In a World of Total War: Norway 1939–1945

1. Relevance relative to the call for proposals
The project will further ground-breaking research into the history of Norway during the Second World War and ensure the dissemination of the current status of knowledge. Its salient aspects are as follows:

- UiT The Arctic University of Norway (UiT) has made a long-term commitment to host the project and provide funding for scholarly and administrative support.
- Four institutions which have specialized in researching and/or teaching aspects of Second World War history will cooperate in the project.
- The principal investigator (PI) and the scholars in the research group are all specialists in aspects of the war as well as in the history of the High North.
- Specialist studies will be carried out within the four thematic areas identified below; in addition, the project will lay the groundwork for a research-based general survey of Norway in the Second World War.
- The project aims to achieve a gender balance among the participants, as well as a mix of senior and junior researchers, and will give priority to the scholarly development of the latter.
- The project will actively seek to develop further national and international research cooperation in the field of Second World War studies.
- Based on a realistic and detailed dissemination plan the project will publicize research results both through scholarly channels, the media, teaching programmes and museums.

2. Aspects relating to the research project

2.1. Background and status of knowledge
The Second World War has hardly been taught at the academic level in Norway since the early 1980s.1 As a result, recruitment to research in this field has suffered. Although much has been published, research has primarily been carried out at extramural institutions.2 The present project aims to redress the balance by integrating scholars and establishing strong research environments in the affiliated institutions, institutionalizing cooperation with other researchers in Norway and abroad, and developing a set of teaching programmes at the bachelor and master levels. In addition, the project will serve as the initial stage in a planned synthesis of recent research, to be published as a monograph on Norway in the Second World War.

It is now broadly accepted that the patriotic memory culture dominant in most West European countries in the decades after 1945 has narrowed the range of subjects and perspectives in the historiography of the Second World War. Subjects which did not fit into the patriotic framework, were marginalized. In Norway, these included the country’s integration into the German war economy, non-ideological forms of collaboration, the deportation of Norwegian Jews, the widespread use of foreign forced labour, assassinations carried out by the resistance movement and the post-war treatment of women who had consorted with German soldiers, of the offspring of these unions and of the children of Nazi Party members.3 During recent decades, the patriotic framework has gradually been replaced by a more critical, universalist and human rights oriented emphasis in the culture of remembrance. This is also

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1 Only recently, UiT, NTNU and UiO have started to offer BA and MA courses on the Second World War.
2 Two exceptions, covering the judicial épuration and forced labour, deserve to be mentioned: «Å overkomme fortiden: Rettssoppøret etter 1945», at UiO, the results of which were summarized in Hans Fredrik Dahl & Øystein Sørensen (eds.), Et rettferdig oppgjør? Rettssoppøret i Norge etter 1945 (Oslo 2004); and the on-going research project «Tvangsarbeidets politiske økonomi. Organisation Todt i Norge under andre verdenskrig», initiated at NTNU in 2011.
3 For a general overview of the shifts in Norwegian and Western European memory culture, and of the historiography on Norway and the Second World War, see Arnd Bauerkämper et al. (ed.), From Patriotic Memory to a Universalistic Narrative? Shifts in Norwegian Memory Culture after 1945 in Comparative Perspective (Essen 2014); Synne Corell, Krigens ettertid. Okkupasjonshistorien i norske historiebøker (Oslo 2010).
characteristic for Norwegian historiography. The most obvious change has been a significant increase of interest in the crimes and victims of National Socialism, the Holocaust above all, but also in other aspects of Germany’s policies of extermination and exploitation, such as the mass murder of Soviet POWs and the use of foreign forced labour. The historiographical reorientation is also characterized by a more critical treatment of the post-war judicial épuration of NS members, the treatment of collaborationists, children of party members and Norwegians who were engaged in intimate relations with German soldiers. In recent years, there has also been a greater willingness to consider responses to the occupying forces across the spectrum – from active resistance, through enforced, pragmatic or self-interested cooperation, to ideologically motivated collaboration. This tendency is reflected in a number of studies covering the economic collaboration of private companies and state enterprises, which often entailed their being caught up in the crimes of the occupying power and the Quisling regime. Other projects have considered the various reactions of public institutions to German rule, beyond the economic sphere. A final trend in recent research has been a growing tendency to adopt perspectives associated with the so-called “new cultural history”. This shift has, inter alia, resulted in a number of studies of Norwegian cultures of remembrance.

