Criminology, Facts and Data

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ABSTRACT

The article highlights the doctrine of stigmatisation, stating that it is a 'catch-all' concept, which means everything and nothing. Used to explain that there is no such thing as crime, it suggests that there is no such thing as a criminal being, if not just a label. At the heart of the doctrine of minimal intervention, it allows crime and criminals to flourish. It must therefore be countered, and crime control policies put in place to prevent social disorder. Far from discriminating, this measure restores civic rights to the place they need to guarantee social peace. Like stigma, the role of prisons remains controversial, although essential.

Keywords: Criminology, Doctrines, Stigmatization, Social disorder, Prison, Police

Criminología, hechos y datos

RESUMEN

El artículo destaca la doctrina de la estigmatización, afirmando que es un concepto 'cajón de sastre', que significa todo y nada. Usado para explicar que no existe el crimen, sugiere que no existe un ser criminal, sino solo una etiqueta. En el corazón de la doctrina de la intervención mínima, permite que florezcan el crimen y los criminales. Por lo tanto, debe contrarrestarse y establecer políticas de control del delito para prevenir el desorden social. Lejos de discriminar, esta medida devuelve los derechos ciudadanos al lugar que necesitan para garantizar la paz social. Al igual que el estigma, el papel de las prisiones sigue siendo controvertido, aunque esencial.

Palabras clave: Criminología, Doctrinas, Estigmatización, Desorden social, Prisión, Policía

犯罪学、事实和数据

摘要

本文强调了污名化教条,认为其是一个"笼统"的概念,即包含所有却又没有具体的被包含物。被用于解释没有犯罪这

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一概念,其暗示没有罪犯,如果后者不只是一个标签的话。位于最小干预原则的核心,其允许犯罪事件和罪犯的快速发展。因此,其必须被制约,并且需要犯罪管控政策来预防社会混乱。与歧视完全相反的是,该措施将恢复公民在"需确保社会和平的地点"方面的权利。与污名类似的是,监狱发挥的作用仍然具有争议性,尽管其是关键的。

关键词: 犯罪学, 教条, 污名化, 社会混乱, 监狱, 警察

Doctrines and ideas in criminology:

- Stigma,
- Crime and social disorder,
- The prison, "school of crime"?
- "Abolish the police"?

Complements of previous articles or studies:

- The Grey Wolves
- The Aum Shinrikyo sect

Reminder: organized crime and criminal procedure

Texts on crime by Karl Marx, Oscar Wilde, and Friedrich Nietzsche

Doctrines and ideas in Criminology

- "Stigmatization"? 1

For a decade now, the media and politicians have had a new key semantic narrative that they use to their heart's content: "stigmatization." But once again, this "caste" is limited to rummaging (via the daily newspaper *Libération*, whose business it is) in the bins of the Californian anarcho-capitalism of the 1960s, where it draws most of its "ideas."

"Social stigmatization": together with "labeling" and the "criminal's stereotype," one of the three main concepts of the "interactionist" doctrine (interactions

D. Chapman, "Sociology and the stereotype of the criminal," Tavistock, London, 1968; S. Shoham "The mark of crime," Oceana Publication, 1970; Jean Pinatel, "Le phénomène criminel," MA Éditions, 1987; E. Lemert, "Primary and secondary deviation in delinquency, crime and social process," Harper & Row, NY, 1969.

between the individual and the society). According to this anarchistic doctrine, the social reaction to crime sets law enforcement authorities into motion. Who does it target? Individuals who are psychically, culturally, or economically maladjusted. They are labeled, stigmatized; raised to the rank of stereotypes, they end up as scapegoats.

Through criminal records, by piling up criminal files, residence bans, etc., the police, the judiciary, and the penitentiary systems selectively attack some people; they become "skimmers for losers." Not stopping there, the doctrinaires of "social stigmatization" quickly conclude that crime in itself does not exist; that the illusory criminal is just a labeling effect.

What to do then to avoid stigmatizing, labeling, etc.? Nothing, these doctrinaires say, these harmless "sins of youth" will solve themselves without any social damage: such was their doctrine of "minimal intervention." Of course, as always, America got carried away (DATE). Juvenile gangs were emerging, first in California. They were already violent, but in order not to *stigmatize* them, they were allowed to proliferate and become organized crime. Ten years later, faced with a bloodbath, the U.S. federal administration wanted to take things in hand.

