

SOCIAL APHORISMS

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“There is a solution to the social problem, but a solution of which society is unaware. There is a way out of the unease that men feel, but certainly not where men have rushed to escape it.” — De Potter.

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The moment is approaching when the anarchy of ideas, which characterizes the present era, will be translated into the anarchy of deeds.

I have tried several times to make known the cause of this anarchy. My efforts have shattered against the obstacle of prejudices.

From that time, I became convinced that it was necessary to wait until the anarchy in deeds had come to pass before deciding to seek a remedy.

In this situation, I still have one duty to fulfill — that of recording the truth — and I do so in this little book.

SOCIAL APHORISMS

§ I. CONDITION OF THE REAL SOCIAL ORDER.

1. Society is humanity.
2. The goal of society is order.
3. Order is reason in practice.
4. The aim of social science is to determine the laws of order in society.
5. Social science must therefore express social organization.
6. There are two systems of social organization: one based on *faith*, the other on *reason*.
7. Social organization by faith, which dominated until the eighteenth century, was organization by *despotism*.
8. *Despotism* is force without reason.
9. *Liberty* is the submission of the passions to reason.
10. *Social liberty* is the conformity of social organization with the prescriptions of absolute reason.
11. *Social equality* is the consequence of the submission of humanity to reason. That is to say, it is the consequence of *liberty*.
12. Order under *despotism* is established through illusory reasoning, and under *liberty* through real reasoning.
13. Order established through illusory reasoning is maintained by force devoid of reason.
14. Order established through real reasoning is maintained by reason wielding force.
15. The maintenance of despotic organization becomes impossible after the annihilation of divine right and with the free expression of thought.
16. Therefore, only social organization through reason remains possible, which we call *rational social organization*.
17. Economists more or less deny the necessity of radical reform and the possibility of rational organization founded on moral order.
18. *Socialism* is humanity's tendency toward rational organization.
19. The various socialist schools propose diverse means of achieving this rational social organization.

20. Among the means proposed and to be proposed by socialists, only one can be true. Consequently, all the others are false and even absurd.

21. But the error and absurdity of the systems proposed to resolve the social question do not imply the error or absurdity of the question itself.

22. All of the socialist schools seem to agree on the necessity of achieving the rational organization of society.

23. The possibility of rational organization implies the possibility of social order.

24. Before discussing the reality of moral order, we must determine the value of this expression.

25. By *moral order*, we understand the coordination of social phenomena toward a goal of general happiness.

26. If *moral order* could not exist, humanity would be condemned to perish in anarchy: for there is no middle ground between order and disorder. Order being impossible, and disorder not being able to last forever, would lead to social death.

27. Therefore, if moral order cannot exist, humanity is condemned to perish.

28. If moral order cannot exist, the progress of intelligence will never lead to a result useful to humanity.

29. If the efforts of intelligence are to remain sterile, then materialistic egoism must be the social and individual rule.

30. But materialistic egoism dictates the exploitation of man by man, which is despotism.

31. Consequently, the impossibility of organizing society through order would necessitate a return to despotism.

32. But we have said that a return to despotism is impossible; therefore, humanity would be condemned to a return to the impossible, which is absurd.

33. Therefore, moral order must exist.

34. Moral order can only exist in the harmony of actions directed toward a common moral goal, that is, toward *fraternity*.

35. Moral order will be the practical expression of *social fraternity*.

36. Social organization must therefore be based on the principle of *fraternity*.

37. Social organization must be both *intellectual* and *material*.

38. *Intellectual* organization is the organization of *instruction*; *material* organization is the organization of *wealth*.

39. The characteristic trait of humanity, the one that encompasses them all, is *labor*.

40. *Labor* is the translation of thought by acts.

41. *Labor* is inseparable from thought. It may require more or less intellectual effort, but it never occurs with the obliteration of intelligence.

42. Without the exercise of intelligence, there is only force and movement.

43. From this perspective, that everything in humanity is labor, the maxim *organization of labor* must be translated into the phrase *organization of society*.

44. But logically speaking, one cannot organize labor, because *to labor* is *to reason*, and one cannot organize reasoning, which itself must organize everything.

45. The product is the result of the application of labor to matter.

46. The fruit of labor must belong to the laborer, and after them, that which they have not deemed it proper to dispose of must pass to those of their children whom they judge to have earned it.

47. *Property* is not the price of labor, but the consecration and legalization of labor.

48. *Property* is not a principle but the consequence of reasoning, and consequently the expression of humanity.

49. *Property* is immutable; but the *organization of property* varies with the organization of society.

50. The *organization of property* is the expression of social order with regard to matter. When this order is rational, the organization of property will be invariable.

51. There are various types of labors, depending on the subjects to which intelligence is applied. Thus, there is scientific labor, artistic labor, industrial labor, agricultural labor, commercial labor, legislative labor, administrative labor, executive labor, judicial labor, teaching labor, etc.

