THEORY OF SUBVERSIVE ACTION

Roger Cosyns-Verhaegen

Translated from the French

by J. M. Larkman

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"It is clear that, in a dispute, the sole object is to prove that a fact either is, or is not, or, that it was or was not, and not to deviate from that. Whether it is a fact of great or little importance, just or unjust —there being many points the legislator has not defined—it is the duty of the judge to determine for himself: he should not learn them from the disputing parties."

ARISTOTLE: RHETORIC.
Book I, Chap. I-VI.

ROGER COSYNS-VERHAEGEN

THEORY OF SUBVERSIVE ACTION

Beyond legality and this side of violence

Translated from the French by
J. M. LARKMAN

(THEORIE DE L'ACTION SUBVERSIVE.
Au déla de la légalité et en deçà de la violence.)
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PREFACE

To be a "Man" is not to say, "Don't mention it to me, it is repugnant" or, "It is too complicated" or, again, "I shall be bored".

To be a "Man" is to refuse to allow oneself to be blindly manœuvred; it is to want to know the nature, the "why" and "wherefore", of political enterprises which intend to "use" one.

It is not to be taken in. Ignorance is a weakness and not an excuse.

For half a century now, subversive action has been so much a part of our lives that it is hardly noticed.

However, many are anxious to define it and thus to understand it.

The aim of this study is limited to the following:—

To explain subversive action, to describe its methods, to demonstrate its possible aims, and then to provide sufficient rudiments to

enable one to expose it and form an opinion in each specific case.

I shall have succeeded if my reader, after this exposition, is able to see, understand, judge and to choose.

Doubtless its competence will be in questtion at the moment but, at least, the problem will first have to be understood.

CONTENTS

THEORY OF SUBVERSIVE ACTION

Definition: Subversive action is the activity of a political faction by which it places itself beyond the law but on this side of actual violence.

Permanent characteristics: Subversive action is directed against the established order of a given country and, in particular, against its machinery of government. It expresses itself according to a uniform plan and operates in fields as varied as possible, affecting all public or private institutions with methods appropriate to each particular case.

Its final aim is to weave a network of organisations over the whole territory of a country in order to establish an apparatus capable of taking the place of the legal authorities, and to bring about the downfall of the latter by means of a COUP with, or without, outside intervention.

At the same time, subversive action weakens and, to a certain extent paralyses, the authorities in power by directing its administrative bodies, disturbing the economic and social life, and by discrediting the authorities.

THE MORALITY OF SUBVERSIVE ACTION

Subversive action is not a matter for moral judgment in itself, it is simply an instrument of political struggle.

One can only analyse the morality of the conditions which cause it in a specific case and take note of the situation in which it operates.

With this in mind, the following factors must be examined:—

First, its aim in the specific case.

Second, the composition and position of the political faction which uses it.

Third, the constitution and characteristics of the authority against which it is directed. One must distinguish between:—

(a) Subversive action carried out by a political faction for its own ends.

(b) Subversive action carried out by a political faction to the benefit of a foreign power.

(c) Subversive action carried out by a political faction for its own ends and, simultaneously, to the benefit of a foreign power—this latter, being sensible, repays by intervening at the opportune moment to allow accession to power of the political faction in question.

In order to be able to pass moral judgment on a subversive act which has been decided upon, it is particularly advisable to answer, at the outset, the following questions:—

1. Is the action directed against a dictatorship or an oligarchy, against which all legal opposition is impracticable?

2. Is the action, on the contrary, directed against a stable government where there is a normally-working representative system, where the electoral machinery is in order and where the Opposition can express itself legally?

3. Is the action that of an over-bearing majority or is it applied by a minority which wishes to obtain power?

4. Is the action led by a minority for the benefit of a foreign power which might become an enemy of the country, and with the sole purpose of facilitating this aggression?

5. Is the action led by a minority for the benefit of a foreign power, with a view to its being put in power by the intervention of this foreign power?

It is only by answering these questions clearly that one is able, in each particular instance, to make a moral assessment and to analyse the validity, the rightness, of a subversive action.

COMPONENTS OF THE SUBVERSIVE APPARATUS

(1) The Intelligentsia.

(2) The "cadres" of the organisation.

(3) The executive agents.

(1) *The Intelligentsia* consists of the leaders. It is they who determine the political and operational programme of the subversive action.

They provide a logistic homogeneity to the various forms of subversive action and co-ordinate into one the multitude of individual acts.

