

## **Institutions of Democracy Facing Nazi Occupation: Norway in a Comparative Perspective**

### **Relevance and Overall Theme of the Project**

In the years 1940-1945, a regime based on the Norwegian Nazi party NS, in strained cooperation with the German occupying power, initiated a major attempt to Nazify the Norwegian state and society. A process of democratisation, which had been underway for 150 years, was abruptly ended and drastically reversed. Following intense struggles over the new political system during the summer of 1940, Reichskommissar Josef Terboven decided on 25 September 1940 to set aside the major democratic institutions in Norway. The resulting occupation regime – which largely remained the same throughout the war – had three main components: 1. The Reichskommissariat (RK), the centre of political power in occupied Norway, directly subordinate to Hitler. 2. The NS-regime, characterised by a merger of party and state, and 3. the state apparatus, which to varying degrees was restructured and politicised according to the occupying power and the collaboration regime's interests.

The Nazified political system has been thoroughly examined and analysed. But due to the occupation involving deeper layers of state and society, and the thoroughness of the Nazification effort, new research is needed into what happened below the traditional political level, primarily within three very important sectors: The schools, the state bureaucracy, and the police. These are sectors of which we have no or only fragmentary knowledge. They have been chosen due to their strategic importance both to the occupying power, NS and the resistance, but also because political attitudes varied both *between* the three sectors and *within* them, particularly within the civil service and the police, and, finally, due to the reactions to and the results of the Nazification efforts varying between the three sectors. The project focuses on the *varying reactions* towards an attempt to fundamentally change Norwegian society. This is done both within the three sectors and at several different structural levels.

The Nazi state's purpose of the occupation, the character of the occupation regime and the political culture and tradition of each country determined which form of resistance came to predominate, and the relationship between the different forms of resistance. The populations of Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands were placed at the very top of the Nazi racial hierarchy. These populations were to merge with the German population, and become a Germanic ethnic community. Due to the special characteristics of the occupation regime in Denmark, where democratic institutions largely remained intact until August 1943, Nazification efforts were delayed there. The project of uniting the assumed good racial qualities of the Norwegian and Dutch population with national socialist ideas led to attempts to change democratic attitudes and institutions in these two countries. This partly explains why the struggle for values became so important in these two cases.

The Netherlands and Norway both had civilian occupation regimes with a Reichskommissariat (RK) directly under Hitler. In both countries, RK could base its rule on a partly reorganised civil service, which prepared cases and implemented directives. In Norway, contact between the RK and the civil service mostly went through a Nazi collaborator regime. In the Netherlands, on the other hand, the RK worked directly with the Permanent Secretaries. This appears to be the most important difference between the occupation regimes of the two

countries. To what extent was the strength and scope of the Nazification efforts determined by the fact that the RK was the main driving force behind the Nazification drive in the Netherlands, whereas the NS collaboration government played this role in Norway? Did such differences originate in characteristics of the occupation regimes, or in German prioritising the countries differently? Finally, did different political cultures influence reactions to Nazification efforts?

### **Key Concepts and Theoretical Basis**

The project aims at a comparison both between sub-national sectors and between countries, which requires a set of definitions that combine similar phenomena and at the same time help differentiate. The central concepts of the project are *collaboration* and *resistance*, with a focus on the subcategories *civilian resistance* and *the struggle for values*.

*Collaboration* denotes a range of asymmetrical interactional relationships between states and institutions, - collective actors - and between groups and individuals in occupied societies. The degree of this asymmetry is dependent upon the power relationship between the main actors, the occupier and the occupied, which can vary between sectors of a society. Such relationships are from the outset forced upon a country by a dominant actor – a state which has invaded and gained control of a country. Studies of this field thus require both a comprehensive overarching term and more precise terms that include all forms of collaboration and all sectors of society, and which also are capable of showing the fluid borders between collaboration and various forms of resistance. These terms must be based on a cognitive and not a moralistic foundation. Because collaboration by definition implies dominance by a state over another state, or an occupied country, coercion will be of paramount importance, to the extent that one can speak of a separate *coercion-based* collaboration. But in Western European countries, significant elements of *voluntary* or *desired* collaboration existed, or collaboration in the borderland between coercion and voluntary actions. In addition to these two categories, a third category is needed: *pragmatic collaboration*. This resulted from the desire to maintain certain functions of society under the extraordinary situation created by the occupation. This pattern of action is characterised by varying degrees of rejection of the occupying power's political programme, while remaining conscious of the fundamentally asymmetrical character of the system of governance. In addition to this categorisation by *types*, a categorisation by sector is also needed, thereby distinguishing between *political*, *administrative* and *economic* collaboration.

