

## THE PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS IN NORWAY DURING WWII

### Nasjonal Samling's Jewish policy.

At 2:40 A.M. October 24, 1945, police guards took Vidkun Quisling and, in a courtyard, stood him up against a wall before a military execution squad. He had been found guilty for many charges, including murder and treason, and sentenced to death. One of the major charges that the State Prosecutor alleged was the mass deportation of Jews and confiscation of Jewish goods during the German Occupation. But was he responsible for these charges? How could he be found guilty for something he never did or ~~was~~ never involved with? Which was the role played by the Norwegian London government in the exile and the one played by the collaborationist party Nasjonal Samling led by Quisling? And how reacted the Home Resistance movement? In most history books these questions are still unanswered.

Vidkun Quisling and Nasjonal Samling's role during the war is revisited here in this concrete but crucial episod of European Jewry's history which debate is still open.

#### The Jewish immigration to Norway

The Norwegian Jewish community was small and without any big influence in the country's life despite some well known Jews that were members of the "Storting" (parliament) such as Carl Johan Hambro, the parliament's President before the war. For centuries there had been no Jews in the country at all and their immigration was discouraged by law and custom. The first Norwegian constitution (*Grunnloven*), drafted in 1814, barred the entry of Jews to the country. They were viewed as threatening strangers, but the reasons were more theological. In 1851 these restrictions was lifted and soon arrived the first Jews, growing up to some thousands before WWII thanks to the arrival of Eastern Jews that left Russia and Poland during the pogroms of the end of last century. In Norway the antisemitical propaganda was insignificant but existed, leaded by marginal publications such as RAGNARÖK or FRÖNTEN, edited by Eugen Nilsen, with contacts with the Welt Dienst, an semiofficial German organization that promoted anti-Semitism in Europe. It was no like the neighbour country, Sweden, were the antijewish lobbies were attached to influential circles (1). Norway in the 1930s was one of the few places in Europe where Jews could still live quietly. The anti-semitism in the radical Right or the nationalists groups was not developed in Norway,

apart from some members that propagated against Jews and free-masons. The biggest nationalist party, *Nasjonal Samling* (National Union) founded in 1933 by the former Defense Minister Vidkun Quisling (1887-1945), had no any antisemitical proposals in their party program and their leaders expressed no open anti-Semitism even if it can be found some antisemitical views individually in some party members, as in other Right linked movements.

#### War comes to Norway

April 9, 1940 the German invasion changes drastically the situation. After a short resistance the Norwegian troops surrendered, the losses were few and the Government as well as the King left the country and seek refuge in Great Britain. German authorities appointed a provisional Cabinet of Norwegian members to keep the order in the country and save the population from the severity of war conditions. The main collaboration party became *Nasjonal Samling* and his leader, Vidkun Quisling, was promoted to Minister President in February 1942.

The German attitude against the Norwegian Jews was soft during the first months of the Occupation. Obviously some minor incidents occurred such as the smashing of the synagogue of Trondheim or the release of the visible signs of Jewish live from the

streets.

The only real action against Jews during the first months of the German Occupation was the confiscation of all radios belonging to Jews. The Norwegian police received on May 10, 1940 instructions to collect them all. First in the Oslo district and later in the rest of the country. Jews cooperated as well as the Norwegian police, in fact this was not considered as an antisemitic action at all, but the results were not so successful as expected, only a few Jewish houses were registered (2). This was just understood as a common practice during war conditions, and in August 1941 all the radios were confiscated, even belonging to non-Jews.

German authorities tried to work the Jewish question without involving the Norwegian authorities and they did not press them until the war with Russia started. In Nasjonal Samling the antisemitic groups were now more active, thanks to the German support, but the official line of the party was still the same. When young members of the Hird (3) the night to the March 30, 1941, painted some insulting slogans on Jewish shops in Oslo, with insults such as "*Palestina is calling you. Jews are not tolerated in Norway*", they received a severe corrective from the party officials. Quisling claimed immediately for more discipline in the ranks of the party. He, as well as the Jewish affairs expert of the party, Mrs Halldis Næsgård Østbye, were against the idea of imposing the Jewish star on their clothes or other discriminatory measures. When the German authorities suggested this to Quisling he clearly rejected it and this never became effective in Norway during all the war long. The only real antisemitical action was limitation Jews had to work in some professions such as in the Medical or the Lawyer's Associations.

