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AN ANALYSIS OF THE NORWEGIAN RESISTANCE
DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

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Contents

	<i>Page</i>
DISCLAIMER	ii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	iv
LIST OF TABLES	v
PREFACE	vi
ABSTRACT	vii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
BASELINE OF UNDERSTANDING.....	3
History	3
Warden’s Five Ring Model.....	4
SYSTEM ANALYSIS OF NORWAY AND GERMANY	5
Leadership	6
System Essentials	10
Infrastructure	14
Population.....	15
Fielded Forces.....	20
NORWEGIAN RESISTANCE VICTORIES.....	23
Military Victories	23
Civilian Victories.....	24
Resistance Victories	25
German Acknowledgment	28
CONCLUSIONS	30
APPENDIX A: SCANDINAVIA IN 1939.....	34
APPENDIX B: NORWAY AFTER APRIL 9, 1940	35
BIBLIOGRAPHY	36

Illustrations

Page

Figure 1. Position of Norway's Merchant Marines on April 9, 1940..... 21

Tables

	<i>Page</i>
Table 1. Norwegian and German Systems	6

Preface

This paper deals with the resistance in Norway during the Second World War, the period of April 1940—until June 1945. While the resistance described is not necessarily what you would normally think of, i.e., military, it was more or less a civilized resistance which most likely saved the Norwegians from the harsh treatment under Hitler's rule, such as that suffered by France. My main reason for choosing this topic was based on a recent visit to Norway this past year where I had the chance to visit the Norwegian Resistance Museum in Oslo. The memories of what I saw there are forever etched in my mind. When I saw the chance to put these memories along with many hard facts together into a paper, I jumped at it. The value of this paper to other ACSC students is in presenting the material in a format which is taught at ACSC—the Warden model. This is one more example of how his theory can be used to organize an event in history.

I would like to thank Dr. Arfinn Moland for his assistance and giving me direction in where to conduct my research. I would also like to thank my Faculty Research Advisor, Major Robert Lyles, for accepting this project and giving me the space and conditions to work this project. Finally, I would also like to acknowledge the Air University Library and its wealth of knowledge stored upon every shelf, without which I could not have completed this project.

Abstract

The Norwegian Resistance during the Second World War (April 1940-June 1945) was basically a peaceful set of events conducted by the civilian population as well as underground military organizations. While sabotage and other hostile resistance acts did occur, they were not great in number. It should not be overlooked the Norwegian Armed Forces did fight for 63 days before admitting defeat to Germany.

This paper will answer the question “Was the Norwegian Resistance successful against the German Nazis once their country was taken over by them during the Second World War?” The Warden theory of the organization of a system is used to categorize the Resistance movement, dissecting it and placing it in categories. Centers of gravity are noted and discussed. While the Norwegians did not have the military strength to beat the Germans, they did win many battles via their Resistance to the German Rule. These victories along with German acknowledgment prove the Norwegian Resistance was successful against the German Army and its rule over Norway.

Both primary and secondary sources were used in conducting research of this subject.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The purpose of Norway's Resistance Museum is "contributing to the presentation of a true and authentic picture of the occupation by means of objects, pictures, printed matter, etc., collected, preserved and exhibited with a view to giving the young people of today and coming generations a true-to-life impression of the evil represented by occupation and foreign rule, in this way helping to strengthen the sense of unity and defense of our national liberties."

—Norway's Resistance Museum

While it is expected readers of this paper will have a general knowledge of World War Two and of Col John Warden's Five Ring model of analyzing systems, a brief discussion of both is furnished within Chapter Two. A short list of historical events leading up to the German invasion of Norway and the basic points of the Warden analysis model provide a common baseline for the reader.

In Chapter Three, Warden's five ring model will be used to analyze the system of the Norwegians. The analysis will include a discussion of how Norway views itself and what measures it would have to take as a nation to protect its centers of gravity. This will reflect how the Norwegians saw themselves and what measures they took in order to protect themselves from the German Nazis. Chapter Three also presents in detail Norway's view of the Germans and Norway's predicament of occupation. While the Norwegian's had little military strength, they analyzed the situation and conducted

missions within their ability to execute while fighting the German regime. Their actions, or lack thereof, were carefully thought out to ensure the safety of the Norwegian general public. Public safety and the safety of those in concentration camps was a continuous consideration of whether to conduct operations against the Nazis.

Chapter Four presents major triumphs of the Norwegian Resistance. Due to the limited scope of this project, not all victories can be mentioned. Statements describing the German reactions to the Resistance movement will also be included. This chapter will prove the success of the Norwegian Resistance.

Chapter Five consists of concluding remarks and will highlight several main points presented in earlier chapters. This chapter will also provide a closure to this project.

Chapter 2

Baseline of Understanding

The military part of the invasion plan was brilliantly conceived, and, on the whole, brilliantly executed.

—William Warbey
Look to Norway

History

While it is expected the reader has a basic knowledge of the events leading up to World War Two, a short background is provided as a reference point. See Appendix A for a map of Scandinavia in 1939. Events leading to the invasion of Norway are outlined below:

- September 29-30, 1938. Britain's prime minister Neville Chamberlain meets Adolf Hitler in Munich to discuss "Peace in our time."
- March 1939. Hitler's troops occupy Czechoslovakia.
- April 1939. Mussolini marches into Albania.
- August 24, 1939. German/Soviet Russian non-aggression pact signed in Moscow.
- September 1, 1939. Hitler invades Poland.
- September 3, 1939. Britain and France declare war on Germany.
- October 18, 1939. Scandinavian heads of state meet to confirm their neutrality.
- November 30, 1939. Russia invades Finland.
- February 16, 1940. The Altmark/Cosack episode.
- April 8, 1940. Britain mines Norwegian territorial waters.
- April 8, 1940. A German troop transport is torpedoed off Kristiansand.¹

Warden's Five Ring Model

Col John Warden's Five Ring Model provides a chart in which you can organize the parts of various systems. The five rings, or categories, are briefly described in descending order of criticality. The most important, or critical, is the leadership. This is the brain, government, security, or central control of a facility. Second is the system essentials, described as vital organs, energy, money, or input/output. The infrastructure is next which is linked with vessels, bones, roads, factories, or transmission lines of a system. The fourth ring or category is the population. This describes the cells, people, or workers. Finally, the fielded forces includes items such as leukocytes, military, police, firemen, or repairmen.²

In strategic analysis, the systems approach can be used in understanding the enemy, as well as ourselves. This description can be visualized in two ways. The first way to visualize this theory is with the use of five concentric rings, with the most important category in the center. The rest of the categories flow around each other. This shows the system is an interdependent system, giving relative importance of each entity contained within a given ring.³ The second way is to use a chart with the headings across the top and the items or parts listed beneath each heading. This paper will use the chart format.

