

# A History of Anarcho-syndicalism

## Unit 10: Sweden: 1889-1939

### This Unit aims to

- Provide an overview of the development of anarcho-syndicalism in Sweden.
- Look at how the ideas and tactics of the SAC developed.
- Examine some of the criticisms made by anarcho-syndicalists of the SAC.

### Terms and abbreviations

**SAP:** *Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Arbetarparti*, the Swedish Social Democratic Party,

**LO:** *Landsorganisationen*, the central trade union confederation.

**SUF:** *Socialistiska Ungdomsforbundet*, young socialist league).

**SUP:** *Sveriges Ungsocialistiska Parti*, the Young Socialists' Party).

**SAF:** *Svenska Arbetsgivareforeningen*, Swedish employers federation).

**SAC:** *Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganisation*, Swedish central labour organisation).

**SAF:** *Syndikalistiska Arbetarefederationen*, syndicalist workers federation).

## Introduction

Unlikely though it may seem, some of the earliest traces of anarcho-syndicalism in Sweden appeared within the Swedish Social Democratic Party, the *Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Arbetarparti* (SAP). The SAP hoped to bring about change through parliamentary democracy. In 1897, it returned a member to the Swedish Parliament and began to gather growing support from the developing urban working class. As Swedish industrialisation took hold, the SAP was able to exert a great deal of influence over the embryonic trade union movement. The SAP encouraged the birth of a national social democratic union federation and, in 1898, a central trade union confederation was formed, the *Landsorganisationen* (LO). From day one, the LO tended towards centralism and worked in a strategic partnership with the SAP to negotiate on behalf of the entire working class.

Almost immediately, a left wing emerged within the SAP, the *Socialistiska Ungdomsforbundet* (SUF, young socialist league). Though more radical than the mainstream of the SAP, the SUF was originally still reformist, looking to Parliament to bring about change on behalf of the Swedish working class. But, by 1903, the SUF paper, *Brand*, began to debate anarcho-syndicalism. As in many other labour movements, this debate stemmed from the growth of the CGT in France (see Unit 4).

Anarcho-syndicalism grew rapidly within the SUF, so that by the 1905 congress, declarations were made that the general strike and not parliamentarianism was the most effective tactic in the struggle to free the working class. By 1908, the SUF position had moved much further still towards anarcho-syndicalism. Later in the year, after a number of SUF members had been expelled from the SAP, the remainder decided to break away and form a new party, the *Sveriges Ungsocialistiska Parti* (SUP, the Young Socialists' Party).

The SUP took on a decidedly revolutionary syndicalist tone from the outset. Announcing that parliament could never serve a revolutionary working class, it argued that the unions were the instruments of struggle through which fundamental change must be brought about. Following such change, the unions would run industry themselves in a new communist society.

## Under Pressure

The young socialists' move towards anarcho-syndicalism coincided with wider changes in Swedish society. Industrialisation had brought greater centralisation of capital and the growth of a number of Employers Federations. The most powerful and best organised was the *Svenska Arbetsgivareforeningen* (SAF, Swedish employers federation). Unlike many such federations who were openly hostile to unions, the SAF sought agreements with them - but on SAF's terms. In 1908, as the Swedish economy entered a recession, the SAF attempted to gain no-strike agreements with the unions. The main weapon of the SAF was the lockout, and it duly threatened to lock out some 220,000 workers.

Concessions from the LO and the intervention of the Swedish government prevented it from taking place but, spurred on by their success, the SAF increased their attacks on the working class. In response, the LO made more concessions, until 1909, when growing unrest among members of the LO forced the unions to make a stand. On August 4th 1909, the LO announced a general strike involving 300,000 workers. The SAF responded by announcing a lockout. The action lasted a month before the LO announced a gradual return to work and the SAF began to end the lockout. While neither side had won, the stalemate came at great cost to the many working class activists who faced the sack after the strike ended.

## Questions of Tactics

The general strike and the SAF tactics sparked off widespread debate within the Swedish working class. The majority view was that workers should form industrial organisations to combat the growing centralisation of capitalism. Others argued for a decentralised union structure, with centralised strike funds and greater international connections. The relationship of the LO to the SAP was also keenly debated, with a number of trade union papers arguing that the LO should adopt a position of neutrality towards political parties.