52. The ensemble of all these types of labor, rationally organized, will constitute rational social organization.

53. *Social questions* relate to the rational organization of each particular order or series of labor and of the whole in general.

54. Thus, there are *social questions* that relate to the powers of the state, the form of government and international interests. These are called *political questions*.

55. There are *social questions* that relate to industrial, agricultural and commercial labor. These are called *economic questions*.

56. There are *social questions* that relate to education, discoveries and the determination of the laws of the physical order. These are called *scientific questions*.

57. Finally, there are *social questions* that relate to the rights and duties of individuals; these are *moral questions*.

58. But all these kinds of questions are included in the universal category of *social questions*, because all relate to, and can only relate to, *society*.

59. Under a despotic organization based on faith, authority regulated the conditions of existence for all levels of social labor and political questions predominated in society.

60. Under a rational organization, political questions must be subordinated to the laws governing the organization of the whole. From this perspective, political questions are of only secondary importance.

61. This is why the current revolution, which aims at organizing the whole, including the political order, is rightly called a *social revolution*.

62. The essential aim of political questions is the constitution of power or *authority*, and the determination of the reciprocal relationships between authority and individuals.

63. Political questions are therefore questions relating to *right*, and, from this perspective, they belong to the *moral order*.

64. The essential purpose of economic questions is to determine the reciprocal relationships between authority and individuals, considered as producers and consumers, and the mutual relations between them.

65. Economic questions are therefore related to the reciprocal *duties* of citizens, and, from this point of view, they also belong to the *moral order*.

66. This is why social science can be defined as having as its goal *the precise determination of the laws of moral order*.

67. It then becomes evident that all social questions are based on *right*, and on *absolute justice*.

68. *Absolute justice* is therefore the sanction of the moral order.

69. Every sanction is relative either to this life or to a future life.

70. Every sanction relative to this life rests exclusively on the fear of punishment, that is to say, on the executioner.

71. Experience and reasoning agree in demonstrating that any sanction relating exclusively to the executioner is incapable of serving as a basis for the existence of order.

§ II. CONDITION OF THE OLD SOCIAL ORDER.

72. Starting from the principle that social existence is inconceivable without an essential, vital sanction, all legislators recognized the necessity of divine intervention to establish the social foundation.

73. Thus, all primitive legal systems established: *a God who reveals; a revelation emanating from God; the immateriality of the soul; and a link between actions in this realm and well-being or ill-being in another.*

74. These principles were not demonstrated, but imposed on belief and accepted by faith.

75. Common faith then had a rational basis: it was the conviction of the social necessity of a religious bond.

76. Thus, people *believed* in what was indispensable to social existence, even though the reality of what they believed could not be demonstrated.

77. The social necessity of belief in the religious bond was recognized from the earliest days of humanity, and this fundamental principle necessarily formed the basis of legislation and, consequently, of public mores.

78. The first humanitarian period was therefore religious. The judgment for actions, both in public and private life, was then not on this earth but in heaven.

79. Belief in this principle led to the acceptance that all authority came from God, and this belief surrounded authority with divine prestige.

80. Every order was carried out, whatever its nature or tendency, because the authority spoke in the name of God.

81. Rebellion against the orders of authority was scarcely conceivable, and questioning them was, so to speak, even less so. Denying their justice was considered an act of madness; questioning this same justice was sacrilege.

82. The principle of authority, resting on a belief, was an article of religious faith. And this principle thus contained within itself the source of blind obedience, profound submission, respect and veneration.

83. Then spiritual power dominated temporal power, and material interests were subordinated to moral interests.

84. Thus, the ancient despotism founded on faith was naturally established. It was not imposed brutally by force alone, but imposed and adopted socially, as the expression of a providential law.

85. This absolutism could not be demonstrated as a rational principle, but education made it acceptable as just. This was sufficient and more than sufficient to ensure its respect.

86. The ancient despotism needed various means to maintain itself: the ignorance of the masses, or intellectual slavery; the exploitation of the masses, or material slavery; the isolation of peoples, etc.

87. The ignorance of the masses made a monopoly on instruction and education necessary.

88. The exercise of thought and the expression of ideas were thus subject to beliefs.

89. Reason timidly renounced the examination of any political or religious question.

90. This exclusion was just, for it was necessary for the maintenance of the order established on faith, which excludes all examination.

91. For we shall soon see that free inquiry and free discussion are incompatible with a social order imposed by faith and accepted by belief.

92. The exercise of reason was limited to the examination of the phenomena of physical nature.

93. Science and religion were absolutely united: they were cultivated and professed solely in temples, and exclusively by priests.