Notes

¹ *Norges Hjemmefrontmuseum (Norway's Resistance Museum)*, (Trykk: Centraltrykkeriet Grafisk Service AS), 1.

² Col John A. Warden III (Ret.), "The Enemy as a System," lecture, Air Command and Staff College, Maxwell AFB, Ala., 5 Nov 96.

³ Col John A. Warden III, "Air Theory for the Twenty-first Century," in *Challenge and Response: Anticipating US Military Security Concerns*, ed. Dr. Karl P. Magyar et al. (Maxwell AFB, Ala: Air University Press, August 1994), 316-17.

Chapter 3

System Analysis of Norway and Germany

Care had to be taken of the gold of the Bank of Norway, the reserves so vitally important to the future of the Kingdom of Norway. Loaded on trucks, drawn on sledges where the condition of the road was bad, unguarded but protected by the instincts of a whole nation, the gold came all the way through the Gudbrandsdal and across to the fjords. How it was taken out of Oslo, how all those many tons of bullion worth more than a hundred million dollars, were carried along with the Army, in front of the Army, is a fantastic modern romance.

—Mr. Carl J. Hambro
President of the Norwegian Storting, 1940
Pimpernel Gold

Using Col Warden's five ring analysis model, people, places, and things are categorized under the five headings of leadership, system essentials, infrastructure, population, and fielded forces. Under each of these headings, identification of major centers of gravity for Norwegian survival and the German war machine becomes clear. An explanation of the main entries for Norway and Germany, to include Norwegian Resistance actions, follows the table.

Table 1. Norwegian and German Systems

LEADERSHIP	SYSTEM ESSENTIALS	INFRA-STRUCTURE	POPULATION	FIELDDED FORCES
King	Gold Bullion	Railroads	Citizens	Military
Prime Minister	Fishing Industry	Roads	Military	Police
Cabinet	Food	Sea Lanes/Ports	State Church	Resistance
Parliament	Mil Supplies	Airports	Teachers	GE Ships
Gen Ruge	Electricity		Army Personnel	GE Police
Hitler	Intelligence		NS Members	Quisling Police
von Falkenhorst	Heavy Water		Nazi Members	SS Troops
Terboven	Iron Ore		Traitors	
Quisling				

NS = *Nasjonal Samling* (National Unification) Nazi Party GE = Germany

Leadership

After 125 years of peaceful existence on the outskirts of world events, the Norwegian nation had, in a span of 60 days, experienced invasion, treason, war, and defeat.¹ In spite of this fact, before the war really began for Norway, the Norwegians knew what was important for their nation to survive a major crisis.

On the early morning of April 9, 1940, the Germans began their famous blitzkrieg attacks against Norway. Fortunately for Norway, several German ships were delayed at the midway point of the Oslo fjord. Guns of coastal forts, marked as obsolete on the German charts, opened fire on the German vessels, sinking several. The worst setback was the sinking of the new heavy cruiser *Blücher* by the guns of the Oscarborg Fortress (which the Germans thought was a museum).² Oslo was not yet over run with German forces when Dr. Bräuer, the German Minister in Oslo, presented Professor Koht, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, with a number of demands from Germany. Norway was given the ultimatum to surrender or suffer the consequences. The Norwegian government very quickly decided no independent country could accept such demands. When Dr. Bräuer

was informed of the Norwegian decision, he was also reminded of a statement recently made by Hitler, that a people who humbly submit to an aggressor without the slightest resistance did not deserve to exist. Professor Koht concluded, “And we will maintain and defend our independence.”³

The continuity of Norwegian sovereignty was embodied in the King and his government. Upon realizing Oslo was soon to be under attack, King Haakon VII, the Crown Prince and Princess and their three children, Prime Minister Johan Nygaardsvold and his Cabinet, and members of Parliament left for an internal “safe” city from which to continue operating. Once the Germans were on Norwegian soil, they sent a proclamation out for the King’s head and began to setup a new government. The King and his entourage now realized their journey turned out to be an escape from the perils of the incoming Third Reich.

The Crown Princess and her three children escaped danger by crossing the border into Sweden. Some of the King’s ministers tried to convince the King to do the same, but the proud monarch swore he would not leave Norway so long as a foot of free Norwegian soil remained. Without realizing it at the time, the King’s strong belief in Norway became the catalyst that activated the military and civilian resistance which was to confuse and disrupt Hitler’s plan for taking Norway and using it as a springboard for the conquest of England.⁴ Unfortunately, with the defeat of the Norwegian military, the King had to leave his beloved Norway within 60 days after his remark. From the middle of June 1940 until his return in 1945, while in exile in England, they were all but cut off from contact with their people. Constitutionally their position was strong, and their formal authority to speak on behalf of the nation was generally recognized.⁵

The Norwegians knew and understood what was taking place in their country. If they lost their King, who was reverently loved by all, along with the cabinet and Parliament, the nation of Norway would never exist again as a free nation. With the Royal Family and members of the Cabinet and Parliament safely out of the country, the Norwegians could concentrate their efforts on the next set of priorities within Norway.

General Ruge, the commanding officer in charge of the Norwegian military forces, did not flee with his superiors. He established his headquarters in Oyer, some twelve miles north of Lillehammer and proposed to make his last stand against the German enemy.⁶ Without the normal quota of men and weaponry, Gen Ruge could not possibly take the offensive. Fighting a delaying action, he had to delay the Germans for a week, giving up only small pieces of ground. Gen Ruge knew the Allies were coming to help the Norwegians regain Trondheim, then held by only 1700 Germans. In addition, he was responsible for the gold bullion in Lillehammer. He had to transport it to the harbor village of Molde so it could shipped out of the country.⁷

In analyzing German leadership, the Norwegians knew, as did the world, Hitler was the leader of Germany and the *Wehrmacht* (military forces). It would be an impossible task to try and kill or capture Hitler as Norway did not have the forces for it. General von Falkenhorst, commanding officer of the German invading forces in Norway, was also well protected and well out of reach of Norway's forces. The Norwegians knew Hitler and his commanding staff were German centers of gravity, but were well protected. What the Norwegians could fight against was the "local" government installed by the Germans. After September 25, 1940, when the occupation was well underway, the Norwegians believed the only way to remain free was to convince Germany their resistance forces were

strong. Towards the end of the war, the reason for the strong resistance changed slightly. While still believing this was the best way to remain free, they also convinced German leadership their resistance forces were so strong that Hitler was forced to keep as many divisions in Norway as possible, thus, aiding the Allied invasion of Normandy.