During the general strike, the SUP had argued for an extension of the aims of the action. In the aftermath, they fiercely criticised the LO leadership's cautious and deferential approach. The general thrust was that they appeared more concerned about the strike threatening the established order than winning the dispute. Despite their criticisms, however, the SUP continued to argue for a 'boring from within' approach, and sought to establish a revolutionary syndicalist group within the LO.

The SUP stepped up their campaign for revolutionary syndicalism, and began to publish and distribute articles and pamphlets of the French CGT. They also became more militant, calling for more strike action, and the use of sabotage. One of the new campaigns of the SUP was in opposition to fixed term contracts. These were increasingly being negotiated by the LO. However, the SUP argued that such contracts tied the hands of workers and could only lead to the trade union movement being incorporated into the capitalist system.

Although most militant socialists remained committed to working within the LO, almost inevitably, some began to advocate a 'dual union' strategy, involving the setting up of an independent revolutionary syndicalist union, in opposition to the LO. In 1909, a group of young socialists from *Skane* who were proponents of this approach, attended a union meeting in Lund, where they were able to persuade local trade unionists of the need for a separate syndicalist organisation. The so-called 'Lund Committee' was formed, to begin to organise an attempt at starting a revolutionary syndicalist union.

# The SAC

Although a group of its members had been active in the events in Lund from the start, the SUP as a whole greeted the Lund proposals with relative indifference and their paper, *Brand*, barely commented. The social democratic papers ignored the news altogether, while a few trade union papers reacted with fury, denouncing the move as disruptive and treacherous.

Meanwhile, the Lund Committee worked tirelessly throughout 1910. Pamphlets were written and distributed among trade unions and young socialist clubs outlining basic revolutionary principles, tracing the development of revolutionary syndicalism internationally, and placing their ideas within a Swedish context. In June 1910, a national congress was called, with the aim of setting up a new revolutionary syndicalist union. While some argued for delaying this move in favour of unorganised opposition with the LO, this idea was firmly rejected by most delegates. Duly, the conference announced the setting up of the *Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganisation* (SAC, Swedish Central Labour Organisation).

Many who attended the founding conference felt that, given the discontent of delegates at the last LO conference in 1909, LO members would transfer to the SAC in large numbers. They were sorely disappointed. In its first year, SAC membership struggled to 1,000. The basic organisation of the SAC was the local federation or *Lokalsamorganisationer* (LS), which brought together SAC members within a given locality. It also had industrial sections, organising workers nationally within a given industry. Thus, from the outset, SAC recognised the need for workers to organise in their locality, united across all sections of industry, as well as vertically by industry.

The founding principles of the SAC argued for a militant union founded on the basis of continuous class struggle, with the aim of destroying capitalism and the state to make way for a new and free society. The social general strike was stated as the key to this revolution, and the declaration of principles stated that syndicalism was merely a tool, through which workers could organise to achieve economic liberation from capitalism and establish a new society based on libertarian communism.

Through its newspaper, *Syndikalisten*, which was first weekly, then twice-weekly, the SAC set about arguing for and developing Swedish anarcho-syndicalism. A wide range of pamphlets were produced and distributed throughout the country. Speaking tours

were also developed as a method of recruiting workers and educating new members in the principles and methods of revolutionary syndicalism.

From the outset, the SAC opposed parliament and refused to participate in parliamentary debate. Although it sought extra-parliamentary activity, its position was in fact one of anti-parliamentarianism. Parliament was seen as a corrupting force that could only lead to a stifling centralised bureaucracy. Instead, it argued for self-government, under which the conventional political sphere would be replaced with a system of direct democracy in which all 'political' participation would be constant and immediate.

Not surprisingly, the SAC issued strident criticisms of the social democratic unions, castigating them for their strategy of seeking day to day economic gains while leaving the question of the wholesale changing of society to political parties, and therefore to politicians. Their alternative was simultaneous economic reform and revolutionary change, to be brought about through the class struggle of the politically-driven economic tool, the revolutionary union.

## Direct Action

The tactics of revolutionary syndicalism, inspired by the spirit of revolution, were direct and engaging. Direct action had to be undertaken. Strikes, blockades, boycotts and sabotage had to be organised. A relentless struggle had to be waged against capitalism. The struggle started immediately.

By 1910, Swedish laws were proposed which promoted fixed term contract agreements. The LO had increasingly looked to fixed term agreements, during which any form of action was banned. The SAC bitterly opposed such agreements, arguing instead for standard wage rates with no strings attached. These would be forced on employers by collective action. As workers became more organised, the balance of power would shift towards them, and the demands of the union would be stepped up. Such tactics could keep the workers organisation on a militancy footing, and the revolutionary spirit could be prevented from being diluted through the process of class collaboration.