In June 1941, when the war in the East started, some Jews of Russian or Baltic origin were arrested as well as around 60 living in the northern part of the country, close to the Russian border as part of a security action by the police, not due for any antisemitical actions. Most of them were released some weeks after and made their way out from Norway into Sweden. Later that year, in October, the Norwegian minister of Justice called on the provincial governors to submit inventories of Jewish-owned real estate and companies. At the same time the German authorities asked the Norwegian police to start the registration of the Jews living in the country, until then not even a register existed of them. In January 1942 the Norwegian Police made public that all the Jewish identity cards had to be stamped with the letter J. The criteria was that the bearer had to be full (i.e.

with 3 full Jewish grandparents or 2 if the bearer considered himself as Jewish). The Norwegian government, led by Quisling, considered this as normal and that this was a current Norwegian affair to keep registers over the population that may be could provoke any disturb the political order. Such register existed also for former members of banned political parties or criminals. No one considered it as a first step or a collaboration to destroy the Norwegian Jewry. It is curious to verify that in this case the Norwegian Jews cooperated completely, curious as at this stage the civil disobedience was high and in crescendo in the rest of the population but not between the Jews. The result was that 1419 adults (15 year and older) were registered as full Jews in Norway. Of them only 45% was Norwegian citizens (4). The party, as well as the German police, received copies of these lists.

The political attitude of Quisling and Nasjonal samling against the Jews had become more and more antisemitic but with other perspectives than the Germans. Quisling kept still the old fashioned antijewish feelings. He was educated in a Lutheran home (his family were all clergy), military and had been in Russia during the immediate postrevolution years where he saw the influence of the Jews in the Sovietic regime. He was convinced of the existence of an International Jewish Conspiracy but never expressed personal antipathy against Jews as individuals. His antisemitism was not racial, it was ideological. According to the way of considering the Jewish problem he reintroduced again by law the 12 March 1942 in the Constitution the prohibition to entry of Jews to the country. In an informal law proposal to the Minister President, Halldis Næsgård Østbye suggested that an "Aryan Law" would avoid the entry into the Public administration of the Jews as well the marriage of mixed couples, and that this could be useful for the country. After the war this proposal was used at the Court that condemned her to several years for her political activity during the war. The State prosecutor considered this proposal as cooperation with the extermination of the Norwegian Jews. The defense replied with the fact that all these proposals were done having in her mind that the Jews were going to stay in the country for many years, and therefore these rules were necessary. Obviously if she had even expected they were going to be exterminated she would not have proposed such long time actions! (5)

Obviously not all the party members followed Quisling's view of the Jewish problem, some even were filosemitic than him such as his Cabinet member Fredrik Prytz (6). On the other side, members of the Pangermanistic groups such as the

Germanic SS (7) or the Kamban Editions, the former "RAGNARÖK" magazine (8) were more radical in their solutions of the "Jewish problem". As part of their political intrigues the German Jewish experts and security officers supported these groups. They had the faith that this would help to spread their antisemitical opinions through the Norwegian public opinion but they would never succeed as their role in the Norwegian society, or even in the party, was completely marginal. Some government ministers were members of these groups such as the Justice Minister Sverre Riisnaes (9).

The German highest authority in the the country, the Reichskommissär Josef Terboven, was neither a radical antisemit and reported clearly that in his correspondence with the party authorities at Berlin. *"The Jewish question racially and economically considered does not have any important role in Norway"* wrote Terboven to Reichsminister Rosenberg February 24, 1941 and his behaviour as Gauleiter in Germany had always been respectful towards the Jewish population and this would also be his attitude in Norway during the war despite the efforts of the German security police and the Jewish Affairs experts of the SS (10). November 6, 1942, after the first mass action against Jews Terboven wrote to Berlin complaining that *"In Norway it exists around 1200 racialJews, they have been living quietly and retired. They have never succeeded in taking positions in the economical live of Norway. It can be found good peasants and craftsmans whitin them that are respected, and they have been considered until today as absolute loyal citizens."* (11)

The demonized image of Terboven as a Jew hater has to be changed.