International research complements national approaches in areas not covered by Norwegian historians. Norway’s position in the strategies of the great powers – before and during the occupation, the background to the German invasion, and the invasion itself have all primarily been covered by non-Norwegian historians. The same goes for economic plans to integrate Norway into the Nazi Großwirtschaftsraum, the relationship between various German authorities and their Norwegian counterparts, the structure of the occupation regime and its policies. In addition, several German historians have in recent years analyzed the Norwegian memories of the war and occupation.

The work of Norwegian scholars has been supplemented by a number of biographies, memoirs and TV documentaries. Thus, the existing literature, both popular and scholarly, is voluminous and rich in detail. All too often, however, the Norwegian literature is insufficiently situated in the international scholarship. Thus, on the one hand, it must be an aim of this research project to establish a firmer and more internationally committed scholarly dialogue, which will broaden our understanding of Norwegian war experiences. On the other hand, and just as important, the existing literature, both popular and scholarly, is voluminous and rich in detail. All too often, however, the Norwegian literature is insufficiently situated in the international scholarship. Thus, on the one hand, it must be an aim of this research project to establish a firmer and more internationally committed scholarly dialogue, which will broaden our understanding of Norwegian war experiences. On the other hand, and just as important,

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5 i.e. Ingerid Hagen, Oppgjørets time. Om landssvikoppgjøret skyggesider (Oslo 2009); Kåre Olsen, Krigens barn. De norske krigsbarne og deres mødre (Oslo 1998).


9 i.e. Bauer kämer et al. (eds.), From Patriotic Memory to a Universalistic Narrative? Corell, Krigens ettertid.


12 i.e. Susanne Maerz, Okkupasjonstidens lange skygger. Fortidsbearbeidelse i Norge som identitetsdiskurs (Oslo 2010); Clemens Maier, Making Memories. The Politics of Remembrance in Postwar Norway and Denmark, PhD dissertation, European University Institute 2007.
it is our goal to make a significant contribution to the international research on the Second World War. To achieve this, the project calls for systematic and coordinated research efforts within four thematic complexes.

2.2. The four work packages: Approaches, hypotheses and choice of method
The choice of work packages (WPs), individual projects and perspectives are guided by three main concerns:

(i) The war in Norway must be treated as one aspect of a European, even global, phenomenon: the total war between the Axis and the Allies. A substantial amount of the Norwegian literature on the war and the occupation – not to speak of Norwegian historiography in more general terms – is limited by a methodological nationalism. This project will lay great emphasis on the need to liberate research from constraining national perspectives, both by placing Norwegian experiences within a broader international context and by adopting comparative and transnational perspectives.

(ii) Northern Norway and the Northern Cap [“Nordkalotten”] is the geographical focus of the project. Adopting this northern perspective is useful for several reasons. Firstly, Northern Norway was of great strategic significance to the great powers, and that significance shifted with the about-changes of the war. Little is known about the nature and degree of Nazi-Soviet strategic cooperation in the north prior to and following Weserübung. By 1941, however, Operation Barbarossa turned the Litsa front into a sharply contested battlefield, which spilled over into Finnmark. At the same time British convoys to ports in Northern Russia were attacked from bases in Norway. Secondly, Northern Norway, Bear Island and Svalbard were particularly important to Norwegian foreign and security policy. Thirdly, Northern Norway was the scene of the most intense fighting on Norwegian soil during the war, both between allied and German forces in 1940 and between German and Soviet forces in 1944.

