Notes

1. THE REFORMIST CHOICE

1. Sweden had the highest number of strikes per hundred thousand workers among thirteen Western industrial countries as well as the highest number of work days lost per strike. After 1945, Sweden had the lowest strike rate among the same countries.

2. For thorough discussion of the concept, see Berg and Edquist 2017, 11–14; and Åberg 2008, 55–56.

3. Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig was a Danish pastor and the father of the folk high school.

2. PROBLEMS IDENTIFIED BY THE LO LEADERSHIP

1. People’s high schools or folk high schools are independent adult education colleges common in the Nordic countries.


3. See the debate recorded in Landssekretariatet 1920b, in which the Metal Workers’ Union criticized the Secretariat for meddling in their ongoing conflict, and the Secretariat replied that the methods used by the union (they had tried to persuade the Wood Industry Workers’ Union to start a sympathy strike) contravened LO policy. The problem of the number of strikes has been recognized by other researchers, and research into “varieties of capitalism” states that the employers more or less forced the workers to centralize their organizations through the threat of “bloodletting” the unions’ strike funds (Landsorganisationen 1917, 40–41; Swenson 1989; Swenson 1991).

4. Awareness of the consequences of a divided union movement are apparent, for example, in articles in Fackföreningsrörelsen in 1924, in which the split is cited as a reason for fighting SAC (J.-O. Johansson 1924a; J.-O. Johansson 1924b; Zetterling 1924).


6. A merger of the LO and the SAC was discussed seriously in 1928. The SAC, along with the communist organizations, had long advocated a merger, for obvious reasons. The SAC had invited the LO to join them in conflicts several times in the 1920s, but the LO Secretariat had always declined. The LO’s change of heart was probably due to the de-radicalization of several of the syndicalist theorists (though not the grass-roots). These men, including Ragnar Casparsson and Frans Severin, were ideologically close to the reformists. They supported a merger. Of course, a merger could also have co-opted the radical forces. However, the negotiations broke down because the radical (i.e., anarchist) factions of the SAC under the leadership of Albert Jensen refused to accept the LO’s conditions, arguing that the LO was trying to “absorb” its left-wing competition. One consequence of the failed merger was that several leading syndicalists left the SAC, and some of them (e.g., Casparsson and Severin) were recruited by the LO. Casparsson became the ombudsman at LO in 1933, responsible for press issues, and thus became a member of the Secretariat. The defecting syndicalists were also assigned the task of lecturing about the problems of syndicalism (Casparsson 1951, 155–78; Landssekretariatet 1935; Nilsson 1977, 199–217).
3. A PLAN FOR IDENTITY MANAGEMENT

1. See, for example, Landsorganisationen “LO-Tidningens korrespondens 1920–26,” LO 2964/E/12/1, ARAB, Stockholm.
2. For example, Hansson 1918; Hansson 1919; Hansson 1920; Hansson 1922a; Hansson 1925b; Hansson 1931; Hansson 1936b.
3. See Sätterberg 1928a; Sätterberg 1928b; Sätterberg 1932a; Sätterberg 1932b.