The *resistance* elicited by the occupying power and the collaboration regime's policies, can – based on the methods used – be divided into two main categories: *military* and *civilian* resistance. The military resistance is not one of this project's chosen topics. It has also been well documented and analysed. Civilian resistance was predominant in Norway, and assumed a more central position within the spectrum of resistance acts than in any other Western European country. Civilian resistance is defined by being weaponless, non-violent acts of resistance. This is a broad definition, encompassing a wide range of actions. Examples include individual humanitarian aid, individual symbolic acts, escape, social boycott, underground press etc. The categories civilian and military resistance, however, say nothing about the values that formed the basis for the resistance, nor do they say anything about the goals. Resistance was offered by people with a wide range of ideological beliefs, from liberal democrats to communists and authoritarian nationalists.

In a subcategory of civilian resistance - *the struggle for values* - values are at the core. The struggle of values was based on a defence of the values underpinning a liberal democratic society, with democracy, the rule of law and pluralism at the centre. It aimed at, in the short term, to maintain a civic culture, and long-term to re-establish democratic state institutions and a free civil society. A crucial battlefield for both the civilian resistance and in the struggle for values was the fight against a Nazification of the schools. It created a basis and a model for broader civilian resistance, and more than any other act of resistance influenced public opinion.

How widespread was civilian resistance and the struggle for values within the civil service and the police? Is there any basis for the claim that civic culture grew stronger and gained a broader basis during the occupation? Charting the values and political visions underlying the resistance, and the differences both between and within the three chosen sectors, is a central task for the project. It aims at examining the vague and broad contemporary term *home front*, encompassing both real and imagined phenomena, and comparing it with the more limited and precise, but not sufficiently defined, post-war term *resistance movement*.

An overarching goal of the project is to document and analyse the complex relations existing between acts of civilian resistance on one hand and the various forms of collaboration on the other, and under which conditions and within which sectors one dominated over the other. Taking into account that the two reactions were, as a consequence of the conditions of occupation, often intertwined and complimentary, the project intends to delve into the whole range of reactions, from clear resistance and rejection, via accommodation and acceptance of directives to enthusiastic participation in the political project of the occupier. The result will then be compared to corresponding sectors and patterns in the Netherlands.

Whereas the concepts *civilian resistance* and *collaboration* to varying degrees apply to all three chosen sectors, the concepts *politicised bureaucracy* and *kämpfende Verwaltung* are mainly relevant to the civil service and police, respectively. Norway and the Netherlands had roughly similar civil services prior to the invasions in spring 1940. They were characterised by a stable organisation with defined and limited fields of responsibility, specified tools of coercion and fixed conditions for their use, and an emphasis on professional knowledge and autonomy. The idea of a politically neutral civil service was alien to national socialist ideology, which was characterised by a politisation of all spheres of society and an eradication of all norms which might restrict the scope of political action. To what extent did the civil service become politicised after the reordering of 25 September 1940? How can the Nazification efforts be traced in the new ministerial structure, in the relationship between new and old institutions at the ministerial level and in subsectors, and through changes of personnel? What was the relationship between the different forms of collaboration, and between them and various forms of civilian resistance, within the civil service? Did some sectors manage to retain the ethos of a democratic state's civil service? How did the changes within the civil service affect the groups most threatened by the Nazi regime: the Jews and members of the resistance movement?

