

THE ORGANIZATION OF LABOR; — THAT IS TO SAY:

I.

National societies and the *universal* society constituted *politically* and *exclusively* with an eye to **production** through **labor**.

II.

The *collective* forces — *earth, water, air, fire* and all the things **not created**, finally, by human **labor** — exploited without unearned appropriation and in the interest of **ALL**.

III.

The *right of legitimate exchange* — for each man — beginning *economically* only with the **products** of each one's **labor**, and each being *indebted* for their product to the society that *lends* to each series of producers the materials of labor, the natural and time-honored instruments of *manual* or *intellectual* production.

IV.

Absolute equality of the *conditions* presiding over the normal division of social labor.

The *dignity* and *sanctity* of **MANUAL LABOR** proclaimed and honored in modern society;

V.

Labor *by all, — for all*.

VI.

Labor compensated by labor, not by a wage; — a duty and a right.

VII.

No more aristocracy established in society; — neither an aristocracy of *birth*, nor that of *capital*, nor that of *talent*.

VIII.

The wealth of nations based exclusively:

On the *simultaneous* and *ceaseless* **multiplication** of **production** *by all* — made *accessible to all* — rather than on the **multiplication** of a chimerical *capital* in disagreement and out of balance with *production*; — on the diffusion of the products of all, rather than on the so-called *productive interest* on *accumulated* money; — economic **fictions** and **prejudices** enriching a few individuals within a nation at the expense of the masses, who are not richer from it and lack **PRODUCTS**, even amidst ceaseless toil.

IX.

The *invention* and *creation* of a NEW REAL SYMBOL OF EXCHANGE (*coinage* or *paper*) — a combination whose **PROGRAM** is roughly as follows:

A true currency, limited in production, — a means of exchange and no longer an object of commerce and usury, — a currency that is consumed along with the product it represents, — a guarantee of liberty and independence for the worker;

And no longer a false, unlimited currency outlasting the product consumed and breeding offspring that gnaw, that devour the new products of the worker, — an instrument of universal plunder and slavery for the producer deprived of his products, which he cannot buy back, of his products, **positive wealth**, which he exchanges for a value that is exaggerated, fictive and subject to variable convention, which results without fail in the impoverishment of several workers, while one, more fortunate or more cunning, is enriched.

X.

Certainty regarding the value of products established — rigorously and mathematically — **according to the costs of production**, that is, on the total time and expense that each product costs to produce:

On the duration of the labor,
Its intensity,
The consumption it entails,
The cost of the worker's training,
And the skill the worker displays.

XI.

Science for all — for the understanding of the labor.

Art for all — for the perfection of the labor.

XII.

But science and art **valued** and understood in the precise assessment of specialized products — scientific or artistic;

— Forming an integral, indivisible, quantifiable and reimbursable part of production costs;

Subject, like other products, to the law of the certainty of value or the equivalence of exchange;

— Remunerated, in short, in the labor, the product **only** and not **twice**,—in both the product and the producer, or in both talent and labor;

The Fourierist formula calls for this double remuneration, which we consider unjust, as well as for the alleged **rights of escheat of capital**.

XIII.

The equivalence of human functions established in order to **achieve the equivalence of products**.

The normal coordination of these various functions,

— Specialized,

- *Seriated,*
- *Classified,*
- *Grouped,*

For the most rapid, the most productive and the most attractive creation of social riches.

XIV.

Each category of **FUNCTIONS** possessing within itself, drawn from the ranks of its practitioners, elected by its practitioners and in constant communication with them:

Its commercial and financial administration;

Its arbitration and disciplinary jurisdiction;

Its university (apprenticeship schools and young **PRODUCTIVE** armies, – *cohorts of PUBLIC WORKS ASSOCIATES*).

Specialized and simplified series in which all workers, equally useful and equally necessary to production, are remunerated equally, – in accordance with the laws of equality of conditions, – through a contribution equal for each producer, yet increasing in proportion to each producer's individual wealth.

Indeed, it is utterly absurd for the *social servants* appointed by society to the *administration* and *distribution* of wealth to be remunerated more than those who *produce* it.

XV.

The coming together of these three series – coordinated with one another and forming a grand general council for each industry – which will group themselves, alongside those of other categories of functions, **around a consultative authority**;

– a power renewed by *annual election*, and before which the *permanent* industrial council sets forth the common and specific needs of the industries;

A purely **consultative** and not **representative** power, which is the center of political organization, the expression, the summary of the national unity in the general relations between the categories of functions and between nations;

A body elected by all, who are all *eligible* without *incompatibilities* – and equally indemnified by all;

Which does not *govern*, but *oversees* the collective action of workers in administration, the judiciary and education;

Which *makes requests*, but *issues no decrees without a special mandate*; which *proposes* but does not *dispose* without the consent of the majorities;

Which imparts movement, initiative, life and **progress**, finally, to the entire social body, *but without infringing upon the nation's sovereign liberty*, – *a liberty never alienated to any single man or political body*, – *the nation of workers being able*, – *whenever it chooses*, – *to reconsider its own imperfect decisions*.

XVI.

Mutual, honest and free exchange — among workers *associated and solidarity*, — of wealth produced by each individual's labor.

Exchange conducted without unjust, fraudulent or impossible profits, to the profit of parasitic intermediaries, whether capitalists, proprietors, commission agents, etc., etc. — **the product of another being purchased only with one's own product, equivalent to the one purchased.**

Thus vanishes that old bugbear of the economists: the notorious “two-hammer” problem of the *production* and the *distribution* of wealth, — each *normal* series of producers having to work for itself and for *all* other series.

XVII.

Social labor consistently yielding a production surplus:

In order to meet *unforeseen* needs and emergencies;

For the support, in a very honorable comfort, the **INVALIDS OF HUMAN INDUSTRY**;

Finally, for all *social obligations*.

XVIII.

The economic emancipation of woman, viewed at last as a *producer*, and not as a *wife* dependent on *man*, the *sole worker*; — of woman *liberated* from now on through *labor*, — *voluntary companion* and no longer *subject* of man;

Economic emancipation that alone can *ensure, stabilize and consecrate her civil and moral emancipation*;

XIX.

The *intellectual, sentimental and material* emancipation of the **producer**, — man or woman, — so that the producer, free and accountable to both conscience and society, may as soon as possible *think, love and act personally*; represent themselves, — themselves, —before GOD and before men, everywhere, in the family and in the workshop, without delegates, without masters, without alienation of liberty, without abdicating sovereignty, without the exploitation of weakness by strength or strength by weakness, and without the government of man by man.

Etc., etc., etc., etc.

XX.

In short, the solemn affirmation and the **reality** of this sacred, natural and inalienable right of the producer within a society where labor is scientifically and equitably divided:

All those who produce everything have a right to everything.

This is the social and political goal that the newspaper **Le Représentant du Peuple** will energetically pursue.

XXI.

All of our articles on economics each day will be the **development**, – simple, clear and accessible to all, – of these abstract, **summary** and **general** definitions.

XXII.

To organize labor within the nation, – *such is the summary of domestic policy*;

To balance free exchange between nations, but **after** the internal organization of national labor, – *here is the summary of foreign policy*.

Indeed, therein lies the entire problem of modern politics:

XXIII.

Peace within nations and between nations: That is the essential ideal for all those who seek to organize labor across humanity.

Let us smooth the path toward equality of conditions, by all means; but let us make every effort to reach that goal AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

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