

# "THE SANS CULOTTES IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION"

(1793-1797)



EDINBURGH DAM



# GLOSSARY

- Babouvism:** One of the earliest movements to recognise and formulate the social rather than the political significance of the revolution. It proposed to eliminate the existing institutions and abolish property making it communal. This programme for achieving a communist society was formulated by Babeuf, hence the name. Babeuf and his supporters made elaborate plans for an uprising, this became known as the Conspiracy of Equals.
- Committee of Public Safety:** Group of 12 men who ruled France 6th April 1793 - 27 October 1795. The committee developed into a dictatorship under Robespierre and was responsible for the Terror.
- Commune:** Body of urban self government in Paris during the revolution. By 1792 it's members were elected directly by members of the 48 sections.
- Constitution of 1793:** One of the most progressive constitution that arose out of the revolution. It guaranteed the rights of employment, public assistance and ratified the right to insurrection. It was never put into practice as it was suspended until peace by the Robespierrists.
- Convention:** Revolutionary assembly which governed France (September 1792-October 1795).
- Cordelier :** A democratic club ( 1790 - 95 ) formed by Danton and Marat during the revolution and taking its' name from the former monastery in Paris. It later came under the influence of the Enragés and later the Hébertists. Lost influence after fall of the Hébertists.
- Directoire:** Form of government replacing the Convention, executive powers held by a group of five men known as Directeurs.
- Enragés:** The name applied to the representatives of the political current farthest to the left during the revolution. The Enragés were ideologists of the urban plebeians, the articulate mouthpieces of the aspirations of the sans culottes.

- Girondins:** Political faction during the revolution. They got the name due to the number of deputies in their ranks that came from the department of the Gironde. On the moderate side of the revolution, they represented the interests of businessmen and local government officials.
- Jacobins :** A political club of the revolution founded ( May 1789 ) among the deputies of the National Assembly and taking its' name from the former monastery in Paris where it met from October 1789. Fell into the hands of Robespierre following a split and became increasingly radical. Played a part in the overthrow of the Girondins ( 1793 ) and instituted the Terror. It was closed after Thermidor 1794.
- Maximum:** Device sought by the sans culottes to fix prices on essential goods.
- Montagnards:** Political faction during the revolution. Were called Montagnards because as deputies they sat on the higher benches of the assembly. More willing to get the support of the sans culottes than the Girondins they were however a bourgeois group. Their political action was more involved in gaining democratic rights than to address social issues. Some of their prominent members included Robespierre, Danton, Marat, Hébert and St Just. Split into different factions during the revolution into:
- Dantonists:** The name of this faction comes from the name of one of its' leaders Danton, also known as the " Indulgents ". Represented a faction of the bourgeoisie that wanted to " moderate " the revolution and revert to constitutional government.
- Hébertists:** This defines a handful of Parisian politicians around Hébert, who wanted to move the revolution forward, and were seen as extremists by the bourgeoisie .
- Robespierrist:** Faction of the Montagnards behind Robespierre hence the name, which wanted to consolidate the revolution while avoiding the demands of the Hébertists which would have pushed the revo-

lution leftwards, or the demands of the Dantonists which would have signalled the end of the revolution.

**National guard :** Formed on the 13th July consisted of an armed civilian militia.

**Panthéon club:** A revolutionary club which was allowed to open on 16th November 1795 after re-emergence of Royalists which culminated in an uprising on 5th October. The club became very popular attracting Hébertists, Neo Jacobins, and Enragés survivors. Was closed down when it started to pose a threat to the Directoire.

**Provisional Executive Council:** Had the same role as Committee of Public Safety and should have been dissolved when the latter was set up.

**Revolutionary Army:** Armed sans culottes whose role was to ensure food supplies being delivered and given powers against hoarders and speculators.

**Revolutionary calendar:** After the convention abolished the Monarchy on the 21st September 1792, it adopted a revolutionary calendar on the 5th October 1793 when the name of months changed. Germinal, Prairial, and Thermidor are just a few of the new names given to the months.