(2) *The "cadres" of the organisation* are composed of the seconds-in-command whose task it is to pass on orders from the Intelligentsia and to arrange the execution of these directives in those sectors for which they are responsible.

It is these persons who ensure communication between the Intelligentsia and the agents who carry out the orders.

(3) *The executive agents* are the militants of the political faction who carry out the subversive action within the territory to which each one has been assigned.

THE WORKING OF THE SUBVERSIVE APPARATUS

The Intelligentsia works out the operational programme on the basis of a political programme, built on a study of the objective conditions of the country.

These objective conditions are: the relationship of forces as between the faction and its adversaries, the legal position of the State, the economic conditions and their susceptibility, the psychological vulnerability of the population.

On the basis of this, the Intelligentsia prepares a combined plan, envisaging action in each of the sectors and in those intermediary stages necessary for its complete realisation.

The plan is given practical application through appropriate orders given to all staff of the organisational "cadres".

These latter, in turn, are employed in organising the realisation of those objectives assigned to their sector, by giving precise missions to each of the agents under their command.

The executive agents, either individually or in teams, accomplish the subversive work assigned to them and then report back to the staff of the organisation to whom they are responsible.

The staff, in turn, report to the Intelligentsia, who take due note and issue fresh directives on the basis of results achieved.

POLITICAL ASPECT OF THE SUBVERSIVE ORGANISATION

A subversive organisation may be distinguished politically by the fact that it literally duplicates the machinery of the State with a parallel, secret organisation of its own, substituting its own authority for that of the Government on its members.

It creates, in fact, an "illegal government" at the heart of a nation and in opposition to the constituted authorities.

This constitutes a new type of duality of powers.

LEGAL ASPECT OF THE SUBVERSIVE ORGANISATION

Subversive action is a positive offence when it has as its aim—and effectively carries out—acts prejudicial to the State.

Judicial repression by the State always encounters the problem that subversive action is an over-all, "aggregate", crime.

The individual acts of the executive agents, although carried out in full knowledge of the purpose, are only effective through being co-ordinated by the Intelligentsia.

In many cases, these individual acts appear harmless and very often there is no legal definition which classes them as infringements of the law.

However, viewed objectively, it must be admitted that these individual acts are offences—and even premeditated offences—since they are knowingly committed in the

awareness that they are detrimental to the State and are part of an over-all plan.

The strength of the subversive apparatus lies in the fact that, generally, there is no precise law which penalises the individual acts of the agents. The latter effectively ensure their defence by isolating the individual action for which they are apprehended from the totality of the subversive operation, thus destroying the principal legal support of the accusation.

When the State insists on prosecuting the agents for such acts, it is easy and convenient for the political faction to cry "discrimination" and make any penalty appear a miscarriage of justice.

Nevertheless, one must remember that a subversive Intelligentsia always includes one or more members of the legal profession who will make it their business to interpret current laws to the detriment of the official powers.

Suppressing subversive action, therefore, is not easy. Any attempt of this kind looks fatally like a "witch-hunt".

PRACTICAL FORMS OF SUBVERSIVE ACTION

The distinction between subversive action practised by a political faction for its own ends, and that practised by a political faction on behalf of a foreign power, must be remembered.

Let us consider the former case.

The practical forms of subversive action are as follows:—

Infiltration.
Setting-up of cells.
Seizure.
Agitation.
Dissension.
Demoralisation.
Intrigue.
Administrative obstruction.
Economic obstruction.
Civil disobedience.
Sabotage.
Deception.

Rumour-mongering.

Interception of mail and telephone communications.

Corruption.

Conspiracy.

We will now look at what these terms mean:—

Infiltration means introducing, or recruiting, an agent into a public service or a private enterprise to find out what is happening there.

Setting-up cells consists of introducing many agents into a public service, private enterprise, professional, cultural, patriotic or any other association. The aim of establishing cells is not only to obtain information. It is also to co-ordinate the work of the agents, with a view to influencing the everyday working of such organisations.

Seizure is carried out by agents who get themselves into key positions in organisations in which cells have already been set-up, so that they may impede effective working of these organisations.

Agitation consists of stirring-up malcontents and exposing the weakness of the established order, in exaggerating them and never letting

them be forgotten. It means criticism and protest on every conceivable occasion. In short, to maintain a permanent psychosis of dissatisfaction.

