviet submarines in the Baltic Sea, the threatening Soviet rhetoric, and the Soviet security interest in activities along the Swedish coast (for example because of possible US use of Swedish air bases in a war-time) convinced most Swedish academic scholars that the Soviet Union was responsible for almost all intrusions into the Swedish archipelagos.<sup>94</sup> Others, primarily US scholars like Robert Weinland, Gordon McCormick, and Paul Cole, underlined the Soviet need for reaching the Norwegian Atlantic coast by attacking and then passing through central Sweden. The Soviets would land Special Forces from submarines and attack the political and military elite and thereby paralyze Sweden.<sup>95</sup> In 1983, former Director of the CIA, Admiral Stansfield Turner, said that the Soviet Baltic Fleet had midget submarines as well as naval Special Forces, and these forces 'have to be given something to do'.<sup>96</sup> Michael McGwire writes that the Soviets have two interests in the Swedish archipelago, both linked to intelligence and navigational training: 'to prevent it being used to their disadvantage and to use selected parts of it for their own purposes. Thorough peacetime reconnaissance is important to both missions'.<sup>97</sup> The same year, Carl Bildt argued: 'Operations on this scale, and on this nature, cannot be explained by the intelligence and navigational training tasks often pointed at in the public debate.... [A] possible (indeed probable) mission for these submarines in wartime might be landing of special purpose forces to undertake sabotage raids against ... political and military installations.'<sup>98</sup>

Bildt is probably right that the primary purpose is not intelligence gathering, but it is difficult to understand how the demonstration of submarine sails and periscopes for a minute or more in densely populated areas can be interpreted as preparations covert landing of Special Forces. These preparations might very well have taken place, but the activity at Muskö and in other known operations are difficult to explain with such tasks. In a Swedish TV programme in the autumn 1996, an anonymous former Soviet naval officer said that he had participated in submarine operations in Scandinavian (allegedly in Swedish) territorial waters. He also said that Western submarines operated in these waters.<sup>99</sup>

West German submarines have been found in Swedish waters and have covertly used Swedish waters as a base area for exercising offensive operations against Soviet vessels along the Latvian and Lithuanian coast.<sup>100</sup> A Swedish intelligence officer told me that in early or mid 1980s, West German submarines had exercised offensive operations against Soviet vessels along the Latvian coast, then left for an official port visit in the Swedish harbour of Norrköping, while other West German submarines replaced the first ones. After that, the first submarines went back to the Latvian coast replacing the second group as if the port visit in Norrköping had been part of the exercise. The Germans were training to use Swedish ports as bases, and this may be an additional reason for Soviet activities in the Swedish archipelago. Also the Soviets had to make themselves acquainted with the underwater terrain. However, it is very difficult to believe that the German Navy would operate deep into the Swedish archipelago risking the lives of their officers and divers. Different from the British Royal Navy and the US Navy, the German Navy has no, and did not at the time have any global responsibility, which could have justified a damaged submarine and a loss of personnel. The Royal Navy and particularly the US Navy, have been much more willing to accept loss of lives. In 1982, the US Navy lost 562 men, and, in the 1980s altogether 5,865 men were lost.<sup>101</sup>

Let us first look at the UK alternative. From 1977 up to early 1990s, a couple of Oberon class submarines regularly patrolled the Baltic Sea. In 1988, Swedish Navy made a perfect tape-recording of a submarine north of Mälsten in Swedish internal waters – the only tape-recording to my knowledge where class of submarine has been identified. It was reported to the Ekéus Investigation that when this tape was demonstrated to British sound experts they confirmed that it was an Oberon class submarine: ‘It is one of ours’, a surprised British expert exclaimed. In 2001, Commander Leif Holmström, former Chief of MUSAC (The Navy’s sound institute) confirmed on TV that his counterparts in a NATO country had exclaimed: ‘It is one of ours’.<sup>102</sup>

