

MODERN NORWAY

A Study in Social Democracy

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by

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FOREWORD

In the Spring of 1948, the Norwegian Labour Party invited the Fabian Society to send a delegation to Norway to study the aims and achievements of the Norwegian Labour Government. This book is the result. We spent three weeks in Norway, and endeavoured to cover the whole field as thoroughly as possible in the short time available. Inevitably, time was too short for a comprehensive study of all important developments. We believe that nothing vital has been omitted, but we must claim the reader's indulgence for any inadvertent omissions or inadequate treatment.

This book could never have been written without the help of many friends in Norway, too numerous to mention. But we must first thank the Norwegian Labour Party, and in particular, Hr. Haakon Lie, for their great generosity and help in arranging our visit. And our thanks go also to Hr. Konrad Nordahl, Chairman of the Landsorganisasjon, Hr. Andreas Andersen, Director of Arbeidernes Opplysningsforbund, Hr. Hjalmar Helgesen, Director of Sørmarka Folkehøgskole, Hr. Dagfin Juel and Mr. John Inman of the British Embassy in Oslo.

INTRODUCTION

WILLIAM WARBEY

By January 1950, Norway had enjoyed the longest continuous period of Labour rule of any country in the world. During the war years, it is true, the exiled Norwegian Government included a few representatives of the other political parties, but even then the Labour Party held the dominant position. Apart from this period the Labour Party has been the sole Government party since 1935, and looks like maintaining its sway for an indefinite future. Norway has, moreover, long been reckoned as belonging to the generic type of the «Scandinavian democracies», modern, progressive, tranquil and cultured. Her sea-faring traditions, the beauty of her landscape, and the charming simplicity and good nature of her people, have all contributed, with many other factors, including her gallant stand in the late war, to create a natural bond of sympathy with her big neighbour across the North Sea. For all these reasons, British Socialists cannot fail to take a special interest in this small but enterprising country, and as they pursue their own democratic socialist experiment they must surely wish to learn how a similar experiment is progressing in a setting which, at first sight, seems very different from their own.

It was this interest which led us to undertake our investigation, and one of the first things which we discovered was that, despite the difference of context, the political, economic and social problems which confronted us were strangely similar to those we had left behind in Britain, and — even more surprising still — they were often being dealt with in a remarkably similar way. As we went around we found the Norwegians discussing such familiar matters

as — How to increase production, restrain inflation and boost exports; how to strike a correct balance between consumption and investment; how to man up under-manned industries and discourage entry into less essential occupations; which forms of capital investment would produce the best return in the short-term and the long-term; how the trade unions should adapt their structure and functions to the needs of a democratic socialist society; how to ensure that the private sector of industry would comply with the requirements of over-all planning; how to improve the efficiency of the parliamentary democratic machine; whether a return to multi-lateral free trade was desirable, and possible; how to amplify and co-ordinate the social services; how to reconcile local democracy with national needs; how to find security against war, or deliverance in the event of war, now that the Great Powers had fallen out and U.N. had developed no means of enforcing the general will.

As we looked further into these and cognate problems, we found many differences of emphasis and approach compared with our own, but our basic impression — of men and women similar in outlook to ourselves, confronting similar problems and applying to them similar methods — remained substantially unimpaired. Where striking differences exist, as in fishing and forestry, or in the structure and functions of local government, they usually derive from marked differences in geography and climate; the differences are narrowed wherever the economic and social framework becomes more important than the physical setting. While, however, it is interesting to record that the Norwegian way of life is, physical differences apart, not unlike the British, and that the similarities are tending to increase as both countries move forward under like-minded governments, we have also thought it of value to bring to light such differences as do exist, and in particular to emphasise those aspects of Norwegian life or of public activity in which it appears that the Norwegians have been particularly successful, or where they are experimenting with social techniques which appear to be in advance of those employed elsewhere. In this way we may be able to learn something which, *mutatis mutandis*, we can apply to our own domestic situation.

In the following chapters we give a factual account of what we have seen and the information we have gathered, and wherever possible we try to bring out the similarities or contrasts with British conditions, and to indicate the degree of success or otherwise with which the Norwegians are tackling their problems. Before plunging

the reader into this more detailed study, however, it may be useful if we try to provide him with some sign-posts and landmarks. Here then is a brief sketch-map of the country he will travel, and an indication of some of the general conclusions he may be likely to form by the end of his journey.