### The arrest of Jews in Norway

The first mass action, which included physical threats, against Jews was the detention and killing of five Jews at Trondheim in March 1942. They were executed after being condemned for spreading news about war based on the BBC broadcasts. The German and Norwegian police made some raids against Jews in this town and arrested several of them. This was an individual action, supported openly by the local Norwegian Governor, and can not be considered as an example of the attitude the rest of the party leaders were going to accept if they came in the same position. Despite some historians (Mandelsohn) who interpret these actions as an experiment from German authorities according to instructions received from Berlin, we can now state without mistaking that this was not part of a

prepared antisemitical action. Listening to the BBC was a crime for all Norwegians punished with the death penalty, but the highest punishment was not meted out normally and surely the condition of Jews helped that they receive the death sentence. Party members of NS serving at the police tried to stop it.

News of the Trondheim's arrests sent hundreds of Jews fleeing across the border to Sweden, at least 500-600 in some weeks, but the majority hesitated still to leave their homes and jobs as they felt safe. The Jews who decided to leave Norway were helped sometimes by professional smugglers as well as by resistance members, who many times took advantage of the weak Jewish refugees and robbed them. The most famous and dramatic episode was the Feldmann's case. This Jewish couple was assaulted by the resistance members that was supposed to help them over the border. They were killed and the bodies found some days later. After the war these criminals were put on trial but found not guilty by the Court that estimated that their crime was necessary ! They defended themselves arguing that they were resistance members and that their work as smugglers was more important than this "small" incident ! The death of this innocent Jewish couple and the theft of the jewels and 70.000 Norwegian Kroner, a fortune then, remained without punishment (12).

In one of these border crossings, on October 22, 1942, a Norwegian policeman was shot by the leader of a group of Jews trying to escape to Sweden. The killed policeman was member of the party. The party press and the government members accused the Jews generally. A wave of rethoric antisemitism crossed along the country and the windows of some Jewish shops were crushed by Hird members.

On October 24 the Reichssicherheitshauptamt in Berlin, led by Ernst Kaltenbrunner, gave instructions to their representatives at Oslo, Wagner and Fehlis, who directly informed the Norwegian Police Chief, General Karl Marthinsen, that all the adult Jews, male between 15 and 61 years, had to be detained. Most surely the German police authorities were aware that this was the moment to act, now or never, as the Quisling government was still affected by the situation and would surely not react. The Germans knew that many members of leading posts of Nasjonal Samling would support this mass action. Although it has been stated that neither Quisling was informed, nor the Justice Minister Sverre Riisnaes nor Jonas Lie, the Police Minister, leaving the party free from any charge (13).

To be able to detain the Jews legally the Justice department had to propose a law same day to

Quisling. This law made it possible for the Norwegian police to detain citizens without needing to have motives that could be proved in front of a Court, now it was enough that the person was suspected to be a criminal. On October 26 Jews from all the country were detained by the Norwegian police. In a couple of days around 300 men were interned at the Berg's internment camp. The women and children had only the obligation to remain at their homes. Same day the Quisling government approved a Law confiscating Jewish real estate and assets. This would be one of the most discussed and misunderstood actions of the Nasjonal Samling's regime but decisive to interpret Quisling's role in the persecution of the Norwegian Jews.

The arrested Jews were still under Norwegian jurisdiction and therefore Quisling, who expressed his opposition to this kind of mass actions, gave instructions the 7 november that all over 65 year should be immediately released. At same time the "half" and "one quarter" jews received instructions to register their whereabouts, this time without any good results as they feared also to be detained some day. This should not be considered as an effort to contribute to the German led "Holocaust" but as a way to interfere in their planes. Quisling considered the Norwegian Jews as a national question and therefore they should not to be disturbed by the Germans. In many ocasions the Nasjonal Samling's officials boycotted themselves the action (14).