According to a Swedish naval officer, Oberon class submarines went on a yearly basis (two or three times a year) into the Baltic Sea up along the Baltic coast towards Finland and down along the Swedish coast, sometimes into Swedish territorial waters to test Swedish readiness with approval of somebody in the Swedish naval leadership. Despite Danish and International Law, such intelligence and Special Force submarines often went submerged through the Danish Straits (Store Belt). According to a Danish general, the Danish Naval Operative Command at Århus was pre-notified to avoid trouble. They were ordered to ‘close their eyes’, he said. He also told that Oberon class submarines landed Special Force troops in foreign countries without their approval. A Danish admiral told me that he gave approval for British Oberon submarines to go submerged through the Danish Straits. The passages were made into exercises for testing the instruments and the personnel. This also made the submerged passages legal, he said. One such submarine was the *Orpheus*, I was told. *Orpheus* was the first submarine ‘fitted with a purpose-built five-man chamber that allowed Special Forces to enter and exit from the submarine when it was dived in a group rather than, as hitherto, one or two at the time’.<sup>103</sup>

I have got most of this information confirmed by two Royal Navy officers: both commanding officers of Oberon class submarines. A former Chief of Staff to Flag Officer Submarines (chief of submarine operations) told that he used to go up along the Norwegian coast, but he also had made a couple of trips into the Baltic Sea. The submarine went submerged through the Danish Straits and then along the Soviet Baltic coast and back along the Swedish coast. He also confirmed that they had landed SBS (Special Boat Service) troops on the Soviet side, but he could not speak about the Swedish side, because these operations were considered extremely secret. ‘We landed SBS troops’, he said. ‘I just went where I was ordered to go.’

The other Oberon captain, one of Britain’s most experienced submarine officers, also confirmed the trips into the Baltic Sea along the Soviet and Swedish coasts from late 1970s and during the 1980s. He also said that they did go north of the Åland Islands (to the Gulf of Bothnia), but he did not want to come up with any details. ‘I cannot speak about operations into Swedish waters’, he said. ‘These, as well as some other operations, are still classified’. However, it is more than likely that they landed Special Forces in Sweden, because why would they otherwise operate a submarine rebuilt for this specific purpose along the Swedish coast, or even in Swedish archipelagos. In the 1980s, approval was granted on ministerial level for every single operation, he said. They also briefed the Prime Minister’s Office regularly about the risks with these operations.

Sir Keith Speed (British Minister of Navy 1979-1981 and Member of the Parliamentary Defence Committee 1983-1987) also confirmed that British submarines were testing Swedish coastal defences. On Swedish TV, he was asked if he could confirm if this testing was conducted in Swedish

waters. His answer was 'yes'. He said they used Oberon and Porpoise class submarines, because they were 'much cheaper', 'smaller' and 'very quiet'. Speed spoke about surfacing in the Stockholm harbour. 'Not quite, but that sort of things. How far could we get without you being aware of it.'<sup>104</sup> Paul Beaver (Spokesman for *Jane's* in London) said these intrusions were no problem as long as they were notified and 'as long as somebody in the High Command in Stockholm was aware that there was going to be some intrusions during a given period'.<sup>105</sup>

I have earlier indicated that Chief of Staff Vice-Admiral Stefenson, or Chief of Navy Vice-Admiral Per Rudberg, may have been the officer in the Swedish High Command, who was pre-notified of Western intrusions or testing operations in order to avoid a catastrophe. Rudberg has confirmed that he was the Swedish secret liaison to NATO,<sup>106</sup> and was chosen by US Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and his British counterpart Michael Heseltine as their escort officers during their visits in Sweden.<sup>107</sup> In the TV-programme with Speed and Beaver, the Danish Lieutenant-General Kjeld Hillingsø (Commander of BALTAP [NATO war-time supreme commander for Denmark, northern West Germany and the Baltic Sea] 1993-1995) said:

One was interested in testing if Sweden firstly was capable and secondly willing to defend its territory. This was a legitimate NATO interest. The Norwegians and the Danes could say to the other NATO countries: 'We trust the Swedes. They would certainly defend that flank.' However, the great powers and the superpowers preferred to get their own information, to have it confirmed themselves.<sup>108</sup>