First, it must always be remembered that most Norwegians never have the sea, or one of its wide-branching inlets, out of sight or out of mind. The sea is their playground, their highway and, for many of them, their work-place. In Norway the great rocky land-masses are the barriers to human intercourse and livelihood; the seas, fjords, valleys and waterfalls are the basis alike of community and of material well-being. Secondly, there are the vast distances, the remoteness of the northern fjord and valley hamlets, and the violent contrast of winter darkness and summer light. Thirdly, there is the Gulf Stream, which enables the Norwegians to populate their whole coastal fringe right round to Kirkenes, and to ripen outdoor tomatoes within the Arctic Circle. Electricity, radio and the aeroplane have completely revolutionised the potentialities of this forbidding geographical environment.

The small scattered communities favoured the growth of a virile local peasant democracy, which never completely lost its character or its bluff independence even under centuries of foreign rule. When partial self-government was achieved in 1814, and complete independence in 1905, the old democratic traditions were reborn in a modern setting. Politicians of peasant stock set the tone and continued to do so long after the industrial revolution had come to Norway. They never ceased to remind their people of three fundamental lessons to be drawn from their historical experience: that Norway has never been happy or prosperous under foreign rule; that national independence and democratic government are indissolubly interlinked; and that active democracy has its roots in the close personal contact of small communities.

The industrial revolution came late and swiftly in Norway, transforming the old social pattern and injecting radical new ideas. The rapid growth of the industrial working class at first promoted the spread of syndicalism and revolutionary socialism or communism, but by the middle twenties the young labour movement had settled down into a more tranquil, though still radical, social-democratic course. The links with the countryside were not broken, however, as many of the Labour leaders were of peasant origin. So too were many members of the other new social classes — the urban middle

classes and even the industrialists and ship-owners. While, therefore, these classes were often at loggerheads during the early period of rapid economic change, they were nevertheless restrained from violent antagonism by a sense of common traditions. The existence of a fairly well balanced variety of social groups also tended to foster a certain social equilibrium, and a recognition that no one social group was entitled to special benefits or privileges. The capitalists were too few in numbers and too weak in economic power and social influence to gain a dominant position, while the industrial workers soon came to recognise that the claims of other social groups, such as the farmers and fishermen, to a reasonable standard of living could not be ignored.

Thus, although the Labour Party gradually came to the forefront, it did not lose touch with other sections of the community, with the result that, during its period of minority rule from 1935 to 1939, it could always rely upon the support of the Farmers' Party or of the Liberals (or sometimes both) to get through its measures of social reform. Up to the Second World War, therefore, Norway was developing as a modern Social Welfare State under Labour leadership, but with the general consent of almost all parties and classes.

The common struggle against the German occupation temporarily deepened the sense of common purpose, so that when the Labour Party emerged into full leadership after the war it was in a position to carry the social transformation of Norway a considerable stage further with the whole-hearted approval of most of the people and with active opposition from almost none. It was generally conceded that the task of rebuilding the Norwegian economy after the occupation would require collective action under firm State leadership, and all the political parties were therefore able to agree upon a Common Programme of economic reconstruction and social reform. While social welfare was not overlooked, a new emphasis became apparent — social planning for higher productivity. These are the new terms in which the post-war Norwegian Labour Party thinks. Measures of nationalisation may be included, if they are regarded as essential for effective planning or just distribution, but in practice there have been no nationalisation measures since the war, and there appears to be no disposition to draw up a largescale nationalisation programme for the future. Norwegians have long been used to State railways, a central State Bank, municipally-owned cinemas and power-stations and State

share-holding in public companies. Certain new post-war projects, mainly in the field of minerals and metals, are being developed under sole or predominant State ownership, but these are mostly specific projects (not whole industries) in which large new capital investment is required. The general preference for the moment is for a mixed economy, in which State and private enterprise exist side by side within the same industry, and even, in some cases, in partnership.