(iii) The northern point of view is also a productive one in our quest to integrate recent methodological approaches and concepts, including gender, everyday experiences, identity and memory, as reflected in the composition of projects below. The occupation of Northern Norway displayed certain specific characteristics: the German military presence was enormous compared to the civilian population; economic activities were closely integrated into the German war economy and received a strong stimulus; the surge in construction led to large numbers of Soviet POWs and other foreign slave labourers being transported to the region; the forced evacuation of the population of Finnmark and northern Troms in the winter of 1944–45, in combination with the systematic destruction carried out during the German retreat, was an experience the rest of the country did not have to endure; and, finally, the ethnic composition of the population was different in the north, with a strong component of Sami and people of Finnish extraction. Taking these specifics into account does not, however, imply that the project is limited to studying the war in the north, rather that a northern point of view is conducive to treating the war in Norway in relation to broader transnational developments.

The division into WPs reflects an overarching project architecture: WP A is concerned with upper-echelon topics such as high politics, grand strategy and alliances. WP B narrows the scope by focusing on the ambitions and internal dynamics of the German occupation regime and the ensuing responses of Norwegian industry and commerce. WP C will investigate aspects of the social and human impact of the war on the civilian population, German soldiers, and Soviet POWs, while WP D will turn to the issue of how the war was remembered after 1945.

Work package A: Grand Strategy and the Small State: The Great Powers, the German Assault and Norwegian Wartime Alliances, headed by Tom Kristiansen
Since the 1980s, the so-called «traditional» topics in the history of Norway in the Second World War – grand strategy, defence policy and war fighting – have been marginalized in academic teaching and research. During the same decades, international scholarship has developed new methodological approaches integrating ideological, military and economic objectives in the study of policy formulation, and has also benefitted from newly available archives, especially in Eastern
Europe. This WP sets out to explore how Norway positioned itself within the changing configuration of great and small powers in Northern Europe from the late 1930s, and how these changes affected Norwegian security thinking. More specifically, it aims to cover subjects not addressed by previous research, such as Soviet policy and the far north as an area of incipient Great Power rivalry, a pattern which later became evident during the Cold War.

Despite the fact that the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact created the overall diplomatic framework for the first two years of the war, Soviet policy towards Scandinavia and its interaction with German and Allied intentions has hardly been taken into consideration. After Barbarossa, Finnmark was drawn into hostilities on the Northern Front and the Soviet Union became an ally. The Norwegian government in London was forced to balance national interests against the overall objectives of the wartime alliance, as well as relations with neutral Sweden. From 1942, Norwegian interests in the far north were challenged and the region came to play an increasingly important role in government policy. Relations with the Soviet Union became more complex. Renewed Soviet interest in the Svalbard archipelago, alleged Soviet interest in free harbours in Northern Norway and the prehistory and the aftermath of the Soviet move into Eastern Finnmark in October 1944 directly affected national sovereignty and can be seen as precursors of the Cold War. Consequently, the WP explores to what degree the issues arising in the north during the war are among the formative factors behind the fundamental shift in Norwegian security thinking that took place in the years leading up to the signing of the Atlantic pact in April 1949. The programme will finance the following projects:

A1: Professor Rolf Hobson’s research project “The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the Great Powers and Scandinavia 1939–41” will utilize Russian archival material and result in a peer-reviewed article. The project will seek to evaluate the impact of the Nazi-Soviet Pact on the strategic situation of Scandinavia prior to the invasion of April 1940, and subsequently on Russo-German relations in the north during the year between the German occupation and the attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941. Hobson has previously worked in Russian archives and will cooperate with Professor Alexey Komarov at the Institute of World History at the Russian Academy of Sciences (see enclosed statement).