British submarines conducted regular secret operations in Swedish waters during the entire 1980s, but US submarine operations were probably as important as the British, which was revealed in a TV-interview with former Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger. He confirmed that US operations were conducted in Swedish waters both 'frequently' and 'regularly' after consultations with the Swedes. However, these consultations were not on the level of ministers. He never discussed this issue with the Swedish Prime Minister or Defence Minister. There were US-Swedish 'Navy-to-Navy consultations', Weinberger said.<sup>109</sup> The Commander-in-Chief, General Bengt Gustafsson (1986-92) stated afterwards that he was never informed. He was quite upset.<sup>110</sup> Later, he spoke about himself as a 'useful idiot'. Below follows a quote from the interview.

*Weinberger:* [Operations in Swedish waters were] part of a routine regular scheduled series of defence testing that NATO did and indeed had to do to be responsible and liable. [The Soviet Whiskey submarine in 1981] was a clear violation, and submarines can get in where they are not wanted, and that is exactly why we made this defensive testing and these defensive manoeuvres to ensure that they would not be able to do that without being detected... The [Navy-to-Navy] consultations and discussions we had were designed – with all countries not just Sweden – to assure that NATO was able to perform this mission and had ample opportunities to test through manoeuvres and other activities as to whether the defences were adequate and whether or not the Soviets were requiring any new capabilities that would require any changes in their defences or anything of that kind. So, the result of all that I think was very satisfactory. Besides from that one intrusion of the Whiskey class submarine, there were no violations, no capabilities of the Soviets to make an attack that could not be defended against ...

The point was that it was necessary to test frequently the capabilities of all countries, not only in the Baltic [Sea] – which is very strategic, of course – but in the Mediterranean and Asiatic waters and all the rest...

*Swedish TV:* How frequently was it done in Sweden?

*Weinberger:* I don't know. Enough to comply to the military requirements for making sure that they were up to date. We would know when the Soviets required a new kind of submarine. We would then have to see if our defences were adequate against that. And all this was done on a regular basis, and on an agreed upon basis.<sup>111</sup>

On the day the interview was sent on Swedish TV, Swedish Defence Minister Björn von Sydow said he was surprised, but added: 'I have no reason to question what a former US defense secretary is saying'.<sup>112</sup> The following day, Swedish Prime Minister Göran Persson stated in the Swedish Parliament: 'if there are any document I don't know, but I know that a former secretary of defense, a US secretary of defense, in a long interview, in a clear wording has presented a rationale for what, according to his view, NATO apparently did in our waters.'<sup>113</sup> One hour after the interview with Weinberger, Associated Press made an interview with Sir John Walker, former head of Britain's Defence Intelligence. He said that NATO was 'allowed a certain amount of intrusions during a given period'.<sup>114</sup> Both Weinberger and Walker speak clearly about 'NATO', but Weinberger also said that the operations were carried out after US-Swedish Navy-to-Navy consultations indicating US commanded operations. After these interviews General Vigleik Eide, former Norwegian Commander-in-Chief and former Chairman of NATO Military Committee, visited me at my office. He said that they did not mean NATO as a formal organisation, but rather US or UK operations in cooperation with one or more allies. After having received a US briefing, NATO Secretary General George Robertson came up with a similar hint. He said in a Swedish TV interview: 'It is not a matter for NATO. It is a matter between [stop]. If people wish to go back to the history between Sweden and the individual countries that own individual submarines [stop]. If retired secretaries of defense wants to sound off that is their prerogative and their memory will be tested. It is not a matter for me.'<sup>115</sup> After the interview with Weinberger, a US senior official told me:

I don't know why Weinberger said what he did. Covert submarine operations is the most secret thing we have.... The decisions were taken by a committee of DIA and CIA people [most likely the National Underwater Reconnaissance Office (NURO)], but I will neither confirm nor deny any operations in Swedish waters.