What then does the present-day Norwegian Labour Movement understand by Socialism? To put it very shortly, the *ends* at which it aims are: full and most efficient employment of all human and material resources; a generally high standard of living fairly shared amongst all social groups; equality of opportunity; and the active enjoyment of democratic rights and liberties. The *means* it seeks to employ are: over-all, democratically-controlled State Planning of production, foreign trade and distribution; recognition by all social groups of their obligation to use their property and labour in the service of the community; free and equal education; local and parliamentary democratic institutions; the four freedoms, and a multiplicity of voluntary organisations.

To what extent are these means being employed, and how successful are they in achieving the ends? The answers, in so far as they can yet be given, will be found in the following chapters, but we will try here to summarise them.

A good deal of the machinery of State Planning has been brought into existence, some of it taken over from pre-war or war-time institutions. Norway was one of the first countries in Western Europe to produce a complete National Economic Survey, in the form of an annual «National Budget». Using the machinery set up for this purpose she was able to produce her Four-Year Plan earlier than most other O.E.E.C. countries. To ensure the realisation of the Plan there is a system of controls similar to those employed in this country, while an effort is made to secure the co-operation of private individuals and groups through an elaborate series of joint consultative organs, in which the State participates directly to a greater extent than in Britain. The workers' sense of responsibility is very high, and that of the capitalist groups rather higher than with us, while the cooperation of farmers and fishermen has been won by the very material incentive of high prices. (In defence of the latter it must be said that their average standard of living was very low before the war).

Prices and profits are fairly strictly controlled, the latter at lower levels than in Britain. Essential consumer goods are distributed fairly, though the country people, as everywhere else, get more and better food than the rest. Inflation has been kept well within bounds; the internal financial position is sound, a pretty firm balance has been maintained between consumption and investment, and the latter has been directed into channels, principally merchant shipping, which will bring the highest return in the shortest possible space of time. Longer term development, especially in metals, chemicals and electric power output, has not, however, been neglected.

Practically full employment has been maintained without the use, so far, of the reserve powers to control the movement of labour. Total production is above the pre-war level, with, however, a higher labour force, and it still remains to be seen whether improved capital equipment and new social incentives will lead in future years to higher productivity per man-hour. Average consumption is still only about 90 % of the pre-war level, but this is entirely attributable to the familiar balance of payments problem. The average standard of living is rather below the British, but the income range is narrower than ours, and very few people are to be found at either extreme of the scale. Social security is not yet as comprehensive as in Britain, but compares favourably with our pre-Beveridge Plan standard.

Education is free, or nearly so, at all stages, and children of all classes go to the same schools. Full educational opportunity is only limited by the fact that at the higher levels the maintenance allowances are still inadequate for the poorer families, and that in the remoter country districts the physical obstacles have not been completely overcome. Finally, it may be said with confidence that there are very few countries in the world where the individual citizen has greater opportunities to ensure respect for his person and his rights, and to participate actively in the discussion and conduct of public affairs. Active democracy is particularly virile in the localities and in the great variety of voluntary organisations. The smallest town has its own daily newspaper (and often two or three), and the people live and have their being as free, independent-minded individuals bound only by socially necessary and acceptable restraints.

A word must be said about Norway's external relations. The natural introversion of a country newly emerging into independent

nationhood was partially broken down by the First World War and decisively by the Second. There was a temporary relapse into concentration on internal tasks during the immediate post-war period, but this phase was abruptly disturbed by the dollar crisis and by the growth of international tension. In the political field there was a breakdown of belief in economic prosperity through a speedy revival of multilateral free trade. Because of her world-wide economic interests and her desire for peace and world unity, Norway has been reluctant to enter into the narrower framework of regional associations, whether of an economic or a political character. Necessity has, however, recently driven her to seek the protection and mutual aid facilities of such associations. She has joined O.E.E.C. as an active member, she has investigated anew the possibilities of closer cooperation — economic, cultural and possibly military — with the other Scandinavian countries, and she has finally been brought, by fear of possible Russian aggression, to participation in the Atlantic Pact.

The nature of the strategic dilemma which confronts her, in face of Sweden's insistence upon a traditional policy of neutrality, is dealt with fully in Chapter I, which was written before the possibility of Norway's adherence to the Atlantic Pact had been publicly discussed. Here it is only necessary to add that fear of Soviet Russia's intentions has undoubtedly increased during recent years, while the victory of President Truman, with strong Trade Union support, in the American elections, went far to remove the objections of many Norwegian Socialists to entering into a military alliance with the U.S.A. A minority, composed mainly of former pacifists and «internationalists», would still prefer that Norway should refrain from tying herself to either of the two great power blocs, but even amongst these there is a strong feeling that «what is right for Labour Britain must be right for Labour Norway».