94. Science, cultivated in the temples, was always subordinate to the revelation that dominated the land, and this revelation was the foundation of education, to which instruction was subordinate.

95. When science appeared in public, it was always surrounded by symbolic and mysterious forms.

96. Thus, belief formed the basis of the edifice inhabited by intelligence, and all the conquests of science had to be bent to belief.

97. The exploitation of the masses necessitated the appropriation of land by the exploiting minority, the transmission of this property through inheritance, exemption from wealth taxes, and the attachment of political rights to property.

98. The masses were then considered part of the property and identified with the land they cultivated.

99. All the products of labor belonged to the land-owning minority; but the mass of workers had the right to be fed and supported by the minority.

100. The exploitation of the masses was then considered a right, and accepted as such by both the exploited majorities and the exploiting minorities.

101. It is for that reason that there have been few true rebellions of slaves against despotism, during the long period of primitive ignorance.

102. Maintaining the isolation of peoples necessitated administrative divisions, national enmities and hatreds, customs duties and linguistic diversity.

103. The isolation of peoples was just, as it was necessary for maintaining order within each religious or political district: order being incompatible with communication and friendship between different nations.

104. Religious and political fanaticism, or patriotism, thus served as a support for despotism, contributing to the isolation of peoples.

105. From this arose the necessity of standing armies to maintain and enforce respect for enemy and rival nationalities.

106. For centuries, peoples and families were thus governed under an absolute regime, which made humanity's state of ignorance necessary.

107. During this long period, the authorities, in the name of God, imposed upon men the conditions necessary for maintaining order.

108. And men submitted, believing that faith was a social duty.

109. The establishment of the despotic means necessary for the preservation of order was guaranteed by general consent in each district: thus, force was united with authority.

110. But, at the same time, reason, within the scope it was permitted to explore, acquired knowledge that it called *truths*, born of observation and experience. The word *belief* was reserved to express principles revealed or of divine origin.

111. Beliefs were also called *revealed truths*; but the degree of certainty of the latter was considered infinitely superior to that of physical truths.

112. For centuries, reason submitted to this dependence, and the discrepancies that could be observed between the achievements of science and the dogmas of faith were attributed to the imperfections of reason, to the imperfections of the means of examination.

113. Order continued to reign in each district, by means of the suppression of examination, which maintained ignorance among the masses and facilitated their exploitation by the landowning minority.

114. Religious and political intolerance made wars inevitable, and, with wars, usurpations by conquest.

115. But conquests, whether the result of war or of the principle of isolation of peoples, tended to bring them into contact and establish reciprocal relations by means of commerce.

116. Thus, the principle of isolation began to weaken, and the principle of commerce began to dominate.

117. The natural consequence of international relations was domination by wealth, replacing domination by arms.

118. But majorities continued to be exploited by minorities, and keeping the masses in ignorance continued to be the basis of despotic rule.

§ III. EMANCIPATION OF THOUGHT.

119. Reason, gradually extending the circle allotted to it, encountered stronger contradictions between its discoveries and the principles imposed by faith.

120. From that point, a division began to be established between the knowledge of the phenomena of the universe, the examination of which belonged to *reason*, and the principles of faith.

121. Thus arose the struggle between *beliefs* and *scientific truths*, a struggle which resulted in the weakening of the former and the progress of the latter.

122. Despotism contributed to this result, both through the communication between peoples, by means of conquests, and by the use of enlightenment to strengthen its domination.

123. The various beliefs were brought into contact, and from the contact of the various civilizations arose the development of reason among peoples.

124. Thus, discussion replaced blind obedience: people began by *doubting*, soon arrived at *denial*, and denial must continue until true science is *indispensable* and becomes *possible*.

125. Indeed, people *believe* because they do not examine.

126. The very act of applying examination to objects of belief carries with it doubt or the denial of faith.

127. Thus, the code of reason was continually enriched by new discoveries, and the code of faith weakened day by day. Comparison gave rise to *doubt*, and doubt was the origin of the immense revolution that was to embrace all peoples.

128. Believing itself to be complete, intellectual emancipation, whether well or poorly guided, replaced faith to form modern science.

129. But a universal, invariable *criterion*, demonstrable to all, is necessary to distinguish good from bad reasoning. *Science*, in the physical world, has recognized this criterion through experience and declared it essentially *relative*, since nothing in the physical world is *absolute*.

130. The *criterion* indicated by reason and applied to the physical order has led successively to the knowledge of the present period, whose object is the *phenomenal world* and in which everything *appears material*.

131. Thus, all the facts coordinated by reasoning demonstrate the supremacy of matter and constitute *present-day MATERIALIST science*.

132. As for the moral order, after the weakening of faith, reason has not yet been able to find the *criterion* of the real truth that belongs to this order.

133. From a religious point of view, reason has only served to weaken beliefs, without replacing them with any truth that is indisputable to all humanity.

