IDEAS ON SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

by

James GUILLAUME

Member of the International.

A working translation by Shawn P. Wilbur; last revised June 17, 2025.

We give today a work from our "father Guillaume," the old militant of the Jura Federation, the friend of Bakunin, adversary of Marx in the First International — That First International, rich in lucid minds and devoted hearts.

Monette passed the text to us, copied by his own hand and carefully preserved; we thank him, for all of us.

Our comrades will appreciate the clarity of views, the accuracy of the forecasts of James Guillaume. These "Ideas," published in 1876, are strikingly topical and demonstrate that our "utopians" are more clear-sighted than the "realists."

Marie GUILLOT.

IDEAS ON SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The work we present to the socialist public is not the official program of a party, but neither is it the expression of a mere individual opinion. Starting from the principles generally accepted today in the International, the author has tried to show them functioning in the practice of an egalitarian and free society. Once his manuscript was completed, he communicated it to a number of people, all of whom have taken an active part in the revolutionary propaganda of recent years; and, taking into account their observations, he revised several points of his work in accordance with the criticisms addressed to him. Today, believing that the publication of this essay may contribute to shedding some light on questions that are currently the subject of lively controversy, he submits these pages, originally written for a restricted circle of friends, to the impartial examination of all those interested in the social question.

I

PREFACE[1]

The realization of the ideas contained in the pages that we are about to read can only be obtained by means of a revolutionary movement.

There is no shortage of people who call themselves socialists, and who claim that social transformation must take place gradually, without sudden shocks; the idea of a revolution whose program would be to change the foundations of the established order overnight is contrary to the very nature of things, they say; slow and continuous progress, that is the law of human development, a law that history teaches us and from which impatient people, eager for dramatic turns and changes on sight, would flatter themselves in vain to exempt modern society.

Those who reason in this way are confusing two very different things.

Certainly, it is not we, materialists, who will ignore this great truth, the very basis of our theory on the development of living beings: namely, that changes in nature do not take place by sudden leaps, but by a continuous and almost imperceptible movement. We know that man did not emerge from animality in a day, and that all change, all progress requires time to be accomplished.

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[1] The section titles do not exist in every edition of the work. I have included them to make it easier to navigate. — TRANSLATOR

This law applies today even before our eyes: modern society is undergoing a slow transformation; new ideas are infiltrating the masses, new needs are demanding satisfaction, new and powerful means of action are placed every day at the disposal of humanity. This transformation is accomplished little by little; it is an imperceptible and gradual evolution, entirely in conformity with scientific theory; but, something which those to whom we are responding here do not take into account, the evolution in question is not free; it often encounters violent opposition; the old interests that are harmed, the force of resistance that the established order opposes, put obstacles in the way of the normal expansion of new ideas; these cannot occur on the surface, they are repressed, and their operation, instead of being complete, is necessarily reduced to a work of internal transformation, which can last many years before becoming apparent. Externally, nothing seems to have changed; the social form has remained the same, the old institutions are standing; but there has occurred, in the intimate regions of the collective being, a fermentation, a disintegration that has profoundly altered the very conditions of social existence, so that the external form is no longer the true expression of the situation. After a certain time, the contradiction becoming ever more noticeable between the social institutions, which have been maintained, and the new needs, a conflict is inevitable: a revolution breaks out.

Thus, the work of transformation was indeed gradual and progressive; but, hampered in its pace, it was unable to be accomplished in a regular manner and gradually modify the social organs; it necessarily remains incomplete, until the day when the new forces, finding themselves, through a successive accumulation of constant increases, in a position to overcome the resistance of the old forces, a crisis occurs, and the obstacles are swept away.[2]

It is not in one day that the flood swells to the point of breaking the dike that contains it; the water rises gradually, slowly; but once it has reached the desired level, the flooding is sudden and the dike collapses in the blink of an eye.

There are therefore two successive facts, the second of which is the necessary consequence of the first: first, the slow transformation of ideas, needs, means of action within society; then, when the moment has come when this transformation is sufficiently advanced to become a complete reality, there is the sudden and decisive crisis, the revolution, which is only the outcome of a long evolution, the sudden manifestation of a change long prepared and become inevitable.

It will not occur to any serious man to indicate in advance the ways and means by which the revolution, the indispensable prologue to social renewal, must be accomplished. A revolution is a natural fact, and not the act of one or more individual wills: it does not take place by virtue of a preconceived plan, it occurs under the uncontrollable impulse of necessities that no one can command.

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[2] Let us note that the experiments and theories of contemporary biological science tend to confirm this view of a double progression of nature, by evolution and revolution. (*Editor's note.*)

Let no one therefore expect from us the indication of a revolutionary campaign plan; we leave this childishness to those who still believe in the possibility and the effectiveness of a personal dictatorship to accomplish the work of human emancipation.

We will limit ourselves to briefly indicating what character we wish to see the revolution take, to prevent it from falling back into the errors of the past.

This character must be above all negative, destructive. It is not a question of improving certain institutions of the past to adapt them to a new society, but of eliminating them. Thus, the radical elimination of the government, the army, the courts, the church, the school, the bank and everything related to them.

At the same time, the revolution has a positive side: it is the taking possession of the instruments of labor and all capital by the workers.

We must explain how we understand this taking of possession.

Let us first talk about the land and the peasants.

In several countries, but particularly in France, the bourgeoisie and priests sought to deceive and frighten the peasants, telling them that the revolution wanted to take their land.

This is an unworthy lie from the enemies of the people. The Revolution wants to do the exact opposite: it wants to take the lands of the bourgeoisie, the nobles and the priests, to give them to those peasants who have none.

If a piece of land belongs to a peasant, and this peasant cultivates it himself, the revolution will not touch it. On the contrary, it will guarantee him free possession of it, and free him from all the burdens that weighed on it. This land, which paid taxes to the exchequer and which was burdened with heavy mortgages, the revolution will emancipate it as it emancipates the worker: no more taxes, no more mortgages; the land has become free again like the man!

As for the lands of the bourgeoisie, the nobles, the clergy, the lands that the poor rural people have cultivated until today for their masters, the revolution takes them back from those who had stolen them, and returns them to their legitimate owners, to those who cultivate them.

How will the revolution take the land away from the bourgeoisie, from the exploiters, and give it to the peasants?

Until now, when the bourgeoisie made a political revolution, when they carried out one of those movements whose result was only a change of masters for the people, they were in the habit of publishing decrees announcing to the country the will of the new government; the decree was posted in the communes, and the prefect, the courts, the mayor, the gendarmes, had it executed.

The truly popular revolution will not follow this example; it will not draft decrees, it will not demand the services of the police and government administration. It does

not seek to emancipate the people with *decrees*, with words written on paper, but with *deeds*.

So, peasants, if people come and say to you:

"Who allowed you to act? Who gave you the right to take land? Wait for the decree of the revolutionary government!" — look at these people as imbeciles or traitors: for the Revolution will have no government; the Revolution will not draw up a decree.