A high-ranking CIA officer confirmed to me that US operations in Scandinavian waters were run by NURO, and he spoke about the 1982 incident in Swedish waters as 'something of an underwater U-2'. In other words, the damaging of the US submarine in 1982 was as serious incident as the shooting down of the U-2 over the Soviet Union in 1960. He said that he was never himself involved in these operations in Swedish waters, but he knew the people responsible for them. Similarly, a senior US Navy officer actually told the *éminence grise* of the Norwegian Foreign Ministry, Einar Ansteensen, that the damaged submarine in 1982 was American. 'It was a sad story', he said.<sup>116</sup> Ansteensen was well-connected. He was the maker



ministers of defence and foreign affairs in Norway and had been at NATO Defence College in Rome. He had been the director of the ministry's Political Division and the Policy Planning Division in the 1960s and 1970s. During the 1982 incident, he was at the Embassy in Stockholm. He reported about the damaged US submarine to his Commander-in-Chief General Sven Hauge, but he did not inform General Ljung and the Swedes, he told me.<sup>117</sup> Also a Norwegian intelligence officer spoke about a damaged Western submarine in 1982, and he pointed to the USA and said that 'Caspar Weinberger knew about it'.<sup>118</sup> In an interview in 1987, the Swedish Chief of Army, Lieutenant-General Nils Sköld, spoke about a passage of a damaged submarine out of the Baltic Straits just after the 1982 incident.<sup>119</sup> The then Commander-in-Chief, General Bengt Gustafsson, said in 2000 that, as he remember, General Sköld had told him that this submarine was American.<sup>120</sup> In 1993 former US secretary of defense James Schlesinger confirmed to me that a US submarine was damaged in the Stockholm archipelago in 1982, but he did not want to go into details.<sup>121</sup> Former commander of SEAL-Team Three, Garry Stubblefield, writes:

[We conducted some covert operations in early 1980s, some] really smart interesting training in the NATO and Atlantic theatres.... We set up and worked with support networks, E&E [escape and evasion] networks and we started getting smart about going into foreign areas. All that involved looking like people who weren't in the US Navy and doing things that people in the US Navy weren't supposed to do.<sup>122</sup>

The first part of the paragraph indicates training for the Stay-Behinds, but the second part indicates something more and seems to refer to the same operations that Caspar Weinberger discussed with direct reference to Sweden. Lieutenant Joseph Maguire has described how swimmers from SEAL Team Two trained harbour penetration from submarine in the Baltic Sea in the early 1980s. He tells about a penetration exercise at the German Baltic coast to establish contact with an E&E net, but this is 'probably the only one we can tell you about', Lieutenant Maguire said.<sup>123</sup> An admiral from a NATO country told me that already in the 1970s, SEALs used a Soviet cover and Soviet weapons systems to play enemy forces to make the threat appear more real, which has been confirmed by former commander of SEAL Team Six, Richard Marcinko.<sup>124</sup>

When asked by the House of Representatives' Subcommittee on the Department of Defense, Rear-Admiral John L. Butts, Chief of Naval Intelligence, responded that – different from the 1982 incident – the Soviet submarine in Karlskrona in 1981 was 'genuine'. In 1982 'the Swedes had several submarine contacts' close to Muskö Naval Base, but his following paragraph on the national origin is classified. However, later in the text he speaks about *NR-1* as if it had been used in Swedish waters.<sup>125</sup> Soon afterwards, John McWethy, the Pentagon correspondent of the *ABC* TV channel, said

American submarines are repeatedly violating territorial waters of other nations while gathering intelligence. Most of the top-secret missions are into the waters of the Soviet Union, but according to both active duty and retired military sources, some missions have been run into the territorial waters of those nations considered friendly to the US. Even friendly countries, sources say, sometimes do things they don't want the US to know about, things that could inadvertently threaten American security. The missions are conducted by specially equipped nuclear

powered attack submarines and in some cases by a nuclear powered mini-sub called *NR-1* (MINI-SUB). It has a seven-man crew, wheels on its underside for crawling along the bottom and is described by the Navy as a research vessel.<sup>126</sup>