Since collective action was central to the SAC strategy, planning strikes became a major concern. In general, the approach was that each strike should be planned so it would not entail relief funds. If it was not concluded in a reasonable time, it should be called off and resumed at a later date. This would create constant instability within the workplace, putting management permanently on the defensive, while ensuring that large strike funds were not required. Indeed, the idea of money-raising was rejected. Solidarity was seen as the key to winning disputes, not the ability to finance strike activity.

Sabotage was also prominent among SAC tactics, although not explicitly. The foremost method was 'work-to-rule', which was referred to as obstruction. The SAC also developed a tactic unique to Swedish anarcho-syndicalism known as the register. This was used successfully to end competition between workers in the construction industry. Workers evaluated the price of work to be done based on a price list system set up collectively by themselves. They then used their collective strength to force the management to pay the wage rates established by the system. Workers went on to establish their own employment agencies, which management were forced to go to if they wanted to recruit workers. If they tried to find ways around this, they faced a boycott organised by the union.

Though SAC attempted to spread the register idea in other industries, it was only really successful within the construction

industry. As a result, SAC construction workers were among the highest paid of all Swedish workers. Not surprisingly, the LO faced constant demands from its membership to adopt the idea of the register. Militant tactics, coupled with a growing disillusionment with parliamentary activity generally, led to steady growth in SAC membership. As it became more organised and stepped up its campaigns and activities, so the trend continued. By 1920, after just ten years, it had organised some 30,000 workers. It had become one tenth of the size of the social democratic union confederation, the LO.

Growth had stemmed from an initial concentration among stonemasons in the south-eastern district of Bohuslan (an area with a strong young socialist presence). The concentration of members in one area and within one industry had allowed the SAC to move rapidly from being a mere propaganda organisation to a functioning union, allowing it to put its militant workplace tactics into practice. The ideas of SAC and news of its successes spread, leading to increased membership in other areas and industries, in particular, forest workers in the north and construction workers (mainly labourers) throughout the country. Other pockets of membership were established in metal industries, mining and farming. The vast majority of SAC's members were unskilled workers. Within its major areas of construction and forestry, work was often only temporary, and this ensured a large turnover of membership. By 1935, the SAC estimated that some 250,000 had at some time been members of the SAC. In a country of only a few million people, a large section of the population had clearly been attracted by the ideas of anarcho-syndicalism.

## First World War and After

In the period up to, during, and particularly immediately after the First World War, the SAC's relatively small size relative to the LO was more than made up for by its militancy. The LO was relatively powerless due to its willingness to negotiate with management. By 1920, approaching half of all Swedish strikes had been organised by the SAC, demonstrating its militancy and the power of its members.

Unlike anarcho-syndicalist movements in many other European countries, the SAC was able to withstand the shocks of the First World War and the Russian Revolution with remarkable ease. It was steadfast in its criticism of the French CGT's failure to oppose the First World War. Equally, it was quick to realise the Russian Revolution had failed, and argued that it was in fact a political coup by the Bolsheviks, who had gained political power without any corresponding economic revolution based on workers' control. The Bolsheviks' activities brought home the reality of political centralism. The true meaning of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' was quickly recognised, characterised by minority rule, repression, violence and lack of freedom.

In many other countries, waves of patriotism combined with brutal repression of all dissent to destroy organised opposition to capitalism. Sweden remained neutral in the war but elsewhere across Europe activists were called up, disappeared, silenced or otherwise unable to continue the struggle, while in 1917, the apparent success of Bolshevism was greeted as a success by many remnant and distant groups. However, the SAC retained strong levels of membership, and with it, tactical unity and an awareness that prevented it from being attracted towards the Bolshevik model.

## Questions of Tactics II

The SAC closely observed the failure of the Russian revolution (see Units 11-12), along with the experiences of socialist parties in Finland and Germany, who had also captured parliament but failed to introduce real economic change. Such events led the SAC to revise its ideas about revolutionary change.

The SAC's total opposition to state socialism in all its forms was not in question. That a new society was required, which was to be decentralised and based on self-governing units was not in question either. However, the idea that the future society should be run by the unions was rejected, in favour of it being run by society as a whole. New SAC principles for the political-administrative and economic-industrial organisation of society were democratic and decentralised. Self-determination would be achieved by establishing communities that were federated both nationally and internationally to ensure necessary co-operation. Organisational links would operate both horizontally (geographically between areas) and vertically (economically through unions).

