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A SOCIAL-PSYCHIATRIC EXAMINATION OF YOUNG FRONT-COMBATANTS

(Norwegian volunteers in the German army)

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(Reprinting prohibited except in medical papers)

When the German prisons and concentration-camps in Norway were opened on capitulation day, May 8th, 1945, and the severely tried Norwegians returned to liberty, after having experienced German justice in mind and body, a sad procession of other Norwegians started the opposite way. The prisons were filled by a mixed crowd of Quisling-supporters. Quisling's party, Nasjonal Samling (N.S.), had a total of 46,904 members on the 1st of January, 1945, corresponding to 1.66 % of the population. It was not necessary to arrest all these members. During the first months 24,000 men and women were taken into custody, and the Norwegian Administrations of Justice and Prisons were now presented with their greatest problem in our history. This work does not concern the solution of the problem. What is going to be recorded here is the author's experiences as a prison medical officer, during 3 years at Høbu, the largest prison in Norway for traitors to the realm. Here the number of prisoners reached 3,453 in July 1945, falling slowly to about 1,000 in September 1946. The admission areas were Oslo and the surrounding counties, but the areas were not sharply defined. A central hospital with 120 beds for the whole country was attached to the prison.

INTRODUCTION. HISTORICAL SURVEY METHODS OF RESEARCH

It seemed obvious, even before the end of the war, that Norwegian psychiatrists would be partly responsible for the correct procedure of the trial, and also of a deeper understanding of the reasons why some of our patriots fell. Because of the size of the problem one might

have feared that the trial would be summary and not in accordance with our democratic traditions. Immediately after the liberation we requested the authorities to ensure that the necessary psychiatric examinations were carried out just as thoroughly where the traitors to the realm were concerned, as in the case of other criminals in peace-time. There was no reason, however, for concern. As a matter of fact, all psychiatrists got so many of these cases that it was impossible to dispose of a sufficiently trained staff to carry out the main task we had planned: a psychiatric-psychological research of as many representative groups of traitors as possible.

On November 19th, 1945, the Royal Ministry of Law and Police appointed a committee, whose chairman was Dr. G. Langfeldt, which was charged with coordinating and directing the psychiatric examinations of traitors to the realm. What has been published so far is: *Olaug Bassøe*, *Psykiatrisk undersøkelse av 50 kvinnelige landssvikere*, *Nordisk Psykiatrisk Medlemsblad* 1948, vol. II, no. II. *Ö. Ödegaard*, *A preliminary work on the frequency of insanity among N.S. Ö. Ödegaard*, *The incidence of mental disorder among the Norwegian Quislings*, *Acta Psychiatrica et Neurologica, Supplementum* 47, 1947, and a preliminary work by *H. Frøshaug* on the examination of young front combatants: *The Young "Patriots"*, *ibid.*

THE NATURE OF THE INFORMATION.

It is difficult to divide the total information about the Ilebu prisoners according to the nature of their offence. The main difficulty is that when a prisoner has been proved guilty of more than one offence, it is not easy to point out his main crime. Nearly all have been members of Quisling's guard (originally a sort of bodyguard), many of them have great or small offences on their conscience, some of them have been partisans and also participated in one or many of the armed groups, etc. In the case material from Ilebu we find practically no torturers, as these were at first placed in solitary confinement in other prisons. The author has used the following loosely defined divisions:

- (1) Chiefly passive N.S. members with short terms of punishment.
- (2) Higher party employees, N.S. members in State and Municipality.
- (3) So-called "culture traitors", persons belonging to the free professions.
- (4) Auxiliaries in the rear (N.S. members attached to semimilitary organisations such as the Guard's alarm-up, the Guard's industry council, the Guard's battalion).
- (5) Front combatants

This publication deals with the 5th category only. We are concerned with young men, supposed to represent a positive selection, and whose offence often consisted in fighting on the German side at the Eastern front.

The front combatants have been sentenced according to the ordinary civil penal law of May 22nd, 1902, § 86, comp. temporary law of Oct. 3rd, 1941 on supplement to the same law, and temporary law of Dec. 15th, 1944 on supplement to the penal laws on treason (to the realm) § 51. These regulations penalise anybody who carries weapons illegally against Norway, or who assists the enemy in any way, either during a war in which Norway is involved or in order to prepare such war, or who weakens Norway or any allied country's fighting capacity. The sentences have varied somewhat, the tendency gradually being for milder sentences. In most of the front-combatant cases the sentences have been reduced to periods of 3-4 years' imprisonment.

HISTORICAL SURVEY

On Jan. 14th, 1941, an appeal dated on the 9th, and signed Vidkun Quisling, appeared in the Nazified Norwegian press. It encouraged young Norwegians voluntarily to enter the regiment Nordland, "in order to fight shoulder to shoulder with the German comrades for the new order in Europe, and for the German confederation." On the same day a statement was made as to the voluntary service. The Regiment Nordland was intended to be a regiment of the Waffen S.S., consisting of Scandinavians (excluding Swedes). Young men from 17 to 25 might apply, enlisting for 1, 2, or 4 years of service. Further, the appeal promised that if the volunteer "during his 2-years' service took active part in this war, he would get a document, conveying to him a farm with estates and 50-60 acres of good soil—." On Jan. 31st, 1941 it was officially announced that pupils for the matriculation classes of the secondary schools, applying to the Regiment Nordland, would get their certificates at once. In a decree of Febr. 23rd, 1941, by the Deputy Minister Riisnæs, the decrees concerning the regiment are gathered in 6 paragraphs. § 1 lays down that minors do not need consent from parents or guardians to serve in the regiment.

300 young men applied for admission to the "regiment". They were sent to the Eastern front and took part in the campaign, the whole time in the Waffen S.S.

It has not been possible to get exact information as to the number of young men who joined this and the above mentioned units. The author has got the figures by interviewing an active superior officer and several organisers of the front-service. They have been interviewed separately, and have given fairly similar information, and the figures are supposed to be approximately correct.