In the last resort, Norway's strong sense of affinity with Britain, deepened by the war-time intimacy and by the post-war sense of community between two countries, near neighbours, set upon the same democratic socialist path, will have the preponderating influence on her external policy. She feels deeply that, in a world still divided by conflicting traditions and ideologies, she belongs to the «West», and that, in the West, the one country whose friendship she most desires and whose path must lie nearest to her own is Britain.

APPENDIX I

Total Exports in 1938 in millions of Swedish Kronor.

<i>Country of Origin</i>	<i>(1) To All Countries</i>	<i>(2) To Scandinavian Countries</i>	<i>(2) as a percentage of (1)</i>
Sweden	1,843.3	299.9	16.2
Denmark	1,331.8	125.6	9.4
Finland	722.2	66.2	9.1
Iceland	50.8	14.1	27.7
Norway	766.0	119.1	15.5
TOTALS	4,716.1	624.9	13.2

APPENDIX II

SUMMARY OF JOINT PROGRAMME AGREED UPON BY THE LABOUR, CONSERVATIVE, FARMERS' AND LIBERAL PARTIES, JUNE 1945

During the occupation there arose a strong desire to preserve during the period of reconstruction the unity and cooperation over and above party divisions which was then such a strength, and on the initiative of the Home Front leadership a committee of representatives of the four large parties was appointed in the autumn of 1944 to study the possibilities of putting forward a joint reconstruction programme which could secure the support of the great majority of the people. Joint negotiations for cooperation on the basis of the programme, which had been produced, began at the end of May 1945, and the following draft of a joint programme, entitled «Work for All», was unanimously approved:

«At the time when our country and our freedom, our community based from old upon law and our whole basis of culture was in deadly peril, we experienced that we were one people in spite of differences in point of view and circumstances and in spite of former struggles. We wish to preserve this experience as a living impulse for the work and life of the people in the Norway of the future.

In Norwegian minds there has been created a community which no power of violence could dissolve. There were none who asked

what party a man belonged to or if he were poor or rich. Every good Norwegian came with his contribution, his fortune and his life, and there was an icy coldness round the little flock who went to the side of the conquerors.

In the shadow of the prisons, concentration camps, and places of execution was created a comradeship of which before we knew nothing, a capacity to hold out and to work together which before we did not know we possessed, so that we finally came to participate in victory with our honour and self-respect intact.

In the light of the tasks of the future, we will call for the same willingness to sacrifice, the same comradeship and the same power to hold out and hold together.

This shall be our thanks to those who fell in the fight — that we make the defeat of dictatorship and brutality into the triumph of democracy and cooperation. Together we won the war — together we shall win the peace.

There will in the future also be parties and differences of opinion among our people. This is indissolubly bound up with freedom. We do not want forced unification; it belongs to dictatorship. But we will use the comradeship of the years of struggle for a joint effort for the country's reconstruction after the war and for fundamental tasks which can make Norway a safe and good home for all.

On this basis we appeal to our people to support the following principles:

Norway shall be governed in accordance with the democratic principles which found their expression in the Eidsvoll Constitution and the further development of government by the people up to 1940. No form of dictatorship must be tolerated.

The personal and political rights, which the Constitution promises to all the country's citizens, must be inviolable, and the Norwegian people must again be able to live in safety in the protection of the law after having gone through the violence, terror, and lawlessness of the occupation period. Everyone shall be able freely to express his opinion and work to further it, and no one must exercise pressure on others' opinions by violence or threats.

All those capable of work shall have the right and duty to work.

Our regained freedom and independence shall be maintained and protected. »

The main points in the programme are as follows:

New Storting to be elected as soon as possible. The new Storting should lower the voting age to 21. New local elections as soon as possible.

Commission to be appointed to investigate the actions of the Storting, the Government, and the civil and military administration before and after April 9, 1940, which will report to the Storting.