A2/A3/A4: The two sub-projects “The formative exile” are interconnected and will result in peer-reviewed articles. The projects will reconsider the evolution of Norwegian war policies relative to the challenges that arose in the far north, based on Norwegian, British, Swedish and American sources not available to previous scholars. The extent to which the complex of specifically northern issues influenced Norway’s relations to other Western powers, and the long-term consequences this may have had, has not been systematically addressed in previous scholarship. The projects will be carried out by Associate Professor Stian Bones (A2), Professor Hallvard Tjelmeland (A3). Bones will cooperate closely with Peder Roberts and Dag Avango (A4) at the partner institution, the Royal Institute of Technology (Stockholm).

A5: The project “Perceptions of the Norwegian War Contributions to the Grand Alliance” will investigate how the Americans and the British considered the totality of Norwegian war contributions. Regardless of the fact that Norway was a small country, the merchant navy provided a geyser of revenues that enabled the government in exile to establish an array of capacities. The sum-total of these achievements has previously not been comprehensively analysed. The study will be carried out by the academic leader of the project and result in a peer-reviewed article.

A6: The project “The military and economic importance of Petsamo/Pechenga 1939–1947” discusses the strategic importance of the Pechenganikel combine. While earlier studies have tended to highlight the military strategic importance of the Petsamo/Pechenga territory, this study will analyze economic importance of the Pechenganikel combine – of immediate importance especially to Germany and the Soviet Union, but also to other belligerents. The project will be carried out by Senior Researcher Lars Rowe at the Fridtjof Nansen Institute.

For instance, archival material stemming from the Swedish Security Service and the activities of the Office of Strategic Services in Sweden, have to a very limited extent been utilized before, because of the declassification process.
The following three externally funded and related projects will be attached to the WP: A7) A PhD project on the Narvik campaign; A8) A PhD project on Finnmark from War to Peace–May 1944 to September 1945; A9) The PI’s biography of the chief of defence during the campaign, General Otto Ruge.

**Work package B: The Occupation Regime: Ambitions and Responses, headed by Hans Otto Frøland**

The main aim of this WP is to develop a comprehensive understanding of the occupation regime in Norway – both its intentions, institutions and projects. In studying how it actually functioned, it will further be possible to explain the reactions of different groups in Norwegian society in the various grey zones between ideological collaboration and resistance. This WP can build on a recent research project into the use of forced labour in Norway, led by Hans Otto Frøland, which has made it possible to draw comparisons between the economic history of the occupation in Norway and other countries.

Leading postwar historians tended to highlight the ways in which the occupation regime overrode Norwegian interests. Subsequent studies by Alan Milward and Robert Bohn were more concerned with (conflicting) German ambitions and comparative dimensions. Most recently, the planned nazification of the public sector, the aims of the SS and *Organisation Todt* have all been studied by Norwegian historians. WP B takes as its point of departure the substantial scholarly literature on the polycratic nature of the Nazi state. So far, this model has primarily been used to explain developments within Germany and has not been applied to the occupation regimes.

B1: This is the objective of the first sub-project “Polycracy and Common Interests in the German Occupation Regime: Studies of Cooperation and Conflict between Wehrmacht, Reich Commissariat, SS and OT”. The project will be conducted within the framework of a postdoctoral fellowship, funded by the project, and announced internationally. The fellowship will be based at NTNU, and will result in two peer-reviewed articles.

B2: Another question, closely connected to the polycracy study, is the “The Costs of Occupation and the Question of Reparations: Discussions between German and Norwegian Authorities”. The project will seek to identify the funding streams behind the activities of the occupation authorities during the occupation, and the discussion of occupation costs between Norwegian and German authorities, as well as among the German agencies, after 1945. The study will be carried out by Hans Otto Frøland, in his capacity of Adjunct Professor at UiT, and will result in one peer-reviewed article.