For the rest of the war, apart from the deportations that would be effective some weeks later, there were not introduced, neither by the Germans nor by the Norwegians, any other discriminatory mesures against the remaining Jews. Many of them lived quietly until the Liberation in Norway. The only exception was the Law of March 1943 that barred the entry of Jews into the Labour Service ("Arbeidstjenesten"). The only places were you could have a real problem if you was a Jew was in organizations such as "Germanske SS Norge" where you had to prove that you had no Jewish origins, or if you wanted to make carrier in the party.

### The deportation

Despite the efforts of the Norwegian autorites to keep the controll over the detained Jews in their camps the Germans worked to get them deported out from the country. November 26, 1942 Gestapo ordered the Norwegian Police to arrest all the Jews and lead them to the harbour were they were going to be deported to Germany in the A/S Donau. 532

Jews were finally deported. This arrest and deportation were done again without the acknowledge of Quisling and his government. When he was informed he became angry and tried to detain it but it was too late. The Commerce and supply Ministry received instructions to supply them with foods and what they would need for the travel. No one in the government or the police could imagine that the Jews were going to be deported to Auschwitz, where the living conditions would be terrible at the end of the war and would kill almost all the deportees. Historians has stated that no one in the Quisling government knew the fate of the Jews in East Europe despite their communication channels with Germany and the Resistance in England, it was only after the war when they realized the heavy conditions they had suffered (15). Therefore they can not be considered as responsible for this. Terboven's responsibility is unclear, as it seems that he was not informed.

The action set off immediately protests by Norwegian clergymen and educators. During the trial against Quisling it was shown the letter of protest received the 11 november 1942 from 5 Bishops, 25 Christian organizations and many theologs. They protested not for the action of arresting the Jews but for the confiscation of the properties ! The Public opinion saw the actions against the Jews with no simpathy but did not protest as they had done in other ocassions. The real main opposition came from the ranks of Nasjonal Samling. Influential groups in the party reacted immediately against it. The well known party member priest Lars Frøyland oposed publically from his parish the action, Bishop Dagfinn Zwilgmeyer dimited from the party also in protest. The Governor of Hedmark reported that the case creates a conscience problem for many partymembers (16). Internal party publications, such as the NS/Manedshefte 1942/12, also critized the antisemitical action. Quisling answered in December clearly to this internal opposition that the question was over and no more discussion would be tolerated: "*There are many who say that a Jew cannot be expelled simply because he is a Jew. In my opinion, no such reasoning could be more superficial... So one sees the depth of this problem, which stems from a world problem. For us, there can be no compromise.*" (17)

Despite this initial opposition, the Jewish question dissapeared soon from the propaganda and was not considered longer as a problem. Quisling, who wanted only to preserve the independence of Norway accepted the fact that the Jews had been deported to the new settlement areas and considered the case as closed. High ranking members of the party that were at the East Front at

this time even did not know about the deportation of the Jews until after the war, such little was the interest for the Jewish question during the war in Norway (18). Some other high party members had close friends that were Jew or even family members, such was the case of the wife of the son of the Nobel prize winner and National poet, Björnstjerne Björnson, or the wife of the Norwegian SS-Obersturmbannführer and Police Commander Egil Hoel, who commanded several Waffen SS units at the front with the knowledge of the SS Hauptamt of his situation. Justice Minister Sverre Riisnaes protected Jewish friends during the war, despite his anti-Semitism that made him to write gladly to his friend in 1942, the Police Minister Jonas Lie, that *"Now are we going to be quitted with the Jews !"* (19).

January 15, 1943 registered "full Jews" married with non-Jews were arrested, the 19 same month the Jews with Hungarian, Rumanian and Italian citizenship were detained despite the protests of their diplomatic legations. In February 1943 the second and last transport of 158 Jews were sent to Germany. This was the last action against Jews in Norway amounting a total of 759 deportees by some historians and 690 following German figures (20).

### The confiscation of the Jewish wealth

During the trial against Vidkun Quisling one of the main questions became the controversial Law of October 26, 1942 confiscating all the properties belonging to Jews. The case had a special incidence in the Norwegian public opinion even greater than the question of the deportation itself.