Steps to be taken to secure Norwegian supplies, and to rebuild destroyed areas and damaged productive apparatus. No unemployment must be tolerated; all public and private enterprise to be used for reconstruction. Steps to be taken to secure sufficient trained labour. Control over foreign exchange, raw materials and prices, and rationing, to continue until the new Storting has been able to determine basic policy on these questions. Social services to be maintained.

Support to be given to victims of the war and their dependents. Punishment of traitors by legal process.

Economic Policy.

The task of all economic activity is to secure increased production and work for all. The most must be made of all private and public initiative, with good and planned co-operation between the State and private interests, and administration must be suitably reorganised to this end. Industrial Councils should be set up in all industries and there should be a Co-ordination Council to advise the Government on economic, financial, and commercial questions. The State should have its own representatives on these councils, and there should also be representatives of industrial, commercial, and workers' organisations. The Storting should decide the scope of their functions.

Monetary policy must be determined by the needs of the community, and so as to create stability and confidence. Prices, and monetary and credit policy, must be in accordance with economic policy generally.

Development of scientific investigation for industry and economic statistics.

Production Committees, with advisory functions, should be set up in individual enterprises, with the representatives of the workers, employers, and office staffs, to improve production, welfare, and trade training.

Development of the employment exchange system. Wages agreements throughout between employers', workers' and office workers' organisations, so that all disputes can be settled without strikes or lockouts. If trade union organisation is insufficient, wages and working conditions to be determined by the National Conciliator. All public works schemes to pay recognised wage rates.

Taxation policy to distribute burdens fairly on the various income groups, with special reliefs to families with children. Simplification of taxation system, with relief to poorer local authorities. Taxation on current income, and gradual removal of sales tax.

Agricultural policy must give agriculture a position corresponding to that of other occupations. Family ownership of farms to be assured. Increased cultivation of new land and improvement of existing land. Extension of insurance, and marketing organisations. Agriculture to dispense with imported feeding-stuffs as far as possible. Better access for farmers to results of agricultural research. Cooperation in selling to stabilise prices and development of exports.

The shipping and whaling fleet must be brought up to its pre-war size as soon as possible, and so that it is fully capable of competition. Development of shipbuilding and repairing yards. Industrial development must utilise Norwegian resources. The question of iron production must be solved. Norwegian natural products such as timber, fish, ore, etc., must be worked up as far as possible in Norwegian industry.

Development of hydro-electric power and electrification of railways. National plan for transport cooperation. Development of road system.

Social policy.

Development of social legislation so as to make the poor law unnecessary. Unification of social insurance. Reconsideration of children's allowances question. National system of health centres. Standardisation of articles in common use to secure good quality at reasonable prices.

Housebuilding in destroyed areas to have priority. Plans to be worked out to secure adequate housing for all.

A determined policy to encourage temperance.

Church and cultural policy.

The Norwegian Church to remain as a State Church. Unification and co-ordination of school system. Improvement of schools in

country districts. Raising of status of trade schools. Schools should give knowledge on social affairs and train for democratic responsibilities. Opportunities for leisure activities to be developed. Improvement of opportunities of scientific research.

Defence.

Defences to be built up on the basis of war experience. Support to be given to the development of an international security system on a basis of law. In international cooperation the Norwegian Government should work to secure the rights of small nations, fair distribution of raw materials, freedom of shipping and greatest possible international exchange of goods.

Committees should be set up as soon as possible to work out all important reconstruction plans.

A Joint Committee of the parties is to be set up to secure cooperation between them, and to provide opportunity for discussion of proposals put forward by any of them. This discussion should take place before the proposal in question is published, so that it can be investigated whether it is possible to put it forward as a joint proposal from the parties. In this way prestige and other irrelevant considerations can be avoided.

In the Storting election, each party should put forward its own candidates, and can publish its own programme, as well as the common programme. The parties and their papers should argue in a reasonable manner during the election campaign, and should avoid abuse and the rousing of suspicions. Similar arrangements should be made for the local elections.

Statement from the Norwegian Communist Party.

«At the conference on June 19 P. Furubotn pointed out the lack of a clear formulation of the main lines for the country's economic policy. The main line must be to develop the country's productive forces in correspondence with the productive technique made possible by modern science, in industry, agriculture, forestry, fishing and transport. In other words: our people have the great national task: to develop the country's productive forces with the object of satisfying the people's material and cultural needs.