**Sans culottes:** ( literally without breeches ) Originally a term used by the aristocrats to refer contemptuously to their political opponents - representatives of the urban poor - who wore long trousers of coarse material in contrast to the nobility and bourgeoisie, who wore breeches with silk stockings. People started to use the term to designate themselves as patriots and revolutionaries. The term increasingly designated the most advanced revolutionary and in opposition to the bourgeoisie.

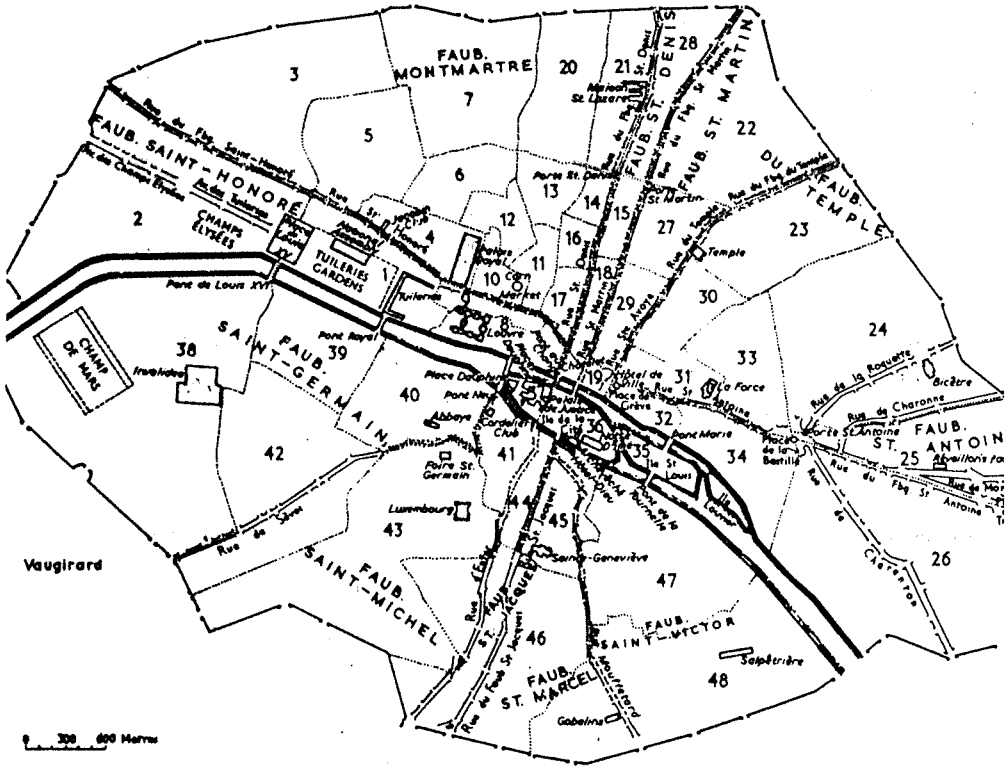
**Sections:** On the 21st May 1790 Paris was divided into 48 districts. These administrative bodies became sans culottes strongholds.

**Société des républicaines révolutionnaires:**

(Society of revolutionary republican women) A revolutionary women's club which linked their actions with the Enragés.

**The Terror:**

Period of French revolution from the fall of the Girondins ( 2 June 1793 ) to the fall of Robespierre ( 27 July 1794 ) dominated by the Committee of Public Safety. Under the Terror repressive policy against the enemies of the revolution and against speculators increased.



# INTRODUCTION

*What we learn today by studying the Great Revolution is that it was the source of all communist, anarchist, and socialist thoughts of our period...*

Kropotkin, *The Great Revolution* 1909.

The French Revolution which started in 1789 and was to continue through many different stages until 1799 ( Napoléon's coup d'état ) has had a profound influence on political thoughts and events ever since. This pamphlet does not propose to give a full account of that period. Many books are available for the reader interested in the whole of the revolutionary period. What this intends doing, is to highlight areas that have been given little attention by most historians, who either ignore or cover them in a footnote. This should not surprise us as the events which form the basis of this pamphlet are evidence of the first manifestation of modern class struggle. A proposition that is less and less popular with the bourgeoisie, apparent in the production of rewritten history during the French Revolution's bicentenary which argues that social democracy is the pinnacle of history itself. The aim of this pamphlet is to counter this, as well as to encourage readers to look into working class history which has so often been hijacked by bourgeois historians and academics.