134. Thus, the social order has remained in the realm of opinions, the religious order in the realm of beliefs, and the physical order in the realm of relative truths.

135. Immediately, reason, proud of its conquests, rose from the base to the apex of the pyramid, and from being subordinate to beliefs, transformed itself into the dominant force.

136. Free inquiry was the immediate fruit of intellectual emancipation. This was the triumph of the mind over faith, of reason over beliefs.

137. All beliefs, the foundations of ancient societies, were thus subjected to scrutiny.

138. From religious protestantism, we moved to political protestantism, and temporal authority felt the foundation of its hitherto immovable throne tremble beneath its feet.

139. From the moment the emancipation of thought was proclaimed, the supreme authority lost the basis of its power, and with it all subordinate authorities; for, faced with the inescapable force of scrutiny, every principle based on belief soon vanished.

140. Such was the origin of the present social war, in which the old authority and the new science are locked in hand-to-hand combat.

141. In order to bolster itself against the upheaval that threatened it, the old authority sought to use brute force, the moral strength derived from religious education having slipped from its grasp. Imprudently, it resolved to *force* those who were beginning to doubt to *believe*.

142. Thus, the religion of absolute power became *fanaticism*. It was easy to foresee that this social fanaticism, faced with the inevitability of scrutiny, would be replaced by a *deism*, ceasing to be based on faith and leading *scientifically* to MATERIALISM.

143. Then the *press* appeared as a providential aid to intelligence, which was being opposed by force, and soon its tendency was to transform the believing majority into a reasoning majority.

144. The struggle became violent, and it continues to this day; and every day is a day of victory for inquiry, at the expense of authority.

145. One of the first conquests was to substitute, in modern societies, the principle of inquiry, which originates in the need to reason, for the principle of faith, which originates in the social necessity of preventing reasoning based on

order, as long as ignorance about the reality of that basis has not vanished; which renders inquiry anarchic as long as ignorance remains.

146. *Liberty, equality* were thus proclaimed conquests of inquiry. Lacking an absolute *criterion* for determining the value of these expressions, they remained undefined.

147. The consequences of proclaimed liberty are, in the economic sphere: freedom of labor, freedom of trade between nations; in the political sphere: universal suffrage, freedom of discussion, freedom of the press; in the moral sphere: freedom of education and freedom of conscience.

148. Some of these consequences are established in the practice of the various countries that are called free.

149. Democracy, which is the spirit that dominates the age, tends toward the realization of the other consequences.

§ IV. SUBSTITUTION OF A NEW PRINCIPLE OF SOCIAL ORDER.

150. Humanity having lost the faith that gave authority the right to respect, and anarchy being the necessary consequence of contempt for authority, everyone must ask themselves: Who is right, those who deny or those who affirm?

151. The impossibility of resolving this question, given the current state of knowledge, and the necessity of a solution for social existence, forced recourse to the vote of the majority. Thus, a new authority was established: the *right of majorities*.

152. With society socially annihilated, humanity had to choose between three paths: the first, *brute force*; the second, *what reason dictates, determined absolutely and socially instilled in everyone*; the third, *a so-called social will, represented by the triumph of passions*.

153. The first, as a basis for a stable order, is absurd at all times, and particularly in an era when examination has become incompressible; the second is impractical as an unknown, and will remain so as long as opinions exist; the third is false, risky and utopian.

154. But since humanity cannot yet follow the second path, it is traversing the third, through the labyrinths and precipices in which it currently finds itself.

155. Since that time, social reason, the sanction of actions, and the determination of right and wrong have been represented by the *opinion* of one half plus one of the so-called delegates of the people.

156. This half-plus-one, or *majority*, imposes its decision or will on the half-minus-one, or *minority*. Consequently, the minority must submit to the former, even to the point of being tyrannized.

157. Sovereignty, which until then had its origin in God, whose authority was represented by a few individuals, passes *nominally* to the masses, and, in fact, to their so-called delegates.

158. All the belligerent opinions of the time can be divided into two groups: 1. that of those who, terrified by the effects of a supposed liberty, want to regress to divine right; 2. that of those who, terrified by the exercise of a supposed divine right, want to advance into anarchy.

159. An intermediate opinion can only be conceived by means of a false theory shrouded in sophisms taken for truths.

160. To want neither divine right nor the right of the majority, when the truth has not yet been found and accepted by all, is to want the existence of a society without right, without authority; and for society, the absence of authority is death.

161. *Liberalism*, born of the incompressibility of inquiry, represents modern society, progressively destroying itself; *absolutism*, born of primitive ignorance and the necessity of relying on faith, represents ancient society having lost its foundation, and a reaction in favor of what is now nothing more than a utopia.