Certainly the main goal of this law was to avoid that the German authorities could simply occupy and steal the properties belonging to the Jew arguing that there was "war occupied goods" as they had done with the radios confiscated in the autumn 1941. The same day the Norwegian police was detaining Jews, Quisling and his Justice Minister Riisnaes met to elaborate this law, suggested by Hagelin, his advisor and well known filosemit despite his strong progerman feelings. As Minister of Interior Hagelin had to sign the laws of October 25 and November 17, 1942, and this was used as part of the accusation against him after the war (21).

The law was a copy of the already existing Law of confiscation of property belonging to enemies of the State but with two important differences: Firstly that the law considered confiscated all the

properties with retroactive from October 22, i. e. before the police action. Then they could avoid that the German Occupation authorities could consider that the goods already belonged to them. Secondly the properties were going to become part of the State's Treasury, as a deposit, and not to a social fund as in the old law (22). The properties would be managed by the Finance ministry, listed each individual owner, and therefore they would avoid that the ownership could disappear or be confused. A Liquidation committee was appointed with clear instructions to preserve the real estate and value goods. The rest of the goods, that could not be preserved, were sold in public auction and the funds raised credited each Jewish owner's account. Not even the expenses for managing the committee could be deducted from the accounts. Over 1200 names of Jewish accounts were listed. Thanks to this most valuable goods were deposited and safe, as well as the real estate and each Jewish family received in return their properties when the war ended. This was a unique case in Europe.

### The resistance and the London governments reaction

One of the darkest sides of the deportation of the Norwegian Jews is the role played by the Norwegian Government-in-Exile that was installed at London under British protection. They officially represented during WWII the Norwegian interest worldwide. As consequence of this they should have reacted against the deportation of Norwegian citizens and especially if they were slaughtered at Auschwitz. The Norwegian Government-in-Exile was recognized by all the Allied nations and maintained contact with occupied Norway through the Norwegian section of the Special Operations Executive (SOE), sending messages and frequently dropping agents by parachute. They had therefore good information, through their homecountry as well as from the Allies secret services, about the fate of the Norwegian citizens deported to Germany. During the war they made almost no efforts to minimize the suffering of their compatriots at all, it was a propaganda goal to get worse conditions in Norway in order to press the population to a passive resistance. The only real action to try to save the Norwegian Jews was done in February 1943 when a proposal was delivered to the British War Cabinet's refugee Committee. The Committee met on February 19, Eden, the British Foreign Office's minister spoke about the different proposals received, for example the one from the Norwegian Government. The Norwegian Government claimed that around 500 Norwegian

Jews were going to be deported (after only 158 was deported in this action) to Germany and that they should be exchanged for the same number of German prisoners-of-war in Britain. But, as the minutes recorded, the Committee considered "that this proposal should not be entertained" (23) This either showed us a complete lack of humanity from the Allied when they knew the slaughtering that was supposedly taking place in Auschwitz or they did not consider that the Norwegian Jews had something to fear about. The case is that the Norwegian Government-in-Exile did not consider the case more.

In the occupied Norway the Home resistance movement was becoming more and more effective. Many clandestine newspapers were distributed. The question of the Norwegian Jews was never raised, apart from some cases where they mention them as part of the thousand Norwegian officers, students and political detainees that was deported to Germany. It is extremely strange to observe that, while they give almost exact figures of the Jewish deportees they do not even mention the possibility they could be killed, the resistance smuggled information constantly to SOE and the families of the deported Jews but never mentioned the supposedly slaughtering that was taking place at Auschwitz. This remained like this until the end of the war (24).

Being in contact with former Norwegian SOE officers regarding the engagement in Norway. All of them agrees on several points: first that they knew about the deportations due to the Government reports. Second that there were no planes to try to save them as the Danes did with their Jews. Third that the Norwegian Public opinion did not consider it as an important question and therefore no efforts should be taken risking their lives for this matter. And finally that they knew about the mass killing of the Norwegian Jews after the war.