The term *kämpfende Verwaltung* is based on the recognition that the national socialist revolution was of such a fundamental nature that it could only be carried out by entirely new institutions, devoid of ideas and traditions of the rule of law, and impregnated with national socialist ideology. This school of thought was developed in the SS, and later characterised a

range of new Nazi organisations, particularly the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA), the general staff of the Nazi genocide. It was in this organisation that the concept of *kämpfende Verwaltung* was embedded in its most radical form. It refused to accept limits to its areas of responsibility and the methods used. Its task was to conduct an existential war for the survival of the Germanic race. In order to prove their total dedication to the ethos and vision of the SS, the members of the RSHA had to combine administrative work with genocide, leading Einsatzgruppen behind the front. Only those who passed this test were considered suitable for senior positions within the RSHA. The concept *kämpfende Verwaltung* indicates to which extent police and paramilitary units adopted the ethos of the SS.

The theory of the dual state, describing the fundamental structure of the Nazi state, was proposed by Ernst Fraenkel already in 1941. It described the state as divided into two judicial spheres: the prerogative state and the normative state. The former was characterised by being alien to all concepts of the rule of law and of limits to political power. It manifested itself as the arbitrary use of force within an efficient, firmly structured system. The second sphere – the normative state – consisted of sectors of German society which had been less Nazified. Within this sphere, remnants of the rule of law, in accordance with Fraenkel's thesis, survived until 1945. This sphere roughly corresponded with the areas covered by criminal law and civil law. Those who did not oppose the regime, or did not belong to a persecuted minority group, could live in relative safety within this sphere. Fraenkel's theory is relevant not only to Nazi Germany, but to all occupied countries where state structures were not completely destroyed. It indicates the extent and character of Nazi influence in occupied democratic states, and thus provides an important theoretical tool for synthesising knowledge within the project's three main sectors.

The project represents a historiographical reorientation in several regards. It emphasises systematic theoretical reflection on concepts and perspectives, and adopts both an intranational and transnational comparative approach. It deals with hitherto unexamined or poorly explored sectors and represents a shift of focus to lower structural levels, exemplified by teachers' resistance in local communities, the lower echelons of the bureaucracy, and local police stations. The project aims at a broad perspective along the collaboration-resistance axis, and forms part of contemporary European research in the field. In total, these factors will hopefully be conducive to the production of new knowledge with substantial consequences for our understanding of the war and the occupation.

### **The State of Research in Norway**

Much of the research done on the occupation in Norway has been centred on the events surrounding the German invasion, military resistance, NS and the German secret police. Less spectacular aspects of the spectre collaboration – resistance has not been given the same attention.

The struggle for values within the school sector in Norway is described in several general works<sup>1</sup> and by more anecdotal contributions<sup>2</sup>, but has not been subjected to a thorough scholarly analysis based on new European perspectives. Civilian resistance, its various

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<sup>1</sup> See for instance. Nøkleby, Berit: *Holdningskamp, bind 5, Norge i krig*, Aschehoug, Oslo, 1986

<sup>2</sup> Aartun, Leiv Brynjløv og Sigurd Aartun: *Motstandskampen i skolene 1940-1942: lærerstriden mot nazifiseringen*, Orion, Oslo, 2003

ideological motivations and its concrete importance and scope has in later years not been a prioritised area of research. Apart from T. Chr. Wyller's classic study from 1953<sup>3</sup>, Ole Kristian Grimnes' studies of the Home Front leadership<sup>4</sup> and some theology-oriented studies of the church struggle<sup>5</sup>, the civilian resistance has not been the object of new studies shedding light on Norwegian civil society's confrontation with a national socialist regime, backed by a foreign occupier.

There are two comprehensive works on the civil service in occupied Norway and in exile during the war, written by Jan Debes<sup>6</sup> and Ole Kolsrud.<sup>7</sup> Both provide important information, but their analytical ambitions are limited, and they do not reflect any overall theoretical perspective or a well-defined set of concepts. Kolsrud's book is moreover marked by its assignment as a conveyor of archival knowledge. Øystein Sørensen's study of the Ministry of Social Affairs is a useful contribution, providing important insights into the situation of the civil service during the war. This ministry displays a significant continuity with the pre-war period, and faced few provocative Nazification efforts.<sup>8</sup> Robert Bohn's contribution is crucial to understanding the German side, but is limited by its focus on German economic activities in Norway.<sup>9</sup>