As soon as the tocsin of the Revolution has sounded, act, as the French peasants did in July 1789, without waiting for anyone's orders. Take possession of your lands, these lands that for so many centuries your ancestors have watered with their sweat, and once you hold them, do not let them go, and get yourself killed to the last man before allowing your exploiters to retake this land that is yours and that the revolution is restoring to you.

What we say to the peasants, we also say to the workers. The immediate taking of possession of workshops, machines, raw materials, buildings, all capital in a word, must be carried out directly by the workers; they must not wait for any power to come and consecrate their rights by *decrees;* they must assert them themselves, and immediately, by *deeds*.

Thus, while the Jacobin Revolution holds the people in tutelage and substitutes for their will that of a government, the revolution such as we hope to see it accomplished is nothing other than the direct execution of the will of groups of workers by those concerned themselves.

Taking as our starting point the revolutionary deed, which will have placed capital in the hands of the labor that produced it, we will now set out the organization which, according to us, must spontaneously emerge from the very necessity of things within the revolutionized society.

II

THE PEASANTS

In this chapter we will examine how peasants should organize themselves to get the most profit possible from their working instrument, the land.

The peasants found themselves in the aftermath of the Revolution in the following position:

Some, who were already small landowners, keep the piece of land that they cultivated and that they continue to cultivate alone with their family. Others, and this is the majority, who were tenants of a large landowner, or simple laborers in the pay of a farmer, have taken joint possession of a vast expanse of land, and must cultivate it in common.

Which of these two systems is better?

This is not about theorizing, but about taking the facts as a starting point and looking for what is immediately achievable.

Taking this point of view, we say first of all that the essential thing, the one for which the Revolution was made, has been accomplished: the land has become the property of the one who cultivates it, the peasant no longer labors for the profit of an exploiter who lives off his sweat.

Once this great conquest has been achieved, the rest is secondary; the peasants can, if they wish, divide the land into individual lots and allocate a lot to each worker; or, on the contrary, put the land in common and join forces to cultivate it.

However, although secondary to the essential fact, the emancipation of the peasant, this question of the best form to adopt for the cultivation and possession of the land, also deserves to be examined carefully.

In a region that was populated, before the revolution, by small-scale peasant proprietors; where the nature of the soil is not very conducive to extensive cultivation; where agriculture has still remained with the methods of the patriarchal age, where the use of machinery is unknown or not very widespread, — in such a region, it will be natural for the peasants to retain the form of property to which they are accustomed. Each of them will continue to cultivate his land as in the past, with this sole difference, that his former servants (if he had any), will have become his associates and will share with him the fruits that their common work will have produced on the land.

However, it is likely that after a short time, these peasants who have remained individual proprietors will find it advantageous for them to modify their traditional system of work. They will first associate to create a communal agency responsible for the sale or exchange of their products; then this first association will lead them to attempt other steps in this same direction. They will jointly acquire various machines intended to facilitate their work; they will lend each other mutual assistance for the execution of certain chores which are better done when they are carried out quickly by a large number of hands; and they will doubtless end up by imitating their brothers, the workers of industry and those of large-scale cultivation, by deciding to put their lands in common and to form an agricultural association. But if they linger for a few years in the old routine, if even the space of an entire generation were to elapse, in certain communes, before the peasants there decide to adopt the form of collective property, there would be no serious inconvenience in this delay. Would the rural proletariat not have disappeared, and within these remaining communes, would there be anything other than a population of free workers, living in abundance and peace?

On the other hand, where large estates and vast crops employ a considerable number of workers, whose united and combined efforts are necessary for the cultivation of the soil, collective property imposes itself. We will see the territory of an entire commune, sometimes even that of several communes combined, forming only one agricultural exploitation, where the methods of large-scale cultivation will be applied. In these vast communities of field workers, one will not strive, as the small peasant does today on his plot of land, to obtain from the same land a host of different products: one will not see, side by side in an enclosure of one hectare of surface, a small square of wheat, a small square of potatoes, another of vines, another of fodder,

another of fruit trees, etc. Each soil is, by its external configuration, by its exposure, and by its chemical composition, more especially suited to a type of product: one will therefore not sow wheat on the ground suitable for vines, one will not seek to obtain potatoes on a soil which would be better used as pasture. The agricultural community, if it has only one type of land, will only cultivate one type of product, knowing that large-scale cultivation gives, with less work, much more considerable results, and preferring to obtain by exchange the products it lacks, rather than obtaining them only in small quantities and of poor quality on land which would not be suitable for them.

It is useless to dwell on the advantages of large-scale farming and to explain its processes in detail. We will confine ourselves to giving an idea of what the agriculture of the future will be like, by quoting here a remarkable page from a report presented at one of the congresses of the International:

> "Do you see, under this freshly cleared, limed, leveled soil, these thousands of canals, a veritable circulatory system of a new and great organism? From these underground canals, some carry far into the countryside the nourishing liquid of the earth, supplied by the sewers of the cities, and restoring to the soil in full what the urban populations have received from the soil; the others carry away from the fields the excessive abundance of water. Do you see this trail of wagons loaded with lime or other salts necessary for the soil, in accordance with the great law of restitution? Steam carries them far into the fields to spread these precious salts in the land where they are lacking. Do you see this chain of parallel plowshares that a gigantic steam engine carries across immense countryside? The same mechanism carries at the same time men, and agricultural implements, and seeds; and later, when the harvest is ripe, he will return to mow it, gather it and transport it to the barn, where other machines, also powered by steam, replace the ancient flail and the winnowing fan, forever forgotten. And all this is done together, in order, at the precise moment indicated by the meteorological observatories. In such agriculture, what becomes not only of the small peasant who cultivates with a spade, but even of the plowman with his traditional plough, with all the old tools and old methods already in use in Greco-Roman antiquity and even in the Egypt of the Pharaohs? They went to join the wagoner replaced by the railway, the mailman eliminated by electricity, the lumberjack gradually disappeared before the coal mine, the lamplighter pushed out by the gasworks, the water carrier abolished by these systems of artesian wells, aqueducts, pipes and taps, which today already take care of distributing water to the inhabitants of large cities."[3]

The internal organization of an agricultural community will not necessarily be the same everywhere: a fairly large variety may occur according to the preferences of the associated workers: provided that they conform to the principles of equality and justice, they will only have to consult on this point their convenience and their usefulness. We will limit ourselves to giving some very summary indications.

The management of the community, elected by all the associates, may be entrusted either to a single individual or to a commission of several members; it will even be

[3] From an 1868 report by César de Paepe. — TRANSLATOR

possible to separate the various administrative functions, and to entrust each of them to a special commission. The length of the working day will be fixed, not by a general law applied to the whole country, but by a decision of the community itself; only, as the community will be in relations with all the agricultural workers of the region, it must be admitted as probable that an agreement will have been reached between all the workers for the adoption of a uniform basis on this point. The products of the labor belong to the community; and each associate receives from it, either in kind (subsistence, clothing, etc.), or in currency, the remuneration for the labor accomplished by him. In some associations, this remuneration will be proportional to the duration of the labor; in others, it will be in proportion to both the duration of the labor and the nature of the functions performed; still other systems may be tried and practiced.