On June 22nd, 1941, Germany attacked the Soviet Union, on June 30th Terboven, the German High Commissioner of occupied Norway, proclaimed that he had been overrun by requests and solicitations from Norwegians, to be allowed to take part in the war. He had obtained permission from Adolf Hitler to have a Norwegian legion formed. The proclamation was followed by an appeal from certain officers, some representatives of the press and industry, some clergymen and exponents of nazi- and nazified organisations. It was stressed that the legion was to be ex-

clusively Norwegian, with Norwegian officers, Norwegian uniforms, and that they were going to fight only in Finland, now at war on the German side against the Soviet Union.

The so-called "Norwegian legion" was in action from July 1941 to May 1943. A total of 1200 men applied during this time. They were immediately sent to Germany, trained, and sent on to the Eastern front. None of them were first sent to Finland.

When they were being transferred to Germany an awkward situation arose, as some of the legionaries refused to take the usual soldier's oath to Adolf Hitler. The conflict ended in a compromise: the oath should only be valid as long as the war lasted.

During the whole service the legion was stationed in a "quiet" part of the front, that is a section where no attacks were made, either from the German or the Russian side. What the soldiers saw of the war was mostly Russian reconnaissance patrols, usually of a company or a battalion, and air attacks and shelling. Even so, it was a hard strain on the troops and the losses were considerable.

When the Norwegian legion was dissolved in May 1943, the so-called "Armoured Division Norway", was formed, as a section of the Division Nordland in the Waffen S.S. This was a German section, with a German commanding officer, and the Norwegian volunteers were mostly put together with people from Transylvania in Rumania. About 1000 Norwegian volunteers entered this section.

Already during the winter of 1941-42 the "ski companies" were formed, in order to fight in Finland. At the beginning of 1944 the force was increased to a battalion, partly by taking soldiers from the "armoured division". In this battalion there were 800 new volunteers.

Some volunteers from the Norwegian Police Force, the "police companies" were also sent to Finland. The first was formed in September 1942, and 4 companies with a total of 500 men were under fire.

It should be mentioned that during the war some Norwegian volunteers kept on applying for exclusively German work, in the air force, army and navy, estimated at 200 men.

In all, a total of 3,500-4,000 young Norwegians have fought in the German forces in the years 1940-45. Very few were sent to fight against the Allied Forces in West-end Europe—the great majority fought against the Russians. We have but little knowledge of what happened to them at the front. It is said that about 800 were killed, and that 100-200 returned with considerable, lasting invalidity. It seems certain that the legionaries were very dissatisfied at not being sent to Finland, and many of them tried to get home to Norway immediately after the transfer to Germany. Only a few cases of regular desertion are known. The state of health was good. There seems to have been few nervous reactions among the troops, but unfortunately there are no reliable data on this matter, as the case books from the clearing stations and base hospitals have not been available.

Many of the front combatants felt left out when they came back to Norway. The promised reward, the farm, failed to appear. Only a few of them entered party work, many attended schools, some of which were especially started for them, some got jobs in public offices. They still considered themselves soldiers and were apt to despise ordinary party members and civil administrators. A small group was still active-minded, and wanted to try armed resistance in May 1945 on the liberation. But the capitulation took place very peacefully and the front combatants did not offer any resistance when they were interned.

METHOD OF RESEARCH

The case material consists of 343 front combatants. They have been examined partly in Ilebu prison, partly in the re-educational camp at Gulsbogen, near Drammen. The author has tried to get statements from their schools, stressing the importance of not only obtaining the school results, but also an evaluation of the pupil and his home, from the teacher who knew him best. Fairly complete answers were obtained for 233 prisoners (67.9 %). Further we have questioned the staff of the prison, and the author has attended the meetings of the prison council, where the data of every front combatant have been discussed, in order to consider release on trial (after having served $\frac{2}{3}$, later $\frac{1}{3}$ of the term of punishment imposed). Without the prisoners being given any chance of contacting each other, they were requested to fill in a questionnaire, containing questions about social conditions, motives for the front service, their feelings about the imprisonment, the legal settlement and plans for the future. With the assistance of psychologists they have been tested, and we have had a psychological interview with most of them. Finally the author has had one or several conversations with every man. They have all had a careful physical examination.

Based on these data I have tried to get a correct picture of every single front combatant's social environment, social adjustment, and personal qualities, and tried to get an impression of his motives for applying for the front service.

In the work the author has been greatly helped by his assistant, Dr. Thorbjörn Kjölstad, and the psychologists Finn Höyland, Ragnar Christensen, and Ruth Kaminka Christensen. The investigations have met with interest and sympathy, both from the Superintendent of the prison itself, and from the Council of Prisons. We explained to the prisoners that this was not a disguised police examination, and that

TABLE 1
Age groups 1941.

	Total	Per cent
15 years	1	0.3
16-20 "	135	39.4
21-25 "	116	33.8
26-30 "	42	12.2
31-35 "	28	8.1
36-40 "	8	2.3
41-45 (.....)	13	3.8
	343	99.9

the press would not be informed of the results, and after this they mostly accepted the tests willingly.

Most of the cases are young, 73.5 % 25 years old or younger in 1941, 8.1 % were less than 18 years old.

I. THE HOMES

TABLE 2
Father's occupation.