B3 and B4: The two sub-projects “Keeping the Wheels Turning? Economic Responses to the German Occupation”, will deal with economic collaboration. The subject attracted only marginal interest in Norwegian historical research until the late 1980s. However, in recent decades several studies have shown that the occupation created business opportunities for Norwegian enterprises, which they exploited in accordance with their own, sometimes far-reaching strategic goals.14 Sub-project B3 (carried out by Associate Professor Anette Storeide) aims to present a systematic multi-sectoral synthesis of Norwegian industry between 1940 and 1945, based on the extensive research that has been carried out in recent years, as well as relevant archival material.15 Sub-project B4 (carried out by Associate Professor Bjørn-Petter Finstad) will present an in-depth analysis of the Norwegian fishing industry. Apart from presenting original research on Norway, the sub-projects have the additional ambition of developing more productive conceptual frameworks for the analysis of economic collaboration. This work will build on an ongoing project at NTNU.16 The sub-projects will result in two peer-reviewed articles.

B5: The project “The Military Courts of the Wehrmacht” will investigate another central aspect of the occupation regime, i.e. the German military justice system in occupied Norway. In

15 The National Archives of Norway keeps the files of the 16 400 post-war investigations of suspected economic collaboration.
recent years, a range of studies has revealed the important role of the Wehrmacht and its military courts in implementing Nazi policies and enforcing consent among both the German military and civilians in the occupied territories. The Wehrmacht *Feldgerichte* and *Reichskriegsgericht* conducted ten times more criminal proceedings against civilians in Norway in 1942 than the newly established *SS- and Polizeigerichte*. The project will analyse court documents to establish how the Germans transferred legal, ideological, moral and gender norms to a Norwegian setting; to identify the strategies applied to produce consent; and to shed light on the complex relations between Norwegian civilians and German military personnel. The work will be carried out by Associate Professor Maria Fritsche at NTNU and result in a peer-reviewed article.

In addition to the projects funded by the research grant, two externally funded, ongoing and related studies will be encompassed in the WP: B6) “Organisation Todt and the German Construction Industry in Norway: Its Relations with the Norwegian Construction Industry”, to result in a peer-reviewed article. B7) “Organisation Todt in Finland and its Retreat into Norway in 1944: The Impact on Northern Norway”, to result in a peer-reviewed article.

**Work package C: Everyday Life and Minorities in the North: Comparison and Pericentrism**, headed by Marianne Neerland Soleim

Several sub-projects in this WP will adopt a comparative perspective on the German occupation and its effects on Northern Norway, Northwest Russia and Northern Finland, with regard to everyday life and the position of minorities. While addressing the special features of the social history of the Northern Front, as well as the population and minority policy in this area, the work package will provide a pericentric view which will add to the huge and intensely debated international scholarship on this field.  

C1: One sub-project, “The Experience of Enforced Cohabitation”, seeks to establish how the large number of German servicemen affected gender relations, and how the asymmetry between the occupation forces and the local population affected social relations in the north. The formidable German presence in Norway makes it fruitful to study the occupation from a gender perspective.

In order to establish a “thick description” of the social history of Norwegian women and German soldiers, it is necessary to include sources from the post-war period, such as documents from post-war trials and other legal proceedings, for instance in connection with divorces. Such sources will complement the documents related to the Lebensborn program, which of course will be a point of departure for the empirical work. The study will be financed by the project, to result in two peer-reviewed articles. The work will be carried out by Dr. Ruth Sindi, who works at the university library of Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel.

C2: In recent years, research has shed new light on National Socialist racial policies in Norway and its consequences for the Jewish and Romani minorities. However, almost no research exists on the history of the northern minorities, the Saami and the Kvens. This sub-projects sets

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18 Berit Nokleby, *Skatt blir den… Tysk bruk av dødsstraff i Norge 1940–45* (Oslo 1995), p. 73

19 The international research in this field, which for obvious reasons has had a main focus on the *Shoah*, has in recent years intensified exploration of extermination policies and the persecution outside this “center”. See for instance Dan Stone, *Histories of the Holocaust* (Oxford 2010), pp. 13–63.