During the 1982 incident, the length of the submarine measured with an echo ranger on 5 October and the description of a submarine sail observed on 7 October fit both with the *NR-1*. Statements by US and other sources, the US confiscation of the tape-recording, and the yellow/green sea marker dye from 11 October all point to a US operation, and *NR-1* was the only US submarine (and actually one of the few submarines) with a length of 40 metres. This is not a proof for *NR-1*'s participation in this operation, but neither should it be ruled out. Operations in friendly waters were, according to *ABC*, conducted by *NR-1* and by 'specially equipped nuclear powered attack submarines'. One such submarine was most likely *USS Seawolf* that operated together with *NR-1* in Libyan waters in 1986.<sup>127</sup> In 1974, it was equipped for special project operations,<sup>128</sup> and it was also rebuilt with a compartment for SEAL divers.<sup>129</sup> It operated together with *DSV Turtle*,<sup>130</sup> and the *Seawolf* was able to operate as a mothersub for the *Turtle* and other submersibles. It was the only submarine that explicitly had been given that role. In 1983, the *Seawolf* received a medal for excellence in 'Battle Efficiency' and another medal for excellence in 'Damage Control' indicating a serious damage. In 1983, she was in a shipyard recovering from some kind of damage (allegedly from a 'storm'),<sup>131</sup> while *Turtle* received its award for excellent bravery 30 August – 5 November 1982,<sup>132</sup> which exactly corresponds to the time of the 1982 operation in the Stockholm archipelago. Another submarine that received an award for excellent bravery in some 'hazardous operations' in second half of 1982 (and in 1983) was *USS Cavalla*, which was rebuilt for carrying SDVs (SEAL Delivery Vehicles) and for conducting naval special warfare operations.<sup>133</sup>

For the 1982 submarine hunt (the only operation when the Swedish government held Moscow responsible for the intrusions) not a single indication and even less technical evidence pointed to the Soviet Union. However, statements by senior US officials, hundreds of indications and even technical evidence point to the USA. I do not know which submarines were used, to paraphrase Caspar Weinberger, but we can conclude that this certainly was a US and not a Soviet operation.

## **The Psychological War Against Sweden**

The submarine operations in Swedish waters in the 1980s were a test of Swedish capability and readiness as discussed by former defense secretary Caspar Weinberger, former chief of defence intelligence Sir John Walker and former navy minister Sir Keith Speed. Or to quote former commander of BALTAP, Lieutenant-General Kjeld Hillingsø: The Americans and the British wanted to test 'if Sweden firstly was capable and secondly willing to defend its territory'. But these tests would also, according to Hillingsø, 'strengthen the moral within the military forces and in the population as a whole'.<sup>134</sup> In other words, these tests of the Swedish military readiness are not possible to clearly distinguish from psychological operations (PSYOP) with an ambition to remake public opinion and Swedish Government policy.

In Sweden, the fact is that the 1982 submarine incident and the following incidents in the 1980s radically changed Swedish public opinion. The submarines were transformed into 'material facts' demonstrating Soviet

aggression. The physical realities changed the 'emotions and the objective reasoning' in Sweden. In 1976, 6% of the Swedish population perceived the Soviet Union as a direct threat and 27% perceived the Soviet Union as a threat or unfriendly against Sweden. These figures refer to a study by the Swedish Board of Psychological Defence.<sup>135</sup> In spring 1980, after the Soviet invasion into Afghanistan, these figures increased marginally to 8% and 33%. After the Soviet Whiskey submarine had been stranded on an island in the Karlskrona archipelago in October 1981, 34% of the Swedish population perceived the Soviet Union as a direct threat and 71% perceived the Soviets as either a threat or unfriendly against Sweden. After the 1982 incident and the presentation of the Submarine Defence Commission Report (and the Swedish protest against the Soviet Union), this change became even more dramatic with 42% looking at the Soviet Union as a direct threat and 83% as a threat or unfriendly towards Sweden, and those high figures were kept for several years. Not until 1987 did the last figure fall below 70%. The submarine incidents in the early and mid 1980s seem to have totally changed the Swedish views about the Soviet Union. In the 1970s, the Soviet threat had no reality to the Swedes. The physical experience of intruding submarines created an awareness in line with US perceptions. The number of Swedes perceiving the Soviet Union as a 'friendly' was reduced from 10-15% in the 1970s to 1-2% in 1983, while the corresponding figures for a 'friendly' USA were swinging between 20-40% seemingly unrelated to any submarine hunts.<sup>136</sup>