Joseph Terboven, a former Nazi *Gauleiter* (area commander) from the German Ruhr district and leader of the occupation apparatus, officially took over as the *Reichskommissar* on 24 April, 1940.⁸ The title of *Reichskommissar* provides special authority for the representative of the central German government commissioned to deal with emergency situations for which the normal civil service was not prepared or adequately equipped. To this traditional scope of the *Reichskommissar*, Hitler added the function of a political or party *Reichskommissar*, resulting in a particularly strong concentration of power in the hands of trusted men.⁹ Terboven remained in this position until a few days before the Norwegians were liberated.

As Benedict Arnold is to the United States, Vidkun Quisling is to the Norwegians. Known as a vicious traitor, he was a major in the Norwegian army and had been forced to resign as Minister of Defense for the Agrarian Government after two quarrelsome years. In May 1933, he founded a political party called *Nasjonal Samling*—National Unification.¹⁰ After the German invasion was underway, Quisling declared himself the ruler of Norway. He was soon replaced by the Germans, only to become vindicated again in February, 1942, where he was called the “Ministerpresident.”

Both Terboven and Quisling were also out of range for elimination, but could be dealt with by the various civilian resistance tactics as described later in this chapter.

System Essentials

As a system essential, the bullion was a number two priority to save. With its police escort, the lorries, vans, and trucks containing approximately eighty tons of Norwegian gold had set off in convoy on its way to Lillehammer, on the instructions of the Finance Minister, just as soon as the last van had been loaded and locked.¹¹ This action was completed a mere 30 minutes before Germans troops arrived in Oslo, via the airport. The German soldiers said they were sent to “safe guard” the bullion. Fifty-five million dollars worth in gold was slipped out of Norway under the noses of the Germans. The bullion was shipped via trucks, lorries, rail road cars, and several ferries which had to make fjord or river crossings.¹² After several weeks of playing hide and seek, the bullion was finally sent in four separate shipments on four different days from Norway to England. However, the movement of the bullion did not stop there. Norwegian officials were afraid that if Germany conquered England, their gold would be lost. The decision was made to ship the gold to Canada and the United States. Eleven shipments later, before the end of July 1940, 34 tons of gold were safely in the vaults of the Bank of Canada and 14.7 tons in those of the Federal Reserve Bank in New York. About a ton was left in the gold rooms of the Bank of England to meet emergencies that might arise. It is worth noting during the entire operation, only \$888 was lost to a drunken sailor and his night on the town. When one considers the pressures and the dangers involved, it was indeed an insignificant amount. Otherwise, not a ship was sunk, nor a cask or box lost, not a life was sacrificed, nor was a single participant in the saving of the gold bullion operations apprehended by the Nazis and sent to a concentration camp.¹³

It turned out to be a matter of luck that 11.1 million Kroner in Norwegian bank notes were overlooked in the rush to save the gold bullion. This money was put into five potato sacks and smuggled out of the Bank of Norway in Oslo under the noses of German guards. After being handed over to Anders Frihagen, Norway's Minister of Commerce, it found its way to General Ruge who needed the money badly for use in paying the recruits and purchasing food and other supplies.¹⁴

After occupying Bergen, the German commander told the citizens to remain calm: his soldiers had come as friends: "We shall not take away your personal freedom, and we wish you to continue in your regular work...."¹⁵ This was later found to be untrue.

For the most part, the fishing industry workers, along with other food producers tried to continue working their normal jobs. It was an extremely difficult decision as many Norwegians felt they were betraying their country as the Germans were taking the food as fast as the producers could provide it. Large numbers of Norwegians began to lack necessary food in their diets, resulting in poor health. With the riches of the sea, sea-towns were optimistic about always having food. Unfortunately, the Germans demanded so much fish from Norway that months would go by with no fish for sale in the marketplace. The Germans emptied the ample stocks of food and cut the rations for the Norwegians. In 1941, the Germans actually threatened to starve those who did not collaborate with the Germans. The only people who were less deprived were the farmers. Rather than selling their milk and butter, they drank and ate it. They were able to maintain their health in comparison to the city dwellers.¹⁶

Military supplies, for the most part, were destroyed as the Germans were invading Norway. Vidkun Quisling planned and succeeded in blowing up or destroying most of the

munitions and store houses belonging to the Norwegian Army. While most Norwegians had their own weapons at home, this can not be compared with having military type weapons and ammunition, not to mention anti-aircraft or anti-tank weapons. Some supplies and weapons were later air dropped or smuggled into Norway by various Resistance teams, but this did not happen until the occupation was well under way.

Once again, military supply lines and intelligence to the German *Wehrmacht* were just too large and protected for the Norwegian Resistance to do much damage.

Food and electricity were another matter. The civilian organizations would continue to process food and electricity for the Germans because they were also the beneficiaries of such actions. Quisling would try to limit the rations of Norwegians by issuing ration cards. First, he would say they needed a work force and those on the list would receive their ration cards. The Norwegians did not fall for this trick, as they knew the laborers would be sent to camps to complete the Germans' dirty work. Quisling then stated the only way to receive a ration card was to show up for it in person. The Norwegians, once again, stood fast. Finally, Quisling's ration card problem was solved—thousands were stolen and handed out to the general public! This is only one example of how the Norwegian civilian population could fight against the occupational regime in their country.

Heavy water (deuterium oxide) was used in atomic research by the U.S. and Germany. In splitting the atom, heavy water and graphite combine to slow down the fantastic speed of uranium atoms released by fission. While Hitler had a two year start in this experimentation, no one could say just how far ahead the Germans were. With the capture of Norway, Hitler had gained access to the great and only major source of heavy water in the world at the time of the Second World War.¹⁷ With continuous intelligence

reports provided to the British and U.S. by the Norwegian Underground, it was revealed Hitler wanted the output of the heavy water plant to increase production from a hundred pounds a year to 10,000! The U.S., fearing the worst—meaning Germany could possibly win the Nuclear race—worked with British forces and the special Linge forces of Norway to sabotage the heavy water plant at Vemork, Norway. With great training, skill, and courage the Linge forces blew up the factory on September 1943 causing a great amount of damage. British intelligence estimated it would take upwards of eighteen months to restore the factory to 100 percent output.

Linge forces were also used to destroy the remaining uncontaminated water due for shipment into Germany. The water, placed in several barrels, was shipped over land via railroad cars. Once at Lake Tinn the railroad cars transferred to a train ferry, the *Hydro*. The night before the ferry sailed across Lake Tinn, time bombs were placed inside her hull. Midway across the lake, the ferry was blown up and sank quickly. All passengers and crew were lost, including fourteen Norwegians who were considered innocent bystanders.¹⁸

The Germans did rebuild the plant, but to no avail. The 8th USAAF, following top secret orders the Norwegian government in exile knew nothing about, blew the factory up completely on April 4, 1943.