This pamphlet will concentrate on the period 1793 to 1797. The first stages of the French Revolution constitutes basically a power struggle between supporters of Absolute Monarchy, Constitutional Monarchy and a Republic. This had been settled with the execution of Louis XVI on the 21st January that year. Following this a further power struggle took place between two factions of the bourgeoisie, the Girondins, who were more moderate and less inclined to involve the sans culottes and the Jacobins who were more radical and less scrupulous in using the sans culottes to further their aims. It is only after the fall of the Girondins that the split between the Bourgeoisie and the sans culottes emerges.

# THE ENRAGÉS

In 1792 popular agitation had broken out in Paris over the price of sugar, France was at war. By 1793 the demands placed on the economy were found even harder to sustain. Prices were rising sharply as supplies became scarce. The combination of the high cost of living and scarcity detached the sans culottes from the Bourgeoisie. The sans culottes saw their revolutionary zeal rewarded by hunger and starvation. This time in Paris and Lyon a new form of agitation surfaced. One not directed against the Monarchy but against the cost of living and scarcity. These actions were carried out through the sections. The 48 Parisians sections kept putting pressure on the Convention to take some measures on inflation. The sections demanded a maximum price on grain. Marat the "revolutionary" attacked these demands calling them "excessive" and "foreign", and accusing the delegation of being subversives. On the 25th February the sans culottes took direct action. They invaded shops and forced merchants to sell their goods at prices they fixed. This was attacked by Robespierre and the rest of the Bourgeoisie as a counter revolutionary plot against the Convention. The action was inspired to a large degree by the propaganda work of the Enragés. This term described the instigators of the trouble but mustn't be taken as meaning a cohesive faction of the sans culottes. While Jacques Roux and Varlet were identified as such in Paris and Leclerc in Lyon, they had little knowledge of each other. They were the more articulate mouthpieces of the aspirations of the sans culottes and as such the obvious target for bourgeois retribution.

From February to Spring 1793 the agitation continued. The Montagnard saw their influence slipping from the sans culottes, and afraid of a push towards a more moderate faction of the Bourgeoisie, used the issue to get rid of their opponents the Girondins. The Montagnards nevertheless had to give way to some of the demands of the sans culottes so it adopted measures to tax the rich in order to compensate for the difference between wages and the price of bread (5th April) and instituted the Maximum on the price of grain (4th May). The crisis was far from being resolved by this. The law was not enforced especially in the countryside where rich farmers were hoarding grain, causing further scarcity. The Enragés Jacques Roux wanted an army of sans culottes to enforce the law of the Maximum on all essential goods and agitated for a more social constitution. The Enragés denounced the







insufficiencies of the new constitution, the complete lack of economic measures contained in the constitutional texts. They had managed to attract large sections of support including some Jacobins. It was at the head of an important delegation that Jacques Roux read a petition at the Convention highlighting these points. His speech was an out and out class attack on the Bourgeoisie and was perceived as such by the Conventionnels who constantly heckled and interrupted his speech. Jacques Roux was chased out of the Convention. He had to organise his defence as he knew his head was at stake. He went back to his section to describe what had happened to him. The section voted a motion of support for him and his petition. Other sections did the same, the Cordelier club and the Commune did the same and his address was released. It became known as the Enragés Manifesto.

However he had made many enemies and the Jacobins influenced by Robespierre started attacking him and denouncing him as a foreign agent and a counter revolutionary. Marat also started denouncing the Enragés. Jacques Roux answered Marat's attacks in an 18 page booklet. Unfortunately for him when the booklet was issued Marat had just been assassinated by Charlotte Corday. Marat becoming a martyr to the revolution overnight, the Enragés started to be isolated. Their days were numbered.

By September the law of the Maximum on essential goods were instituted. With these measures not only did the Bourgeoisie avert the split with the sans culottes but detached the Enragés from their audience. The Jacobins could now get rid of them. Jacques Roux was arrested on the 5th September and later killed himself in prison. Leclerc had to give up his paper and renounce all political activities in order to save his life. Varlet was arrested the 18th September freed on the 14th but by then was neutralised as many of the Enragés supporters were also sent to prison. The Terror was not only used against the aristocrats but against any opponent.