Too late! The irreparable damage was done. Even today, each year, 7,000 to 7,500 young blacks between the ages of 15 and 24 are murdered in the United States, 90% of them in deadly juvenile gang wars. In sixty years, the "interactionist" doctrine has undoubtedly allowed tens of thousands of these homicides, within the African American community, which it claimed to preserve from any labeling and stigmatization.

- Crime and social disorder ²

From 1990 to 1996, the systematic pursuit of fraudsters in the New York subway system (who jumped the barriers without paying) caused crime to plummet on this same network. While the "humanist" left saw in this fraud a simple social disorder, and in its repression, a manifestation of anti-youth, anti-minority racism, here is how much this policy allowed to protect the victims of crime:

- Crimes committed in the metro (especially *robberies*): 80%,
- Number of fraudsters: 90%.
- Number of paying passengers (that may come from renewed confidence of travelers): from 995 million in 1990, to 1.1 billion in 1996.

In this 1990-1996 period, numbers indicate that one in seven subway fraudsters is already known to the police and wanted for another offense; one in 21 fraudsters carries a weapon. "Persecution of the poor?" No: a major contribution

² New York Review of Books - 8/14/1997, "Can you believe the New York miracle?" - The New Yorker - 2/24/1997 "Crime and punishment."

to the elementary civic right to voluntarily and respectfully come and go.

- The prison as the "school of crime" $^{\scriptscriptstyle 3}$

The "progressive" cliché that prison is the "school of crime" and ultimately serves no purpose finds its most recent origin in the theory developed by M. Foucault in "Surveiller et punir" (published in February 1975). According to him, the prison "forges recidivists repeatedly [...], gives rise to quantities of irredeemable marginals"; "prisons do not reduce the rate of criminality: they can be extended, multiplied or transformed, but the quantity of crimes and criminals remains stable or, even worse, increases." Foucault argues that prison has a completely different purpose; it "serves neither to prevent nor to limit crime. It serves to reinforce the mechanisms of [class] domination."

Since then, the "infosphere" (media ruling elite) has piously taken up this theory, of which two of the main tenets are misleading:

- It forgets "selective incapacitation": as long as a criminal is in prison, he cannot commit crimes in the street or in society. If a burglar committing one break-in per month stays in prison for three years, that's 36 fewer burglaries suffered by the population; a clear advantage when we know that the criminal population is not indefinitely expandable; every incarcerated burglar is not immediately replaced on the street.

The reality of this "incapacitation" is established by Steven Levitt, in his classic 1996 study, whose valid refutation is still awaited to this day. He writes: "a one-prisoner reduction is associated with an increase of fifteen Index-1 crimes per year. It appears that the social benefit associated with crime reduction equal or exceed the social cost of incarceration for the marginal prisoner." Levitt's conclusion: 1,000 more people in prison "prevents about 4 homicides, 53 rapes, 1,200 assaults, 1,100 armed robberies, 2,600 burglaries and 9,200 thefts. Eliminating about 15 offences, the incarceration of a criminal is useful "whatever the method employed to calculate the cost of crime." On this point, Foucault's theory is thus invalidated by subsequent research.

- "The more prisons we create, the more they fill up?" Another major analytical error. For offences and the incarceration of criminals do not have the same temporal rhythm. The average criminal commits the most offences at the beginning of his "criminal career"; the punishment falls rather towards his maturity; because in our society, prison the *ultima ratio*. Thus, in each criminal generation, an inertia exists between the moment when the offence is committed and the moment when

Raymond Boudon "Dictionnaire de la sociologie," Larousse; "Dictionnaire critique de la sociologie," PUF - Michel Foucault, "Surveiller et punir," Tel-Gallimard. *Courrier international* - 12/27/1997 "Does prison really reduce crime?" *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May 1996, vol. 111, issue 2, pp. 319-351 (Harvard U.), Steven Levitt, "The effect of prison population size on crime rates: evidence from prison overcrowding litigation."

its author is incarcerated. The inertia between these two moments suggests that prisons continue to fill up when crime decreases—but this illusory phenomenon is only momentary; once the temporal inertia has been caught up, prisons then empty—all the more quickly as they catch up with a temporal gap. Foucault did not see this—or did not want to see it.

- "Abolish the police?" Two concrete cases of what happens then⁴

Since the 19th century, one of the favorite projects of anarchists has been to abolish the police and replace them with social workers. However, this has happened several times in History (strikes, collective arrests, etc.) and the result of this temporary evaporation of the police from the public highway was not exactly what the dreamers, naïve or extremists, had hoped for. Here is a look at two well-known cases in Denmark and Brazil.