The test of readiness and the effort to convince the public opinion of the reality of the present danger was unofficial but internally stated US policy for 'friendly countries'. This seems to have been particularly important if they had been 'lulled into a false security' like Sweden in the 1970s with only a few percent of the population perceiving Soviet Union as a direct threat. Or, in the British case, SBS swimmer teams would conduct 'reconnaissance on specific sabotage targets, if a foreign country shows sign of becoming a little frisky'<sup>137</sup> – something that definitely was perceived as true in the case of Sweden. Doctrine for Joint Psychological Operations describe PSYOP as:

Planned operations to convey selected information and indicators to foreign audiences to influence their emotions, motives, objective reasoning and ultimately the behaviour of foreign governments, organizations, groups and individuals ... so that their behaviors and actions will promote the attainment of US national goals.<sup>138</sup>

Indications of subsurface decoys masquerading as Soviet submarines are picked up by the intelligence service of the host country. Instead of reducing the adversary's ability to detect a periscope deception seeks to increase the visibility of these indicators, and lets them be verified through 'back channel networks', and by assets operating 'inside' the adversary's decision cycle, all supporting the general story.<sup>139</sup>

In Western Europe after World War II, war became increasingly unlikely. Power struggles in democratic countries accordingly tried to find new forms at the lower end of the conflict spectrum: for example by the use of psychological operations. For a great power or a superpower to dominate a democratic state, it had to control or change the mindset of its population and its government, and this was no longer possible by the control of mass media. In contrast to the authoritarian state, the democratic states of Western Europe have no monopoly of mass media to form the minds of their citizens. Instead, to create a 'false reality' has become a suitable alternative. It is no longer

possible to primarily manipulate mass media but rather to manipulate the experience of people that will turn up as news in TV and newspapers. In other words, a major power has to create decoys or indicators that will be interpreted in a false way to change the mindset of the people. When the existence of foreign submarines had been accepted by the Swedish public – because sufficiently many people had themselves experienced (seen with their own eyes periscopes and submarine sails) – journalists accepted ‘Soviet intrusions’ as a fact. There were different explanations for these intrusions, but there was a consensus about their existence. Soviet Union was the dominating power in the Baltic Sea region. People were automatically pointing to the perceived enemy. It was not possible to imagine that a friendly nation could have been responsible for these operations. And after the Soviet Whiskey submarine had stranded in the Swedish archipelago in 1981, no one would doubt the Soviet origin of the continued submarine activities.

The ambitious submarine campaign totally changed the psychological climate in Sweden. It created ‘facts’ that prepared the population for a war against the Soviet Union, but it also undercut the support of an undesirable government. No one doubted the Soviet origin of the continued submarine activities, and combined with leaks to the press about the Government purposely releasing submarines, large parts of the population turned against its own ‘conciliatory government’. It is impossible that US and British leaders would not have understood that. Caspar Weinberger were briefed regularly on these operations and in the UK approval was granted on ministerial level ‘for every single operation’. US and British covert submarine operations in the 1980s appear as a form of PSYOP in line with Taylor’s proposal: ‘Psychological operations to induce the government and/or population to resist Soviet intervention or psychological operations to undercut support of an undesirable government’.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Leitenberg (1987), pp. 155-7.

<sup>2</sup> SOU (1983).

<sup>3</sup> McCormick (1990), p. v.

<sup>4</sup> *Svenska Dagbladet* (11 October 1982).

<sup>5</sup> KU 1982/83:30, pp. 19-20.