This question of distribution becomes entirely secondary, as soon as that of property has been resolved and there are no longer capitalists levying on the labor of the masses. However, we believe that the principle to which we must seek to approach as closely as possible is this: *From each according to his strength, to each according to his needs*. Once, thanks to mechanical processes and the progress of industrial and agricultural science, production has increased to such an extent that it will greatly exceed the needs of society — and this result will be obtained within a few years after the Revolution — once we have reached this point, we say, we will no longer measure with a scrupulous hand the share that falls to each worker: each will be able to draw from the abundant social reserve, according to the full extent of their needs, without fear of ever exhausting it; and the moral sentiment that will have developed among free and equal workers will prevent abuse and waste. In the meantime, it is up to each community to determine for itself, during the transition period, the method it believes to be most appropriate for distributing the product of the work among its associates.

III

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

Among industrial workers, as among peasants, several categories must be distinguished.

First, there are trades in which the tools are almost insignificant, where the division of labor does not exist or exists only barely, and where consequently the isolated worker can produce as well as if he worked in association. Such are, for example, the professions of tailor, shoemaker, etc....[4]

[4] It must be noted, however, that even in these professions the mode of production of large-scale industry can be applied, and produce an economy of time and labor. What we say about it therefore only applies to a transitional period.

Then come the trades that require the cooperation of several workers, the use of what is called collective force, and which are generally carried out in a workshop; for example: typographers, carpenters, masons.

Finally, there is a third category of industries, where the division of labor is pushed much further, where production is carried out on a gigantic scale and requires the use of powerful machines and the possession of considerable capital. Such are the spinning mills, the metallurgical factories, the coal mines, etc.

For workers belonging to industries of the first category, collective labor is not a necessity; and it will undoubtedly happen that in a large number of cases, the tailor or the cobbler will prefer to continue to work alone in his small shop. This is a completely natural thing, especially since in small communities, there will perhaps be only one worker belonging to each of these trades. However, and without wishing to hinder individual independence in any way, we believe that, where it is practicable, working together is best: in the society of one's equals, emulation stimulates the worker; he produces more, and does his work with a better heart; moreover, working together allows useful control of each over all and of all over each.

As for the workers of the other two categories, it is obvious that association is imposed on them by the very nature of their work; and that their instruments of labor are no longer simple tools for exclusively personal use, but machines or tools whose use requires the cooperation of several workers, the ownership of this equipment can only be collective.

Each workshop, each factory will therefore form an association of workers, which will remain free to administer itself in the way it pleases, provided that the rights of each are safeguarded and that the principles of equality and justice are put into practice. In the preceding chapter, when speaking of associations or communities of agricultural workers, we presented, with regard to management, the length of the working day and the distribution of products, observations which naturally also apply to industrial workers, and which consequently we have no need to repeat.

We have just said that, wherever it is an industry requiring somewhat complicated tools and joint work, the ownership of the instruments of labor should be common. But one point remains to be determined: will this common ownership belong exclusively to the workshop in which it will work, or will it be the property of the entire corporation of workers in this or that industry?

Our opinion is that the second of these solutions is the right one. When, for example, on the day of the Revolution, the typographic workers of the city of Rome have taken possession of all the printing presses in that city, they must immediately meet in a general assembly to declare that all the printing presses of Rome constitute the common property of all Roman typographers. Then, as soon as it is possible, they must go a step further and form a solidarity with the typographers of the other cities of Italy: the result of this pact of solidarity will be the constitution of all the typographic establishments of Italy as collective property of the federation of Italian typographers.

By means of this pooling, the typographers of all Italy will be able to go to work in one or other of the cities of their country, and find there everywhere the working tools which they will have the right to use.

But if the ownership of the instruments of labor must, in our opinion, be handed over to the corporation, we do not mean by this that there will be, above the groups of workers forming the workshops, a sort of industrial government which has the power to dispose of the instruments of labor at will. No: the workers of the various workshops do not in the least abandon the instrument of labor which they have conquered, into the hands of a superior power which would call itself the corporation. What they do is this: they guarantee to each other, under certain conditions, the enjoyment of the instrument of labor of which they have acquired possession, and, by granting to their colleagues in the other workshops co-participation in this enjoyment, they obtain in exchange to be in their turn co-participants in the ownership of the instruments of labor held by these colleagues with whom they have concluded the pact of solidarity.

As for the relationships between the various corporations, the processes by which the normal quantity of products that must be delivered for consumption by each branch of industry will be determined, and the way in which the exchange can be organized, we will discuss this in the following chapters, which will be devoted to studying the organization of the commune and the various public, communal and regional services.

IV

THE COMMUNE

The Commune is made up of all the workers living in the same locality.

Sometimes the workers of a Commune may all be engaged in the same type of work: we will find some communes inhabited exclusively by farmers, without any mixture of industrial workers, or by industrial workers all belonging to the same branch. But these are exceptions, and in general the Commune includes a population of workers belonging to a more or less considerable number of diverse branches. Taking as a type the Commune as it appears in the very great majority of cases, and neglecting the exceptions, we will define the Commune: the local federation of groups of producers.

This local federation or Commune is constituted for the purpose of providing certain services, which are not the exclusive domain of this or that corporation, but which interest them all, and which for this reason are called *public services*.

We must add at once that, among public services, there are some which, by their very nature, are not the domain of the Commune taken in isolation, and which require, for their realization, the cooperation of several communes or even of all the communes of a region. We will deal in a special chapter with these *general* public services; in this chapter, we will limit ourselves to the examination of *communal* public services, that is to say those of interest to only one Commune.

The municipal public services can be summarized in the following list:

1. *Public works*. — construction and maintenance of houses and all buildings; construction of roads, maintenance of streets, lighting of streets and houses.

2. *Exchange*. — Establishment of an exchange counter, responsible for receiving the products of the labor of the various producer groups of the Commune, and to sell them outside; and to receive from outside other products intended for distribution to consumers in the Municipality.

3. *Food*. — Organization of the manufacture and distribution as a public service of objects of the greatest necessity, that is to say of the bakery, the butcher's shop and some other branches of food-related labor.

4. *Statistics*. — Office responsible for statistics regarding local production and consumption, the inhabitants, the maintenance of the register of births and deaths, etc.

5. *Hygiene*. — This service would include water supply; sewers, street sweeping; slaughterhouses, public wash houses, public baths; medical service; burial.

6. *Security*. — Safety of people, safety of buildings (organization against fires, floods, etc.)

7. *Education*. — Maintenance, education and comprehensive instruction of youth of both sexes.

8. *Assistance*. — Maintenance of the disabled, the infirm, the elderly, the sick.

We will examine in some detail what relates to each of the above headings.

1. — Public works

All houses are owned by the Municipality.

After the Revolution, everyone continued to temporarily live in the accommodation they occupied, with the exception of families who were reduced to unhealthy or inadequate dwellings, and who were immediately housed, through the care of the Commune, in the vacant apartments of the houses previously belonging to the rich.