21 In the case of divorces, it is possible to compare sources of from Norway to similar sources (Personnel files) from German archives.


23 There is no research into the war experiences of the the Kvens (Norwegians of Finnish decent). Scattered information on the Saami can be found in local histories, some of which has been collected in Marianne Neerland Soleim, Jens-Ivar Nergård & Oddmund
out to explore Nazi Germany’s intentions and policies toward these minority groups. By so doing, the project will add valuable insight into how Nazi Germany assessed and treated ethnic groups that were neither considered “Nordic” nor assigned a prominent place at the lower end of the Nazi racial hierarchy. The sub-project also aims to analyze the impact of the occupation on the everyday life of the Saami and the Kvens. It has been claimed that the occupation in fact relieved these groups of the harsh process of national assimilation (“Norwegianisation”), which had been pursued by Norwegian authorities up until 1940.\footnote{24} The study will examine this prevailing view critically. The sub-project will be financed by the project, to result in two peer-reviewed articles. The work will be carried out by Dr. Jukka Nyyssönen, presently employed at UiT.

In addition to the projects funded by the research grant, three ongoing and related individual studies will be encompassed to the WP: C3) a PhD project on humanitarian relief and the war in Norway. Acknowledging the important role played by non-governmental humanitarian organizations, the PhD project will be funded by UiT in cooperation with the Narvik Centre. The PhD position will be announced internationally; C4) One externally funded study by Dr. Marianne Neerland Soleim, which will result in a peer-reviewed article, will focus on the history of the around 100,000 Soviet POWs who were used as slave labour in Norway during the occupation. The study will carve out characteristic patterns of relations to the civilian society in Norway, and discuss the findings in a comparative perspective\footnote{25}; C5) one externally funded study by Stian Bones, to result in a peer-reviewed article, discussing whether the continued suspicions, assimilation and “silence” being attached to the Kvens in the postwar years, was ultimately the result of Finland’s special relationship to Germany during the Second World War.

**Work Package D: The Memory of War and Occupation, headed by Sigurd Sørlie**

In Norway, as in other Western European countries, the introduction of memory studies into the research on the Second World War has been highly rewarding. Yet, it is possible to identify at least two types of limitations in previous research: First, despite the common assumption that the patriotic memory which was prevalent during the first several decades after 1945 was constructed from above, few efforts have been made to establish the exact role of state institutions and elite actors in shaping the Norwegian memory culture. Secondly, the research – in Norway and elsewhere – has tended to be more concerned with official and public remembrance than with popular and so-called vernacular memories.\footnote{26} Consequently, both scholarly and popular works have tended to focus too narrowly on the “official master narrative” of the war, ignoring the multiplicity of national memories and the interaction of various, often conflicting, narratives.\footnote{27} By adopting new approaches, methods, and sources, this project sets out to overcome these shortcomings and move the research front significantly further. The final WP will be divided into two distinct yet complementary sub-projects:

D1: “Norway’s elites and the politics of memory” will explore the ways in which state institutions and elite actors engaged in memory politics of the war after 1945. Did state institutions directly or indirectly seek to promote a uniform and unifying official narrative, which served to legitimize political rule and the nation-state? If so, who were the main memory agents? What view(s) of the past did they seek to promote and by what means? Did the view(s) change over time? In what ways was the official narrative shaped by gendered assumptions? The sub-project will draw particular attention to the role of resistance veterans and the Norwegian military, and intends to

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\footnote{25}{The study will thereby take the quite voluminous research on this question in Norway one step further, cf. the references in note 4. The study might also address the question of whether the policies adopted by the Norwegian authorities after 1945 prevented the slave labourers from becoming part of the culture of remembrance.}


\footnote{27}{See, e.g., Bauerkämper, *Das umstrittene Gedächtnis*, p. 13.
compare Norway with other Western European countries. The project will be carried out by Associate Professor Stian Bones and result in one peer-reviewed article.