<sup>6</sup> Lampers (1996); Bodström 2000.

<sup>7</sup> Taylor & Maaranen (1982), p. 475.

<sup>8</sup> CÖrIBO WD.

<sup>9</sup> MAna Hårsfj. Attach. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Compton-Hall (1987), p. 39.

<sup>11</sup> ÖB TD (21 April 1983).

<sup>12</sup> MAna Hårsfj.

<sup>13</sup> *Aftonbladet* (1 October 1982). MAna Hårsfj. Attach. 6

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> LGP HWD.

<sup>16</sup> CÖrIBO WD.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Kierkegaard et.al. (1990), p. 8.

<sup>20</sup> MAna Hårsfj. Attach. 15.

<sup>21</sup> Bruzelius (1982; 1995).

<sup>22</sup> SOU (2001), pp. 316-317.

<sup>23</sup> SOU (1983), p. 83.

<sup>24</sup> MAna Hårsfj. Attach. 25.

<sup>25</sup> CÖrIBO WD.

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- <sup>26</sup> McWethy, ABC (1984); Tunander (2004).  
<sup>27</sup> ÖB TD.  
<sup>28</sup> ÖB HWD; ÖB TD.  
<sup>29</sup> *Dagens Nyheter* (6 October 1982).  
<sup>30</sup> SOU (1995), pp. 243-249; Cato & Larsson (1995).  
<sup>31</sup> *Dagens Nyheter, Svenska Dagbladet*  
<sup>32</sup> *Expressen* (7 October 1982).  
<sup>33</sup> *New York Times* ( 5-11 October 1982).  
<sup>34</sup> *Expressen* (7 October 1982), p. 7.  
<sup>35</sup> CÖrlBO WD.  
<sup>36</sup> MAna Hårsfj. Attach. 37.  
<sup>37</sup> CMS Report; CMS WD; CörlBO WD; SCSK Report.  
<sup>38</sup> Tunander (2004)  
<sup>39</sup> Y46 Report.  
<sup>40</sup> CMS2 WD.  
<sup>41</sup> Y46 Report.  
<sup>42</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>43</sup> CMS WD.  
<sup>44</sup> SOU (2001), p. 124.  
<sup>45</sup> ÖB HWD.  
<sup>46</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>47</sup> NRL (1998), p. 47.  
<sup>48</sup> US Navy (2000), p. 13-13.  
<sup>49</sup> CCEB (1996); CHS (2003)  
<sup>50</sup> NRL (1998), p. 47.  
<sup>51</sup> Tunander (2004).  
<sup>52</sup> Interview with Anders Hammar (May 2003).  
<sup>53</sup> Interview with Bengt Gabrielsson (Sept. 2000).  
<sup>54</sup> Ekéus Investigation Files (2001).  
<sup>55</sup> MAFU report 1982; CMS WD; CÖrlBO WD  
<sup>56</sup> CMS Report (12 October).  
<sup>57</sup> Aktuellt, Swedish TV (7 March 2000).  
<sup>58</sup> CMS WD; CMS HWD.  
<sup>59</sup> CÖrlBO WD.  
<sup>60</sup> Adelsohn (1987), p. 97.  
<sup>61</sup> FOA Tape 1, Tape-recordings from Mälsten 1982 (MUSAC)  
<sup>62</sup> SOU (1995), pp. 140, 145.  
<sup>63</sup> ÖB TD.  
<sup>64</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>65</sup> MAna Hårsfj. Attach. 38.  
<sup>66</sup> MAna Hårsfj. Attach. 61.  
<sup>67</sup> Tunander (2004).  
<sup>68</sup> Ekéus Investigation Files (2001).  
<sup>69</sup> Tunander (2004).  
<sup>70</sup> FOA Tape 3.  
<sup>71</sup> CMS WD; MAna Hårsfj. Attach. 38.  
<sup>72</sup> MAna Hårsfj. Attach. 38.  
<sup>73</sup> Tunander (2004).  
<sup>74</sup> SOU (2001), p. 119.  
<sup>75</sup> CMS WD.  
<sup>76</sup> Kadhammar, 1987; see also Tunander (2004).  
<sup>77</sup> SOU (2001), p. 118.  
<sup>78</sup> MAna Hårsfj. Attach. 38.  
<sup>79</sup> ÖB TD.  
<sup>80</sup> SOU (1983), p. 80.  
<sup>81</sup> *Svenska Dagbladet* (27 April 1983); SOU (2001), p. 144.  
<sup>82</sup> SOU (1995), pp. 144-146.  
<sup>83</sup> SOU (1995).  
<sup>84</sup> Carlsson (1999), p. 115; see also SOU (2001), p. 145.