In regard to foreign policy the platform has the same weakness. In our opinion foreign trade or the exchange of goods with

foreign countries must serve the same main lines in the country's economic policy.

With these reservations regarding the platform, it is subscribed by the Norwegian Communist Party.▶

APPENDIX III

Norwegian Labour Party's Election Manifesto, 1945.

The Norwegian Labour Party will devote its energies to the following questions during the period of the next *Storting*. (Note: The *Storting* is elected for a period of four years.)

1. *Reconstruction and house-building.*

The building up with all possible speed of the health and working capacity of the people, and the means of production and communication, in accordance with a unified plan for the whole country. An effective supply policy, together with a just distribution of all goods entering into consumption. Active communal effort for extensive house-building in country districts, centres of industry, and the cities, so that the housing shortage can be done away with, and decent homes secured for the whole population.

2. *Planning and co-ordination in economic life.*

Control and regulation by the community of the banking and credit system, industry, and foreign trade, with the object of securing full utilisation of the country's natural resources, capital and labour. Co-ordination and cooperation between and within individual trades, with the object of utilising all the results of modern research in the service of production. Workers and office personnel to be given a share in the management of industries and concerns so that they can contribute to a greater extent to the increase of production and the efficiency of labour in the country's economic life. By this means also new possibilities should be opened for securing a just distribution of the products of labour.

3. *Work for all.*

The right to work to be made a part of the Constitution. Greatly extended industrial reconstruction and rationalisation of industrial production. The problem of iron and steel production to be solved. Extension of the ship-building industry to secure a speedy

reconstruction of the merchant fleet. Speedy development and extension of our fish refining industry. Further road-building and electrification of railways. Planned extension of electricity supply. More energetic development of forests and modernisation of agriculture.

4. Better living standards in town and country.

The wage-earners' real incomes, which have greatly fallen during the war, must be raised. Price control, taxation policy favourable to families, and other social policies to be carried out, with the object of raising the standard of life of the broad masses of the people. Remunerative prices for timber, agricultural products and fish.

5. Opportunities for Norway's youth.

Increased opportunities for youth in work and trade. All children to be secured education corresponding to their talents and capacities, irrespective of the economic circumstances of their parents. Extension of the schools system, trade training and other popular education.

6. Defence of Human Rights.

The right to work and leisure, the same rights for women as for men throughout the life of the community, freedom of religion and conscience, freedom of organisation, the inviolability of the individual citizen.

7. International cooperation and national defence.

In the consciousness that these human rights can only be made safe in a free and independent Norway, all efforts must be devoted to furthering friendly cooperation with all democratic peoples, while at the same time modern defences are built up, with their basis in the Norwegian people.

The Norwegian Labour Party has during a generation worked for social progress in Norway. Today the party turns to the whole of the Norwegian people and asks for its support for the carrying out of a policy which will create the conditions for:

full production and work for all,
a higher standard of living,
economic and social security,

in a Norway where the democratic rights of the people are assured.

APPENDIX IV.

Percentage of Electorate Voting in Local Government Elections.