# LES RÉPUBLICAINES RÉVOLUTIONNAIRES

The Enragés did not only have the support of the more revolutionary elements of the Parisian and Lyonnais sans culottes they also had the support of the more revolutionary women.

Since 1789 women played a central role in the Revolution. Jacques Roux had spoken in an article of "*heroines who played such an important part in the taking of the Bastille..., who braved all dangers to overthrow the throne, of the women who have been at the head of all the revolutions...*" The riots against the cost of living in February, June 1793 were chiefly the task of women.

The "Société des Républicaines Révolutionnaires" were in some ways, the women section of the Enragés. The "Société" linked from the start economic with political struggle. On the 19th May Claire Lacombe read to the Jacobins a speech attacking "*hoarders*", "*monopolists*", and "*speculators*". The Jacobins became hostile to the "Société" when it saw it making common ground with the Enragés. It started a campaign of calumny accusing Claire Lacombe of being a new Charlotte Corday and the "Société" of being instruments of the counter revolution. The Jacobins could not forgive either Jacques Roux or Claire Lacombe exposing them as speculators enriched by the Revolution. The attacks continued.

The Jacobins used the women of "Les Halles", the massive Parisian market, to disperse the "Société des Républicaines Révolutionnaires". Known for their lukewarm support to the Revolution aggravated by the law of Maximum that hit them in their pocket, a law which the "Sociétés" had called for (as well as the Enragés and the sans culottes). The women from "Les Halles" were more than willing to be used. They were "told" that Claire Lacombe and her companions were demanding that all women wear the tricolour cockade and trousers, the sans culottes costume. Following this, 6 000 women gathered at the "Société" situated near "Les Halles" insulting and interrupting the meeting of the "Républicaines Révolutionnaires". When the authorities turned up they took the side of "Les Halles" women which then entered the meeting hall en masse and physically attacked it's members. Then the aggressors were admitted the following day to the Convention demanding the abolition of all women's "Sociétés". Violent anti feminist diatribe followed at the Convention. "Women should stay at home and are incompetent to public life".

Reactionary language like this were loudly cheered and applauded by the Convention's Bourgeoisie, and the suppression of all women's Societies and clubs were decreed.



# ROLE OF THE ENRAGÉS

The actions of the Enragés goes much further than the modest demands made by popular delegations to the Convention. They attacked the Bourgeoisie head on. They raised the issue that the war, which was a war for commercial supremacy, aggravated the conditions of the sans culottes; they exposed inflation as a con trick which fills the pockets of the rich while worsening the condition of the poor.

*“ Liberty is only a mere ghost, when a section of the population can starve the other unpunished. Equality is only a mere ghost, when the rich, by his monopoly, exercises the right of life and death on his fellow men. The Republic is a mere ghost, when counter revolution operates daily with the price of goods which three quarters of citizens cannot obtain without shedding tears..The rich for four years have profited from the advantages of the Revolution “.*

The Enragés campaign for the Maximum is an attack on freedom of commerce and on property, so much so that it did not go unnoticed by the Bourgeoisie who denounced them as agrarian and levellers. Striving for broad participation of the masses in political life, the Enragés advocated the selection of all government officials by popular assemblies and the right to recall deputies who disobeyed the orders of their constituents. The Enragés did not leave profound ideological texts on the agrarian problem, class struggle or the anarchy of the capitalist system, this was done by Babeuf later but their influence and actions should not be minimised. They saw the role of women as crucial and not subservient like other revolutionaries of the time, and like other revolutionaries of their time their objectives were not limited to France. They wanted the Revolution to extend internationally.

# THE HÉBERTISTS

With the removal of the Enragés the split between the bourgeoisie and the sans culottes seemed to have been temporarily averted. This however did not mean the end of the sans culottes or of their actions. The Hébertists took over the role of the Enragés. Although strictly speaking the term Hébertists defines only a handful of Parisian politicians around Hébert, historians have given the definition to a wider number of sans culottes. Though the Hébertists ( in it's strictest meaning ) were convinced republicans they did not share the self denial of the Enragés and did not speak on the sans culottes behalf. They wanted a share of the rewards of the revolution and were prepared to use the sans culottes to put pressure on the bourgeoisie to share the revolutionary cake. They were not prepared however to challenge the concepts of property or of bourgeois laws. Earlier the Hébertists had sided with the bourgeoisie in it's attack on the Enragés but did not intend being left behind. They held some important positions in the Commune, the revolutionary army and even the War Ministry and did not intend to loose this. Indeed they wanted their powers consolidated.