D2: A third sub-project, “Who Let the Germans In? 9 April in Norwegian Memory”, will analyze the heated and recurring post-war debate about the invasion and military defeat in the spring of 1940. At times, this debate has taken on the character of a “stab in the back” legend, in which responsibility for the German invasion has been laid at the door of domestic opponents. By drawing comparisons across time and space, it is the ambition of the project to add to our existing knowledge of “stab in the back” conspiracies. The project, which is partly externally funded, will be carried out by Associate Professor Sigurd Sørlie and result in one scholarly monograph.

D3: “Popular Memories of War and Occupation” aims to probe the popular memories of the war and its interplay with official and public memory. To what extent did popular memories correspond with the official memory? If they tended to overlap, is it reasonable to assume that the predominant popular memory was constructed from above? Or should the patriotic memory culture rather be understood as a product of the majority’s actual experiences during the war, combined with shared modes of interpretation? By innovative use of sources it is the ambition of this sub-project to indicate answers to these questions. Among the types of sources that may prove rewarding in this context are collections of essays on the war written by Norwegian school children shortly after the liberation.28 The position will be announced internationally, and the research will result in one peer-reviewed article.

In addition to the projects funded by the research grant, one externally funded and related study will be included in the WP: “War Memories of the North” (D4). This sub-project will explore the national and international memories of the war and occupation in North Norway. It also aims to critically review the widely held notion that North Norway has been neglected in the national memory. The study will be carried out as a PhD project funded by UiT.

3. The project plan, project management, organisation and cooperation

3.1. Expertise and resources

This project has been developed by a consortium comprising four applicant institutions: the Institute for History and the History of Religion (IHR) at UiT The Arctic University of Norway, the Department for Historical Studies (IHS) at NTNU in Trondheim, the Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies (IFS) in Oslo, and the Narvik Centre. These institutions possess the management experience and scholarly expertise required to carry out such a large project. The research team also have the linguistic skills required to use literature and archival sources from all the countries that played a direct part in Norway’s war experience, including Germany, France, Russia (the Soviet Union), Poland and Finland.

The leadership of the project will be based at UiT, which has designated the history of the Second World War a priority in strategic documents, cooperation agreements and long-term financial commitments.

In recent years, the IHS at NTNU has established itself as a leading research environment for matters relating to the German war economy and the occupied countries. The NFR has financed the project studying Organisation Todt in Norway, which has been the most important contribution towards developing the institute’s academic expertise. The research group has established a broad international network in the field of economic history.29 Both UiT and NTNU offer courses at master level on the Second World War.

The IFS is Norway’s leading centre for strategic studies and military history, and together with IHR, in the field of research into Norwegian-Soviet state-to-state relations. Research projects that have been carried out under its aegis include The History of Norwegian Foreign Policy in six

28 Riksarkivet [Oslo], PA-0419/E/Eb/L0603.

volumes (1995-1997), The History of Norwegian Defence in five volumes (2000-2004), The History of the Norwegian Navy in three volumes (2010), as well as a number of books covering intelligence, strategy and security policy.

The Narvik Centre is tasked with researching, documenting and teaching about the causes and consequences of the Second World War, with a special emphasis on the High North. The Centre addresses itself both to national and international audiences and it also functions as the northern coordinating centre in a national network of institutions devoted to preserving the memory of the Second World War.

3.2 Planned project implementation
During the project period, the ongoing research will be overseen and conducted by the Principal Investigator and a small advisory and administrative group in Tromsø. The leaders of the WPs and the PI will meet regularly, 2-4 times a year.

The project will organize annual workshops, in an early phase to ensure progression, later in the project also with a focus on organisation and contributions to the monograph. The first workshop will be in the nature of a comprehensive start-up seminar. In addition to all participants in the project, the project Advisory Group will be invited to these workshops.

The researchers in each WP will meet in separate seminars at least twice a year, in the main research period of the WP. Members of the Advisory Group will attend these seminars according to their special expertise and competence.