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- <sup>85</sup> Mellbourn (1988); see also Carlsson (1999), p. 75.
- <sup>86</sup> *Dagens Nyheter* (6 June 1994).
- <sup>87</sup> Aland & Zachrisson (1996), pp. 150-151; see also Thunborg (2001).
- <sup>88</sup> SOU (2001), pp. 186-187.
- <sup>89</sup> Sven Svensson (*Dagens Nyheter* 21 October 1986).
- <sup>90</sup> SOU (1995), pp. 222-227; see also Svensson 1995, p. 38.
- <sup>91</sup> Bergström & Åmark (1999).
- <sup>92</sup> SOU (1995), pp. 275-281.
- <sup>93</sup> Peterson (1999), pp. 556-557.
- <sup>94</sup> Agrell (1986); Tunander (1987), pp. 97-101; (1989), pp. 114-7.
- <sup>95</sup> Hansen (1984); Weinland (1986); McCormick (1990); Cole (1990).
- <sup>96</sup> Quoted in Leitenberg (1987), p. 142.
- <sup>97</sup> MccGwire (1987), p. 302.
- <sup>98</sup> Bildt (1983), p. 167.
- <sup>99</sup> 'Reportrarna', Swedish TV2 (22 October, 1996).
- <sup>100</sup> See also Tunander (1989), p. 116.
- <sup>101</sup> Department of Defense (1991), pp. 3, 30.
- <sup>102</sup> 'Rapport', Swedish TV1 (21 November 2001).
- <sup>103</sup> Ring (2001), p. 133.
- <sup>104</sup> 'Striptease', Swedish TV2 (11 April 2000).
- <sup>105</sup> 'Striptease', Swedish TV2 (7 March 2000).
- <sup>106</sup> Holmström (1998).
- <sup>107</sup> Interview with Rudberg (August 1999).
- <sup>108</sup> 'Striptease', Swedish TV2 (11 April 2000).
- <sup>109</sup> 'Striptease', Swedish TV2 (7 March 2000).
- <sup>110</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>111</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>112</sup> Associated Press, 08.38 pm (7 March 2000).
- <sup>113</sup> 'Rapport', Swedish TV2 (8 March 2000).
- <sup>114</sup> Associated Press, 08.38 pm (7 March 2000).
- <sup>115</sup> 'Aktuellt', Swedish TV1 (29 March 2000).
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- <sup>118</sup> See also Hasselbohm (1984).
- <sup>119</sup> Hasselbohm (1987).
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- <sup>122</sup> Stubblefield (1995), p. 134.
- <sup>123</sup> Kelly (1995), p. 247.
- <sup>124</sup> Richard Marcinko, *Red Cell* (Video, 1993).
- <sup>125</sup> Department of Defense (1984), p. 676.
- <sup>126</sup> McWethy, 'World News Toninght', ABC (21 March 1984).
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- <sup>130</sup> Sontag & Drew (1999), p. 338.
- <sup>131</sup> Sontag & Drew (1999), p. 356; [http://www.seawolf-ssn575.com/ssn575/uss\\_seawolf\\_history\\_continued.htm](http://www.seawolf-ssn575.com/ssn575/uss_seawolf_history_continued.htm).
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- <sup>133</sup> Secretary of Navy (1984).
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- <sup>135</sup> Stutz (1987), p. 64.
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