*Hébert*

The Hébertists decided to channel the sans culottes away from the question of subsistence, a highly dangerous issue for the bourgeoisie, towards dechristianisation, an issue that seemed to have the backing of the revolutionary bourgeoisie. The sans culottes did not follow immediately . The problems of food were still too pressing. It is only after the law of the maximum and the end of the Enragés that they entered into this action. From the end of 1793 to the beginning of 1794 the Hébertists campaign had assumed a large audience and their popularity increased. Le Père Duchesne, Hébert's paper was widely distributed in the army and in the Provinces.

At the time however the revolutionary bourgeoisie, successful in the war were in talks with the coalition ( countries at war with France at the time ) trying to negotiate peace. Stabilising the regime was a must. The dechristianisation campaign

had upset some neutral countries who were mediating for France as well as members of the coalition themselves. Danton and Robespierre decided to put a stop to the Hébertists and through them to the sans culottes movement itself. The offensive started on the 21st November 1793 when Robespierre in his speech attacked the Hébertists :

*“ By what right, men unknown till now in the revolutionary career, seek the means to assume a false popularity and involve patriots themselves into false measures. “*

The Convention resolved to weaken the Hébertists base. The autonomy of the Commune, which existed since the middle of 1790 and whose independence was assured by being elected directly by the Parisian sans culottes formed a sort of dual power with the Convention. It controlled the only organised and armed force in Paris, the National Guard, and had used this in the insurrection of 31st May which brought down the Girondins. Robespierre had no intentions of seeing this used against his faction. To this end the Convention passed a decree on the 4th December 1794 to make the leader of the Paris Commune, Chaumette (an Hébertist) a national agent. This meant that instead of being a representative of the Parisian sans culottes, he became a government official taking his instructions from the Convention directly. This move reinforced the authority of the Committee of Public Safety.

This was further reinforced by the repeated attacks on the Provisional Executive council by the Dantonist. With the creation of the Committee of Public Safety it should have been dissolved as it undertook the same role. However the Hébertists who had great influence on the provisional Executive council through the War Ministry which they controlled would not give way and called for the removal of the Committee of Public Safety instead. A campaign of defamation and slander was started by Danton who accused the Hébertists in place at the War Ministry and the sans culottes generals of mismanagement and incompetence. Although initially defended by Robespierre the dantonists soon gained the upper hand.

The other base for the Hébertists was also attacked. The Revolutionary army put in place to insure the flow of food supplies to the towns came under more and more criticism from the bourgeoisie and the Government decided to diminish their role. In some places they were confined to barracks, in others to police the rivers. Two of their leaders Ronsin and Vincent, prominent Hébertists were put under arrest for abuse of power.

In this way the Hébertists power was slowly eroded, the bourgeoisie having reinforced central organs of power decided to finally eradicate the Hébertists and through them the independent action of the sans culottes.

From the end of 1794 having blunted the Revolutionary army effectiveness, food supplies became scarce in Paris and caused popular agitation in the capital. The Committee of Public Safety dealt a death blow to the Hébertists, accusing them of causing the food shortages in order to start an insurrection. The Hébertists were arrested and executed. To give credence to their story the Committee of Public Safety organised better food supplies to the capital for a few days, appeasing the masses and preventing any effective mass support on the part of the sans culottes for the Hébertists. Not all were taken in but they were in a minority. The Hébertists were executed on the 24th March 1794

The bourgeoisie became more confident after the liquidation of the Hébertists. They suppressed the Revolutionary army completely, all posts in the Commune and Paris sections were purged and replaced by hand picked robespierrists. This consolidated central power and minimised the role of the sans culottes. The sans culottes withdrew momentarily from political life.