DENMARK 1944 - At dawn on September 19, 1944, the German occupation forces set out to arrest all the Danish police, massively committed to resisting German occupation. Out of approximately 10,000 police officers, 1,700 were deported to Germany; three-quarters were hidden by sympathizers or fled to neighboring Sweden. The result, in any case, was that there were no more policemen in (nonetheless peaceful) Denmark. Thefts, rapes, etc.: a raging wave of crime immediately ravaged the country, further aggravated by the exactions of militias of collaborators.

BRAZIL 1997 - Recife, capital of the state of Pernambuco; at that time, 2 million inhabitants. The salary of the \pm 18,000 local police officers was then 210 \in per month (2021 equivalent); some had not been paid for months. On July 16, 1997, the city's police unanimously decided to go on an illegal strike. In three days, the city's homicide rate *tripled*; no one respected red lights anymore; armed gangs looted shopping centers and drugstores; 8 bank robberies in 48 hours; hospitals were overflowing with wounded people (from knives or firearms). Deployed in haste, the army could not do anything. And when the State agreed to increase the salaries of the police, it took weeks to restore calm.

Addition of previous articles or studies

- "GREY WOLVES"⁵ - looking back at two fundamentals

The Turkish-Islamic synthesis

The "Grey Wolves" are the (pre-Islamic) totem of the Turkish nationalist cur-

⁴ International Herald Tribune - 24/07/1997 "Crime sweeps Brazil as police strike," The New York Times 31/01/1981; "Denmark Nazi-inspired crime wave of 1944." Journal of criminal law and criminology, 1972, Vol. 63, Issue 1, "Crime in Denmark, a statistical history."

⁵ *CEMOTI* - Cahiers détudes sur la Méditerranée orientale et le monde turco-iranien - N°13, 1992 "La droite nationaliste dans les milieux turco-immigrés" - *Hérodote*, 1st quarter 1992, N°64 "Le rêve du Loup Gris : les aspirations turques en Asie centrale."

rent—Carl Schmitt would say, of the "political theology" expressed by the formula "Türk-Islam-Ülküsü," the "Turkish-Islamic synthesis" (national myth = $\ddot{u}lk\ddot{u}$ in Turkish). Those who advocate for this synthesis are the $\ddot{U}lk\ddot{u}c\ddot{u}ler$, the idealists. For these so-called Grey Wolves, Islam is thus one (but only one) of the components of the patriotic ideal.

For the "idealists," the Turkish nation is over a thousand years old. Its symbolic birth dates back to the battle of Malazgirt (Manzikert in medieval Greek), won in 1071 by the Turkish leader Alparslan and his cavalry, a prelude to the conquest of then-Byzantine Anatolia, and the ultimate capture of Constantinople in May 1453.

At the time of the guide-founder of their movement, the slogan of the "idealists" was "Our guide, the Quran, our goal Turan, our leader, Türkes." More than a classical Islamism, "Muslim Brotherhood" type, Turkish "idealism" is rather a nationalism with a strong religious dimension. Hence, the double orientation of this current:

- ethnic patriotism with sometimes racist connotations, ¹⁰
- deep distrust, even detestation, of European neighbors (seen as degenerate due to the influence of pornography, drugs, alcohol, and other "vices"); and Arabs.

ETHNIC PATRIOTISM - Pride in being Turkish, loyalty to the Turkish cultural area, to the culture and civilizations of the steppes of Central Asia and Siberia, to the medieval nomadic Turkish empires. The "Turks of the outside" are "brothers of race," "members of the family," and the Turks of Turkey, their "big brother": those of the Silk Road, as far as Chinese Turkestan, the Azeris, Kazakhs, Turks of Greece, Crimea, ex-Yugoslavia, the Caucasus and Turkmens of Iraq only to name a few. A constant demand of the "idealists" is that of the creation of a specific ministry for the Eurasian Turkish diaspora.

ANTI-WESTERN AND ANTI-ARABIC FEELING—distrust and hostility towards the "traitors" in the Middle East who took territory from the Ottomans and handed it over to the Jews. Like "Islam is too precious to be entrusted to Bedouins," a thinly veiled demand for the return to Istanbul of a new caliphate. The "ideal"

⁶ *Turan*: the original settlement area of the then nomadic Turks, in the steppes of Central Asia; what we more or less call today the "stans."