Not only was Norway a strategic launching point for German forces to conduct a possible invasion of England, open sea lines along her coastline were necessary for shipments of iron ore from Narvik, Norway to Germany. The iron ore was a necessary supply for the German war machine factories. The iron ore was actually mined in Sweden, but the closest and most accessible sea port for shipping was Narvik. This port was

initially invaded on April 9, 1940, but was lost to Norwegian and Allied forces a short time later. Lack of supplies and ammunition played a large role in the German loss of this seaport. Coincidentally, when Germany invaded France, Allied forces were recalled en masse and within a matter of days Germany recaptured Narvik. The shipping of the iron ore was not hampered and the port remained in German hands for the duration of the war.

Infrastructure

Apart from its possessions, Norway occupies a contiguous area of 125,050 square miles. For the most part, it is a long and narrow country with the greatest length being approximately 1,089 miles. At its widest point, Norway is 267 miles and 3.9 miles at its narrowest. Its coastline is approximately 17,000 miles. The distribution of area is: Cities—.4%; Glaciers—1.4%; Agriculture—3.1%; Lakes and rivers—4.8%; Islands—6.9%; Productive forests—21.3%; and Mountains, etc.—62.1%. This information is relevant as it proves the worth of the few roads, railroads, and sea lanes which must be used to move goods about the country. While this infrastructure is important to the Norwegians, the Germans also realized their value.

Towards the end of the war, the Norwegians destroyed many of the roads, railroads and bridges which connected the country together. They did this to slow the Germans in their retreat out of the country. In Finland, the Germans burned everything to the ground on their way out. The Norwegians did not want the same scorched techniques to happen to them so they used Military Organization (Milorg) parties to protect their homeland.

Upon attacking Norway, the German *Wehrmacht* took over five of Norway's major seaports from Kristiansand in the south to Narvik in the north, but they would now have

to force their way inland to link up their dangerously scattered forces. See Appendix B for the invasion ports in Norway. In addition, German troops occupied every major airfield in Norway.¹⁹ Norway's rugged terrain hampers the construction of many roads or railroads. Thus, some major cities along the coastline are connected by the sea and (maybe) only one road. Sea lanes and ports, in this case, are just as important, if not more so, than the roads, railroads, and airports. As a side note, these same roads and seaports were used for the escape of the King and his entourage and for the gold bullion. The Norwegians had to use their skill and knowledge of their country to keep one step ahead of the Germans.

Linge and Milorg forces also used their knowledge of the countryside to sidestep the Germans. There were times when this knowledge of the land saved many escaping Norwegians. There were also times when this knowledge of the home country was used to pick forces for Resistance missions. Examples are the "Shetland Bus" sea escapes and the sabotage of the Vemork Heavy Water Plant.

Population

Until April, 1940, Norway had a rare position in the world (only shared with Sweden) that she had been living in peace since 1814, more than a century and a quarter. In addition, she had almost another century of peace before being dragged into the Napoleonic wars in 1807-a peace lasting since 1720. (For history's sake, there was a three week interruption in this peace in 1788.)²⁰ As a consequence, Norway had little need to maintain a large standing Army and therefore lacked the sufficient forces with which to combat the Germans on April 9, 1940. It is obvious why mistreatment, torture,

and/or killing of even one Norwegian created a large reaction from the Norwegian people, not to mention how they felt when many were abused. Not that such events are warranted in any war, the Norwegians could not tolerate nor become used to it.

Norway, being a country which is geographically challenging, is also a country whose people are subjected to the challenge of day-to-day living and survival. These characteristics, or life-styles, are centuries old and have created the will with which to survive the challenge of German occupation and resist them at all costs. Most were able to withstand the stress and strain of resistance.²¹ A great impression was also made by a poem by one of the best known poets of Norway, characterized by its heading: “We will survive anything.”²²

Military personnel were not lucky enough to be prepared for the onslaught of German forces. The Ministers, in an emergency session on the night of April 8th, steeped in the niceties of peacetime politics and diplomacy, failed to issue a clear-cut order for immediate and general mobilization. Hence, when the German invasion came they were met with improvised and inadequate armed resistance. This resistance did little more than delay the invasion timetable.²³

Having little in the way of ammunition and weaponry, the Norwegian soldiers fought valiantly. On at least two separate occasions, they were able to delay the Germans while protecting their King and Crown Prince’s escape route. They were able to delay the German forces at Bodo and, with the help of the British forces, they regained the port city of Narvik. This was extremely important, as this port was the route used by Germany to ship much needed Swedish iron ore to Germany. The iron ore came from the Swedish port city of Lulea, which lies in the Gulf of Bothnia and is impassable in the winter due to

ice. As a consequence, a railroad was built between Lulea and Narvik. See Appendix A for details showing both Lulea, the railroad, and Narvik. Unfortunately, with the takeover of France and Belgium by Germany, the British forces were withdrawn completely from Norway and Narvik was soon back in German hands.

On June 7, 1940, the Norwegian Government made the final decision to abandon the struggle for Norway and move into exile in Britain. On June 9, 1940, General Ruge, who had chosen to remain and face imprisonment with his troops, contacted the German High Command with a request for an armistice. The following day General Ruge's representatives signed the agreements providing for the capitulation of the remaining Norwegian forces in northern Norway.²⁴

The State Church and its members are also listed under the population heading. Quisling, in a prime example of his ineptness, tried to get the church, bishops, and clergy to fall under Nazi rule. He passed new laws stating the Church had to teach certain Nazi principles during the weekly services. In the process, the Nazis would also take over the control of religious broadcast programs. He demanded an alteration be made in the Common Prayer of the service-book. The paragraph in the prayer referring to the King, Parliament, and Government was to be taken out, and a prayer for the new Nazi authorities was to be inserted.²⁵ Bishops and priests refused to bow to Nazification of the Church. Most immediately resigned from the State Church, but continued their preaching outside of the church. Although they were threatened by the new Quisling government and their pay was stopped, the bishops and priests held fast. Members of the congregation did what they could to keep the bishops fed, housed, and clothed. On April 5, 1942, in churches all over the country, a declaration was read making the stand of the Church clear

to the nation. Quisling had several church leaders arrested, but to no avail. Of 699 clergymen of the Church of Norway, 645 resigned, and 151 out of 155 ordained priests followed suit. In the end, bishops and priests continued their services with overcrowded audiences outside the church walls and refused to preach the Nazi ways.²⁶

Norwegian teachers proved to be resilient. Many were faced with torture, while others were forced into concentration camps as their final destination. In February 1942, Quisling's government passed laws which established a national youth organization on the model of Germany's *Hitlerjugend* (Hitler youth) and a Nazi teachers' association with compulsory membership for all school teachers. The teachers instantly refused membership with 12,000 of 14,000 teachers protesting. On February 27th, a one month holiday was declared due to the "fuel situation." In March, some 1,300 teachers were arrested, tortured and some even sent to concentration camps. Refusing to submit to Quisling's demands, the teachers won their battle on April 25th when the Ministry of Education declared the new law was a "complete misunderstanding."²⁷