	Total	Per cent
(1) Agriculture, forestry, horticulture	55	16.0
(2) Cotters, rural workers	8	2.3
(3) Fishermen, whalers	3	0.9
(4) Craftsmen	39	11.3
(5) Independent business men, higher employees ...	44	12.8
(6) Engineers, architects	13	3.8
(7) Chief engineers, technicians	22	6.4
(8) Subordinate employees	39	11.3
(9) Captains, mates, sailors	9	2.9
(10) Industrial and plant workers	24	7.8
(11) Other workers	26	7.3
(12) Superiors in the Civil Service	8	2.3
(13) Subordinates in the Civil Service	7	2.0
(14) Teachers in Primary schools	6	1.7
(15) Intellectual work	12	3.5
(16) Workers in hotels and restaurants	4	1.2
(17) Pensioners	1	0.3
(18) Officers	11	3.2
(19) No answer	10	2.9
	343	99.9

The largest group of front combatants come from solid middle class homes. If we attempt to compare them with the average number of occupations or professions (from the census of 1930) we find considerably fewer from the farmer- and fishermen-class than would be expected. 43.6 % of the population belong to this group, as compared with 19.2 % of the fathers of the front combatants. 5.4 % of the population are sailors, as compared with 2.9 % here, 0.3 % are officers, as against 3.2 %. Summing up, it is safe to say that the front combatants do not socially represent a negative selection.

The divergent proportions of occupations or professions are certainly due to the fact that the admission areas of the prison mainly are Oslo and the neighbouring districts. An examination of the place of settlement of the front soldiers shows that 57 % come from Oslo and

the urban surroundings, 32 % come from the comparatively dense population of the Eastern districts, and the remaining 15 % are divided between Southern, Western and Northern Norway. 32 % were born in Oslo. There has been a considerable moving into Oslo of front combatants from the Eastern districts.

TABLE 3
Birthplace and place of settlement.

	Birthplace		Place of settlement	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Greater Oslo	111	32.5	181	53.0
Akershus	32	9.4	30	8.7
Vestfold	26	7.6	20	5.8
Buskerud	25	7.2	27	7.8
Østfold	23	6.7	8	2.3
Telemark	16	4.7	13	3.8
Oppland	11	3.2	6	1.7
Hedmark	8	2.3	5	1.4
Guöbrandsdal	14	4.1	11	3.2
Østerdal				
Sörlandet	13	3.8	9	2.6
Vestlandet	32	9.4	17	5.0
Trøndelag	12	3.5	8	2.5
Nord-Norge	10	2.9	5	1.4
Foreign countries	7	2.0	0	0
Not known	1	0.3	2	0.6

TABLE 4
Number of siblings.

	Total	Per cent
Only child	35	10.2
1 sibling	56	16.3
2 siblings	53	15.4
3 "	51	14.9
4 "	41	12.0
5 "	27	7.9
6 "	28	8.2
7 "	21	6.1
8 "	6	1.7
9 "	10	2.9
10 " and more	11	3.2
No answer	4	1.2

According to this table the average number of siblings is 4.6. In the whole country the average number of children was 3.9 in the cities (in 1930) and 5.1 in the rural districts, based on 25 years' marriage. If we

exclude the childless marriages, however, the numbers are 5.2 in the cities and 6.1 in the rural districts.

As for the order of birth 47.2 % are in the middle, 30.8 % are the eldest child and 22 % the youngest.

Nervous handicap:

Insanity in near relatives (parents, siblings, grandparents, sibling of parents) is recorded in 27 cases: 7.9 %. Mental deficiency 3.5 %, epilepsy and psychopathy 3.2 %, alcoholism (father or mother) 6.7 %. All these data certainly represent the minimum. On this matter the author would refer to Dr. Ødegaard's paper.

TABLE 5
Special circumstances in the home.

	Total	Per cent
One or both parents died early or disappeared	76	22.1
Bad economy and insufficient care	46	13.4
Parents divorced	32	9.3
Reared by strangers	18	5.2
Upbringing remarkably strict	15	4.5
Illegitimate	11	3.2

Not all the homes in which one or more of the above-mentioned minus-factors are present, can be called bad. Considering all the cases it is found that more than half of the front combatants were brought up in homes which would generally be considered unsatisfactory. This is not due to economic difficulties only. During the first half of the thirties many Norwegian employees and workers had economic difficulties and unemployment for longer or shorter periods. We are still unable to qualify their homes as bad. In only 13.4 % of the homes with a very bad economy the care of the children was really insufficient. This includes homes with criminal parents, negligent housekeeping, disharmonious atmosphere, abuse of alcohol, and so on. Only to a certain extent were the children from these homes sent away to strangers or infant homes (5.2 %). The largest group had lost one or both parents early, or the parents had left home. Although this hampered the development of the children, it did not often disturb the family to such a degree that the Welfare of Children Council had to intervene.

If we consider the political influence on the youths, it appears that in 40.7 % of the cases parents or older siblings have been members of the "Nasjonal Samling" (N. S.). Further, we have all those with German-sympathizing families, deeply rooted in a paternalistic ideology, without being actually members of the N. S.

Summing up, we see that in only 21 % of the cases have the future front combatants been brought up in good homes in a safe atmosphere with kind relations between parents and children and among the children themselves, and without any Nazi influence.

11. THE SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF THE FRONT COMBATANTS

TABLE 6
Adjustment at school.

	Total	Per cent
Only primary school and 1 or 2 years' continuation classes	110	32.9
Secondary school, high school	82	23.9
Secondary school and commercial college	45	13.1
University — College — graduation	12	3.5
Vocational school (Commercial, technical, agricultural)	84	24.5

A preliminary examination of 208 unselected prisoners from Ilebu proved that 48.5 % had attended primary school only, as compared with 32.07 % of the front combatants. We have also had an opportunity to compare the education of the front combatants with that of ordinary Norwegian post-war recruits. In order to avoid the possible error of the difference of age (the recruits being 20–21 years old) we selected a group of front soldiers born in 1920 or later, thus being 19–23 when the service started, and presented a more detailed scale, with 9 different degrees of education.