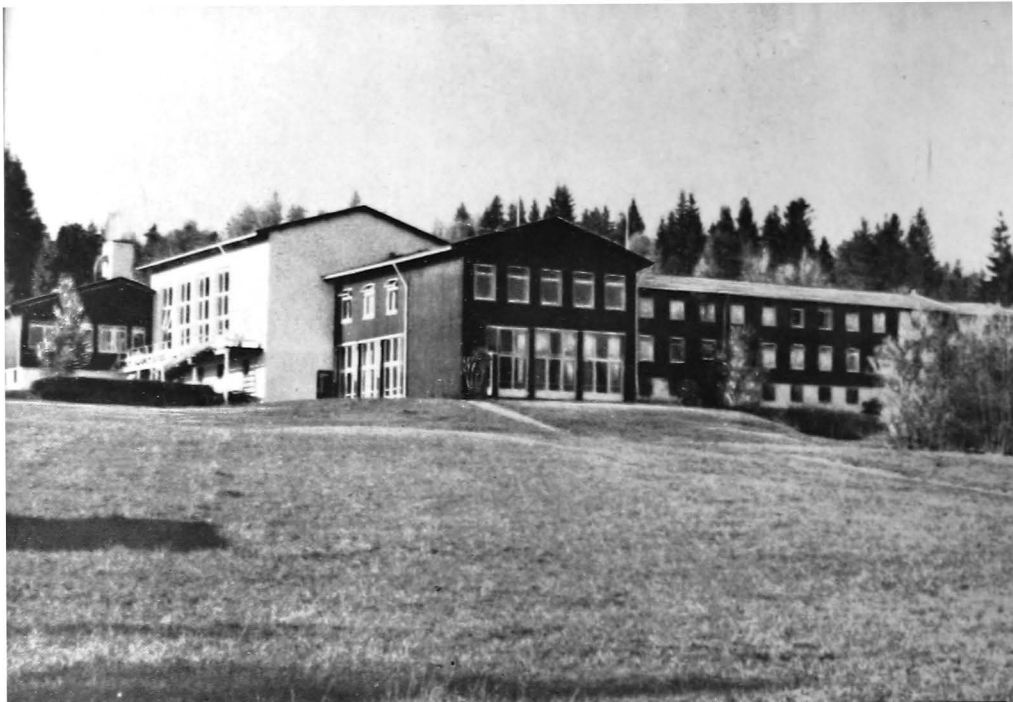
<i>Year</i>	<i>Rural Districts</i>			<i>Urban Districts</i>			<i>Total</i>		
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Wo- men</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Wo- men</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Wo- men</i>	<i>Total</i>
1901	41.2	9.5	30.1	56.9	48.0	53.3	45.0	20.9	36.2
1907	48.9	19.1	38.3	70.8	62.6	67.1	54.5	33.7	46.5
1910	55.1	26.2	40.4	73.3	61.6	66.7	59.8	36.9	47.7
1913	57.9	30.2	43.7	74.6	64.8	69.0	62.3	40.9	51.0
1916	54.8	30.6	42.4	68.0	60.6	63.8	58.5	40.3	48.8
1919	59.7	37.3	48.1	68.4	58.3	62.6	62.1	44.1	52.5
1922	62.7	40.6	51.4	75.1	67.7	70.9	66.2	49.5	57.4
1925	65.6	46.8	56.0	80.7	75.2	77.6	69.9	56.2	62.6
1928	68.2	50.9	59.4	81.9	77.8	79.6	72.0	59.7	65.5
1931	70.1	52.3	61.1	80.5	74.3	77.0	73.0	59.6	66.0
1934	74.6	58.7	66.6	82.3	77.8	79.8	76.8	65.0	70.6
1937	74.1	60.8	67.8	81.2	78.1	79.5	76.6	66.6	71.4
1945	70.3	56.7	63.5	73.8	67.2	70.1	71.3	60.0	65.5
1947	73.0	62.1	67.6	80.9	77.5	79.0	75.5	67.8	71.6



↑ *The Town Hall, Oslo.*
Official photo.

↓ *The Samfundshuset, Oslo. Co-operative
and Trade Union Building.* Off. photo.





▲ Folk High School and Trade Union
School, Sørmarka. Official photo.