The SAC began to develop explicit theory, both regarding the transition of society and the shape and function of the future society. Past revolutions were studied in order to learn from them. The failure of the Russian revolution was attributed to the pre-occupation with overthrowing capitalism, with no clear vision of the new society that was to replace it. As a result, far greater emphasis must be placed on the constructive aspects of revolution. The idea of overthrowing the old society and then building up something new was a mistake. A stroke of the revolutionary pen was not enough - the revolution itself must evolve as the result of an organic process from below. For the SAC, the key to successful revolution increasingly involved preparation.

Through social studies and practical experience, both at work and in local organisations, workers would achieve psychological transformation, and develop the sentiments of solidarity, sacrifice, personal dignity, individual responsibility, and self-reliance. The resultant new moral order would replace greed - the primary motivation of the capitalist order. As this new moral order was built, workers would increasingly understand both the essences of the bourgeois order and their capacity to replace it.

The building of this new moral order was an evolutionary process that could not be achieved suddenly, through violent

## General Strike

insurrection. Instead, revolutionary change would come about gradually, through workers gaining ever-increasing power within the workplace. Eventually, the general strike would define the moment when workers completely take over production and distribution, thus eliminating all capitalist elements. The general strike had nothing to do with spontaneity. It would only come about after careful planning and a long period of intense technical, psychological, intellectual and moral preparation.

The SAC commitment to what in effect was a gradual revolution occurred amidst a wider debate as to the nature of revolutionary syndicalism. Some syndicalists, for example, in Italy, argued for a break with anarchism, on the grounds that syndicalism represented a new movement in itself that was superior to that of anarchism. The general idea was that new morality based on solidarity would form the basis of a new legal framework that would bind society together and ensure the social character of individual behaviour. This was contested by anarchists, who argued that individuals' need for community was the motivating force which would eventually lead to a society governed by social mores, rather than collectively imposed authority.

The commitment to a planned and evolved revolution became dominant in the SAC. The 1922 SAC Congress approved an educational plan to prepare for the future society. Buoyed by its new theoretical clarity, the SAC launched *Arbetaren*, a new daily paper, in 1922, which was to continue as a daily until 1957. Frans Severin, its first editor, announced that while the SAC had no time for Bolshevism, revolutionary syndicalists had no time for anarchism either. The fact that this statement was still somewhat controversial within SAC can be gauged from the fact that he was quick to add he had the backing of the SAC Executive Council in making the statement.

The SAC position regarding the general strike also marked a defining break with the idea of spontaneity in revolution. Prior to industrialisation, anarchists had envisaged a spontaneous uprising that would overthrow feudalism. Industrialisation and trade unionism enabled anarchists to escape the simplistic notion of spontaneity and allowed anarchism to establish an organisational base within society. Through the union, the working class, inspired by anarchism, could wage war on capitalism to the point at which the social general strike could overthrow capitalism. However, the SAC, similar to many revolutionary syndicalist organisations after the turn of the century, envisaged organisational planning to the point where massed ranks organised in one large union, planned and announced a decisive general strike.

Both models proved too simplistic. Early revolutionary syndicalist ideas were no different to the Grand National Holiday (see Unit 2), where workers would simply stop work and thus bring capitalism to its knees. The assumption was that workers' economic power was such that the general strike would paralyse the economy so completely that capitalism would surrender without resorting to violence. Capitalism could therefore be overthrown peacefully. As a development to this idea, the IWW (see Unit 8) began to argue that the revolutionary general strike would entail workers seizing production rather than walking out on strike, in effect, locking capitalism out.

Anarcho-syndicalists were later to take this concept further. They would come to recognise that the idea that capitalists and capitalism would allow revolutionary organisation to develop to the point where it will be able to call and plan a revolutionary strike was hopelessly utopian. In post-war anarcho-syndicalism, the general strike has become increasingly viewed as part of a wider social revolutionary situation. It is typically envisaged as happening after a series of labour strikes and growing social unrest, during which the state will use increasing repression to attempt to control the situation. Over a critical period, the anarcho-syndicalist organisations play increasing organisational and co-ordination roles as the revolutionary situation develops.

## 1920s: Structures & LO

Along with theoretical development, there was action. 1922 saw SAC embark on its most serious conflict, involving 10,000 forestry workers. The dispute lasted a year and ended in partial victory. By the summer of 1926, the SAC was able to organise a major strike in the mining industry, centred on the Steipa mine. It received popular support and led directly to the resignation of the social democratic government.