162. *Liberalism* analyzes, destroys and progresses, driven by the desire for knowledge, which has become free; *absolutism* seeks to preserve life in what inquiry necessarily destroys.

163. The despotism of so-called majorities, which is nothing other than the expression of the blind will of a supposedly great but always indeterminate number, has thus replaced the absolutism of divine right.

164. Majorities create right, change it and nullify it. For majorities, there is no right, only accidents, only facts.

165. This passage from the authority of one to the authority of many leaves behind the error of attributing sovereignty to one man or a few men. The former was practically possible while faith was possible; the latter is eternally utopian.

166. The religions of the old society rested exclusively on revelations, and revelations on beliefs. Examination, having become indispensable, has undermined beliefs and has not yet demonstrated the reality of the religious bond. Examination has thus left modern authority without a religious basis, and consequently, it exists without any kind of moral sanction.

167. Formerly, religion was the legislator; today, it is opinion or passions, supported only by brute force. The reign of opinion results in anarchy, and the basis of anarchy is exclusively materialism.

168. The ancient authority was responsible before God, before *eternal justice*, for every tyrannical act, for it was believed that such acts would *necessarily* be punished. Against the injustices of modern authority there is no appeal other than force, for this same authority has declared the law atheistic.

169. Universal suffrage, presented as the basis of right, is the negation of right; it is the submission of right to the force of the majority.

170. By its action, any majority called *legal* can be overturned by the actual majority in number or in strength.

171. As long as what true reason dictates is not determined in an absolute manner, what is reasonable for one is unreasonable for another. Up to this

point, all so-called wills, deriving from so-called reasons, are, with regard to the determination of what is socially just and unjust, merely the results of passions, whether for individuals or for groups of individuals.

172. The substitution of a so-called social will for a supposed divine will, at a time when a society cannot yet have a real or stable will, means that every vote is currently the expression of a passionate interest.

173. As long as what reason dictates is not determined in an absolute manner and known to all, the expression of any will whatsoever, socially considered, is therefore nothing but the vote of a passionate egoism dictated by a passionate interest.

174. What is socially decided by the egoisms of the most numerous passions, or by those strong enough to be admitted as expressing those same passions, is called *law*.

175. Individual reasons — that is to say, in our time, a few individual passions — have pretended to submit to the decisions of a so-called collective reason, which, in reality, is merely an aggregation of wills united by a shared passionate interest. This so-called collective reason is only authoritative through force.

176. Now it is passions, brute force, that reign, not law, not socially recognized reason.

177. Modern despotism, exercised by majorities, is nothing but brute force without the prestige of beliefs, without the seductions of sophistry.

178. Modern authority, being definitively based solely on force, is therefore contestable; and, in an age of free discussion, necessarily contested.

179. And yet, since the annihilation of faith, no authority can be considered stable unless it is indisputable in the eyes of reason.

180. But the predominance of numerical force, considered as the basis of authority, is repugnant to individual reason and is socially countered by scrutiny, which has become indispensable.

181. The feeling of rebellion is therefore inevitable against any authority derived from majorities whose decisions are inherently contestable.

182. It follows that revolutions are inherent to modern societies, and that they are the necessary consequence of the free expression of thought.

183. It also follows that revolutions are inherent to systems of majorities, and that these revolutions are brought about by means that some call legal, others illegal, which is always decided by force.

184. In so-called legal opposition, voting dominates; in revolutionary opposition, force dominates. In both cases, it is passions that provide the

impetus. And what force makes triumph is always presumed to have had the vote in its favor.

185. People submit to this order as long as it is bearable. When it is no longer bearable, they break it, and another, claiming to be better, is established. But since it is necessarily of the same nature, it too is soon broken.

186. Today, no one obeys what is commanded of them unless the justice of the command is demonstrated to them, or unless they are subdued by force.

187. Today, all power inspires mistrust, all authority is called into question, every command arouses opposition.

188. Examination analyzes every act emanating from authority; and generally, there is none that is not pulverized before being accepted.

189 Submission implies that what is ordained will be reasonable, and no reason is willing to submit to another reason as infallible.

190. But who then determines whether actions are *reasonable* or *not*? — The reason of each individual. Therefore, the orders of authority are subject to evaluation by all humanity.

191. At every act of power, every individual reason rises up and cries out menacingly: Is this order just? Is this order reasonable? — Faced with such a question, there is currently no power possible on earth.

192. This question will only become compatible with the existence of order when what is dictated by reason is determined absolutely, and when everyone is socially enabled to recognize it.

193. From this it follows that what is today so falsely called *liberty* is eminently anarchic, and that supposedly free societies are eminently anarchic.

194. The cause of revolutionary sentiment lies in the very principle that serves as the basis of modern authority.

195. Ancient society was based on faith; modern society is based on opinion, and the rule of opinion is essentially anarchic.