The construction of new houses, containing healthy, spacious and comfortable lodging, to replace the miserable slums of the old working-class districts, will be one of the first needs of the liberated society. The Commune will take care of it immediately; and in this way it will not only be able to provide work for the corporations of masons, carpenters, locksmiths, roofers, etc., but it will also be easy for it to employ in a useful way this crowd of people who, living in idleness before the Revolution, know no trade: they will be able to be employed as laborers in the immense construction and earthworks which will then be undertaken at all points of the liberated region, and especially in the cities.

The new lodgings will be built at everyone's expense, — which means that in exchange for the work provided by the various building corporations, they will receive

from the Commune the necessary vouchers so that they can more than cover the upkeep of all their members. And since the housing will have been built at everyone's expense, it will have to be available to everyone, — that is to say, the use of it will be free, and no one will have to pay the Commune a fee, a rent, in exchange for the apartment they occupy.

Since the housing is free, it seems that serious discord could result, because no one will want to keep a bad dwelling, and everyone will fight over the best ones. But we think that it would be wrong to fear that serious inconveniences will arise from this, and here are our reasons. First, we must say that not wanting to live in a bad dwelling and wanting a better one is certainly a very legitimate desire; and it is precisely this desire, which we will see produced with great force, which gives us the assurance that everywhere people will work with energy and activity to satisfy it by building new houses. But while waiting for them to be built, we will have to be patient and be content with what exists; the Commune will have taken care, as we have said, to remedy the most pressing needs by housing the poorest families in the vast palaces of the rich; and as for the rest of the population, we believe that revolutionary enthusiasm will have developed in them a feeling of generosity and self-denial, which will make everyone happy to bear, for some time yet, the inconveniences of an uncomfortable dwelling, and that it will not occur to anyone to pick a quarrel with a neighbor who, being more favored, will temporarily have a more pleasant apartment.

In a short time, thanks to the activity with which the builders will work, powerfully stimulated by general demand, housing will have become so abundant that all requests can be met: everyone will only have to choose, with the certainty of finding a home that suits them.

What we are saying here is not fanciful, however marvelous it may seem to those whose gaze has never gone beyond the horizon of bourgeois society: on the contrary, it is the simplest and most natural thing, so natural that it would be impossible for things to happen otherwise. Indeed, what do we want the legions of masons and other construction workers to do, if not to constantly build comfortable dwellings, truly worthy of being inhabited by the members of a civilized society? Will they have to build them for many years, so that each family can have its own? No, it will be a short work. And when they have finished, will they sit back and sit back? No, no doubt; they will continue to work. They will improve, they will perfect what exists, and little by little we will see the dark neighborhoods, the narrow streets, the uncomfortable houses of our current cities disappear entirely: in their place will rise palaces where workers will live, having become men again.

What we have just said applies more especially to towns; and we must, with regard to peasant villages, make an observation.

Just as we have already foreseen the case where peasants, still unfamiliar with modern methods of large-scale farming, will prefer to retain individual ownership of the land and give each worker his own piece of land, we must foresee the case where, in small agricultural villages, the peasants, each living with their family in a separate

house, will want to keep this house as private property, instead of handing over all the buildings to the Commune as collective property. We see no problem in this, provided that there are no workers frustrated by this state of affairs; if everyone has their own house and is happy with it, and if, in addition, the Commune builds houses for those families who perhaps do not have one, all will be well. Later, it is likely that ideas will change, and that even in those Communes where individual property will have been preserved at first, the houses will become communal property: it will be up to time and experience to make the advantages of this organization over the old organization felt.

2. — Exchange

In the new society, there will no longer be *commerce, in the sense that is attached to this word today*.

Each municipality will establish an *exchange counter*, the mechanism of which we will explain as clearly as possible.

Workers' associations, as well as individual producers (in branches where individual production can continue), will deposit their products at the *exchange counter*. The value of these various products will have been fixed in advance by an agreement between the regional corporate federations and the various Communes, using data provided by statistics. The exchange counter will issue *exchange vouchers* to the producers representing the value of their products; these exchange vouchers will be allowed to circulate throughout the territory of the Federation of Communes (details on this subject will be found in another chapter).

Among the products thus deposited at the exchange counter, some are intended to be consumed in the Commune itself, and others to be exported to other Communes, and consequently exchanged for other products.

The first of these products will be transported to the various communal bazaars, for the establishment of which the most convenient premises among the shops and stores of the old merchants will have been temporarily used. Of these bazaars, some will be devoted to food products, others to clothing, others to household utensils, etc.

Products intended for export will remain in general stores until such time has come to direct them to the Communes that will need them.

Let us anticipate an objection here. We may be told: The exchange counter of each Commune gives producers, by means of exchange vouchers, a token representing the value of their products, and this before being assured of the sale of these same products. If the products were not to be sold, in what position would the exchange counter find itself? Is it not likely to make losses, and is the type of operation with which it is charged not very uncertain?

To this we will reply that each exchange counter is sure in advance of the sale of the products it receives, so that there can be no disadvantage in it immediately returning

the value to the producers by means of exchange vouchers. We will explain later how this result will be obtained.

There will be certain categories of workers for whom it will be materially impossible to bring their products to the exchange office: such are, for example, workers in the building trades. But the exchange office will no less serve as an intermediary for them: they will register there the various works that they have carried out, the value of which will always have been agreed in advance; and the office will deliver this value to them in exchange vouchers. The same will apply to the various workers employed for the administrative services of the Commune; their work consists, not of manufactured products, but of services rendered; these services will have been priced in advance, and the exchange office will pay them the value.

The exchange counter does not only have the function of receiving the products brought to it by the workers of the Commune; it corresponds with the other Communes, and it brings in the products that the commune is obliged to obtain from outside, either to contribute to its food supply, or as raw materials, fuel, manufactured products, etc.

These products from outside are found in the communal bazaars, alongside local products.

Consumers present themselves at these various bazaars with their vouchers, which can be divided into notes of different values; and there they obtain, on the basis of a uniform tariff, all the consumer goods they need.

Up to now, the account we have given of the operations of the exchange counter does not differ in any essential way from the practices of current commerce: the operations, in fact, are nothing other than those of sale and purchase; the counter buys the products from the producers, and sells the consumer goods to the consumers. But we believe that after a certain time, the practice of the exchange counters can be modified without inconvenience, and that a new system will gradually replace the old system: *exchange* properly speaking will disappear, and will give way to pure and simple *distribution*.

Here is what we mean by that:

As long as a product is scarce, and is found in the communal stores only in quantities smaller than those which the population could consume, it is necessary to bring a certain measure into the distribution of this product; and the easiest way to carry out this rationing of consumers is to *sell* them the product, that is to say to deliver it only to those who will give a certain value in exchange. But once, thanks to the prodigious development of production which will not fail to take place as soon as work is organized on rational bases — once, we say, that thanks to this development, this or that category of products will have become so abundant that the quantity will greatly exceed anything that the population could consume, then it will no longer be necessary to ration consumers; it will be possible to eliminate the operation of sales, which was a sort of brake opposed to immoderate consumption; the communal

counters will no longer *sell* products to consumers, they will *distribute* them to them in proportion to the needs that these latter will declare to feel.