Research into the role of the Norwegian police during the war is characterised by much of it being of a local and anecdotal nature. The most important work, by Nils Johan Ringdal, provides a useful overview, but is marred by inaccuracies and lacks a systematic approach to the subject<sup>10</sup>. Only one systematic study of the Norwegian police exists, by Tore Pryser.<sup>11</sup> This work, however, only deals with the police's role in the deportation of Jews from the counties of Hedmark and Oppland. The role of the police in the detention of the Jews has been discussed by Per Ole Johansen<sup>12</sup>, who has also examined the background of the pre-war State Police and the wartime secret police (Stapo).<sup>13</sup> Bernt Roughtvedt's biography of the minister of the police Jonas Lie is an important contribution, emphasising the plans of the SS as an important aspect of Norwegian police history<sup>14</sup>. Additionally, a large number of local and national anecdotal works exist, of varying quality. The imprisonment of the police in Stutthof is mainly described in four books: Dahlin et.al<sup>15</sup>, Kolstad<sup>16</sup>, Ringdal<sup>17</sup> and Walle<sup>18</sup>. Apart from Ringdal, none of these are scholarly works.

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<sup>3</sup> Wyller, Thomas Chr.. *Fra okkupasjonsårenes maktkamp: Nasjonal Samlings korporative nyordningsforsøk 9.april 1940 – 1.februar 1942*. Oslo: Tanum, 1953

<sup>4</sup> Grimnes, Ole Kristian: *Hjemmefrontens ledelse*, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 1977

<sup>5</sup> See Austad, Torleiv: *Kirkelig motstand: dokumenter fra den norske kirkekamp under okkupasjonen 1940-45*, Høyskoleforlaget, Kristiansand, 2005

<sup>6</sup> Debes, Jan: *Sentraladministrasjonens historie, bind 5, 1940-1945*, Universitetsforlaget 1980

<sup>7</sup> Kolsrud, Ole: *En splintret stat – Regjeringskontorene 1940-1945*, Universitetsforlaget 2004

<sup>8</sup> Sørensen, Øystein: "Byråkratiet og NS-regimet" i *Solkors og solidaritet*, Cappelen, 1991

<sup>9</sup> Bohn, Robert: *Reichskommissariat Norge*, Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2000

<sup>10</sup> Ringdal, Nils Johan: *Mellom barken og veden*, Aschehoug, 1987

<sup>11</sup> Pryser, Tore: "Holocaust i innlandsregionen", i Per Ole Johansen (red.): *På siden av rettsoppgjøret*, Unipub, 2006.

<sup>12</sup> Johansen, Per Ole: "'Politiet har fortsatt et renommé å ivareta'. Arrestasjonene og deportasjonen av norske jøder høsten 1942." i *Hjerte og forstand, festskrift til Victor Lind på 60-årsdagen 15. desember 2000* og Johansen, Per Ole:

"Rettsoppgjøret med statspolitiet" i Johansen, Per Ole (red.): *På siden av rettsoppgjøret*, Unipub, 2006

<sup>13</sup> Johansen, Per Ole: *"Samfunnets pansrede neve": statspoliti og ekstraordinær overvåkning 1918-1941*, Gyldendal, 1989

<sup>14</sup> Roughtvedt, Bernt: *Med penn og pistol – om politiminister Jonas Lie*, Cappelen Damm, 2010

<sup>15</sup> Dahlin, Erik, Jørn-Kr. Jørgensen og Per Ole Johansen (red.): *De trodde på en ny dag. Om politi, krig, fangenskap og befrielse*, Genesis, Oslo 2011

<sup>16</sup> Kolstad, Birger og Berit Nøkleby: *Politifange i Tyskland: Birger Kolstads dagbok fra Stutthof-leiren*, 1991

<sup>17</sup> Ringdal 1987

<sup>18</sup> Walle, Olaf R.: *Norsk politi bak piggråd. Stutthofpolitiets historie 1943-1945*, Kragerø, 1946