196. The anarchic character of so-called modern liberty derives primarily from the absence of a moral foundation, any moral foundation being incompatible with the reign of opinion.

197. The system of so-called modern liberty has nothing that can make it acceptable to everyone except that it is the expression of opinion; and since opinion is fickle, it follows that so-called modern liberty is essentially anarchic.

198. With the religious foundation destroyed, the word *liberty* is absurd. The negation of the religious bond is the affirmation of materialism, and the affirmation of materialism is the negation of liberty.

199. Thus, humanity finds itself in a period of anarchy interspersed with more or less ephemeral periods of a supposed order based on brute force.

200. Thus, lacking any indisputable religious sanction, either in relation to faith or reason, society finds itself forced to declare the law *atheistic*, which, for it, means based exclusively on the executioner.

201. This declaration of the state of education has eliminated from the codes anything related to a sanction concerning a life beyond death. The executioner has become the sole basis of social order.

202. With religious sanction vanished, the law has had to limit itself to protecting the interests of passion, of passionate egoism.

203. The interests of passion, material interests, have necessarily had to dominate: for, from the moment religious interests are no longer indisputably recognized by society, moral interests exist only *nominally*.

204. Nominalism, or the use of words without determinate value, is characteristic of a society where science is materialistic. Among expressions without real value, the word *progress* can serve as an example, as the *sacred word* of modern societies.

205. The progress of modern societies is only material progress, but in no way moral progress.

206. When examination is incompressible, when religious faith no longer dominates science, science necessarily dominates. As long as science does not demonstrate the reality of the religious bond, science remains *skeptical*; and scientific skepticism dominating society results in practical materialism.

207. Thus, all the codes of modern societies are tainted by materialism.

208. Social materialism engenders all attacks of crime against order. When society's only sanction is the scaffold, the assassin's dagger balances the executioner's sword.

209. The legislation of modern societies disregards any ultra-vital sanction. The legislation of crime is precisely the same.

210. From this set of causes, all having the same origin (the state of science), arose fraud, bad faith, and perfidy, which spread to all classes of society.

211. Such is the source of the fierce struggle that exists between the interests of nation against nation, class against class and individual against individual.

212. Hence the practical predominance of the principle that one's own good can only result from harm done to another; a translation of this other principle: *Chacun pour soi, chacun chez soi. — Everyone for themselves, everyone by themselves.*

213. The principle of majority rule has been attacked, undermined and destroyed, in theory, by the most eminent writers of our time; and yet it still reigns in practice wherever faith finds itself socially dethroned.

214. This is because wherever faith, the ancient basis of legislation, politics, and even sociability, is destroyed, without a rationally indisputable basis being substituted for it, it is necessary to admit the authority of the majority.

215. What is now reasonable is to recognize: 1. the power of majorities, in order to avoid anarchy, the necessary result of the annihilation of authority based on faith; 2. that the order and justice created by majorities cannot be real, but only *artificial* and *transitory*.

216. This will continue as long as authority based on what reason, determined in an absolute manner, dictates is not sought found, and socially accepted.

217. Anarchy reigns universally in the industrial system, in the intellectual system, in the moral system; in short, in the social system that unites them all.

218. In the economic order, domination by wealth has replaced the former domination by privilege.

219. The former domination was guaranteed by faith, which declared the sufferings of the unfortunate exploited in this life to be meritorious in another life.

220. Modern domination offers no other motive for the exploitation it inflicts than the utter lack of any kind of consolation.

221. Modern society, not being based on any religious belief, has declared itself tolerant of all religious opinions, and the free exercise of worship has been proclaimed.

222. This tolerance is an expression of indifference, that is to say, of religious unbelief.

223. Religious freedom, with its social expression of freedom of doctrines and beliefs, is the most deplorable of necessities in the most deplorable of times.

224. And yet, religious unity has become utopian with the social annihilation of faith, in the face of the inevitability of scrutiny.

225. Freedom of conscience is the negation of faith, and consequently it is eminently anarchic in an age when the social principle of order is unknown.

226. Religious tolerance is religious indifference.

227. Religious tolerance, in the current state of science, is the foundation of practical materialism.

228. As long as there is no universal religious principle, the only possible social power in the face of the incompressibility of inquiry, indifference, doubt, and materialism will dominate the world.

229. Freedom of education presupposes universal conformity to a social principle, recognized and adopted by all people.

230. But as long as this principle is not yet known, freedom of education becomes entirely anarchic.

231. Social order can exist only through science or reasoning. But today, science has only reached the materialistic stage, which denies spiritualism.

232. By proclaiming general education, education has been rendered impossible for the working classes due to a lack of leisure time.

233. By proclaiming free labor, the burden of taxation on labor has been left to crush it.

234. Free competition is illusory when capital dominates; for then labor is enslaved, and there is no possible freedom or competition for the slaves of capital.