This substitution of distribution for exchange will be able to take place in a short time for all objects of first necessity; for it will be above all towards an abundant production of these objects that the first efforts of the associations of producers will be directed. Soon other objects, which today are still rare and expensive, and are consequently regarded as luxury objects, will in turn be able to be produced on a large scale, and thus enter the domain of distribution, that is to say, of universal consumption. On the other hand, other objects, but in small number and of little importance (for example pearls, diamonds, certain metals), will never be able to become abundant, because nature itself has limited their quantity; but since people will have ceased to attach to them the price that opinion attributes to them today, they will no longer be sought after except by scientific associations, which will want to place them in museums of natural history or use them for the making of certain instruments.

We have wanted to indicate here our opinion on the way in which the distribution of products could be carried out, in a future not far removed from the Revolution; but let it be remembered that the first condition for arriving at this simply distributive organization is to triple the energy of production; and until this preliminary result is obtained, it will be necessary to stick to the method that we explained in the first place, the sale and purchase by means of exchange vouchers and through the intermediary of communal counters.

3. — Foodstuffs

The food service is, in a way, only an annex to the exchange service. Indeed, what we have just said about the organization of the exchange counter applies to all products, including products specifically intended for food. However, we believe it is useful to add, in a special paragraph, some more detailed explanations on the arrangements to be made for the distribution of the main food products.

Today, bakeries, butchers, the wine trade and colonial goods are abandoned to private industry and speculation, which, through fraud of all kinds, seek to enrich themselves at the expense of the consumer. The new society must immediately remedy such a state of affairs: and this remedy will consist of establishing everything relating to the distribution of basic food products as a municipal public service.

Let it be noted: this does not mean that the Commune takes over certain branches of *production*. No: production itself remains in the hands of producers' associations. But for bread, for example, what does production consist of? Only in the cultivation of wheat. The plowman sows and harvests the grain, and brings it to the exchange counter: there the function of the producer ends. Reducing this grain into flour, transforming this flour into bread, is no longer production: it is labor similar to that performed by the various employees of the communal bazaars, labor intended to make a food product, wheat, available to consumers. The same goes for meat. The peasant

raises and feeds the livestock; then when he has fattened it sufficiently, he brings it to the exchange counter. The operation of slaughtering and butchering cattle is no longer the act of a producer properly speaking: the function of the butcher is analogous to that of any other employee of a communal bazaar, intermediary between the producer and the consumer. The same is true for wine. The producer is the one who cultivates the vine, who presses the wine and brings it to the exchange counter; but the one who then gives the wine the care necessary for its conservation, who distributes it to consumers, is no longer himself a producer, he is a simple intermediary.

We can therefore see that from a principled point of view, nothing is more logical than bringing bakeries, butchers, wine distribution, etc., within the remit of the Commune.

Consequently, the wheat, once it has entered the Commune's stores, will be ground into flour in a communal mill (it goes without saying that several communes may have the same mill); the flour will be transformed into bread in the communal bakeries, and the bread will be delivered by the Commune to consumers. The same will apply to meat; cattle will be slaughtered in the communal slaughterhouses, and butchered in the communal butchers. The wines will be kept in the communal cellars, and distributed to consumers by special employees. Finally, other foodstuffs will be, depending on their more or less immediate consumption, kept in the Commune's stores, or else displayed in the markets where consumers will come to collect them.

It is especially for this category of products, bread, meat, wine, etc., that efforts will have to be made to replace the system of exchange with that of distribution as quickly as possible. Once abundant food is assured for all, the progress of science, industrial arts, and civilization in general, will advance by leaps and bounds.

4. — Statistics

The municipal statistics commission will be responsible for collecting all statistical information for the municipality.

The various corporations or production associations will keep it constantly informed of the number of their members and of the changes taking place in their personnel, so that it will be possible to know at all times the number of hands employed in the various branches of production.

Through the exchange counter, the statistical commission will obtain the most complete data on production and consumption figures.

It will be by means of statistical facts collected in this way in all the Communes of a region that it will be possible to scientifically balance production and consumption; by obeying these indications, it will be possible to increase the number of hands in the branches where production is insufficient, and to decrease it in those where production is overabundant. Statistics will also make it possible to fix the average duration of the working day, necessary to obtain the sum of products required by the needs of society. It will also be through them that we will be able to determine,

certainly not in an absolute manner, but with sufficient accuracy for practice, the relative value of the various products, which will serve as a basis for the rates of the exchange counters.

But that is not all; the statistical commission will still have to fulfill the functions assigned today to the civil registry: it will register births and deaths. We do not add marriages, because in a free society, the voluntary union of man and woman will no longer be an official act, but a purely private act, which will need no public sanction.

Many other things are also within the scope of statistics: diseases, meteorological observations, all facts which, occurring in a regular manner, can be recorded and counted, and from the numerical grouping of which some teaching, sometimes even some scientific law, can emerge.

5. — Hygiene

Under the general name of hygiene we have brought together various public services whose proper functioning is essential to maintaining public health.

First and foremost, of course, is the medical service, which will be made available free of charge by the Commune to all its citizens. Doctors will no longer be industrial workers seeking to make the greatest possible profit from their patients; they will be employees of the Commune, paid by it, who must provide their care to all those who request it.

But the medical service presents us only with the curative side of this branch of human activity and knowledge which deals with health; and it is not enough to cure the sick, we must also prevent sickness. This is the function of hygiene properly speaking.

A number of objects which, in one respect, depend on other areas, such as public works or the exchange counter, are nevertheless linked to hygiene through the influence they can exert on public health.

Thus, the hygiene commission will have to deal, in concert with that of public works, with the distribution of drinking water, and ensure that this water is delivered to consumers in conditions of the greatest possible purity; it will also supervise the construction and service of sewers; it will ensure the cleanliness of the streets. Slaughterhouses, public wash houses where clothes will be cleaned, public bathing establishments, are also under its jurisdiction. It will also deal with everything relating to the final duties to be rendered to the dead, and the necessary measures to prevent corpses from producing, by their accumulation in cemeteries, sources of pestilential infection.

Many other things could be mentioned which should attract the attention and occupy the attention of the health commission; but the little we have just said should already be enough to give an idea of the nature of its functions and their importance.

6. — Security

This service includes the measures necessary to guarantee the personal safety of all residents of the Municipality, as well as to protect buildings, products, etc., against any damage or accident.

It is unlikely that in a society where everyone can live in complete freedom on the fruits of their labor, and finds all their needs abundantly satisfied, cases of theft and brigandage will still arise. The material well-being, as well as the intellectual and moral development that will result from truly humane instruction given to all, will also make much rarer the crimes that are the result of debauchery, anger, brutality, or other vices.