## European State of Research

Resistance and collaboration in Europe 1939-1945 are topics which have attracted widespread interest among members of the international scholarly community. Their importance for the development of European societies has interested many of the world's foremost scholars. The relevant literature can be divided into five main categories: 1. Collections of articles providing a comprehensive coverage of the topic, based on separate articles on each country.<sup>19</sup> 2. Article collections based on analyses of single countries and comparisons between two or more countries.<sup>20</sup> 3. Monographs covering one aspect of these topics – for instance moral dilemmas – using examples from all occupied countries, but lacking a systematic approach.<sup>21</sup> 4. Works analysing all aspects of the topics within one country.<sup>22</sup> 5. Monographs covering many aspects of the national socialist New Order in Europe.<sup>23</sup> Several tendencies in this literature are of relevance to the project's theme and perspectives. Systematic comparison remains rare, and Norway is not part of any comparative analysis. The resistance theme is strong, but is almost totally dominated by focus on military resistance, with civilian resistance and value-based resistance consequently almost absent. Does this reflect a lack of status given to these forms of resistance in other European countries, or were they actually of lesser importance? Only some segments of the literature (2,3) are marked by theoretical reflections and the conscious use of concepts.

The project will have a differentiated relationship to all of these categories. It will gather empirical knowledge and examples from all categories, but particularly from 1 and 4, methodological insights from 2, and ideas and perspectives from 3 and 5. Through the institutional cooperation with Arnd Bauerkämper and the *Berliner Kolleg für Vergleichende Geschichte Europas*, and through the connection with Johannes Houwink ten Cate, one of the editors of the 9-volume collective work on German occupation policies, collaboration and resistance<sup>24</sup>, the project will be closely associated with top international research milieus.

### I. The School Sector

#### Democracy or a Germanic Ethnic Community? Norwegian Schools and the Struggle for Values, 1940-1945

After the national socialist takeover in Norway, the Norwegian school system came under pressure already from autumn 1940. In February 1942, an attempt was made to force teachers to change their teaching to be more in line with the Nazi state's ideological orientation and needs. This provoked the largest popular protest of the entire occupation, with thousands of teachers, parents, clergy and university employees spontaneously organising civil resistance across the country. As a result, the Norwegian school never became Nazified. That it was possible to stop a state's Nazification attempt through a popular, country-wide campaign in an occupied country attracted considerable attention abroad.

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<sup>19</sup> Benz, Wolfgang, Johannes Houwink ten Cate & Gerhard Otto (red.): *Nationalsozialistische Besatzungspolitik in Europa 1939–1945, Band 1-10*, Metropol Verlag, Berlin, 1996-2001

<sup>20</sup> Bohn, Robert (red.): *Die deutsche Herrschaft in den "germanischen" Ländern 1940-1945*, Stuttgart, 1997

<sup>21</sup> Bennett, Rab: *Under the Shadow of the Swastika*, Macmillan Press, London, 1999

<sup>22</sup> Azéma, Jean-Pierre og François Bédarida (red.): *Vichy et les français*, Fayard, 1992

<sup>23</sup> Mazower, Mark: *Hitler's Empire: Nazi Rule in Occupied Europe*, Allen Lane, 2009

<sup>24</sup> Benz et. al

The subproject's main topic is the organization patterns and the values that can explain why the school sector to such a degree came to be characterised by the *struggle for values*, as opposed to *voluntary or pragmatic collaboration*, which to a larger extent characterised the other state institutions to be examined by the project.

### **Project 1: The Struggle for the Schools**

The project seeks to chart the process leading to and the course of the school struggle. It will examine the roots of the initiative within national socialist ideology and the actual political process that resulted in the concrete initiative. A core question is whether NS acted on its own, or whether the initiatives came from a German actor outside the Reichskommissariat, such as the SS or the leadership of the Hitlerjugend.<sup>25</sup> The interaction between initiatives, execution and mobilisation is unclear in the existing literature, which can help explain why the school struggle has occupied a rather modest place in post-war memory of the war. The project is then to compare the school struggle in Norway with conditions in the Netherlands.<sup>26</sup> It intends to examine whether similar attempts were made there, and if so by whom, and how teachers and parents reacted to possible Nazification attempts. This will help determine whether the offensive against the schools was NS' own project, or originated in Germany.