235. The current organization of society inevitably results in the misery, ignorance, and immorality of the working classes.

236. Equitable distribution is impossible as long as capital dominates labor, because it is then capital that imposes the law.

237. Similar drawbacks and obstacles remain for the realization of free trade.

238. The freedom of universal trade, a complement to the freedom of labor, remains utopian as long as nations exist, necessarily driven by opposing interests that make the prosperity of all impossible.

239. Free competition between nations would increase the exploitation of workers in each nation.

240. Free trade between nations would make the most skillful or the strongest dominant.

241. For universal trade to prevail, political divisions must disappear, and all humanity must become one single family.

242. But for this to happen, all humanity must obey the same social principle, and consequently, share a single social foundation.

243. Since this foundation does not yet exist, the fusion of nations under a single social bond becomes utopian.

244. Thus, principles have been proclaimed that are incompatible with the dominance of the old system, which still persists.

245. The culminating principle of the doctrines we have put forth thus far is this: that humanity, following the path laid out by the now inescapable examination, has arrived at a period of anarchy within which modern nations find themselves.

246. This principle is neither an individual opinion, nor a partisan maxim, nor a system, nor a theory, nor a utopia; it is the clear, real expression of what is, the simple manifestation of an evident fact.

247. For humanity, there is only belief or science. The social reign of belief is annihilated. The reign of science must come, or humanity will disappear.

248. Society is and must remain in a state of permanent revolution until the new order, science purged of all belief, appears.

249. The progress of civilization brings peoples closer together, develops intellect, spreads knowledge, and makes the maintenance of despotism impossible.

259. From the impossibility of maintaining despotism and the impossibility of reconciling current liberty with order, arises the anarchic state of society.

251. Thus, and all at once, despotism is *impossible*, and liberty is *anarchic*.

§ VI. ORDER BY FORCE.

252. The only means currently available to *temporarily* paralyze the effects of anarchy is *brute force*.

253. Before its demise, the old authority sought to compel obedience, by means of brute force, from those who persisted in saying they could not *believe*. Today, the authority compels obedience, by means of brute force, from those who refuse to obey because their reason is not convinced.

254. As a basis for *permanent* order, the use of brute force is absurd in both cases. It is as absurd to try to make people believe by force as it is to try to convince by force.

255. However, brute force is an effective means, provided it remains... force.

256. Since, under the rule of opinions, the law cannot express the interests of all, force becomes indispensable to enforce the orders of authority.

257. Since, under the rule of opinions, the interests of each people remain different, force becomes indispensable to uphold the rights of each people.

258. Just as the acts of power within a nation, so too can decisions between nations made through arbitration, be enforced only by the sanction of a respectable force.

259. From the necessity of force as the sole guarantee of the mandates of authority and the different rights of peoples, follows the necessity of standing armies.

260. The aspiration for universal peace becomes utopian under the current organization of society.

261. Submission can be obtained momentarily through the use of brute force; but faced with the inevitability of scrutiny, reason sooner or later becomes superior to this force, and then reason declares legitimate rebellion against everything that is not reasonable.

262. Since order is now only possible through brute force, and the force of sophisms is annihilated by the inevitability of scrutiny, the expression *party of order* can only mean party of *brute force*.

263. And since order, achieved through brute force, can only be ephemeral, it follows that this so-called order is purely transitory.

264. The acts most favorable to authority will be those by which it secures the allies of brute force charged with defending it.

§ VII. CONDITIONS OF RATIONAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

265. No partial remedy will cure the ills of modern societies.

266. The successive progress of anarchy, making the evils that now afflict only the proletarian masses common to humanity, will force the wealthy classes to seek the social remedy that only then will they recognize as having become necessary.

267. When your society has suffered enough to recognize: 1. that divine right has become a utopia; 2. That the rule of the majority is essentially a source of anarchy; it will seek religious truth, from which all social truths derive by simple deduction.

268. When truth is socially recognized as necessary for the existence of humanity, it will be sought, found, and socially accepted.

269. It will encompass both *material* and *moral* social organization.

270. But the establishment of a rational material organization would be anarchic if it were not preceded by a rational moral organization, which requires the discovery and adoption of an indisputable social basis.

271. But the establishment of true liberty is impossible as long as a reasonable basis of social order is lacking, that of faith having been socially destroyed.

272. Social truth is nothing but religious truth. Once this is found, all others necessarily follow. Since religious truth remains unknown, society has no recourse other than to faith or anarchy.

273. Faith is socially dead; anarchy is social agony, social death.

274. The period of scientific materialism is only a transition to scientific spiritualism.

275. Science, becoming spiritualist, must demonstrate social truth by basing the execution of its demands on an undeniably inevitable sanction.