Nevertheless, it will not be useless to take precautions for the safety of people. This service, which one could call, if this term did not have too ambiguous a meaning, the police of the Commune, will not be entrusted, as today, to a special body: all the inhabitants will be called to take part in it, and to watch in turn in the various security posts that the Commune will have established.

One will doubtless ask, in this connection, how will someone guilty of murder or other acts of violence be treated in an egalitarian society? Obviously, under the pretext of respect for the rights of the individual and the denial of authority, one cannot let a murderer go unmolested or wait for some friend of the victim to apply the law of retaliation to him. He will have to be deprived of his liberty and kept in a special house until he can be returned to society without danger. How will he be treated during his captivity? And according to what principles will its duration be determined? These are delicate questions, on which opinions are still divided. We will have to rely on experience for their solution; but we already know that, thanks to the transformation that education will bring about in characters, crimes will have become very rare: criminals, being no more than an exception, will be considered as sick and insane; The question of crime, which today occupies so many judges, lawyers and jailers, will lose its social importance, and will become a mere chapter of medical philosophy.

The current courts are charged with two very different tasks: they judge crimes, that is to say, attacks against persons or things (murders, arson, etc.), and they also judge disputes between individuals, trials. As we have just said, cases in the first category, crimes, will henceforth be the responsibility of the security service, which will seek to prevent them, and that of the medical service, which will decide on the measures to be taken with regard to criminals. As for cases in the second category, disputes between persons, between associations, between municipalities, these disputes will be judged by arbitrators appointed by the parties, as is already done today in a large number of circumstances.

The public safety service will also include precautions to be taken against fires, floods, and other accidents of this kind. All the inhabitants of the Commune will have

had to agree to contribute to the implementation of measures intended to prevent these accidents: thus, for example, they will have formed a fire brigade.

A vast insurance system will complete this organization. The corporations and the communes will guarantee mutual support in the event that a disaster, fire, hail, epizootic, drought, etc., should strike one or more of them. This insurance and solidarity pact will, moreover, only form one of the chapters of the general pact of federation which will be discussed later.

7. — Education

On this very important subject, which would need to be treated in a special book, we can only give a few brief indications, sufficient however to form an exact general idea.

The first point to consider is the question of the support of children. Today, it is the parents who are responsible for providing food for their children, as well as for their education: this custom is the consequence of a false principle, which makes the child be considered as the property of his parents. The child is no one's property; they belong to themselves; and during the period in which they are still incapable of protecting himself, and where consequently they may be exposed to exploitation, it is up to society to protect them and to ensure the guarantee of their free development. It is also up to society to take charge of their support: by providing for their consumption and the various expenses that their education will require, society is only making an advance, which the child will repay through their work when they have become a producer.

Thus, it is society, and not the parents, that must take charge of the child's upkeep. This general principle being established, we believe we must refrain from fixing in a precise and detailed manner the form in which it must be applied: we would risk falling into utopia; we will have to let freedom act, and await the lessons of experience. Let us say only that with regard to the child, society is represented by the Commune, and that each Commune will have to determine the organization that it judges best for the upkeep of its children: here we will prefer life in common, there we will leave the children with their mother at least until a certain age, etc.

But this is only one side of the question. The Commune feeds, clothes, and houses the children: who will educate them, who will make them human beings and producers? And according to what plan will their education be directed? To these questions, we will answer: The education of children must be integral, that is to say, it must develop at the same time all the faculties of the body and all the faculties of the mind, so as to make the child a complete person. This education must not be entrusted to a special caste of teachers: all those who know a science, an art, a trade, can and must be called upon to teach it.

Undoubtedly, in the first years following the Revolution, it will not be possible to create from scratch the organization of education as it should function in the normal

period; there will obviously be a few years of transition, during which each Commune will do its best, with the elements it possesses. But the tableau whose main lines we are going to draw, indicates the goal towards which we must strive, a goal which serious and persevering efforts will allow us to arrive at fairly quickly.

In education, two levels will be distinguished: one where the child, from five to twelve years old, has not yet reached the age to study the sciences, and where it is essentially a question of developing their physical faculties; and a second level where the child, from twelve to sixteen years old, must be initiated into the various branches of human knowledge, at the same time as they learn the practice of one or more branches of production.

In each Commune, arrangements must be made so that, without leaving the Commune where he lives, the child can receive, throughout its extent, complete instruction at both levels. It goes without saying, however, that if the child wished to learn a branch of production that did not exist in his Commune of origin, he would be obliged to change Commune and seek a place where he could receive the practical instruction he would need.

Furthermore, after completing his education up to the end of the second level, a young man may wish — without abandoning the productive work to which he is bound — to devote himself more specifically to the study of a science. He will then find the opportunity to satisfy his desire in special establishments, which will exist in a certain number of Communes. These establishments will be open to all, and each person thus possessing the necessary means to continue serious studies while fulfilling his duties as a producer, higher scientific studies will be accessible to all who wish it.

We will not insist further on this last point: those who, in the sciences, will devote their existence to a specialty and will enrich human knowledge with new discoveries, will probably be few in number; the majority will be content, at least at the beginning, with the two degrees of study indicated above, which will moreover be sufficient to form complete men, and on which we will give some more detailed indications.

In the first stage, as we have said, it will be essentially a question of developing the physical faculties, strengthening the body, and exercising the senses. Today, we leave it to chance to exercise sight, train the ear and develop the skill of the hand; a rational education will, on the contrary, apply itself, by special exercises, to giving the eye and the ear all the power of which they are capable; and as for the hands, we will be careful not to accustom children to using their right hand exclusively: we will seek to make them as skillful with one hand as with the other.

At the same time as the senses are exercised, and bodily vigor increases through intelligent gymnastics, the culture of the mind will begin, but in a completely spontaneous way: a certain number of scientific facts will accumulate of their own accord in the child's brain.

Individual observation, experience, conversations of children among themselves, or with those responsible for directing their teaching, will be the only lessons they will receive during this period.

No more schools arbitrarily governed by a pedagogue, in which trembling pupils sigh for freedom and outdoor games. In their meetings, the children will be completely free: they will organize their own games, their conferences, establish an office to direct their work, arbitrators to judge their disputes, etc. They will thus become accustomed to public life, to responsibility, to mutuality; the teacher whom they will have freely chosen to give them instruction will no longer be for them a hated tyrant, but a friend to whom they will listen with pleasure.

In the second stage, children, having reached the age of twelve or thirteen, will study successively, in a methodical order, the principal branches of human knowledge. Teaching will not be placed in the hands of men who will make it their exclusive occupation: the professors of this or that science will at the same time be producers, who will devote part of their time to manual work; and each branch will have not one, but as many as there are in the Commune men possessing a science and disposed to teach it. In addition, the common reading of good educational works, the discussions which these readings will be followed, will greatly diminish the importance which is attached today to the personality of the professor.

At the same time as the child develops his body and masters the sciences, he will be apprenticed as a producer. In the first stage of education, the need to repair or modify the equipment of his games will have introduced the child to the handling of the principal tools. During the second stage, he will visit the various workshops, and soon, drawn by his taste towards one or another branch, he will choose one or more specialties. The apprenticeship masters will be the producers themselves; in each workshop, there will be students, and part of the time of each worker will be devoted to showing them how to work. To this practical education will be added some theoretical lessons.