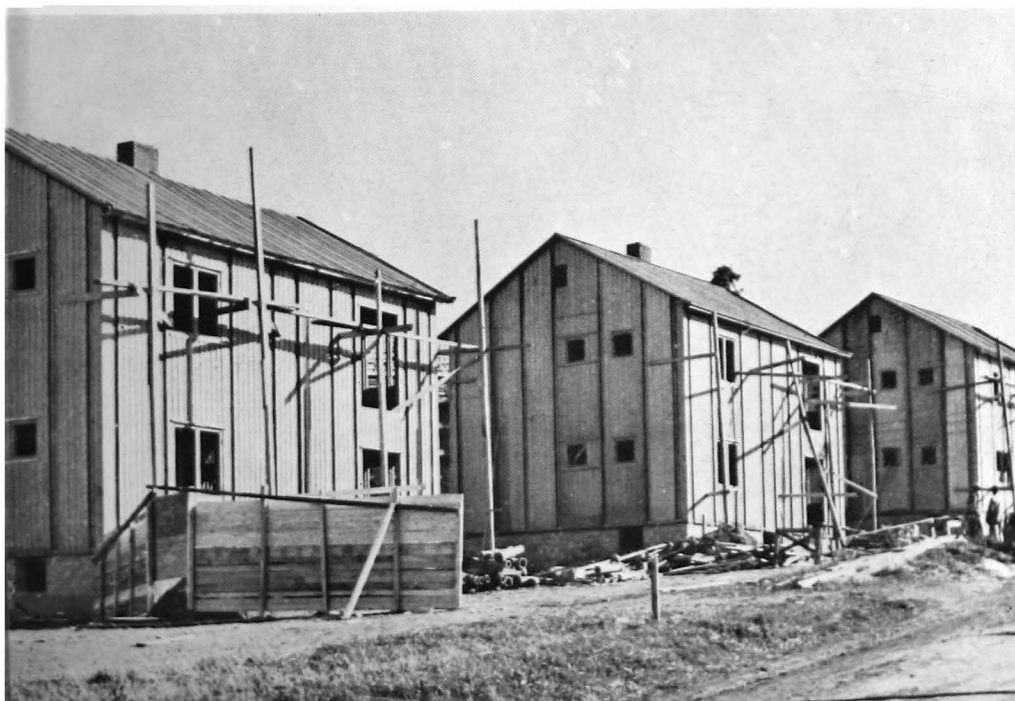
↓ A modern school outside. Oslo.
Official photo.





↑ *Workers' flats, Oslo.
Official photo.*

↓ *Wooden Swedish houses under
construction, Oslo. Off. photo.*





The Lofoten fishing fleet. Official photo.



Power Station, Rjukan.

Official photo.

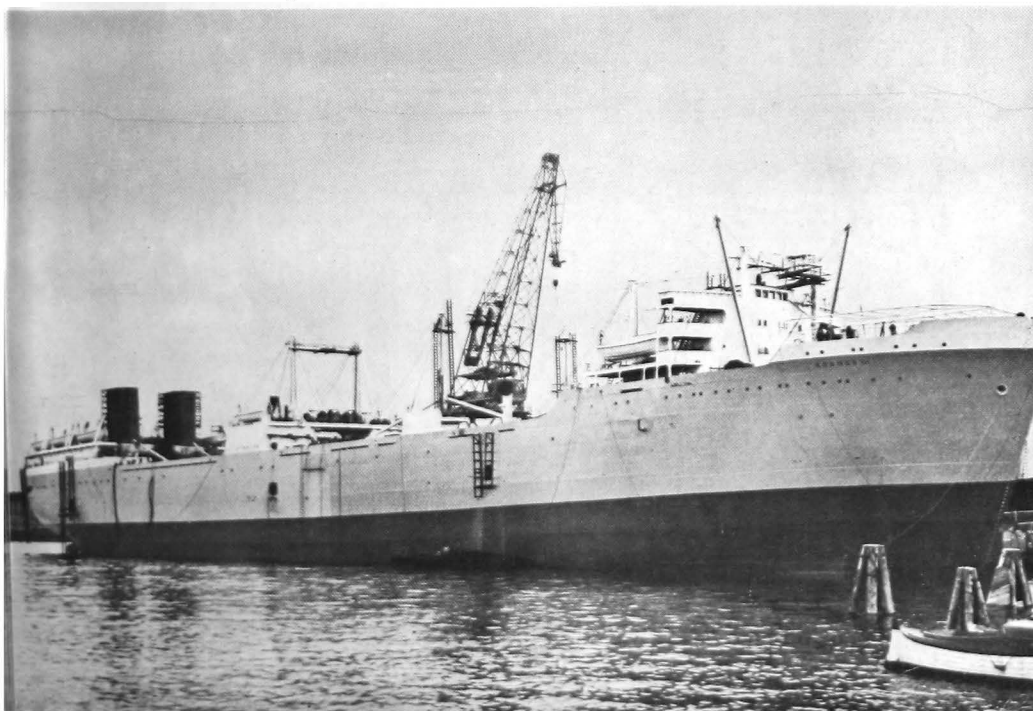


Hydro electric plant, Nore. Official photo.



↑ *Timber.*
↑ *Official photo.*

↓ *Kosmos III, a new whaling vessel.*
↓ *Official photo.*





War-devastated Hammerfest under reconstruction.

Official photo.

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