A final example of Terboven and Quisling's failed Nazification attempts of Norway was through the sporting organizations. One of the most remarkable outbursts of spontaneous resistance ever to take place in a Nazi-ruled country occurred when Terboven tried to change Norway's sporting organizations. Norway's sporting clubs were run by leaders and staff who were voted into positions. Terboven appointed a "Councillor of Sport" and dissolved the Amalgamation Committee, appointing a central association, which was under Nazi control, and required all clubs to join. The response was "Boycott all sporting events of every kind so long as the Nazis are in control; don't participate in them, either as teams or as individuals, and don't patronize them as spectators."²⁸ While

sporting events were held in secret away from the Nazis, the Germans failed at all their attempts to break the “sports strike.” The strike lasted until the liberation of Norway.

The Norwegian Resistance movement had strong patriotic overtones. A calling higher than personal welfare and inclinations was evident, namely the interest of the nation. This helps to understand the motivation behind *holdningskampen* (resistance), having its foundation in political and ethical concepts.²⁹

The Norwegian civilians could not overtly fight the German army personnel or the *Schutz Staffel* (SS - meaning Protection Force) troops which occupied Norway. They “fought” against the enlistment within the *National Samling* (NS) party. The civilian population fought against the rules which were set up by the Nazi organizations.

Norwegian civilians, in discovering a new traitor to Norway or the identity of an NS party member, treated them with the utmost disrespect. They were not recognized on the street and no one would talk to them. Neighbors were shocked in finding out who these traitors were and would not let them get away with it without suffering the home front consequences. The practice of shunning had a great affect on these targeted people as it was considered harsh treatment from the normal peaceful relationships which existed prior to the occupation.

After many raids and arrests, the Norwegian civilians would still find room in their hearts for patriotic duties and try to help the underground forces. Upon capture, members of the underground were severely tortured, beaten, and/or killed. Many who were afraid they would talk after brutal treatment found suicide their best answer. Those who survived the brutal treatment were often sent to the Norwegian death camp of Grini, about ten miles north of Oslo.

Fielded Forces

As mentioned previously, Norway's propensity long standing peace, resulted in few forces with which to match the German air, land, and sea forces. Before the war in central Europe began, Norway tried to increase her military standing, but was not successful. The main goal and belief in Norway was that she could remain neutral, regardless of what happened in central Europe.

With the German take over, the Norwegian Air Force had to look for another country to provide training to its pilots and crews. Toronto, Canada proved to be up to the task. After months of training, the first operational Norwegian air squadron was established in Iceland on April 25, 1941. The first fighter squadron was established late in 1941 and was stationed outside of London. The Army, training in Scotland, had continuous manning problems due to many men being transferred to the Air Force and the Navy. It did not reach its initial goal of 2,500 men until 1943. These men were used in protection of the British home front and trained for participation in the liberation of Norway.³⁰

While Norway's Navy did not necessarily impress anyone, the merchant shipping fleet did. At the time of the war, Norway had the fourth largest shipping fleet in the world. The importance of these wartime assets were known from the beginning and soon the Government in exile had complete control over the merchant navy. Only one-sixth of the fleet ended up falling into German hands.³¹ The merchant marine was Norway's most important contribution to the Allied war effort. Figure 1 provides a graphical representation of why the Germans could not capture the rest of the merchant marine fleet. The flags depict the 1,024 ships and their positions at the time of the German attack on April 9, 1940.³²

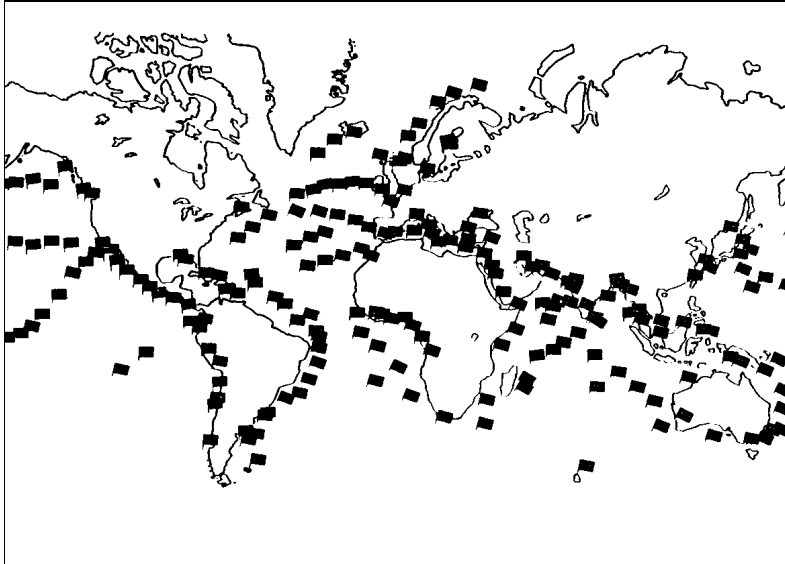


Figure 1. Position of Norway's Merchant Marines on April 9, 1940.

The Norwegian government wanted to help aid the Allied military effort by having its Air Forces and Navy participate actively in operations. A brigade of soldiers was earmarked for use in the liberation of Norway. Norwegian Armed Forces abroad totaled just under 15,000 men. There were another 13,000 men in the police corps that was set up in Sweden. Within the merchant marine, over 25,000 men served in this branch of the service.³³ All of these forces were used in one way or another during the war.

Notes

¹ Olav Riste and Berit Nökleby, *Norway 1940-45: The Resistance Movement* (Norway: Nor-Media A/S, 1970), 9.

² Dorothy Baden-Powell, *Pimpernel Gold*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), 15.

³ *The German Aggression on Norway*, Authorized English Translation of the White Paper issued by The Norwegian Government on April 14th, 1940, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1940), 2-5.

⁴ Hans Christian Adamson and Per Klem, *Blood on the Midnight Sun*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc. 1964), 45.

⁵ Riste, 9.

⁶ Adamson, 51.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁸ Riste, 9.

Notes

⁹ Johannes Andenæs, Olav Riste, and Magne Skodvin, *Norway and the Second World War*, 5th ed. (Otta, Norway: Engers Boktrykkeri A/S, 1996), 62.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹¹ Baden-Powell, 25.

¹² *Ibid.*, explained throughout the book.

¹³ Adamson, 109.

¹⁴ Johns R. Elting, *Battles for Scandinavia - World War II*, ed. by Time-Life Books Editors (Alexandria, Va.: Time Incorporated, 1981), 74.