In this way, at the age of sixteen or seventeen, the young man will have covered the whole circle of human knowledge, and will be able to pursue his further studies alone, if he so desires; he will also have learned a trade, and will then find himself among the ranks of useful producers, so as to be able to repay to society, by his work, the debt that his education will have caused him to contract with it.[5]

It remains for us to say a word about the child's relationship with their family.

There are those who claim that a measure of social organization that places the maintenance of the child in the charge of society is nothing other than "the destruction of the family." This is an empty expression: as long as the cooperation of two individuals of different sexes is necessary for the procreation of a newborn, as long as

[5] On this important question of education, one can consult with profit an excellent work published a few years ago under this title: *De l'enseignement intégral*, by Paul Robin.

there are fathers and mothers, the natural place of kinship between the child and those to whom it owes its life cannot be erased from social relations.

Only the character of this bond will necessarily have to change. In antiquity, the father was the absolute master of the child, he had the right of life and death over him; in modern times, paternal authority has been limited by certain restrictions; what could be more natural, therefore, than that in a free and egalitarian society, what remains of this authority today should be completely erased, to make way for relationships of simple affection?

We do not claim, of course, that the child should be treated as an adult, that all his whims are entitled to respect, and that when there is opposition between his childish will and the rules established by science and common sense, the child should not be taught to yield. On the contrary, we say that the child needs to be directed: but the direction of his early years should not be entrusted exclusively to the hands of parents who are often incapable, and who generally abuse the power given to them. The aim of the education that the child receives being to put him as quickly as possible in a position to direct himself, by the broad development of all his faculties, it is obvious that no narrowly authoritarian tendency is compatible with such a system of education.

But because the relations of father to son will no longer be those of a master to a slave, but those of a teacher to a pupil, of an older friend to a younger friend, do we think that the mutual affection of parents and children will have to suffer? Is it not on the contrary then that we will see an end to those enmities, those discords of which the family today offers so many examples, and which almost always have as their cause the tyranny exercised by the father over his children?

Let no one therefore come and say that a liberated and regenerated society will destroy the family. On the contrary, it will teach the father, the mother, and the child to love one another, to esteem one another, to respect their mutual rights; and at the same time, it will place in their hearts, alongside and above family affections which embrace only a restricted circle and which can become bad if they remain exclusive, a higher and nobler love, that of the great human family.

8. — Assistance

We use the term *assistance* to designate, not a work of charity, but the institutions by means of which society fulfills part of the obligations it has contracted towards each of its members, and especially the obligation to ensure the existence and maintenance of the sick, the infirm and the elderly.

We do not have to indicate the details of the organization of the establishments that each Commune will have to establish for this purpose; we will only say that in order to ensure everywhere the regular functioning of these very important institutions, the Federation of Communes will have to lend its support to those Communes whose resources are insufficient; and we will add that the members of society whose old age

or poor health has rendered them incapable of working and who consequently have recourse to public assistance, will not be considered as indigents to whom compassion throws alms, but as equals towards whom society has commitments that it is obliged to fulfill. Just as childhood has the right to education, old age and illness have the right to care and rest: and it is precisely to guarantee these rights and advantages to one another that men have given themselves social institutions and united themselves by the bonds of close solidarity.

V

A FEDERATIVE NETWORK

Leaving now the restricted terrain of the Commune, or of the local federation of groups of producers, we will see the social organization being completed, on the one hand by the constitution of *regional corporative federations,* embracing all groups of workers who belong to the same branch of production; on the other hand, by the constitution of a *Federation of Communes*.

We have already briefly indicated, in Chapter IV, what a corporative federation is. There exist, within present-day society itself, organizations embracing in the same association all the workers of a trade: such is, for example, the federation of typographical workers. But these organizations are only a very imperfect sketch of what the corporative federation must be in the society to come. This will be formed of all the producer groups belonging to the same branch of labor; they unite, no longer to protect their wages against the rapacity of the bosses, but in the first place to guarantee mutually the use of the instruments of labor which are in the possession of each of the groups, and which will become, by a reciprocal contract, the collective property of the entire corporate federation. Furthermore, the federation of groups among themselves allows them to exercise constant control over production, and consequently to regulate its greater or lesser intensity, in proportion to the needs that are manifested by society as a whole.

The constitution of the *corporative federation* will be carried out in an extremely simple way. From the day after the Revolution, the producer groups belonging to the same industry will feel the need to send delegates to each other, from one city to another, to inform and understand each other. From these partial conferences will come the convocation of a general Congress of delegates of the corporation in some central point. This Congress will lay the foundations of the federative contract, which will then be submitted for approval to all the groups of the corporation. A permanent office, elected by the Corporative Congress and responsible to it, will be intended to serve as an intermediary between the groups forming the federation, as well as between the federation itself and the other corporative federations.

Once all branches of production, including agricultural production, have been organized in this way, an immense federative network, embracing all producers and consequently also all consumers, will cover the country, and the statistics of

production and consumption, centralized by the offices of the various trade federations, will make it possible to determine in a rational manner the number of hours in the normal working day, the cost price of products and their exchange value, as well as the quantity in which these products must be created to meet the needs of consumption.

People accustomed to the empty declamations of certain so-called democrats will perhaps ask whether the workers' groups should not be called upon to intervene directly, by the vote of all those who make up the corporate federation, in the determination of these various details; and when we have answered negatively, they will doubtless exclaim that this is despotism; they will protest against what they will call the *authority* of the offices, invested with the power to decide alone such serious questions and to take decisions of the highest importance. We will reply that the task with which the permanent offices of each federation will be charged has nothing in common with the exercise of any authority whatsoever: it is in fact quite simply a matter of collecting and putting in order the information provided by the producer groups; and once this information has been gathered and *made public*, to draw the consequences that necessarily follow from it concerning working hours, the cost price of products, etc. This is a simple arithmetic calculation, which cannot be done in two different ways, and which cannot give two results: only one result can come out; this result, everyone will be able to check for their own account, because everyone will have the elements of the operation before their eyes, and the permanent office is simply responsible for noting it and bringing it to the attention of all.[6] Today already, the postal administration, for example, performs a service quite similar to that which will be entrusted to the offices of the corporative federations; and no one thinks of complaining of an abuse of authority because the post office determines, without consulting universal suffrage, the classification and grouping of letters into packets, to deliver them to their destination in the most expeditious and economical manner.

Let us add that the producer groups forming a federation will intervene in the acts of the office in a much more effective and direct way than by a simple vote: it is they, in fact, who will provide all the information, all the statistical data that the office only coordinates: so that the office is only the passive intermediary by means of which the groups communicate with each other and publicly note the results of their own activity.