⁷ Represented in Turkey by the Milli Gorüs current or by the Refah Partisi, ancestor of the present AK Partisi, of President R. T. Erdogan.

⁸ Clearly distinct from the origin of Atatürk's patriotism: in 1944, Alparslan Türkes, then an army officer, was thus tried for "racism."

Abundantly defended and illustrated by the nationalist daily *Türkiye* (Turkey), circulation \pm 150 000 copies, close to the "idealist" theses.

¹⁰ We take this term here in its strict sense: belief in the superiority of one race over another (s); not in the media sense, a simple insult intended to disqualify any opponent.

Great National-Islamic Turkey would be destined to protect the Muslim world from the Christian West, from Zionism, from idolatrous India and other imperialisms—starting with Armenia, the "new Christian Israel."

For the Grey Wolves, Islam strengthens Turkey, which must thus be the fortress and shield of the faith—from there to asserting Turkish supremacy over the Islamic *ummah*, it is not far. Let's listen to Alparslan Türkes, founder and leader of the National Movement Party (MHP), the political-identity expression of the "idealist" current: "Islam and Turkish nationalism are inseparable... Our nation is the sword, shield and armor of Islam. The non-Muslim Turkish societies and those who have abandoned Islam have been annihilated. But the Turkish societies that remained faithful to Islam were able to protect themselves and continue to live."

Grey Wolves in Europe

Noticeable in Germany, in Belgium, and in the Netherlands, the "idealist" movement of Europe is discrete, even hidden everywhere else, notably in France. In a strict and disciplined atmosphere, the "idealists" animate a crowd of small cultural, friendly, family, mutual aid or sports structures, frequenting common premises, associative tearooms, etc. Outside of these places, there are no distinctive signs of the Grey Wolves, neither posters nor banners. The rooms rented to municipalities or parishes are rented by anodyne and apolitical associations.

The people who frequent these places and events tend to be modest and conservative immigrants from the underprivileged, rural Anatolia. In the three above-mentioned countries, important political or electoral meetings (sometimes gathering thousands of participants) are organized during elections, around MHP leaders; in normal times, we have rather concerts of "idealistic singers." Since the formation of the AKP-MHP coalition in Turkey, this "idealistic" associative nebula serves quite efficiently as a transmission belt to the power of Ankara.

THE AUM SECT¹¹— New developments

On March 20, 1995, members of the (initially Buddhist) Aum Shinrikyo sect released deadly sarin poison gas in the Tokyo subway. Not having been able to manufacture an effective aerosol, the fanatics brought this liquid gas (visually similar to lighters) in a plastic bag, punctured with the end of an umbrella. This technical shortcoming limited the tally to 12 victims (at the point of spraying) and about 5,000 wounded; those who fled in panic from the epicenter of the attack carried sarin under their soles, poisoning passers-by in the subway corridors.¹²

¹¹ *The Sun* - 23/05/2020 "Japanese cult bought 1 million acres of land in Australia outback to test nerve agent on sheep before poisoning commuters."

¹² At the time, Japanese National Police officials told the author that an effective aerosol can, which propelled the deadly sarin gas into the air ducts of the Tokyo subway, would have killed 50,000 passengers.

Chizuo Matsumoto (known as Guru Shoko Asahara executed in Tokyo in July 2018) founded the "Supreme Truth" (Aum Shinrikyo) cult in 1984. At its peak, this cult has tens of thousands of followers—not all of them very mentally stable: they buy US\$ 300 a bottle of the Guru's bath water to "spiritually strengthen" themselves. Ever more delirious, Asahara declared himself in 2012 the "new Christ" and "Lamb of God." From then on, his public preaching hides a secret project: to start a third world war, nuclear of course, after which only his followers will survive. A rather classic goal: it was more or less the same as that of Charles Manson to perpetrate his massacre in August 1969, 26 years earlier.

But how to start this 3rd World War? By causing a huge disaster in the Tokyo subway, which (Asahara's sick brain imagines) will trigger a military escalation, then war. All this is known, but recently declassified information (in Australia) reveals more about the preparations for the attack.