1. Passed primary school.
2. Primary school and 1 years' continuation classes, 2 years' evening school, County school, Folk High School, 6 month's commercial school or other schools for young people, marine engineer's certificate of 3rd class.
3. Primary school and 2 years' continuation classes, school of agriculture, forestry, horticulture, Navigation school for ship's officers, marine engineer's certificate of 2nd class.
4. High School.
5. High School with 1 year commercial, agricultural, forestry, horticultural college.
6. Secondary or commercial college, 2 years' technical college, marine engineer's certificate of 1st class.
7. 1 year's study at university or technical high school, general preliminary examinations at universities.
Secondary school and commercial college, agriculture-forestry college.
8. At least 2 years' study at university or technical high school, teacher's training college.
9. Graduate from universities

44 % of the front combatants have passed secondary school or higher education, as against 17.2 % of the recruits. In spite of the small figures, it seems justifiable to assume that the front soldiers

TABLE 7
Degrees of education of front combatants and recruits.

Degree	Front combatants born 1920 or later		Recruits 1916	
	Total	Per cent	Total	Per cent
1	41	30	25	0.4
2	18	13	3169	56.0
3	18	13	1495	26.4
4	24	17	160	2.9
5	14	10	276	4.9
6	19	14	315	5.6
7	3	2.3	208	3.7
8	1	0.7	6	0.1
9	0	0	0	0
	138		5750	

had had a better school education than the rest of the population of the same age.

The teachers recorded that the adjustment at school was fair in 50.2 % of the cases. Usual characteristics: Ordinary pupil, no objections, and so on. We notice that a good reputation was commoner than the opposite. Only 15.02 % were characterized as bad pupils, lazy, exceptional personalities, shirkers, poorly adjusted altogether. In 5.6 % special arrangements had been made, such as removal to reformatories or schools for the mentally handicapped. On the other hand 29.2 % were referred to by their teachers as unusually good pupils remembered by their teachers as having distinguished themselves by industry, maturity, and noble character.

Adjustment to work.

There is nothing to indicate that adjustment to work has not been generally good. 2.3 % of the front combatants have been exposed to long periods of unemployment. It must be kept in mind that although conditions towards the end of the thirties were improving, we had considerable unemployment until the first year of the war, varying in 1937 between 15 and 23 % of all trade union members. 2.6 % showed lack of stability in work and were constantly changing jobs. 2.9 % drank to excess and were fined once or several times for intoxication and disorderly conduct. 2.9 % show a slight degree of criminality with

short or probation penalties for theft, embezzlement, etc. In all 10.7 % of the case material show signs of maladjustment.

TABLE 8
Civilian professions or occupations of the front combatants.

	Total	Per cent
Subordinate employees in official and private work	72	21.6
Workers in agriculture and forestry	58	17.4
Industrial, factory workers	53	15.8
School-pupils, apprentices	45	13.5
Technicians, engineers	36	10.8
Independent tradesmen, higher employees	23	6.9
Craftsmen	15	4.5
Sailors	12	3.6
Intellectual work	9	2.7
Independent farmers, forest proprietors, horticulturists	7	2.1
Officers	4	1.2

The future front combatant's interests in political matters before the war, are illustrated by counting how many of them had been members of political organisations. 19.8 % had been members of political youth organisations, more than half of them Nazi ones (10.8 %), 5.2 % in conservative-influenced ones, 3.8 % in socialist-communist organisations, 6.7 % of the front combatants were not members of N. S. either before or during the war.

Sexual adjustment.

A remarkable number are, or have been married, 38 %. 13.7 % have been officially engaged to be married. The marriages have been unstable, 23.8 % did not last. Many were divorced during the stay in prison (not counted in). 2.3 % told that they were not interested in girls, the rest are supposed to have had a normal sex life, in so far as they have not shown any marked abnormalities. Only one showed a slight homosexual tendency.

Religious interests.

Most of the cases said they were indifferent, only 21 = 6.1 % took the trouble to answer this sort of question, and most of them only in order to declare their irreligiousness. 12 declared themselves to be bitter enemies of the Christian religion. They even considered resigning their membership of the State Church as a protest against its attitude during and after the war. 2 were Roman Catholic-influenced and as many as 7 had become devout Christians, partly after going through a religious crisis in prison.

III. PSYCHIATRIC-PSYCHOLOGICAL EXAMINATION

Intelligence tests.

The first tests were made by means of Dr. Sandven's group test, standardized on 876 pupils from the leaving classes of primary schools. It consists of 8 group tests with 20-30 single tests in each group. Of course a test standardized on 14 year-old-children is not ideal for adults, but undoubtedly it is still of some value. The result appears from the curves, on p. 455, indicating that the front combatants range within the average, 49.6 % with an I. Q. from 90-100.

In order to complete this research, we later on used two modern group tests. First a non-verbal test (test 10, progressive matrices, prepared by the English psychologist Raven) which, according to English experience, first tests the general intelligence. The test consists of 5 subtests, each with 12 tasks. The testee scores 1 point for each task correctly answered, the highest possible number of points being 60. The test is standardized on Norwegian post-war recruits. Next we used a mechanical test, which we included mainly in order to create goodwill, and if possible, to get data to work upon when selecting prisoners for special education. This test will not be further mentioned here.

In all we tested 646 prisoners with test no. 10, 319 of which were front combatants, 301 privates, and 18 officers. For comparison we also tested 17 men from an armed guard, the S.S.-Guard (see p. 454). In Table 9 is given the average age at the time of the tests, and the standard deviation for the following 3 groups: privates, front combatants with officer's rank, and the Guard.

Tables 9 and 10 show that with regard to age a comparison with the test results obtained from post-war recruits (average age 20 years) should be justifiable.

TABLE 9

	Average age	Standard deviation	Number of examined cases
Front combatants, privates	29.4	6.48	301
Front combatants, officers	33.9	10.45	18
The S.S.-Guard	28.0	7.05	17

The next table shows the division frequency in the different age groups of front combatants (privates).