In the project period, two international conferences are to be held. The WPs will determine the content of the two conferences. The first conference in the spring of 2018 at NTNU. A tentative theme for the conference is “The Second World War: the Northern Perspective”. The conference will primarily concern itself with the topics covered by WPs A and B. The second, closing conference will be held at Narvik and Tromsø in the spring of 2020. The tentative theme of the conference is “War, Society and Memory. The Norwegian Experience in a Comparative perspective”. The second conference will primarily concern itself with the topics covered by WPs C and D. The contributions to the conferences are to be published in two peer-reviewed anthologies. Both of the conferences will be announced internationally.

3.3. Project specification
Research on each WP will take place in different, but also overlapping, phases of the five-year project period. All WPs will start in 2016 (project start), but the principal period of research for the individual WP will differ somewhat. A preliminary outline is: WP A: 2017–2018; WP B: 2017–2018; WP C: 2017–2019; WP D: 2018–2020.

The WPs located at UiT (A and C), NTNU (B) and IFS (D), will serve as the main scholarly arenas of the project in which junior researchers will be supervised by senior members of the host institution as well as the international advisory board. The annual workshops will also address specific needs for the PhD candidates and connect them closely to professional networks.

It is, moreover, a distinct and credible ambition to increase the number of PhD candidates throughout the project period by way of ensuring external funding.

3.4 National and international cooperation
The applicant consortium in itself provides a national foundation for the project in well-established research and teaching environments, and will ensure that BA and MA courses are offered at UiT, NTNU and UiB (through Adjunct Professor Rolf Hobson). These courses will also be offered to other education institutions in Norway.

Due to the intention to build national expertise on the subject at hand, most researcher are based in Norway, but leading international researchers from a number of institutions have agreed to sit on the Project Advisory Board and participate in workshops and seminars. A detailed account is provided in the document “Composition of the project group”, attached to the grant application form.
3.5. Budget and project timetable
See grant application form.

4. Key perspectives and compliance with strategic documents

4.1. Compliance with strategic documents
UiT, NTNU and IFS have devoted substantial resources to the study of the history of the Second World War and the northern region as described in the work packages. By combining their experience and expertise, the project will create the foundation for a reinvigorated scholarly environment for the study of the Second World War in Norway.

4.2 Relevance and benefit to society
As a crucial source of orientation and identification, the history of the Second World War lends itself to national myth-making and political exploitation. By carrying out innovative and high-quality research, building strong research environments, and disseminating the findings through exhibitions, teaching programmes, publications and public debate, this project will make an important contribution towards de-mythologizing and preventing the abuse of the history of the Second World War in Norway.

4.3 Environmental impact
The Project will not have any negative environmental impact.

4.4. Ethical perspectives
The participants in the project have considerable experience in treating historical source material and will ensure that the relevant ethical standards will be upheld.

4.5 Gender issues
The historiography of war has long been dominated by men, with regard to the choice of topics as well as with regard to the scholars themselves. However, the number of female historians working on war history has grown steadily over the last years. Although this project, too, is male dominated, it actively seeks to redress the gender imbalance by including prominent women scholars in the research team and project network. They have been recruited in and outside Norway.

The project will also introduce a gender perspective in its scholarly work. Ruth Sindt’s project on the relations between German occupiers and the civil population in the North analyses how the gender asymmetry between the occupation forces and the local population affected social and gender relations. Maria Fritsche’s project on the role of the Wehrmacht and its military courts in producing consent in Norway explores how dominant conceptions of masculinity and femininity influenced the way German military courts identified and dealt with forms of resistance among Norwegians as well as Germans. Projects C3, C4 and D1 also adopt a gender perspective.

5. Dissemination and communication of results

5.1. Dissemination plan
See the grant application form.

5.2. Communication with users
See the grant application form.

6. Additional information
See the grant application form.