In April 1993, two Aum executives, Kiyohide Hayakawa and Yoshihiro Inoue, bought an abandoned property in the middle of the Australian Outback, a 14-hour drive north-east of Perth. Named Banjawarn, the property is absolutely isolated: Kalgoorlie (a mining city of 30,000 inhabitants), and the nearest inhabited place, is 350 km away. In September 1993, Asahara arrived in Perth with 25 followers, all Japanese, including 7 underage girls. The Australian customs were surprised by his large luggage, including strange bottles of "liquid soap," laboratory equipment, etc.

Installed in the property, the group sets up a complete chemical laboratory there; after which it returns in majority to Japan. In August 1994, Asahara sold his property at a loss; seven months later, he was attacked. The investigation then established that sheep in Banjawarn had been poisoned with sarin gas, a preliminary test before the act.

REMINDER - Organized Crime and Criminal Procedure

We often talk about organized crime, without fully knowing its scope in French criminal law; hence this reminder of what criminal procedure includes in this concept.

Légifrance - Code de procédure pénale - ORGANIZED CRIME OFFENCES

<u>TITLE XXV</u> - Criminal procedure applicable to organized crime and delinquency

Article 706-73 - Amended by LAW N°2017-1510 of October 30, 2017 - art.9

The procedure applicable to the investigation, prosecution, trial, and adjudication of the following crimes and misdemeanors shall be as provided in this code, subject to the provisions of this title:

- 1° Crime of **murder** committed in an organized gang as provided for in article 221-4 of the penal code;
- 2° Crime of **torture and acts of barbarism** committed in an organized gang as provided for in Article 222-4 of the penal code;
- 3° Crimes and offences of **drug trafficking** provided for by articles 222-34 to 222-40 of the penal code;
- 4° Crimes and offenses **of kidnapping and sequestration** committed in an organized gang as provided for in article 224-5-2 of the penal code;
- 5° Aggravated crimes and offences of **trafficking in human beings** provided for in articles 225-4 to 225-4-7 of the Criminal code;
- 6° Aggravated crimes and offences of **pimping** provided for in articles 225-7 to 225-12 of the penal code;
- 7° Crime of **theft committed in an organized gang**, provided for in article 311-9 of the penal code;
- 8° Aggravated crimes **of extortion** provided for in articles 312-6 and 312-7 of the penal code;
- 9° Crime of **destruction**, **degradation** and **deterioration** of **property** committed in an organized gang, provided for by article 322-8 of the penal code;
- 10° Crimes of **counterfeit money** provided for in articles 442-1 and 442-2 of the penal code;
- 11° Crimes and offences constituting acts of **terrorism** provided for in articles 421-1 to 421-6 of the penal code;
- 11° bis Crimes **against the fundamental interests of the nation** provided for in Title 1 of Book IV of the Criminal code;
 - 12° ... 13°... 14° ... 15° ... 16° (various **offenses**: in matters of weapons and explosives, provided for in various codes; ... aiding the illegal entry, movement and residence of a foreigner in France, in an organized gang; ... money laundering or concealment of the products, income and things provided for in the preceding articles 1 to 13; ... criminal association, in the case of preparation of one of the above-mentioned offenses; ... non-justification of resources coming from the above-mentioned offenses);
- 17° Crime of **hijacking of aircraft**, ship or any other means of transport committed in an organized gang, as provided for in Article 224-6-1 of the criminal code;

18° Crimes and offenses punishable by ten years' imprisonment, contributing to the **proliferation of weapons of mass destruction** and their means of delivery falling within the scope of Article 706-167;

19° Offence **of exploitation of a mine** or disposal of a mining substance without an exploitation title or authorization, accompanied by environmental damage, committed in an organized gang, as provided for by Article L. 512-2 of the Mining Code, when it is related to one of the offences mentioned in 1° to 17° of this article.

Great texts on crime

- KARL MARX "In Praise of Crime"

Excerpt from Volume 4 of Capital "The theories of surplus value."

("In praise of crime" is of course ironic, bordering on pastiche, even self-mockery)

"The philosopher produces ideas, the poet poems, the clergyman sermons, the professor treatises . . . The criminal produces crimes. To look more closely at the relations existing between this last branch of production and the society as a whole, frees from many prejudices. The criminal does not only produce crimes: he produces the criminal law, therefore the professor of criminal law, and therefore the inevitable treatise in which the professor records his lectures, put on the market as "merchandise."" The result is an increase in national wealth, not to mention the inner satisfaction that, according to Professor Roscher, an authorized witness, the manuscript of the treatise gives its author.