Table 11 shows the results of the testing. The average result (M) of the scoring in points (1 point for each correct answer) and the distribution shown by the standard deviation σ are given. All M-values

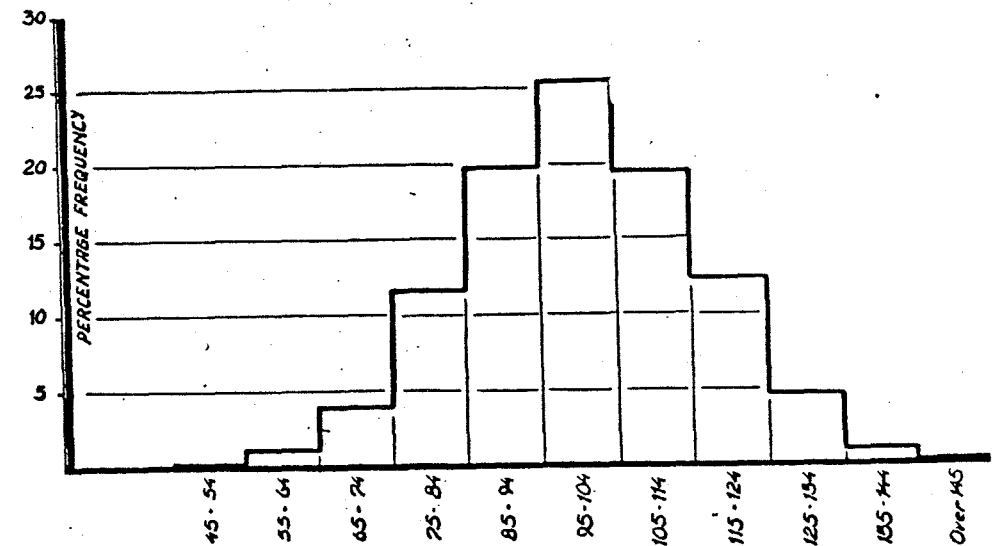


Fig. 1.

Distribution of I.Q. in Sandven's material. 876 persons tested.

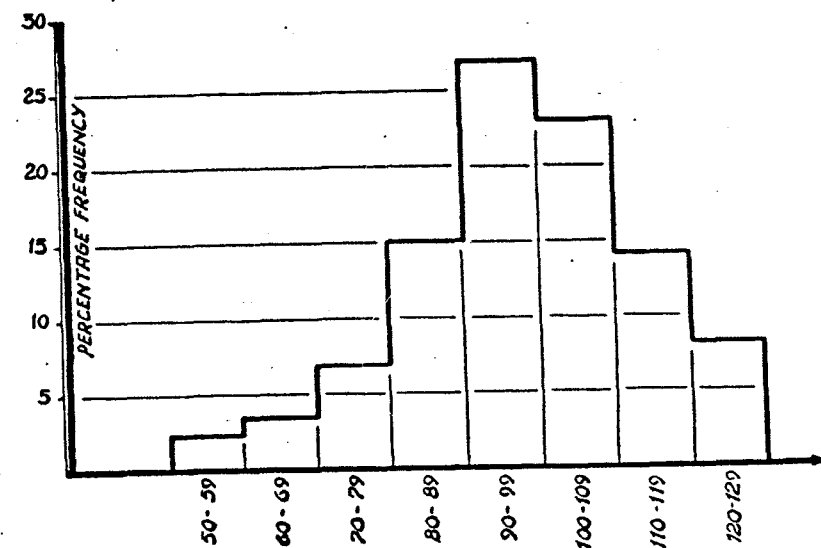


Fig. 2.

Distribution of I.Q. in 256 "front combatants."

TABLE 10

Division of age groups of front combatants (privates).

Age	18-20	21-23	24-26	27-29	30-32	33-35	36-38	39-41	42-44	45-47	48-50	51-53	54-56
No.	3	42	93	69	32	13	18	11	2	10	0	2	2

for the prisoners have been compared with the M-values of the post-war recruits. The difference, being in all groups in favour of the prisoners, are given in a special column. Apart from the results from the S.S.-Guard, all the differences are statistically significant.

TABLE 11

Category.

Category	M	σ	M-prisoners -M-recruits	N
All prisoners	37.28 \pm 0.35	8.95	5.10	646
Front combatants (privates)	38.11 \pm 0.52	9.05	5.93	301
Front combatants (privates) born 1920 or later	38.41 \pm 0.67	7.83	6.23	138
Front combatants (officers)	44.22 \pm 1.40	5.15	12.04	18
S.S.-Guard	32.58 \pm 2.75	11.35	0.40	17
Post-war recruits	32.18 \pm 0.12	9.18	0	5750

The total average result for all prisoners is of modified interest and does not allow any definite conclusions as to the general intellectual level of the traitors. This is the case also of the officers and the S.S.-Guard—the groups are too small. We notice, however, that the test-results for the S.S.-Guard are significantly lower than for the other groups of prisoners. Concerning the front combatants tested, it seems correct to conclude that they offer a positive selection intellectually. We may object to the comparison with post-war recruits, that the front combatants (privates) are better educated, and can answer all sorts of tests more easily; further that they have been interested in doing their best in order to prove their superiority. Even so we think it justifiable to suppose a higher intelligence for the front combatants than for the average population of the same age. This is the reason why they wanted, and got, a better education.

The variation in intelligence is illustrated in Table 12, where the different performances are recorded. We have given the percentage division of each test-class of front combatants (privates) and of recruits. By using test-classes it is easier to classify the results than by

using rough-scores. We used a scale divided into 9. The test-classes 4, 5, and 6 are different degrees of average performances. The test-classes 7, 8, and 9 are respectively a little, more, and much more above the average, as the classes 1, 2, and 3 express performances below the normal.

TABLE 12

Percentage distribution to test-classes for front combatants (privates) and post-war recruits.