The SAC's handling of the strike was widely praised and made it a household name throughout Sweden. The growing strength of the SAC began to affect the LO. Up to 1922, the LO had rejected 6 separate proposals for joint action. However, the popular support the SAC was now commanding led many LO rank and file members to call for greater co-operation, and even amalgamation. The LO secretariat retained a view of the SAC as disloyal and factionalist, arguing that it could best serve workers' interests by disbanding and sending its members to the LO.

After bitter debate, the 1926 LO conference instructed its secretariat to negotiate on amalgamation with SAC. Still, the LO secretariat were slow to act on the instruction and no immediate approach was made. The next two years were to prove difficult as the effects of worldwide economic depression began to be felt. Employers went onto the offensive, with the inevitable harsh labour conflicts - one of the bitterest disputes involving SAC mineworkers striking in sympathy with LO. Many strikes happened and many were lost. As unemployment began to rise, SAC membership began to decline.

In 1928, a small radical minority decided to break away from the SAC and form a new organisation, the *Syndikalistiska Arbetarefederationen* (SAF, syndicalist workers federation). Criticism of the SAC became more wide-ranging, as the SAF criticised it for its growing bureaucracy and centralisation. They argued against paid officers, which they saw as leading to the growth of a latent bureaucratic leadership within the organisation. The SAF was deliberately structured to ensure decentralised yet simple decision-making, ensuring there was no need for a union bureaucracy. SAF dues were kept to a minimum to attract low paid workers. These criticisms of the SAC structures could have been levelled at most of the revolutionary unions throughout the world at the time. Only the more explicitly anarcho-syndicalist unions, such as the Spanish CNT

and the FORA of Argentina (see Unit 9) argued that anarcho-syndicalist union should be decentralised and democratic thus operating as far as possible on the same principles as the future libertarian society. The SAF also pointed out the drift within SAC towards allowing fixed period contracts, and argued that to make agreement with capitalists approved exploitation and abandoned direct action.

The SAF struggled to survive, especially as the mass unemployment of the depression started to bite, resulting in falling membership across the union movement. Despite this, membership grew from only 1,000 in 1928 to 3,000 by the mid-1930s. The SAC did all it could to persuade the SAF to rejoin the SAC, issuing numerous invitations and maintaining links throughout the split. Eventually, in 1937 the SAF was to dissolve itself and re-enter the SAC. In 1928, with the SAC going through a difficult period, the LO leadership finally acted on its 1926 conference decision to enter into negotiations with the SAC on merger. A letter was sent advising the SAC to cease its activities and amalgamate with the LO. The SAC responded by stating that amalgamation should produce an organisation independent of all political parties, with a programme to take over production, and with organisational structures similar to SAC. The LO rejected these ideas but declared their willingness to negotiate. In 1929, the negotiations took place and, after several months, an agreement was decided upon that split the SAC negotiation team. Three of the five delegates signed the agreement, leaving the other two bitterly opposed to it.

A heated debate waged within the SAC over the next few months. The LO's propaganda and the capitalist press generally argued for the agreement and tried to paint the two delegates who opposed it as isolated extremists. At the 1929 SAC conference, the vote result was a surprise to those who hoped that merger would bring an end to SAC militancy. 111 delegates voted against merger and not a single one voted in favour - there were 9 abstentions.

On reflection, it is not surprising that the membership should be so totally opposed to amalgamation. The LO had often broken SAC strikes, and members regularly criticised the LO's strategy as reformist treason. Even while negotiations were taking place, LO members had broken a blockade organised by striking SAC building workers at a large railway construction site. After the merger attempt,

the LO launched a campaign of SAC strike-breaking in an attempt to undermine it. In contrast, the SAC had always argued for united action and workers' solidarity - no SAC members were ever reported to have crossed LO picket lines.

## Conclusion

The depression of the early 1930s caused major damage to the SAC. Nevertheless, it recovered slowly, so that by the late 1930s its membership had reached 30,000 again. However, from then on, there was growing pressure within the SAC from the apparent success of the LO's reformism. The LO had gained considerable prestige from its close relations with the social democratic government. Legislation on holidays, rights of association, negotiation and the nationwide introduction of state unemployment funds administered through the LO provided strong reasons for workers to take LO membership. As early as 1925, the SAC had accepted fixed-term contracts based on binding agreements. By 1929, it granted LSs (locals) the right to conclude binding agreements. By 1938, it accepted fixed term contracts in the face of suffering membership due to its opposition to them. By 1945, anarcho-syndicalism had been virtually wiped out worldwide, by a combination of fascism, communism and patriotic pro-capitalist propaganda. Yet still, the SAC survived and continued to operate with a membership worthy of its status as a functioning revolutionary union.