### Conclusions

The purpose of this analysis was to outline the extent of anti-Semitism in Norway under WWII and consequences on the Jewish population, not to investigate the content of the truth in the "Holocaust" story and the fate of the Jews living in Norway after their deportation to the German concentration camps. The key figure of Vidkun Quisling, Nasjonal Samling's Jewish policy, if ever existed, and the Norwegian police's role had to be revisited in order to enable us to trace the situation of the Jews in Norway during the Occupation. The developments as traced here are in conflict with taboos of contemporary historians, especially nowadays when the 50th anniversary of the

Liberation is being celebrated in Norway with full "official" support.

As one would expect then the conclusions we get are far away from the widely accepted taboos of the postwar history:

1) The situation of the Jewish population in Norway during the years 1941-1945 can not be compared to the conditions they had in the rest of Europe. There were no anti-Jewish measures such as the obligation to wear the David star or the concentration in ghettos as in the rest of Europe. No mass detentions or mistreatments unless the cases of October and November 1942 were allowed not even forced labour were organised for Jews as it happened in countries not occupied by Germany such as Hungary or Bulgaria. No official anti-semitical propaganda was spreaded and in cases even ordered to be retired when it came from private sources. Many "full" and "half" Jews lived quietly until the end of the war after the dramatic episode of the autumn 1942.

2) The Norwegian police cooperated with the German security authorities in the set up of lists and detention of the Jews. This happened in all occupied Europe (25). Most of the policemen were not members of Nasjonal Samling and their cooperation had no ideological motives. In the postwar trial against Police Chief Knut Røed, the responsible for the Jewish action in October-November 1942, he was acquitted and found not guilty due to his engagement in the Resistance. His role in the deportation of the Jews was considered correct by the Court, and, consequently, his subordinates were not put on trial for this as he was the highest responsible of the Office. No one Norwegian policeman was condemned for the deportation of Jews. This does not mean that many individual policemen, who had been members of Nasjonal Samling, volunteers at the Easter Front ("Frontkjempers") or for other reasons, found that the State prosecutor used the deportation of the Jews as one of the points of the accusation, but never the central one (26).

3) According to the registration list there were 1419 adult (over 15 years old) "full Jews" living in Norway in the spring of 1942. Adding the children (estimated a 20%) we increase the figure to 1700. Of these only 45% were Norwegian citizens. Many had left before 1942 Norway through Sweden or simply rejected to fill the registration forms and camouflated themselves. Therefore the estimate given by German experts in 1938 considering the amount of Jews living in Norway 3500 is close to the real figure of Jews living in Norway when war

came, it also has to be taken in consideration that many Jewish refugees had reached the country during the prewar years doubling the Jewish population. To this we should also add the "halfJews" that in the rest of Europe was also detained but not in Norway.

The deportation reached totally 759 Jews living in Norway during the war. In two actions, 532 in 1942 and 158 in 1943, which means that some other must had been deported individually. This is an equivalent of 21 percent which is one of the smallest percentages in all Occupied Europe. In other side the death rate is one of the highest. Historians does not agree about the definitive figure of Norwegian Jews that died. Following one of Norways leading historians, Hans Fredrik Dahl, it was only 25 survivors, in other words 734 Jews from Norway perished reaching 96% death rate (27). Recently the British writer, Gerald Fleming, gave the figure of 677 which reduces the death figure to 89% (28).

4) The cases were the Norwegian Police and Norwegian authorities, many times members of Nasjonal Samling, helped Jewish citizens can not be underestimated. The smuggling over the Swedish border could only be done with their cooperation, many border guards just blinded their eyes. And the opposition to the introduction of discriminatory measures against them was thanks to the personal efforts by Vidkun Quisling. The main opposition to the German attitudes against Jews came from the ranks of the party.

The actions taken by the London Government-in-Exile and the Home resistance were almost none. Norwegian Jews were left at their own.

5) The confiscation of the Jewish properties in October 1942 had a clear intention: to preserve them for being confiscated by the German Occupation authorities and manage them until their Jewish owners could return to Norway after the war. Thank to this effort of listing each Jewish family's belongings, that took a lot of time and work for the Finance ministry, after the war the Jewish survivors could receive back their properties without big problems. This was the only country in Europe that this could be done so easy.