Category	Cl. 1.	Cl. 2.	Cl. 3.	Cl. 4.	Cl. 5.	Cl. 6.	Cl. 7.	Cl. 8.	Cl. 9.
Front combatants (privates)	3.0	1.7	3.9	6.7	13.2	21.6	23.6	17.6	9.9
Front combatants (privates) born 1920 or later	1.5	0.7	3.6	8.0	10.9	26.1	24.6	13.0	11.6
Post-war recruits	6.6	4.8	11.9	15.1	21.6	19.1	13.7	6.4	1.8

On the whole it seems justifiable to say that the intellectual equipment of the front combatants is somewhat above the average.

Personality types. The examination could not be as thorough as desirable, and it is difficult to give a reliable psychiatric diagnosis for each person. The great exceptions from the normal average, however, seem to be included, but the examination does not pretend to be an exact characterological analysis of the case material.

We have already mentioned the intelligence test. If we compare the test results with school-certificates and descriptions of behaviour, we find that 11 % must be classified as mentally handicapped. About 40 % of this category show social maladjustment, and most of them (76 %) had bad homes. The corresponding figures for the ordinary cases are 5.4 % and 40 %.

The individuals with exceptional personalities, without any mental deficiency, are of a greater interest, especially a small group of 10 typical sthenics (2.9 %), normally or highly gifted persons, oppositionists, energetic types with gifts of leadership and ability to form opinions, but without definite psycho-pathological features.

In 15 cases (4.4 %) we found distinct defects of character, without mental deficiency, 1 emotionally cold dysthymic, 2 distinctly insecure, restless neurotics, 1 post-concussion state, 1 with a tendency towards reactive depression, 4 schizoids, 1 idle, weak-willed alcoholic, 1 isolated dreamer and idealist, 2 weak neurotics, and finally 1 passive suggestible person with a tendency towards reactive depression. These 15 cases would generally be called psychopaths.

For several other front combatants distinctive psychic anomalies are found, such as slightly neurotic features, a tendency towards depression, slight schizothymia, hyperthymia, hypersensibility, but the features have not been dominating the personality or the behaviour of the person in a decisive way. 7 of them (4.6 %) must be characterized as distinctly schizothymics. They have all been treated in hospital during their stay in prison, mainly for anxiety-neurosis. 2 persons have suffered from a schizophrenic psychosis. When they were examined, they seemed to be without emotional reactions, but also without psychotic symptoms. 50 % of those with exceptional personalities come from bad homes and 25 % have been socially maladjusted.

A short summary concerning the distinctly exceptional characters is added here:

1. Born 1922: Cold, dysthymic, indifferent, taciturn, suicidal thoughts, brought up in an infant home, mother died when he was 4 years old. Secondary school, refused to be tested. Considerable abuse of alcohol. Motive: Wanted to help Finland.

2. Born 1917: Technical evening school. Neurotic, uncertain, restless. I.Q. 79. Poorly adjusted to work. Treated in hospital for neurosis. Motive: Craving for adventure.

3. Born 1914: Taint of insanity in the family, mother died early. Studied law. Matrice 49. Markedly weak character, neurotic. Motive: Sense of duty.

4. Born 1909: Severe, not understanding father, who died early. Secondary school. Unstable character, artistically gifted, subparanoid, substable, matrice 27 (too low). Motive: Enthusiasm for Finland.

5. Born 1924: From a Methodistic narrow-minded home, good adjustment at school, secondary school. Matrice 49, substable, supervalid. Motive: Craving for adventure.

6. Born 1912: Technical secondary school. Matrice 41. Stubborn, tendency towards reactive depression and explosions. Motive: Threatened by Chief of Police.

7. Born 1920: Happy family life, strong Nazi influence, ran away from religious environment. Matrice 40, I.Q. 95 (too low). Stubborn, difficult, schizoid, oppositional. Motive: Idealism.

8. Born 1921: Bad conditions at home, father received public aid, mother alcoholic, father died early. Lazy, not interested at school, refused testing. Passive, weak-willed, neurotic, depressed. Motive: Abuse of alcohol, influenced by environment.

9. Born 1920: Mother died early, stepmother. Matriculation; well adjusted, but not self-reliant. I.Q. 114. Absent-minded, dreamer, idealist. Very religious, poetically gifted. Motive: Idealism.

10. Born 1893: Mother epileptic. Officer. Neurotic, weak-willed, reactive depressions, poorly adjusted. Wanted to fight as an officer. Motive: Craving for success?

11. Born 1923: Happy home. Matriculation. Quarrelsome. Matrice 41, sthenic, schizoid, one-sided. Motive: Idealism.

12. Born 1922: Father given to drinking. Nazi. Dissenter school. Secondary school. Matrice 37. Schizoid, oppositional. Passing schizophreniform psychosis

13. Born 1923: Parents Nazi. Only primary school, bad marks in industry and order. Matrice 35. Suspicious, introvert, schizoid. Motive: Not known.

14. Born 1895: Happy family life. Non-commissioned officer. I.Q. 93. Lazy, alcoholic, weak-willed. Nervous period. Poor social adjustment. Motive: Influenced by N.S.-environment.

15. Born 1911: Tainted family. Father died early. Secondary school, good adjustment. I.Q. 100. Weak, superficial, suggestible, reactive depressions, poor social adjustment.

Summing up, three fourths of the cases have no exceptional features. They are emotionally rather stable, with normal strength of character, and they are well balanced. We also find that they have shown good social adjustment, and submitted to the stay in prison without losing their spiritual balance. It was not found necessary to differentiate the various normal types of personality, as might perhaps have been done.

Mental and physical health.

123 of the 343 cases, 35.8 %, were taken to the prison-hospital during the term of imprisonment. They were mainly treated for the common somatic diseases, and it would be going too far to include this matter here. Generally speaking, the state of health was good. 11 had moderate trouble after previous concussion of the brain, only one was taken to hospital with meningo-encephalopathia traumatica, 9 were invalids from the wounds they got during service at the front. According to case-books and out-patient records a total of 27 showed positive signs of nervous disease in prison. The trouble nearly always was reactive depressions caused by the internment, fear of the future, divorce, in one case a depression together with a critical change in his attitude towards spiritual values.