276. When there is a universal religious principle, undeniable to all minds, the rallying of all nations into one family will be possible and compatible with liberty and order.

277. Individual interest must and will merge with humanitarian interest. For, outside of this, there is only despotism or anarchy.

278. Today, the interest of each lies in doing evil, provided it is hidden. In the future society, the interest of each will be to do the good, and everyone will be certain of it.

279. The new society will have fixed, indisputable, unchanging and absolute principles. Society will make them known to all.

280. Then freedom of education will be possible and beneficial, because no one will be able to teach what is contrary to liberty and order.

281. Then equality of rights will be a truth, because education will be accessible to all, and taxes will be levied on the product and not on the labor.

282. Then freedom of labor will be possible, because all people subject to the same social principle, and obeying social justice, will have the same rights to the elements of labor that the earth offers to all.

283. Then production and consumption can be increased, along with the population and the progress of civilization.

284. Then free competition will be possible, because there will be no conflicting interests among the different peoples of the human family.

285. There are two ways to escape the anarchic state where Society finds itself in two situations: 1. The universal conviction of the impossibility of sustaining the present order, which will lead to the search for a remedy, which will then be found; 2. The excess of social evil, which, by making everyone aware of the necessity of the remedy, will force them to seek it, and then it will be found.

286. For everything that is socially and universally recognized as indispensable comes to pass.

287. *There is a solution to the social problem, but a solution of which society is unaware. There is a way out of the unease that men feel, but certainly not where men have rushed to escape it.*

288. We say more: *the solution has already been found*; but it must only be given when the social illness and the necessity of the remedy are universally proclaimed. Then, and only then, will the remedy be adopted.

289. The aim of social science will be the clear and irrefutable exposition of social organization on the basis of real liberty.

290. These aphorisms can be considered as the summary of the *introduction* to social science.

CONCLUSIONS.

291. The first humanitarian period was one of ignorance. Despotism was then a social necessity.

292. Maintaining order under faith required the suppression of intelligence and the exploitation of the masses.

293. The emancipation of thought and freedom of inquiry now make the maintenance of despotism and the exploitation of the masses impossible.

294. Society was organized for the despotic conditions of its existence. Today, society *must be* organized for the conditions of liberty.

295. The new social organization therefore requires a change in the conditions of past existence.

296. The current revolution must therefore be radical, that is to say, it must go to the heart of the social constitution.

297. This truth is easy to demonstrate, but it will only be accepted through social necessity.

298. The need for a new social organization, founded on absolute justice, is recognized today only by a few humanitarian thinkers; but it is keenly felt by the suffering majority.

299. The old system created advantages for some and misfortunes for others. These advantages and misfortunes are present today.

300. The suffering classes demand improvement: the fortunate classes more or less deny the justice of this demand.

301. This happens because the relief of the unfortunate classes is incompatible with maintaining the privileges of the fortunate classes.

302. For the need for a new organization to be felt by all classes, all must suffer from the flaws of the old organization.

303. When this old organization, under which we live, becomes unbearable for all, all will agree in desiring reform as an indispensable remedy for the suffering of humanity.

304. Meanwhile, from the need for a remedy, felt by the unfortunate classes, and from the resistance to recognizing this need among the fortunate classes, arises *anarchy*.

305. And anarchy will make the fortunate classes aware of the urgent need to remedy the suffering of humanity.

306. The conviction of the necessity of a radical remedy will arise from the inadequacy of all the palliatives that have been tried, which have produced no other result than the progress of anarchy.

307. Then all the classes, having become suffering, will agree to carry out social reform — and *social reform will be accomplished*.

308. The sanction of moral order is *eternal justice*, the immutable guarantee of the reality of any possible absolute order, of any absolute reason.

309. Social science, based on absolute justice, must determine *what must be*, and what must be in *an absolute manner*.

310. And since what *must be* is indispensable for the existence of order, and since the existence of order is the evident goal of society, it also becomes evident that *what must be will be*, under penalty of social death.

NOTE.

Those wishing to learn more about the doctrines expressed in these aphorisms can read the author's pamphlets, recently published under the following titles, available in Brussels at PÉRICHON, 26 rue de la Montagne, and in Paris at LEDOYEN, Palais National, Galerie vitrée, no. 41; Capelle, 5 rue des Grès-Sorbonne; and at the Librairie Sociétaire, quai Voltaire, no. 25:

On the Inaccuracy of Economic Principles. — The Problem of the Organization of Labor, before the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences. — The same problem before the Congress of Economists in Brussels. — The same problem before the Central Congress of Agriculture. — Examination of the Questions Preliminary to that of the Organization of Labor.

The author will gratefully receive the reflections of serious individuals on the *Aphorisms*. They can be sent postage paid, to Paris, rue Coquenard, n° 27, or to Brussels, to the bookshop of Mr. Périchon.