Voting is a process for deciding questions that cannot be resolved by scientific data, and which must be left to the arbitrary judgment of numbers; but in questions

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[6] We have said elsewhere that the associations of agricultural and industrial producers will retain the right to fix the length of the working day themselves; there is nothing contradictory in this. The offices of the trade federations make known the results provided by statistics regarding the normal average of working hours; and on this basis, the associations make the internal arrangements which suit them.

susceptible to a scientific and precise solution, there is no need to vote: the truth is not voted on; it is observed and then imposed on all by its own evidence.

But we have only shown one half of the extra-municipal organization: alongside the corporate federations, the *Federation of Communes* must be formed.

The Commune being formed by all the workers living in the same locality, each of these workers already finds himself part of one or other of these large organizations that we have called corporative federations, by means of which he is in a relationship of solidarity with all the workers of the branch of production to which he himself belongs, throughout the entire extent of the region that the corporative federation embraces. But this worker, who is attached, in his specialty as producer, to such or such corporation, is at the same time a member of his Commune; and it remains to establish, between the various Communes of a region, a bond of solidarity of the same kind as that which we have seen being formed between the corporate groups.

The Federation of Communes will naturally be constituted, like the corporate federations, by means of a meeting of delegates, a Congress, where the federal pact will be discussed and adopted. The Communes federate among themselves with the aim of helping each other in the establishment of certain public services of a general nature, and consequently the federal pact will have to determine the number and nature of these public services, and to fix the means of execution. In the first line, let us include, among these federal public services, those that are only the complement of the municipal public services. Thus, the exchange counters of the Communes, in addition to the direct relations that they will maintain among themselves, will need, to facilitate their operations, one or more central counters, more specifically responsible for international relations; the organization of these central exchange counters will be the work of the Federation of Communes.

All the communal counters being put in contact with each other through these federal counters, nothing will be easier than to organize the circulation and acceptance, throughout the Federation, and even outside, of the exchange vouchers issued by the counters of the various Communes. In addition, the federal counters, centralizing all the information relating to consumption and production, will provide each Commune with the necessary information to regulate the creation of products and their sale. Production will no longer be carried out, as today, haphazardly and in a spirit of speculation; products will be created in proportion to needs; and in this way, the sale of all these products being assured in advance, the communal counters will be able, without running any risk of loss, to immediately remit to the producers, in the form of exchange vouchers, the counter-value of the products delivered by them. — Later this mechanism will be simplified still further, when, as we have said, production having become more abundant, pure and simple distribution will have gradually replaced exchange.

Local statistics, which will provide the offices of the corporative federations with the elements of their work, will also transmit to a federal statistical commission, for coordination and publication, the information of general interest that it has collected.

— The municipal establishments of public instruction will be supplemented by special schools established by the Federation, where students will find, to continue their studies, resources that most municipal schools would not offer them.

Then come other services, which we have not yet had the opportunity to speak about, and which are, by their very nature, the responsibility of the Federation of Communes and not of an isolated Commune: such are the construction, maintenance and administration of railways and other means of communication; the postal and telegraph service; everything concerning the navy; the organization of an insurance system between the Communes, etc.

Each of these services will require special personnel; but this personnel will not be able to form, as today, a bureaucracy: it will be freely recruited from among the workers whose tastes and aptitudes lead them to this type of activity. The labor performed by the employees of the various public services will be considered as the equivalent of that performed by other workers; they will themselves choose, by election, those among them who will have to direct and control this labor, as will be done in the workshops; so that those workers whom the choice of their colleagues will have called to direct this or that public service of the Federation, will not be magistrates, members of a government or any authority, but will be chosen in the same way and placed exactly on the same line as the managers or administrators of any association of producers.

However, since the federal public services will have been established in the interest of the entire Federation, it will be necessary for the latter to elect supervisory commissions, responsible for ensuring that things are carried out in accordance with the decisions taken, and to report on this subject to the Congress of Delegates of the Commons, which will meet at fixed times.

These, in their extreme simplicity, are the only administrative mechanisms that the regular functioning of a vast Federation of Communes will require. No government, no president of the republic, no ministers, no prefects, no judges, no magistrates, and no civil servants large and small. Nothing but the harmonious and easy mechanism of an association of producers, always operating by the same means and by virtue of the same principles, whether it is the organization of a workshop, a Commune, or a Federation embracing thousands of Communes and millions of workers.

These brief indications should suffice to form a general idea of the regime that the Revolution will substitute for the current political State. At the base, the group of associated producers, and the local federation of the various groups, the Commune; then on the one hand, the regional union of all the groups belonging to the same branch of production — the *corporative federation* — and the rapprochement of these federations of producers, so as to form a bundle embracing all the workers of a region, grouped by corporations; and on the other hand, the regional union of all the Communes — the *Federation of Communes* — so that the workers, who have already united among themselves by category of production, find themselves bound by a new

pact of solidarity, broader and completing the first. This is what the new social organization must be.

V

NO SOCIALISM IN A SINGLE COUNTRY

The Revolution cannot be restricted to a single country: it is obliged, under penalty of death, to draw into its movement, if not the entire universe, at least a considerable part of the civilized countries. Indeed, no country can, today, be self-sufficient; international relations are a necessity of production and consumption, and they cannot be interrupted. If, around a revolutionized country, the neighboring States succeeded in establishing a hermetic blockade, the Revolution, remaining isolated, would be condemned to die out. Thus, as we reason on the hypothesis of the triumph of the Revolution in a given country, we must assume that most of the other countries of Europe will have made their Revolution at the same time.

It is not essential that, in all countries where the proletariat has overthrown the domination of the bourgeoisie, the new social organization established by the Revolution be the same in all its details. Given the divergences of opinion that have been manifested until today between the socialists of the Germanic countries (Germany, England), and those of the Latin and Slavic countries (Italy, Spain, France, Russia), it is probable that the social organization adopted by the German revolutionaries, for example, will differ on more than one point from that adopted by the Italian or French revolutionaries. But these differences are of no importance for international relations: the fundamental principles being the same on both sides, relations of friendship and solidarity cannot fail to be established between the emancipated peoples of the various countries.

It goes without saying that the artificial frontiers created by the present governments will fall before the Revolution. The Communes will freely group themselves according to their economic interests, their linguistic affinities, their geographical situation. And in certain countries, like Italy or Spain, too vast to form a single agglomeration of Communes, which nature itself has divided into several distinct regions, there will doubtless be formed, not a single Federation, but several Federations of Communes. This will not be a rupture of unity, a return to the old fragmentation into small isolated and hostile political States; These various Federations of Communes, although distinct from one another, will not be isolated: their interests will be united, they will conclude a pact of union between them, and this voluntary union, founded on real utility, on a community of goals and needs, on a constant exchange of good offices, will be much closer and more solid than the artificial unity of political centralization, established by violence and having no other reason for being than the exploitation of the country for the benefit of a privileged class.

The pact of union will not only be established between the Federations of Communes belonging to the same country; the old political frontiers being erased, all the Federations of Communes, one after the other, will enter into this fraternal alliance, and thus will be realized, after the principles of the Revolution have triumphed throughout Europe, this great dream of the fraternity of peoples which can only be accomplished by the social Revolution.