¹⁵ Quoted in Gerd Stray Gordon doctorate thesis, *The Norwegian Resistance During the German Occupation 1940-1945: Repression, Terror, and Resistance: The West Country of Norway*, (The University of Pittsburgh, 1978), 171.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 175-82.

¹⁷ Adamson, 113.

¹⁸ Adamson, 184.

¹⁹ Elting, 73.

²⁰ Halvdan Koht, *NORWAY Neutral and Invaded*, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1941) 6-7.

²¹ Gordon, 520.

²² Koht, 149.

²³ Andenæs, 49.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 53.

²⁵ Bjarne Höye and Trygve M. Ager, *The Fight of the Norwegian Church Against Nazism*, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1943), 13.

²⁶ Riste, 44.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 42.

²⁸ William Warbey, *Look to Norway*, (London: The Camelot Press Ltd., December 1945), 104-105.

²⁹ Gordon, xii.

³⁰ Andenæs, 100-102.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 98.

³² Ole Kristian Grimnes, "The Beginnings of the Resistance Movement," in *Scandinavia during the Second World War*, ed. Henrik S. Nissen, trans. Thomas Munch-Peterson, (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 206.

³³ *Ibid.*, 208.

Chapter 4

Norwegian Resistance Victories

Resist \ri-'zist\ *fr. re-+sistere to take a stand 1: to exert oneself so as to counteract or defeat 2: to withstand the force of effect of.*

—Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary

Military Victories

While military victories were low in actual number, these victories were very important to Norway and to the standing military forces.

In Norway, Hitler fought his longest campaign in Europe (62 days) until he attacked Soviet Russia. Within this time frame, he lost about one-third of the German Navy and some 60,000 soldiers.¹ On the first day alone, the prized German heavy cruiser, *Blücher*, was sunk in the Oslo Fjord. The recapture of Narvik was important militarily and psychologically. The Allies needed to get a win under their belt and Narvik provided it. It is unfortunate the Allies were recalled, giving up their position for the Germans to once again regain control of the seaport.

Saving the Royal Family, the government, and the gold bullion were also military victories. The country needed all these victories in order to survive as a democratic nation and the military provided for their safety.

Civilian Victories

The list for civilian victories is much longer than the military one. Nearly everyone in Norway, save the relatively few traitors and turncoats, won battles against their aggressor. These were covered in previous chapters, so only the highlights are provided here.

The public, itself, can be granted the victory of not giving in to the German demands and allowing their country to be taken over by German rule. As mentioned earlier, the culture and daily life of the people uniquely prepared them for the rigors of resistance.

The Churches won against Quisling and his puppet government when he tried to make them preach the “Nazi word.” Bishops and priests, alike, resigned their positions within the State Church and continued the services outside church walls. Membership to this “outside” church remained strong and the State Church, which fell under the Quisling government, was left an empty shell with relatively few members and only Nazi priests.

The teachers also proved to be strong against their aggressors. When told they must belong to the Nazi party and the youth must join the new “Hitler Youth” groups, the teachers resigned en masse. Even after many were arrested, tortured, killed and sent away to concentration camps, as a group they still did not give in. Once Quisling realized this, he made the statement it was all a misunderstanding. The teachers won.

One of the most remarkable civilian victories was within the Norwegian sporting clubs. Terboven and Quisling stated the elected club representatives would be replaced by appointed Nazis and all club members were required to join. All the sporting clubs went on strike and never participated in, visited, nor joined the new Nazi sport club. Until the end of the war, all non-Nazi sporting events were held under secret conditions, out of sight from the Germans.

Resistance Victories

From April 9 until September 24, 1940, two kinds of resistance existed within Norway: warfare and negotiation. This section addresses the main Resistance groups which came into being after September 25, 1940. It is not a coincidence this date is the very one which Terboven installed the Norwegian Nazis (*Nasjonal Samling*) in a position of power within the government. In the first year of occupation, the Resistance did not have unified leadership and coordination, but consisted of varied and widely scattered events.

In the spring and autumn of 1942, two forms of civilian home front resistance (the civil organization) took shape: The Coordination Committee and the Circle (Kretsen.)² These branches were devoted to the handling of political, religious, labor, and other internal problems. Their major assignments were to aid in the printing and distribution of illegal newspapers and to foster opposition to Nazi ideologies.³

The military resistance also took shape in two distinct groups: The Military Intelligence Organization, called XU; and the Military Organization, called Milorg. The Military Intelligence Organization, along with other individual intelligence groups, gathered information about the German forces and transmitted the information via radio to Sweden, who then transferred it to the Norwegian military authorities in London. This information was provided to the British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) for German air, land, and sea movement and general assessment purposes.

The Milorg was the Norwegian underground army which was gradually established in Norway. They had a few extra problems getting started as the severe reprisals for military operations affected not only the resistance movement, but innocent civilians as well. It

finally became formally recognized by the exiled government on November 20, 1941 and was placed under the Norwegian high command.⁴ Once recognized, its basic mission changed to the preparation of action to be taken during the liberation of Norway. The British Special Operations Executive (SOE) worked closely with Milorg providing them with weapons and other equipment. Allied aircraft flew 717 successful sorties out of 1241 dropping 208 agents, 9662 containers and 2762 packages with arms, munitions, explosives, radio equipment, uniforms, medicine, and the like. In addition, 385 tons of arms and equipment were also shipped in from the Shetlands.⁵ When Norway was liberated, the Milorg forces were used to ensure a peaceful and quiet transfer to the legitimate Norwegian government.

Despite earlier sabotage activity, Milorg's main objective in the last year of the war was protection against German destruction of communications, transport, industries, ports, etc., in case of a German withdrawal accompanied by the scorched earth policy as practiced in Finland in the autumn of 1944.⁶ In the spring of 1945, as the Reich collapsed, Milorg's parties played a useful role in protecting the Norwegian infrastructure from any last minute German devastation, except in the far north, where the troops were too strong and experienced.⁷

The final group which was sometimes identified as part of the Milorg, was the Security Guard, also known as S-G. The S-G had two basic missions: protect the underground operations from infiltration and discovery and the other engaged in military sabotage activities against the enemy. The second mission was conducted by the Linge Company commandos and saboteurs.⁸ These commandos were trained in England and traveled back and forth to and from Norway before and after missions on what was known

as the “Shetland Bus,” which consisted of puffers (a type of small ship) crossing the North Sea. Parachuting into Norway from bombers was also a viable option which was often exercised.

The battle against the fighting mechanisms of German police, ships, SS troops, and the Quisling police was an active one. While the truly bloody battles were over by June 10, 1940, there still were constant resistance movements from both the civilian and military organizations. The underground while performing various missions did, in fact, kill members of the enemy. Due to the harsh treatment which would ultimately follow these missions, more peaceful means were eventually used to get around the enemy.