Summary of hospital-treated neuroses:

Born 19.5.20. In ward 19.12.46, appendicitis, and 24.2-26.2.47, neurosis. Stammering after scarlatina when 4 years old. In prison critical change in attitude towards life—conversion. Dreamer, writes long and vague poems, has visions without psychotic features.

Born 21.12.21. In ward 25.7.-5.8.1946, vegetative symptoms, slightly apprehensive, but well compensated.

Born 28.8.93. In ward during nearly the whole stay for debility. Neurasthenia, depressio mentis. Divorce-situation. Unusual character, slightly weak-willed, unsatisfied ambitions before the war.

Born 19.11.14. In ward 10.8.45 because of neurosis. Musician, neurosis from before the war. In ward 10.8.45 because of neurosis. Musician, neurosis from before the war. In ward 10.8.45 because of neurosis. Musician, neurosis from before the war.

460

cause of neurosis. Always restless and unsettled, in prison anxiety neurosis with pronounced vegetative symptoms. Fairly well adjusted.

Born 11.2.1915. In ward 29.9.-2.10.1946 with gastritis chronica. Neurosis. Schizothymic, weeping, no severe neurotic symptoms.

Born 6.9.1917. In ward 8.7.-29.7.1946. 1943 post-diphtheritic paresis. In prison anxiety neurosis with pronounced vegetative symptoms. Cured after careful examinations in hospital.

Born 13.10.1911. In ward 14.9.-2.10.1946 because of neurosis. Restless, depr. reaction to cell, solitary confinement. Subsolid.

Born 10.2.1906. In ward 24.11.-29.11.1946 because of neurosis. (Cor nervosum). Debility, reactive depression, anxious about family. Vegetative symptoms. Improvement.

Born 19.11.1922. In ward 3.9.-14.9.1946 because of psychosis ex const. Debility, fosterchild. Psychotic paroxysm with depression and slightly narrowed consciousness,—connected with religious crisis. Rapid improvement and later no adjustment difficulties.

Born 8.6.1917. In ward 23.5.-9.10.1947 because of hebephrenia. Psychiatric ward in 1939. Autistic, irrelevant laughter. Stereotyped, but no manifest process psychosis. In 1946, after judicial observation, not insane.

The total picture shows a predominance of healthy and industrious young men, only slightly affected by their participation in the war. Adjustment in prison caused practically no difficulties.

One of the prisoners has tried to express his reactions to the situation during the war in the following letter:

An immature boy of 17, heavily armed, really had very great power and authority in the army. When the fighting goes on, every soldier may do what he likes with the civilian population. He might kill or arrest any suspect person, and he might requisition all sorts of food and goods from anybody. The Russians were looked upon as "coloured people" in the same class as Indians and Arabs, and they were fought as if they were. As we know, the Soviet Union does not belong to the International Red Cross, and is governed in a despotic, half-Asiatic way, not shrinking from any means. The population belongs to a cultural standard considerably below the European average. Both parts disregarded the usual rules of the game. As compared with normal civilian life, front life is criminal, scandalous. Nothing counts, except to be safe and secure oneself. In order to survive we requisition the poor farmer's only pig, and occupy the houses, requisition furniture, conveyance, and food in a burnt and devastated town. During the fight we shoot what has to be shot, and more, otherwise we should have been killed ourselves. We steal the boots off the corpses and still, in normal life we are considered worthy citizens, but we do not feel split by this. The brutal morale of the war is, to a certain degree, acknowledged by international law, blessed by the Church and accepted by all nations who have ever been in war. We get cold and indifferent, we defend ourselves by getting brutal."

This letter is believed to represent the view of the group examined.

461

Motives.

This information ought to end in an adequate answer to the question: Why did these men join Hitler's armed forces? Some answers have already been given. The reason was not primarily mental debility and pathological characters. The author has tried to start discussions with the prisoners in order to make clear what was, according to their own words and explanations, their conception of their action and exploits. There are many possible sources of error. First, there is the risk that they will tell what might please the examiner, secondly, the prisoner wants to be loyal and faithful to the parole of giving only standard answers, reflecting the noblest motives, thirdly, he is of course the victim of a rationalizing tendency in himself,—and lastly—the examiner's possibility of evaluating the answers is limited. The author is under an impression, however, that the testees on the whole did their best to give correct answers.

TABLE 13
Personal motives.

Personal motives	Total	Per cent
A. Not dependent on political views	86	26
B. Political conviction	24	7.2
Fear of Russia, "the Communists"	59	17.8
Enthusiasm for Finland	51	15.3
Sense of duty, readiness to make a sacrifice	85	25.6
Victim to propaganda	27	8.1

Ad A: Every fourth front combatant in this information has stated their exploits were essentially due to circumstances, not depending on their attitude towards the political fight. Analysing the real motives, we often find (24 of the 86 (28 %)) that they wanted to travel and see something new and exciting. These were often weak, primitive types, easily influenced by casual acquaintances, without any political basis whatsoever. 13 (15.1 %) left for the front as a result of family conflicts, broken engagement, divorce. In 6 cases (7 %) it had been an escape-reaction, and the application for the front is to be considered as a neurotic solution of an unbearable problem. 13 (15 %) wanted to leave difficult conditions of work. Here we find, for instance, the workers in factories in Germany. When they applied for the front, they were promised a return home after 6 months' service, and then further training in Norway. One of them tried to escape when he was on leave in Norway, but was captured by the Germans, and got a long term of imprisonment. 4 (4.7 %) were in a desperate economic situation. Sur-

rounded by creditors, they preferred to go to the front. 5 (5.8 %) avoided prison by applying—a surprisingly small figure, because real enlisting took place in prison. 11 (12.8 %) said that they had been forced or fooled to enlist. Some of them were N. S.-members, who much against their wish had to join the armed forces. Some of them were mentally handicapped and did not understand what was happening to them before they found themselves in uniform.