# ROLE OF THE HÉBERTISTS



*Le Père Duchesne*

The Jacobins attack on the Hébertists must be seen in this context. The Hébertists as has been seen earlier were no selfless defenders of the sans culottes. They did however, often voice their concern and aspirations, being far closer to them socially than the Jacobins, who represented mostly the radical bourgeoisie. As such, the Hébertists had a better knowledge and rapport with the masses. The Jacobins onslaught on the Hébertistes should be seen not just as faction fighting but as an attempt to neutralise the sans culottes political role. In fact the defeat of the Hébertists were used as a way to eliminate many sans culottes from political positions which could be used to extend the revolution. The sans culottes political independence which was best illustrated by the role of the Parisian section gave the bourgeoisie sufficient grounds for concern. They used the Hébertists as a pretext for actually dismantling the sans culottes power base and consolidating the bourgeois revolution.



# THERMIDOR

Following the fall of the Hébertists some factions of the bourgeoisie wanted to “moderate” the revolution and revert to constitutional government. The Dantonists, also known as the “indulgents” represented this faction. The progressive bourgeoisie while agreeing with the sentiments of this faction did not consider the time opportune. Robespierre saw it as a threat to his power base in the Committee of Public Safety. After some hesitation Danton and his supporters were arrested and executed on the 5th April 1794 (16 Germinal).



*Robespierre*

The Hébertists and Dantonists factions out of the way, Robespierrists held control but this was to be short lived. Robespierre had antagonised many. The sans culottes whose role had been severally curtailed since the fall of the Enragés and Hébertists, had lost much of it's independent initiative with the disbanding of the popular societies. They did not see the extension of the terror which applied to them as much as to counter revolutionaries in a favourable way to say the least, as those were the instruments used to eradicate some of their best members.

The moderate bourgeoisie were tiring of the revolution, they wanted it to end and were increasingly unhappy with the concentration of power in the hands of the Committee of Public Safety. They had supported Robespierre as long as he was needed. The change of fortune in the war was to change this. The defeat of the Austrians at Fleurus in mid June signalled to many that there was no longer any need for a strong government and for the Terror. Robespierre was now expendable. Within the Convention, both right and left deputies combined to get rid of him. Robespierre and his supporters were arrested on the 9th Thermidor. Although they managed to escape to the Hotel de Ville ( the town hall ), the sections hardly moved to support him, seeing it more as another palace coup.

# THE DEFEAT OF THE SANS CULOTTES

Although the overthrow of Robespierre was welcomed by both sides, the



*Convention invaded by sans culottes in Prairial*

reaction soon gained the upper hand, exiling to Guiana, Montagnards like Billaud-Varenne, Collot d'Herbois and Barère who had helped in overthrowing the robespierrists. The law of the Maximum was abolished causing more scarcity and hunger for the sans culottes. Many clubs were closed including the Jacobins. Royalist gangs of youth, "La Jeunesse Dorée", went around beating up sans culottes unchallenged. The situation took the sans culottes out of their torpor and hunger riots erupted.

In Germinal ( April ) 1795 the sans culottes marched on the Convention demanding bread and the Constitution of 1793. On the 1st Prairial ( 20th May ) the Convention was invaded by the sans culottes shouting Bread! Bread! One of the deputies was killed and his head put on a pike. Most of the deputies withdrew leaving the Convention in the hands of the sans culottes and a few Jacobins survivors. Troops were sent in to dislodge the crowd. In the next few days the sans culottes were disarmed with hardly any opposition. Ten thousand were arrested throughout France . The last Jacobins deputies were sent to the gallows with sans culottes " leaders".

It is not quite correct to see the days of Germinal and Prairial as simple food riots. The demands of the insurgents were:

- 1/ Bread.
- 2/ The abolition of Revolutionary Government which each faction had in turn used to ruin, starve and enslave the people.
- 3/ The immediate proclamation and establishment of the 1793 Constitution.
- 4/ The destitution and arrest of the present Government.

What the sans culottes were demanding went much further than robespierrism and the actions went further than just a food riot. To ask for the application of the Constitution of 1793 was to counter bourgeois democracy, sovereignty emanating from the people organised in communes. A notion that Robespierre hated and feared most ( along with the rest of the bourgeoisie ). They are to be seen as the precursors of the 1848 revolution and of the Paris Commune of 1871.