4. CONSTRUCTING IDENTITY

1. In the county of Uppsala, catalogs have been preserved from only six libraries, five of which subscribed to either Bokstugan or Studiekamraten (ABF Bålsta 1926–; ABF Johannisfors 1925–; ABF Raklösen 1913; ABF Risingegård 1934; ABF Skutskär 1917a). The catalog from the sixth library, in Söderfors, is dated 1918, when Studiekamraten had not yet been founded and Bokstugan was only one year old and had not yet gained nationwide distribution (ABF Söderfors 1918).
2. Berg’s syllabus was not mentioned once in the 1936–37 period in the study circle reports from the four counties of Gävleborg, Lund and Malmö, Norrbotten, and Uppsala (Studiecirkelrapporter för Norrbotten, Uppsala, Skåne o Gävleborg 1927–1928, 1936–1937).
3. The guild system was abolished in 1846.
4. In Hansson’s book on shoemakers, he described the guild system thoroughly and noted that the masters and journeymen were unable to reconcile their differences, which in Hansson’s account was problematic (Hansson 1919, 140).
5. This article was also part of the course literature for trade union studies.
6. Hansson and Wigforss went on a study trip to England to study guild socialism. The trip resulted in numerous articles on this particular form of socialism in Fackföreningssrörelsen (Hansson 1921b; Hansson 1921c; Hansson 1922f; Landsorganisationen 1921, 88; Wagner 1924).
7. A similar formulation was also used later by Hansson (Hansson 1927a, 109; Hansson 1934a, 113).
8. The same statement had earlier been used by the same author (Hansson 1934a, 275–76; Hansson 1927a, 267).
9. Ragnar Casparsson was a journalist at Social-demokraten who painted a very different picture of employers; he frequently used class rhetoric and described the relationship between the LO and the employers as a class struggle.
10. According to the annual report, approximately forty study circles had followed this lecture course as a complement to the reading (ABF 1931, 14).

5. IMPLEMENTING THE EDUCATION STRATEGY

1. For the history of the Skutskär LS see, for example, Eling 1989, 68. For the support of the Social Democratic Left Party’s local organization in Skutskär, see, for example, Sågverksindustriarbetareförbundet avd 2 1923.
2. Local sections of the SDU were usually named the SDUK, Socialdemokratiska ungdomsklubben.
3. Local sections of SAP were usually named workers’ communes, arbetarkommuner.
4. In 1917, the Paper Mill Workers’ Union Section 2 was still called the Factory Workers’ Union Section 60.
5. Karl Hammarström and August Lindberg founded the Left Party Commune. Lindberg left Skutskär in the early 1920s, but Hammarström stayed and occupied various positions in the Sawmill Workers’ Union Sections 2 and 54 and the Paper Mill Workers’ Union Section 2 (Vänsterkommunen Skutskär 1917b).
6. Ernst Wigforss was the minister of finance in the Social Democratic governments in the 1930–40s and was one of the designers of the Swedish welfare state.

7. The ABF’s activities were financed mainly through government grants—for example, for the libraries. Again, the legislation required a nationwide organization that would organize the libraries (this is why Sandler founded the ABF). The grants from the state to the libraries increased in 1930. It also became possible for individual study circles to apply for funding from the state in 1930 (Andersson 1980, 260; Arvidson 1985, 117).

8. The People’s Houses were buildings built and owned by the labor movement. Local labor movement organizations formed a People’s House association, and that association became formally responsible for the house. The association could apply for funding from a specific “People’s House trust” that the LO had, to finance the construction of the house. The temperance movement and the Free Church movement had similar systems. The houses were used for meetings and cultural events, and most villages had one.

9. Since it has not been reported anywhere how many participated in the study circles before 1923 or after 1939, calculations are based on these seventeen years. The trade unionists comprised members of the Saw Mill Workers’ Union Sections 2 and 54, the Paper Mill Workers’ Union Section 2, and the syndicalist organization LS.

10. Esperanto was part of labor movement culture for the purpose of uniting all workers worldwide and had been for some time (Sandelin 2013). At the LO congress of 1926, the Miners’ Union and the Railroad Workers’ Union suggested that the LO should intensify efforts to make Esperanto the world language. The workers could never unite without a common language, the proposers claimed. The LO leaders replied that since there was no consensus among the world’s trade unions as to what language should be the workers’ language, the LO should improve language studies in general but not Esperanto in particular (Landsorganisationen 1926b, 427–31).

11. Macroeconomics could have been placed in the ideological category since parts of the course contained ideological (socialist) messages regarding the economy.

12. Pelle Åberg has made a distinction between problem-based and supply-based circles (Åberg 2008, 64).

13. Hansson had not yet published his 1927 syllabus for trade union studies. However, he had arranged study circle leader courses at Brunnsvik each summer, and his syllabus for that course became the unofficial syllabus for trade union studies used by study circles around the country, including in Skutskär.