The combination effect of so resolute a stand by so many people against occupation; of a continual run of small coastal raids by commando parties; of continual SOE-inspired acts of sabotage; of the looming threat of Milorg; and of the threatened Allied attack from Scotland, one of the major successes of the “Fortitude” deception plan; was to keep as many as seventeen German divisions in Norway in the summer of 1944. Most of these divisions could have been far more useful deployed elsewhere in Europe. Once the decision was reached to move these forces, railway sabotage ensured that they could only be moved away slowly and with difficulty.⁹

To this end, this was the ultimate success story. As stated earlier, the original thought behind the Norwegian Resistance was to remain free. The aim of beating the “locally” installed German government was proven time after time. Near the closing of the war, the center of gravity shifted to the leadership of Germany. Hitler and his rule over the *Wehrmacht* became the new target. The Norwegians ended up proving to the German leadership the Resistance forces in Norway were so strong that Hitler decided seventeen

German divisions should remain there. It cannot be overstated these forces could have been used to help destroy the incoming Allied invasion in France. The Norwegian Resistance achieved its goal of keeping the German forces occupied while the Allied invasion took place.

German Acknowledgment

It is rare to find real proof of the feelings of the Germans concerning the Norwegian resistance or its effect during the occupation period. The following examples show the wide-spread and unrelenting feelings the effects the Norwegians had on the Germans.

Henry Oliver Rinnan, one of the most dangerous traitors in all of Norway, who conducted operations along the Trondheim coast for years, admitted at the end of the war, after he and his gang were captured, that the spirit or the purpose of the Norwegian Resistance could not be broken.¹⁰ Rinnan, and his personal police force, captured, tortured, and killed hundreds of Norwegians, but still could not break their will.

Hermann Boehm, the German Navy Chief of Staff in Norway, wrote a letter to Grossadmiral Raeder, the German Navy Chief of Staff and stated, “The Norwegian people would rather leave their home country than live under German authority. Norway is the protagonist of Scandinavia.”¹¹

While it is listed above as a Resistance victory, the German acknowledgment was the greatest in the fact it left seventeen divisions within Norway, when they could have been used to help quell the Allied invasion of Normandy and other locations.

Notes

¹ William Warbey, *Look to Norway*, (London: The Camelot Press Ltd. December 1945) 61.

² Ole Kristian Grimnes, "The Beginnings of the Resistance Movement," in *Scandinavia during the Second World War*, ed. Henrik S. Nissen, trans. Thomas Munch-Peterson, (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 198-199.

³ Hans Christian Adamson and Per Klem, *Blood on the Midnight Sun*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc. 1964), 188.

⁴ Grimnes, 202.

⁵ Arnfinn Moland, "Milorg and SOE," in *Britain and Norway in the Second World War*, ed. Patrick Salmon, (London: HMSO, 1995), 148.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁷ M.D.R. Foot, *Resistance: European Resistance to Nazism 1940-1945*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1977), 282.

⁸ Adamson, 188.

⁹ Foot, 282.

¹⁰ Adamson, 264.

¹¹ Hermann Boehm, *Norwegen Zwischen England und Deutschland*, (Germany: Hoppe & Co., 1956), 129.

Chapter 5

Conclusions

If there is anyone who still wonders why this war is being fought, let him look to Norway. If there is anyone who has any delusions that this war could have been avoided, let him look to Norway. And if there is anyone who doubts of the democratic will to win, again I say, let him look to Norway.

—Franklin D. Roosevelt

The Norwegian Resistance was successful against an extremely powerful occupying force. The many victories claimed by the Norwegians and Germany's reaction proves this point. The fact Norway remained free after the Second World War is also proof of their success.

To initiate the analysis of the Norwegian Resistance a short history was provided to give the reader an understanding of where Norway stood and why on April 9, 1940. The Norwegians did not have a large standing force with which to combat the German forces due to its long peaceful history. An outline of Col John Warden's strategic five ring analysis was also provided to give the reader a basic understanding of how a system can be categorized and how the analysis works.

Using John Warden's strategic analysis techniques, it was easy to view Norway and Germany as systems. The elements making up the systems were split up among the five categories of leadership, system essentials, infrastructure, population and fielded forces.

Centers of gravity were identified and were noted to even change for the Norwegian Resistance as the war was nearing conclusion. Norway protected its leadership by ensuring the safety of both the King and the government. Within the German leadership, only Terboven and Quisling, representing the “local” German installed government could be “attacked.” Hitler, other high leadership representatives, and the *Wehrmacht* were too well protected to come under direct attack by the Norwegian forces. It was only in the spring of 1945, when the Norwegians finally affected Hitler’s thinking enough to lead him to make a poor decision concerning the German forces in Norway.

Under system essentials, the gold bullion as well as the paper money was protected from the Germans. The heavy water plant, along with the remaining uncontaminated heavy water, was destroyed by the military resistance. The iron ore supply and the shipping routes to Germany were never interrupted during the entire time of the occupation. Food, supplies, and other essentials were in high demand on both sides, but the Occupier had the strength to demand more of everything they needed, leaving less for the Norwegians. Depending on the time period, the infrastructure was both protected and destroyed by both sides for their own reasons.

Norway’s everyday hard life prepared the citizens for resistance and the hard times which came with the war. Their love of their country and their King also went far in resisting the German Nazification tactics. The German soldiers had to adapt in a rugged country they knew little about and had to get used to the bitter winters. It was often the Norwegian knowledge of their home country which kept them one step ahead of the German forces.

While the German's obviously had the upper hand in fielded forces, the Norwegian military was able to successfully complete several important objectives before they were defeated. Training for new and remaining military forces was conducted in the United Kingdom and in Canada. These forces were used to bring about a quiet and peaceful transition back to the legal Norwegian government once Germany was defeated. The Norwegian merchant fleet was Norway's most important contribution to the Allied war effort. Norway also mounted several Resistance organizations consisting of both military and civilian people. Both Resistance groups chalked up many victories against their much more powerful aggressors.