More: the criminal produces the whole police and judicial apparatus; police officers, judges, executioners, jurors, etc., and all these various professions, forming so many categories of the social division of labor, develop various faculties of the human mind and create at the same time new needs and new means to satisfy them. Torture alone has given rise to the most ingenious mechanical discoveries, the production of which provides work for many honest craftsmen.

The criminal creates a sensation that participates in the moral and the tragic, and in doing so he provides a "service" by stirring the moral and aesthetic feelings of the public. It does not only give rise to treatises on criminal law, criminal codes and, therefore, criminal law legislators; but also, to art, belles-lettres, even tragedies; witness not only Müllner's *La Faute* and Schiller's *Les Brigands* but also *Oedipus* and *Richard III*. The criminal breaks the monotony and the daily security of bourgeois life, thus shielding it from stagnation and creating that incessant tension and agitation without which the spur of competition itself would dull. It thus stimulates the productive forces.

At the same time that crime removes a surplus part of the population from the labor market, and thus reduces competition between workers, helping to prevent wages from falling below the minimum, the fight against crime absorbs another part of this same population. Thus, the criminal operates one of those "natural compensations" which create equilibrium and give rise to a multitude of "useful" occupations. The influence of criminals on the development of the productive forces can be demonstrated in detail: without thieves, would locks have reached their present stage of perfection? Without counterfeiters, the manufacture of banknotes? Without fraudsters, would the microscope have penetrated the spheres of ordinary commerce? Does not applied chemistry owe as much to fraud and its repression as to legitimate efforts to improve production?

- OSCAR WILDE: a classic of angelism and the "culture of apology"

The soul of man under socialism, Avatar Publishing, 1990

"When one reads history, not in redacted versions written for schoolchildren and diploma candidates, but in texts established by the authorities of each era, one is sickened, not by the account of the crimes committed by the wicked, but by that of the punishments inflicted by the good; and a community is a thousand times more bruised by the habitual use of punishment than by the accidental presence of crime. It is obvious that the more punishment is inflicted, the more crime is created; and most contemporary legislators have understood this so well that they have made it their duty to reduce punishment to the extent that they think they can. Wherever the penal system has been really softened, the results have been excellent. The less punishment there is, the less crime there is.

When there is no punishment at all, either crime will cease to exist, or, if it occurs, it will be treated by doctors as a distressing form of insanity, which they will try to cure by care and kindness. For those whom we call criminals today are not criminals at all. Misery, not perversity, is the mother of contemporary crime. This is in fact the reason why our criminals, as a category, are absolutely psychologically devoid of interest. They are not wonderful Macbeths, and terrible Vautrins.

They are only what respectable ordinary people would become if they did not have enough to eat. When private property has been abolished, crime will no longer be necessary, it will no longer have a reason to exist; it will cease to exist. Of course, not all crimes are aimed at property, although it is these crimes that English law, attributing more value to a man's possessions than to that man himself, punishes most severely and horribly (if we except homicide and judge death worse than penal servitude—a point of view which our criminals, I think, do not share).

But although some crimes may not be directed against property, they may arise from a state of unhappiness, rage, depression, engendered by our bad system of property distribution; so, when that system is abolished, these crimes will disappear."

- FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE: "Progress" and Crime

Beyond Good and Evil (1886) On the Natural History of Morality

"Finally, in periods of long and deep peace, there is always less opportunity and less obligation to train one's feelings to severity and harshness; from then on, this severity, even in justice, begins to bother consciences; one is almost offended by the haughty and hard aristocrat who claims responsibility for himself and his actions, he awakens distrust; the lamb and even more so the bleating sheep gain in consideration. There is a point in history of sickly softening and decay where society goes so far as to take sides, seriously and sincerely, for the one who wrongs it, for the criminal.

Punishment seems unfair to her—at the very least, the idea of punishment and the obligation to punish makes her suffer and frightens her. 'Is it not enough to put him out of action? What is the point of punishing him on top of that? To punish is terrible!' Thus, the morality of the herd, the morality of fear, draws its last consequences. Supposing that we could abolish the danger, the reason to fear, we would have abolished this morality: it would not be necessary anymore. It would no longer consider itself necessary. If we examine the conscience of the modern European, it is always the same imperative that we will flush out from the thousand folds and recesses of morality, the imperative of the fear of the herd: we want that one day there will finally be nothing more to fear. One day, one beautiful day—the will and the path that lead to it, that is what is called "progress" everywhere in Europe today."