6) Vidkun Quisling and Nasjonal Samling never had or showed an official anti-semitical ideology. Neither the Norwegian leader's intellectual evolution nor in the party program it can be found any trace that they were planning to destroy physically the Norwegian Jews. During the prewar Quisling had expressed even the possibility of creating a Jewish nation (29) and when he

participated in the anti-Jewish congress at Frankfurt March 1941 he did propose again this idea: *"As the Jewish question can not be solved with simply destroying the Jews or sterilising them, then has...their parasite live to be stopped giving them, as all the other peoples of the world, their own country."* (30)

The propaganda issued during wartime even did not considered the Jewish problem, only a single poster contained a picture of a Jew, but not related to an anti-Jewish campaign but against the illegal listenings of the BBC's broadcasts (31)

All evidences show that they was not informed about the conditions of the Jews living under German rule. When Quisling was accused at the trial that was going to sentence him to death for cooperation in the extermination of the Jews he could only answer that:

*"I have during my life helped more Jews than any other in Norway, this can I safely state. I have in Russia delivered help to ten-thousands of Jews without any distinction. These abuses made against the Jews here in Norway, all them, were done coming from the German side..."* (32)

Despite the facts presented by the defense and the accused himself the Court sentenced him to death. One of the points stated in the sentence was that *"during all the Occupation and also before the accused expressed by writing and oratory his hate against Jews... he agreed that the Norwegian police helped to arrest de Jews that were going to be sent to Poland. He knew that this persecution of Jews would cost many Jews their live..."* (33)

In the Appeal made to the Supreme Court the Death sentence was confirmed even if the Highest Court stated, regarding the point of the Sentence that referred to the persecution of the Jews, that *"the base for the Sentence might be here also something distorted"* (34). What meant the Supreme Court with this affirmation? This is still a mystery. How will History judge Vidkun Quisling? Surely not as a Jew hater or killer.

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### Notes

1) See Eric Wärenstam's *Fascismen och nazismen i Sverige* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1972) or Holger Carlsson's *Nazismen i Sverige* (Stockholm: Trots allt!, 1942). A new study has been made by the Scholar Heléne Löw, *Hakkorsset och Wasakarven* (Göteborg: Historiska Institutionen, 1990). But this situation was common in other European countries, specially in France, even more than in Germany: see Ralph Schor's *L' Antisemitisme en France* (Bruxelles: Editions Complexe, 1992).

2) Ringdal, *Mellom barken og veden* p.230-231

3) A paramilitary branch of the party, similar to the German SA-Stormtroopers.

4) Ringdal, *Op.Cit.* p. 234.

5) Honestly realized and noted by Hans Fredrik Dahl, *Vidkun Quisling. En fører for fall* p. 373. For more details see records of her trial: Riksarkivet RA LD 5/49-50 Letter to Vidkun Quisling 7.10.1942. Halldis Neegaard Ostbye (1896-1983) was one of the most prominent Jewish experts of Norway. Survived the war.

6) Fredrik Prytz (1878-1945), cofounder of the party with Quisling, was Finance minister 1942-1945. About his protective role of the Norwegian Jews see: Hans Fredrik Dahl, *Op.Cit.* p. 374. It must be considered that he, as many high NS officials, was Free-mason.

7) A political organization, officialy part of Nasjonal Samling but independent, created in may 1941 as a copy of the German SS. Their ideology was built on the ground of the creation of a Germanic federation of nations after the war.

8) Circle of intellectuals such as Per Inerslund, well known writer who died at the Eastern front serving as volunteer in the Waffen SS, or Hans S. Jacobsen, who became provincial Governor at Moss during the war. Nor of them were antisemitical in violent manners, Hans Jacobsen gave personally instructions to avoid any action against Jewish shops in his province and keep it during all the war. During the first months of the Occupation, before he was appointed Governor, he was even detained for helping Jews, *Cit.* by Ralph Hewins, *Quisling, profet uten åre*, p. 343.