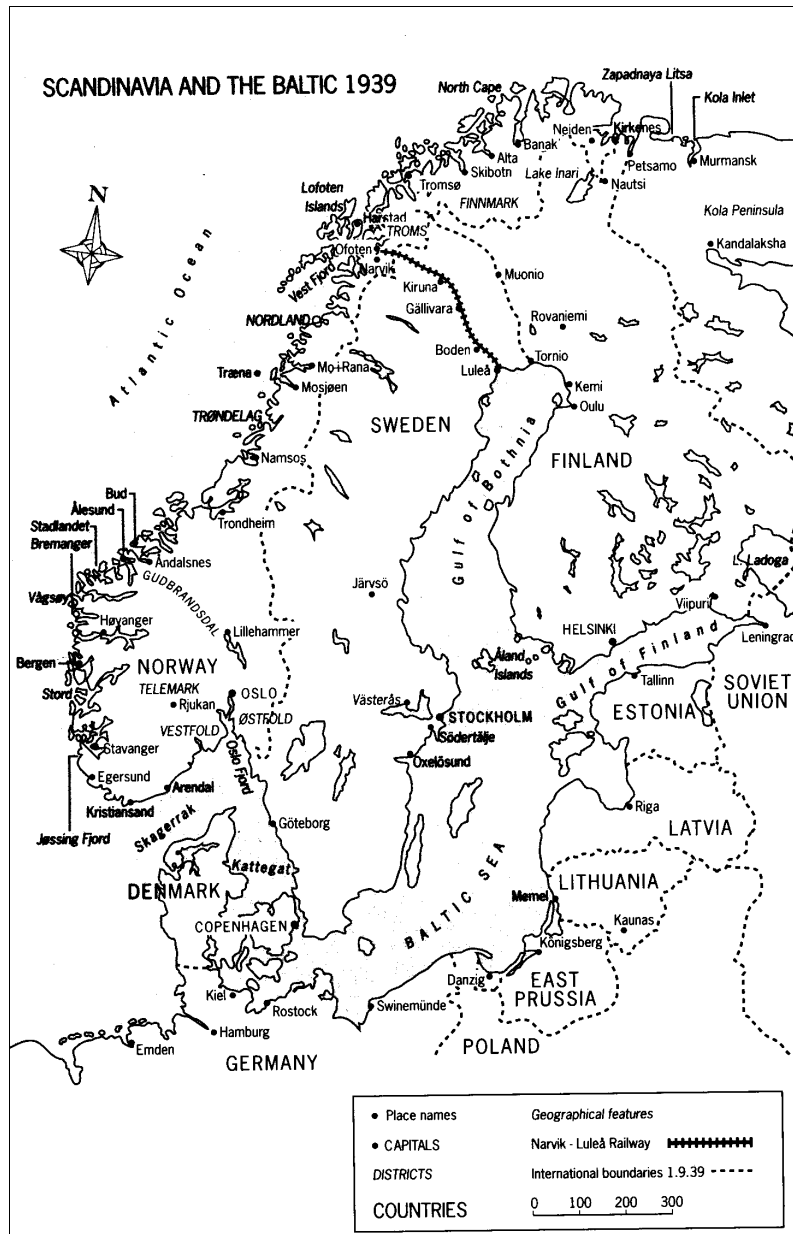
Victories, many being extremely important, were not all that uncommon throughout the occupation. The Norwegian Army destroyed the prized German cruiser *Blücher* on day one of the war. Civilians, to include the church clergy, teachers, and sporting club members, claimed major victories against the Nazification of their organizations. The clergy quit services within the State Church, teachers quit their jobs, and athletes, with their clubs, went on strike for the duration of the war. These were major victories against Quisling and his Nazi government. The Resistance organizations had several sabotage victories against special targets. In all, Norwegian resolve forced Hitler to keep seventeen divisions within Norway when they could have been used better elsewhere. This was probably their greatest victory, as this helped the Allies defeat the Germans and win the war.

The Norwegian Resistance against the Germans was successful in the Second World War. They were successful in keeping their countrymen together in strong resolve against their aggressors. They were successful in minimizing the destruction and devastation of

the countryside and infrastructure. They were successful in keeping their country together in the aftermath of war, allowing for a smooth transition back to the legitimate government of Norway. Norwegian resistance succeeded in keeping Norway free.

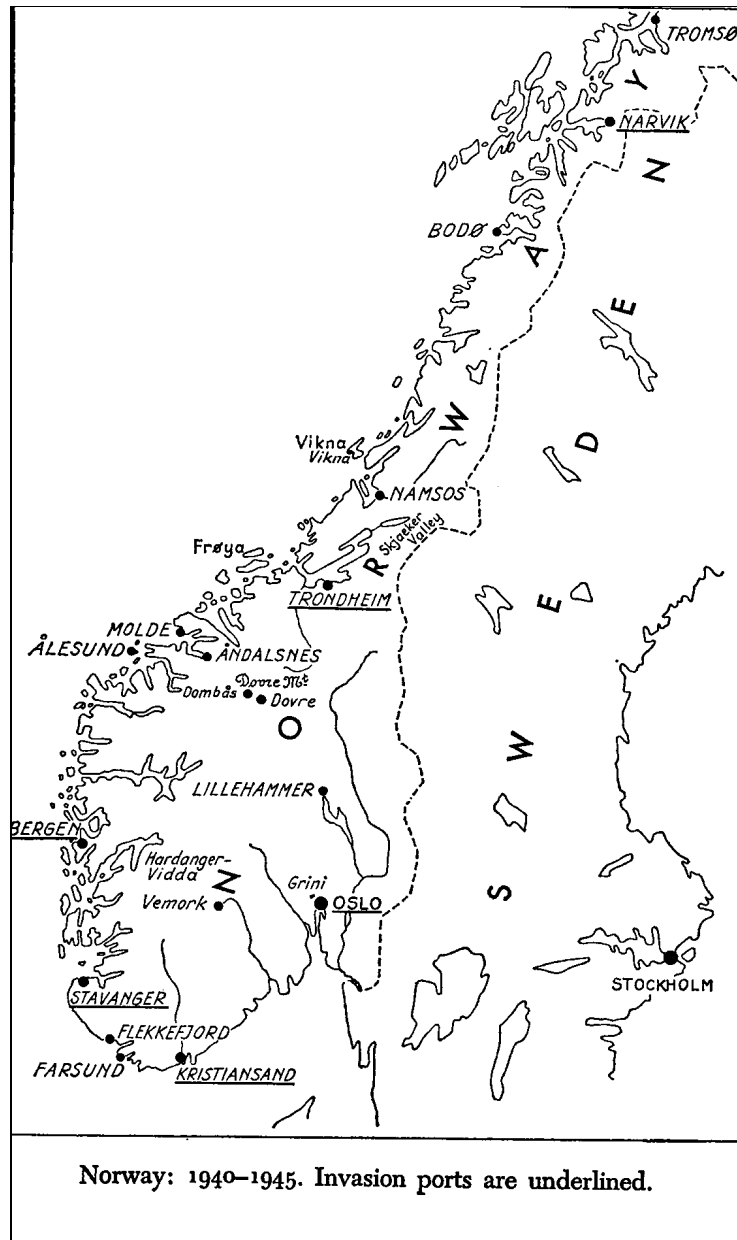
Appendix A

Scandinavia in 1939



Appendix B

Norway After April 9, 1940



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