TABLE 14
Not political motives.

	Total	Per cent
Craving for adventure	24	28.0
Bad economy	4	4.7
Family conflict	13	15.1
Bad working conditions	13	15.1
Escape imprisonment	5	5.8
Escape-reaction	6	7.0
Forced	11	12.8
Miscellaneous	10	11.5

Summing up, this group seems to show the most negative selection, with many mentally deficient and primitive cases, having in advance shown maladjustment. 36 % of the exceptional personalities wanted to go to the front from non-political motives, and to this group belong only 20 % of the characterologically normal cases. *Ad B:* It is most important, but very difficult, to divide the other main group, as the categories overlap. In the modest proportion of 7.2 % we count that a definite political opinion made them enter the fight actively. These are persons with a solid pre-war Nazi view of life. Even in this group, however, it was difficult to find a deeper comprehension of the real line of distinction between the two political ideologies during the war. They still kept all the postulates and catchwords of Nazi ideology, but none of them could, for instance, explain clearly in what way Hitler had infringed the usual West European principles of human rights.

The two next categories show more emotional motives. The fear of the Communists was often quite inadequately motivated, and they had swallowed downright lies. Speaking of Finland-enthusiasm we want to mention that 5.8 % of the total had already applied during the first winter-war, and they did not understand what should keep them from going on helping Finland. A very large group (25.6 %) had entered the war from a sense of duty. They were partly former N. S.-members, looking upon the front service as a natural consequence of their mem-

bership. Some of them were politically quite untrained people who wanted to do something for their country in this way. We find real idealists, led by their best principles. They had been much more strongly Nazi-influenced at home than the other groups. Many of the homes had been bad in other ways. Their intelligence is higher than the average, and their characters also represent a positive selection.

The last group is a mixed one: they had been led passively to front service without any personal opinion, sometimes because of emotional connection with a Nazi environment.

FINAL REMARKS. SOCIAL READJUSTMENT

To sum up the most important points of the information, one might say that the front combatants mostly consist of normally gifted, mentally and physically healthy individuals with good social adjustment. The reason for their tragedy is primarily to be found in their environment, which was often strongly Nazi-influenced and also insufficient in other ways—exposing these young persons more than usual to the unscrupulous propaganda.

Immediately after the liberation nearly all the front combatants willingly admitted that it had been necessary to intern them. As late as in the summer of 1946 nearly half of them (44 %), 176 examined prisoners, admitted that their foolish behaviour had to be punished, although they thought the punishment too severe, and they pretended to have been sincere. But in time their attitude has become more dis-oblighing. The criticism of the sentences has become severer and in the autumn of 1947 they very rarely admitted any guilt at all. On the contrary—they now claimed rehabilitation, even those who first admitted not having had any political motives for their service in the German army. One might have feared that social adjustment would be difficult after the release. This did not seem to happen, however.

The author has sent a questionnaire to 88 released front combatants—31 have answered. They have all got work, only two had met trouble in their work. One says: "Released Oct. 14th, 1947. Started my own business the next day with a capital of kr. 30. Now employing 7 fellow prisoners."

The front combatants seem to have been socially well adjusted after their discharge. It appears that the large majority have returned to the community without any serious difficulties. Up to June 1954 only 19 of the 343 front combatants examined (6.2 %), have been brought to trial again for different offences. These have been committed during the years 1947-52, and do not seem to be connected with special circum-

stances in relation to the release. Only 3 cases are serious ones (robbery, sexual offence) the rest are of a trifling nature, petty thefts, minor offences against the traffic regulations, etc.

In 3 cases the offenders have been influenced by their former political activities (help to escape from prison camps).

6 of these 19 offenders come from good homes and were previously well adjusted. The remaining 13 have exceptional personalities, 7 of them are mentally deficient, 3 were delinquents before the war.

SUMMARY

The material consists of 343 front combatants. The investigation was carried out at Lillebu Prison (the main post-war prison of Norway for traitors to the realm). 73.5 % of the cases presented were 25 years or younger in 1941, 8.1 % were less than 18 years old.

The largest group come from solid middle class homes. 53 % come from Oslo and the urban surroundings, 32 % come from the comparatively dense population of the Eastern districts, and 15 % from Southern, Western and Northern Norway. More than 50 % were brought up in homes which would be considered as unsatisfactory. In 40.7 % of the cases parents or older siblings were members of "Nasjonal Samling" (N.S.). Only 21 % of the cases were brought up in good homes, with satisfactory relations between the members, and without any Nazi influence. 44 % of the front combatants have passed through the secondary school or higher education. It seems justified to assume that the front soldiers had better school education than the rest of the population of the same age. The adjustment to work has been generally good. Only 10.7 % of the cases show signs of maladjustment. 19.8 % have been members of political youth organisations, more than half of them Nazi ones. 6.7 % of the front combatants have never been members of N.S. 38 % have been married. 23.8 % of the marriages ended in divorce. None of them showed any marked sexual abnormalities. Most of the cases were indifferent as regards religious interests. The front combatants offer a positive selection intellectually, with an intellectual equipment somewhat above the average. 11 % must be qualified as mentally handicapped. 4.4 % show distinct defects of character, without mental deficiency. Three fourths of the cases showed no exceptional features, 35.8 % were treated for usual somatic diseases during the term of punishment, 27 cases (7.8 %) showed positive signs of nervous disease. 26 % joined the Nazi army from personal motives independent of political view (such as family-conflicts, economic difficulties, etc.). This group seems to show the most negative

selection. 7.2 % joined the army because of their political opinion. 25.6 % entered the war from a sense of duty. The front combatants seem to have been socially well adjusted after their discharge. Only 19 (6.2 %) have been brought to trial again, and their offences are minor ones. The rest appears to have returned to the community without any serious difficulties.

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