9) See Øystein Sørensen's study *Hitler eller Quisling. Ideologiske brytninger i Nasjonal Samling 1940-1945* (Oslo: Cappelen, 1989) is the most thoughtfull work covering the ideological aspects of these groups. Germanse SS Norge, where Sverre Riisnaes (1897-1988) was active, was the most active anti-Semitic group during the Occupation but only as an internal question. See *SS Skolehefte nr. 8 - Jødene*. Copy in possession of the author.

10) Nökleby, *Op.Cit.* p. 233. Bundesarkiv Koblenz NS 43/27. The key role of Terboven (1898-1945) in the German Occupation of Norway has been neglected by historians unfortunately and demonized without consideration to real facts.

11) *Cit.* by Nökleby, *Op.Cit.* p. 234-235.

12) The Fekkmann's assassination can be studied more deeply using the records of the courtcase. The case has been studied by several Norwegian writers and historians such as Sigurd Senje, Ragnar Ulstein or Oskar Mendelsohn. Even a movie has been featured about it.

13) Dahl, *Op.Cit.* p. 372. Ringdal, *Gal mann til rett tid*, p. 106, and Jonas Lie was at the Eastern Front at this time serving as Company leader with the Norwegian Volunteer Legion before Leningrad.

14) Dahl, *Op.Cit.* p. 376.

15) Dahl, *Op.Cit.* p. 383. The English historian Ralph Hewins, *Quisling profet uten åre* (Oslo: Store Björn, 1966) p. 344-345, is even more categoric on this point: Quisling can no be condemned for cooperation in any crime against the humanity.

16) Dahl, *Op.Cit.* p. 379. This valiant defense of the Jews did not save the Priest Lars Frøyland from a 10 years sentence for collaboration after the war!

17) *Fritt Folk*, the party diary, 7-12-1942.

18) Intervju with Björn Östring 15.3.1995. Former Youth leader and commander of Quisling's private guard.

19) Ringdal, *Mellom barken og veden*, p. 237. Letter to Jonas Lie, reproduced by Ringdal, *Gal mann til rett tid*, p. 107. Recorded at the Riksarkiv LANDSSVIKSAK Pa 751, II s. 53 Boks III.

20) These figures corresponds also to the ones at the German records. Report from SS Inspector for the Statistical department to SS-Ostufab Brandt, head of Reichsfuehrer's personal staff 19.4.1943, 48/43 but it claims 532 in 1942 and 158 in 1943, totally 690.



21) Albert Viljam Høgelin was sentenced to death december 4, 1945 accused of collaboration by an Oslo Court and executed the 25 may the year after. Riksarkivet Pa 740 Høgelin-saken. Quisling witnessed in his favour that Høgelin was following the witness consideration very liberal concerning the Jewish question (Courtsace records 18/10 1945).

22) Law 26 October 1942. The law states:

23) War Cabinet Committee on the Reception and Accomodation of Refugees, 4th meeting, 19 February 1943, Cabinet papers 65/15. Cit. by Martin Gilbert, *Auschwitz and the Allies* New York:1982.

24) *London Nyn*, number 31/1-1944, one of the leading clandestine newspapers for the occupied Norway.

25) The situation that can be compared to Norway is the french. The role of the french police was critized after the war. See M. Marrus & Robert Paxton, *Vichy et les Juifs*, (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1981) as well as many other studies.

26) Riksarkivet, LA sak Knut Roed.

27) Hans Fredrik Dahl, Op.Cit. p. 583

28) Gerald Fleming, *Hitler and the final solution*, Los Angeles:1987.

29) Fritt Folk 19.11 1938 Give the Jews an own state.

30) *Kampen mellem arter og jødemakt. Vidkun Quislings tale i Frankfurt 28 mars 1941 om jødeproblemet*, Oslo 1941. Cit. Dahl Op.Cit. p. 214.

31) See Tom Jensen, *Parti og plakat NS 1933-1945*, (Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget, 1988)

32) *Straffesak mot Vidkun Abraham Lauritz Jonsson Quisling*, Oslo 1946. Court case against Vidkun Quisling. Published by the Court the year after the trial.

33) Quisling sak, p. 369.

34) Quislingsak, p. 464.