## Key points

- Anarcho-syndicalist ideas first developed in Sweden within the young Socialist League, the left wing of the Swedish Social Democratic Party.
- The aggressive tactics of Swedish capitalists and the moderate stance of the LO led to the formation of the SAC.
- The aims of the SAC were for the destroying of capitalism and the state through continuous class struggle and the social general strike to make way for a new and free society based on libertarian communism.
- After the First World War the SAC came under criticism for its growing bureaucracy and centralisation.
- The SAC increasingly drifted away from its commitment to anarchism, embracing a more gradual and planned road to revolution. It eventually came to accept fixed-term contracts and other concessions it had so bitterly criticised at its inception.

## Checklist

1. What were the main factors in the formation of the SAC?
2. What were 'fixed term contracts'?
3. What were the founding principles of the SAC?
4. In which industries did the SAC initially grow?
5. What was the 'Register' introduced by the SAC?
6. How did the SAC change in the 1920s?

## Answer suggestions

1. *What were the main factors in the formation of the SAC?*

The main factors were the deferential attitude of the LO to the state, its relationship with the Social Democratic Party and the aggressive attitude of the Swedish employers association.

2. *What were 'fixed term contracts'?*

Fixed term contract were deals made between the employers and the unions which guaranteed that no industrial action would take place during the time of the agreement.

3. *What were the founding principles of the SAC?*

The founding principles of the SAC were for a union founded on the basis of class struggle, with the aim of destroying capitalism and the state to make way for a new and free society. Syndicalism was seen the tool through which workers could organise to achieve economic liberation from capitalism. The social general strike was seen as the key to a revolution whose aim would be to establish a new society based on libertarian communism.

4. *In which industries did the SAC initially grow?*

The vast majority of the SAC membership were unskilled workers. The initial basis of the SAC was concentrated among stonemasons in the south-east. Other areas of growth were among forest workers in the north and construction workers (mainly labourers) throughout the country. Other pockets of membership were established in metal industries, mining and farming.

5. *What was the 'Register' introduced by the SAC?*

The register was a tactic unique to Swedish anarcho-syndicalism and was used successfully to end competition between workers in the construction industry. The workers evaluated the price of work to be done based on their own price list system. They then used their collective strength to force the management to pay the wage rates established by the system. Workers went on to establish their own employment agencies, which management were forced to go to if they wanted to recruit workers. If they tried to find ways around this, they faced a boycott organised by the union. This idea was tried in other industries but was only really successful within construction.

6. *How did the SAC change in the 1920s?*

After the First World War the SAC was critical of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia and of attempts to set up socialist governments elsewhere. However it also distanced itself from anarcho-syndicalism. It became more bureaucratic and centralised and argued for a gradual and planned road to revolution. Later it drifted to reformism by accepting the idea of fixed term contracts.

## Suggested discussion points

- How big a factor was Sweden's neutrality in WW1 in the growth of the SAC?
- Is the SAC accepting fixed term contracts against basis anarcho-syndicalist principles?

## Further Reading

### **Lennart K. Persson. Syndikalismen i Sverige (Syndicalism in Sweden) 1903-22. 1975. Federativs. -SE-**

Historical account of events in Sweden, particularly centred on the development of SAC after 1910. Sympathetic to and centred around the SAC perspective.

Note 1: There are very few sources in English on this period in Swedish history, with any reasonable coverage of events in the development of the syndicalist labour movement. If you wish to gain further insight into the period, a direct approach may be easiest. The SAC is still active in Sweden - for their current address details contact SelfEd.

Note 2: It is always worth consulting your local library for general history texts which do cover the period, although they invariably understate the level of working class organisation and activity. To assist Course Members, an indication is given alongside each reference as to how best to obtain it. The codes are as follows: -LI- try libraries (from local to university), -AK-available from AK Distribution (Course Member discount scheme applies if you order through SelfEd, PO Box 29, SW PDO, Manchester M15 5HW), -BS- try good bookshops, -SE- ask SelfEd about loans or offprints).