# BABEUF AND THE CONSPIRACY OF EQUALS

Following the Convention, a new Constitution and form of Government appeared: the Directoire. The right to vote was restricted to men with property. It represented a consolidation of bourgeois power. It was threatened by both Royalists and Neo Jacobins and sans culottes. With the threat of Royalism the Government allowed clubs to resurface.

The Panthéon club was one of the most popular, having 2000 members by the end of 1795. It's membership was varied as it reunited Neo Jacobins, Hébertists, and Enragés, who had survived. Their increased activity against the Directoire became such a threat that the Government ordered one of it's generals, Napoléon Bonaparte, to close it down in February 1796. By then some of it's members decided to go underground and begun to prepare for the forceable seizure of power.

Babeuf was one of it's most prominent members. The conspiracy of Equals, as it was to be known, had compiled a list of all trusted citizens who were to take part in the Government once the uprising was successful. Although it did have some support within the army and the sans culottes, it can hardly be seen as a mass movement. The Government knew of this plot throughout it as it had an agent within the conspiracy. In May 1796 Babeuf and his accomplices were arrested and executed.



*Babeuf*

# ROLE OF BABEUF

Babeuf is seen by many as a precursor of communism. He advocated the abolishment of private property and direct democracy based on the local communes ( these would be called Soviets nowadays ). He left many texts on the organisation of collective production and distribution, on class struggle, on the anarchy of the capitalist system and many other social questions.

His ideas gained ground in the 19th century following Buonarotti's book " The conspiracy of Equals ", which he was part of. It inspired a number of workers secret societies, the " Carbonari ", and also the Blanquists who tried repeatedly to gain power through uprisings.

# CONCLUSION

While accepting that the French Revolution was a bourgeois revolution, as all the gains, political and economical, went to that class, this pamphlet has, hopefully, shown that other forces were at work. The struggles the sans culottes entered into from 1793 were unconscious beginnings of the second revolution.

We have shown the role of the Jacobins, that of progressive bourgeois prepared to use the sans culottes for their own gains but also prepared to smash them once they started making moves that endanger their dominance. This pattern has been repeated in every revolution since. Most notably in the Russian Revolution where the Bolcheviks who were in great awe of the Jacobins , applied similar methods in order to gain power.

What the sans culottes show us is that the working class can create it's own form of organisations, that of " communes " ( Soviets in today's speak ) where direct democracy, mandated delegated and recallability are all apparent. Methods that our own organisation advocate openly.

*"For all persons who reason Government and revolution are incompatible."*  
Varlet 1794.

## **FURTHER READING**

**Class struggle under the first republic**  
Daniel Guerin

**The Great Revolution**  
Peter Krotopkin

**1793 Les Enragés**  
Maurice Dommanget

**Babeuf**  
G Walter

**The conspiracy of equals**  
Buonarotti

# DAM-IWA

## AIMS AND PRINCIPLES.

1 The Direct Action Movement is a working class organisation.

2 Our aim is the creation of a free and classless society.

3 We are fighting to abolish the state, capitalism and wage slavery in all their forms and replace them by self managed production for need, not profit.

4 In order to bring about the new social order, the workers must take over the means of production and distribution. We are the sworn enemies of those who would take over on behalf of the workers.

5 We believe that the only way for the working class to achieve this is by independent of and opposed to all political parties and trade union bureaucracies. All such workers' organisations must be controlled by the workers themselves and must unite rather than divide the workers' movement. Any and all such delegates of such workers' organisations must be subject to immediate recall by the workers

6 We are opposed to all states and state institutions. The working class has no country. The class struggle is worldwide and recognises no artificial boundaries. The armies and police of all states do not exist to protect the workers of those states, they exist only as the repressive arm of the ruling class.

7 We oppose racism, sexism, militarism and all attitudes and institutions that stand in the way of equality and the right of all people everywhere to control their own lives and environment.

8 The Direct Action Movement is resolved to initiate, encourage and whole heartedly support the creation of independent workers' unions based on the principles of anarcho syndicalism.

9 The Direct Action Movement is a federation of groups and individuals who believe in the principles of anarcho syndicalism: a system where workers alone control industry and the community without dictates of politicians, bureaucrats, bosses and so-called experts.