### **Project 2: The Deportations of the Teachers and the Jews (Master Project)**

The arrests and deportations of the teachers and the Norwegian Jews display several similarities. The project aims at charting the reactions to and circumstances of both actions, and evaluate whether Norwegians cared more about the teachers than a minority group, or whether the circumstances surrounding the two operations were so different that similar protests were impossible.

### **Project 3: Political Pupils? (Master Project)**

The project is to evaluate the extent, motivation and characteristics of political actions by pupils, and the reactions of German and NS authorities. Important topics will be the risks taken by the pupils and whether there was a systematic response to such actions, based on age and the seriousness of the actions.

### **Project 4: The Norwegian School in Uppsala, Sweden (Master Project)**

The Norwegian gymnasium in Uppsala was created to answer the need for providing an education for children and adolescents who had followed their parents into exile. The project will examine how this school became established, and to what extent the pupils took part in political activities and influenced their Swedish surroundings.

## **Sources**

Immediately after the war, considerable efforts were undertaken to document the military and civilian resistance, with the Resistance Museum eventually assuming a key role. Still, there is

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<sup>25</sup> See Kvistad, John Mikal: "Det unge Norges fylking klar til slag" – Nasjonalsosialistisk ungdom i Norge, Doktoravhandling, UiO, 2011, also Fure, Jorunn Sem: *Universitetet i kamp 1940-1945*, where the relationship between Norwegian and German authorities regarding the creation of policy and repression is an important topic.

<sup>26</sup> In Denmark, professor Ellen Nørsgaard has initiated a project dealing with the Danish school system during the occupation, and contact has been established with her.

a scarcity of sources on the broad popular protests which characterised the civilian struggle for values, such as the school struggle involving teachers, parents, the church and academics. Ministerial and NS archives are likely to be in a satisfactory condition, but documenting the origins, extent and breadth of the actions, and gaining knowledge of how the actions were spontaneously organised and paroles distributed, will likely prove harder. The private archives of Helga Stene, one of the main initiators of the protests, represent one of several possible starting points.

## II. The Civil Service

### Politicised Bureaucracy or Weberian Ideals? The Norwegian Civil Service during the Occupation

Following the reordering of the political system on 25 September 1940, the ministries can be divided into three main categories. First, a group of four new ministries with ministers from NS was intended as important tools for the Nazification and SS-ification efforts. A second category consisted of ministries with ministers from NS, but retaining much of their staff and their traditional areas of responsibility. The third group included the ministries of Finance, Supplies and Trade, which were key ministries in integrating the Norwegian economy into the German war economy. Consequently, the Reichskommissar did not allow any ideological experiments here, and their ministers were chosen solely on the basis of professional qualifications. It was not until 1 February 1942, after Quisling had formed his new government, that ministers from NS took over these ministries.

#### Project 5: Collaboration and Resistance in Three Norwegian Ministries (PhD.)

The subproject's objective is to analyse and compare three different ministries, each representing one of the categories mentioned above. From the first group the Ministry of Police has been chosen, due to the police being a central object of study for the overall project and due to its important role within the Nazi terror apparatus. The second group is represented by the Ministry of Justice, which had a high-profile NS-leadership, and was a driving institution behind the Nazification efforts. On the other hand, it retained much of its staff<sup>27</sup>, many of whom became important figures in the judicial sector of post-war Norway. In the third group, the Ministry of Supplies was a key arena for negotiations between Norwegian non-Nazified officials and German officials throughout the war. Its position as a key economic ministry gave the officials a certain amount of leverage against the German and NS-authorities.<sup>28</sup> The project will use the situation in the Netherlands as a reference point to help answer which situations were specific to Norway, and which resulted from German initiatives in all Germanic countries. The Dutch case will also be used to evaluate whether the special position of NS in Norway was a precondition for creating a dichotomy between a Nazified and a non-Nazified part of the Civil Service.

On the theoretical level, the project will examine how far the ministries were pushed in the direction of becoming a politicised bureaucracy. At the same time, it will evaluate the actions of the ministries along the axis of the previously defined concepts *coercion-based*, *voluntary* and *pragmatic collaboration* and *resistance*.

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<sup>27</sup>Kolsrud, 2004

<sup>28</sup> Debes, 1980



## Sources

The sources for the history of the civil service will mostly be the ministerial archives and the treason trials against the ministers and the NS-members within the ministries. German sources must be utilised. Here a problem arises from the fact that much of the RK's archives were destroyed by the end of the war, but some nevertheless remain. Several high-ranking officials in the RK gave elaborate statements concerning their activities during the occupation after the war, a source which has hardly been exhausted by research so far. The experience of researchers with connections to the HL-centre regarding the use of German sources in archives outside Norway will be also be used.

## III. The Police

The German occupation led to dramatic consequences for the Norwegian police. The police, given its function, had to choose between resigning or assisting the occupiers in various ways. A special role was intended for the police in the new, national socialist Norway: Through a process of "Verschmelzung" between state and party and between Norwegian and German institutions it was to become a weapon of the SS. It would be its gateway into Norwegian society, and was eventually to constitute a political, all-Germanic state protection corps. 42 % of policemen in service at the beginning of the war joined NS – far more than in any other state institution.<sup>29</sup> The Norwegian police was reorganised according to the German model, and a new police school, including ideological and military training, was established at Kongsvinger. The intention was that the future Norwegian police would consist of people with SS training and partly also with experience from the Eastern Front, all in accordance with the principles of *kämpfende Verwaltung*. In 1942 the Norwegian police had the operational responsibility for the arrests of the Norwegian Jews. Nevertheless, some Jews were saved due to warnings from police officers. In August 1943 the police itself fell victim to German security measures. The chief superintendent Gunnar Eilifsen was executed for refusing to carry out an order, and police officers who did not sign a pledge of allegiance were sent to a re-education camp near Stutthof.

On the one hand, the police thus became a tool of the totalitarian state, and even active members of the resistance within the police could become guilty of carrying out criminal German orders. On the other hand, the police was under intense pressure – the alternative to a Norwegian police was a German police force, and with it the end of the possibility of the police offering any kind of resistance to the occupation. The crucial role of the police could therefore justify widespread pragmatic collaboration to prevent this from happening.

### Project 6: Comparative Study of Three Norwegian Police Stations (PhD)

The complexity of the situation of the Norwegian police during the war has not been satisfactorily explored. A study of all police stations is obviously too ambitious, and the project therefore aims at a comparison between three police stations, each situated in a different part of the country: Ålesund, Stavanger and Lillehammer.

Such a comparison enables a comparative study of several problem areas, centred on the previously defined concepts *coercion-based*, *voluntary* and *pragmatic collaboration* and

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<sup>29</sup> Ringdal, 1987

*resistance*. How did the police locally respond to its reorganisation? To what extent were there acts of resistance, and what were their consequences? How were changes of staff implemented and what was their impact? How were political cases handled? How were tasks distributed between the Norwegian uniformed regular police (*ordenspoliti*), the criminal investigation department (*kriminalpoliti*) and the state police, and the German police? The goal is to present a more complete picture of values and processes within the police, and through this to show the complexity of the police's situation.

### **Project 7: Stutthof (Terje Emberland)**

In 1943 271 “unreliable” Norwegian policemen were sent to a re-education camp for Germanics by Stutthof. The camp had been established by the RSHA following an initiative from Himmler<sup>30</sup>. It was a fiasco. The policemen managed what they had not managed before – to form a common front against Nazification efforts. The Stutthof imprisonment thus represents a contrast to the very mixed impression the Norwegian police left behind during the war, and can have acted as a sort of whitewash of the police after the war.<sup>31</sup> Stutthof also vividly illustrates the SS' unrealistic plans for Norway and for the Norwegian police in particular and also shows the internal conflicts both within the SS and between the SS and Terboven.

The project shall document the process leading up to the stay in Stutthof, then explore its character, before finally studying its importance during the treason trials and in the public opinion of post-war Norway.

### **Project 8: Norwegian and German Police before the War (Terje Emberland)**

The Nazi takeover in Germany did not result in Norwegian police officers turning their backs on their German colleagues. The Norwegian police was from the outset influenced by the German police, and practical and organisational cooperation increased throughout the interwar period. Study trips to Germany were common, and Norwegian police officers even visited German concentration camps. The reorganisation of the Norwegian police according to a German model, which accelerated after Himmler's visit to Norway in 1941, was greeted by many in the Norwegian police not as Nazification, but rather as a long-desired process of rationalisation.<sup>32</sup>

The project aims at exploring institutional and personal connections between the Norwegian and German police between 1933 and 1940. It is to evaluate what these connections indicate regarding the values and sympathies of the Norwegian police, and assess their importance in explaining why the police offered so little resistance to the New Order.

### **Project 9: The Police and the Past (Master Project)**

The project seeks to study how the police handled its difficult role during the occupation after the war. It will examine the police's own post-war writings and analyse how the war is presented and interpreted. Central questions are which actors are given a voice, which events are remembered, and whether certain topics are more or less systematically avoided.

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<sup>30</sup> Emberland, Terje et.al: *Himmlers favoritter*, Aschehoug, Oslo (to be published 2012)

<sup>31</sup> See for instance Dahlin et. al (2011): "[Stutthof]... one of the Germans' worst concentration camps"

<sup>32</sup> See Johansen, 1989, Ringdal, 1987

## **Sources**

After the war, substantial material was transferred from the three police stations that are to be studied to the regional branches of the Norwegian National Archives. Nils Johan Ringdal's collection of letters and interviews is available. The archives of the ministries of the Police and of Justice, the police's internal written material and German archives will also be crucial.

## **Project 10: Article Collection**

The projects are to be synthesised in a collection of articles, published in Norwegian and English, with Odd-Bjørn Fure as its editor. The collection will contain texts from all subprojects, and contain a chapter synthesising the results, putting them into a larger theoretical perspective.

## **Project Organisation and Cooperation**

The project has been under preparation for a considerable period of time, with one full-time research assistant and a reference group working with the project. The project is planned to begin in January 2012 and is scheduled to end in December 2015. It will have an institutional basis at the HL-centre, with Odd-Bjørn Fure as the project leader. A PhD-candidate will be employed in the role as project coordinator, with administrative tasks related to the project. Scholarship beneficiaries will be offered an office at the HL-centre. The project plans to arrange two yearly conferences with presentations of texts, aiming at inviting a renowned scholar to one of them each year.

The project has an institutional cooperation with Professor Arnd Bauerkämper at the Free University of Berlin, who has initiated a comparative project on occupation regimes and European cultures of memory. The project will make use of a reference group, and the Professors Arnd Bauerkämper, Johannes Houwink ten Cate at the University of Amsterdam, Tore Pryser at the Lillehammer University College, Per Ole Johansen, Øystein Sørensen and Ole Kristian Grimnes from the University of Oslo and researcher Iselin Theien at the National Institute for Consumer Research have agreed to be part of it.

The project involves ethical questions related to the right to privacy. Claims about a person's conduct during the war will always be problematic. The project will therefore adhere to the strict guidelines established by the Waffen-SS project at the HL-centre.

The reference group and the researchers involved have a majority of men. This will be sought balanced by encouraging women to apply for the scholarships.

## **Strategic Anchoring and Relevance for Society**

Studies of the genocide of the European Jews, other vulnerable groups, and violations of human rights are at the heart of the HL-centre's statutes. Norwegian research on the Holocaust has been relatively narrow-minded and focused on concrete events. The project will help place this historical macro-event in a greater both Norwegian and European configuration. The project has an important position in the centre's long-term strategic plan for the period 2011-2014. The subtopics civil service and police represent a continuity with the first large research project by the HL-centre, "Norwegian Volunteers in the Waffen-SS".

The interest in war and occupation history in the Norwegian society shows – in international

comparison – special characteristics. On the one hand, events and experiences from this period retain a strong position in the public discourse. *On the other hand, the interest has waned within research institutions, with the consequence that few new studies emerge.* The strong public interest, however, indicates a need for orientation and an uncertainty how this crucial period of Norwegian history is to be interpreted. Due to the lack of attention given to the topic by scholars in Norway, the collective memory of the war often becomes unbalanced, and memories of the war frequently substitute for meticulously researched historical knowledge. The differentiated and substantial empirical knowledge sought by the project, combined with its comparative perspective and integration with international scholarly discourses, will provide a more extensive and realistic basis for the public debate on the war and occupation.