Dissension consists of causing disagreements in opposing factions, first of all among them and, then, at the centre of each one of them. One begins by setting the parties of the established order one against the other. Then one steers the basic policies of these parties in the opposite direction.

Demoralisation is an activity which aims to discourage adherents of the established order and, above all, the weak and the undecided. To achieve this, one undermines their confidence in the legal institutions, causes them progressively to lose their respect for authority, and takes away all enthusiasm for its defence.

Intrigue consists of little plots carried out by scattered agents co-ordinated to the same end—that of discrediting a political adversary. This is achieved, by first spreading lying rumours about the person or organisation to be discredited, while at the same time real or invented evidence of guilt is accumulated.

Administrative obstruction means:—

For agents who are civil servants, working with calculated slowness, or in making intentional mistakes whenever the subversive organisation orders them to do so.

For agents who are just civilians, carrying-out the obligations and formalities required of them by law, with an assiduous bad grace.

The result of this practice is the slowing-up, even the partial paralysis, of the machinery of State. In this way, the considerable results render inoperable government measures or, at any rate, provide the political faction with the necessary time to oppose them.

Economic obstruction consists of stopping, slowing-up, or disturbing the economic life of the country by paralysing production, commerce and transport.

This result is obtained by means of the political strike. This can be done in two ways:—

(a) The political strike, carried out as such, which presupposes massive and spontaneous support for the political faction from the working-classes.

(b) The political strike, carried out under the guise of an industrial-claims strike, which presupposes deception on the part of the agents.

The task of the agents, in this case, is to launch the movement by announcing a popular plan for a claim which is realistic but which, in fact, is merely designed to upset the national economy.

Civil disobedience: It is the task of the agents to break the law, intentionally and ostensibly, with the sole purpose of getting themselves arrested, so that they can overwhelm the authorities with a mass of wilful prosecutions. The object is to affirm the strength of their cause, embarrass the authorities, and to expose them to unpopularity.

Provocation consists of inciting sympathisers to adopt hostile attitudes towards the authorities by uttering threats, in order to weaken the forces of order and provoke harsh retaliation.

By achieving this the subversive organisation hopes to discredit the powers in command and produce popular resentment of them.

Deception consists of the subversive organisation making the non-politically-minded believe they have the same views and interests as the political faction in matters of culture, patriotism, philosophy and in other matters. The effects of this should be that a considerable number of such people will support the political faction.

Rumour-mongering has as its aim the creation of a confused atmosphere and of producing anxiety in the population.

To this end, agents scattered throughout the country circulate alarming rumours.

Interception of mail and telephone communications has, naturally, the aim of violating the privacy of postal and telephonic communications with the dual purpose of finding out their contents and of causing anxiety to the correspondents, etc.

Corruption consists of persuading public or private employees, political leaders, or organisations to supply information or to adopt favourable attitudes towards the faction.

To this end, the agents can either offer money or material advantages, or they can use deception or blackmail.

Conspiracy means, for the subversive organisation, placing agents in as many areas of the country as possible in order to have at its command a complete dossier on intelligence and operations.

Naturally, subversive action is not limited to these practical forms. It is certain that those organisations of today and of the future are inventing, and will continue to invent, many others.

On the other hand, it would be wrong to think that any of these practical forms may be employed by itself.

On the contrary, in reality agents use them equally, in turn, or all together.

It is the precise objectives and the circumstances which determine whether one or other form of subversive action is to be employed. The end justifies the means.

DEVELOPMENT AND RESULT OF SUBVERSIVE ACTION

A "Subversive Campaign" is carried out in five phases:—

(1) Logistics programming.
(2) Information.
(3) Investiture.
(4) Psycho-political action.
(5) Exploitation.

The Intelligentsia works out the logistics programme.

It makes a survey of the national institutions, the country's resources, the mentality of its people, and the strength of the opposition.

On this foundation, a flexible but well laid-out plan is established on which the main lines of the campaign are sketched out.

The logistic programming is the rough outline of the subversive campaign.

It is not until the next phase that the outline will be seen in its precise form and the operational details will appear one by one.

In fact, "Information" will supply the missing details, the variable factors, the value of which should be re-evaluated regularly according to the latest intelligence.

One passes to the "Information" phase through the methodical infiltration of agents into the heart of the organisms to be explored.

The latter are classified in order of priority:—

Firstly, the Ministries.

The Home Office is listed first. In fact, the security of the State is primarily entrusted to it. It is the principal adversary of the subversive machine.

Next in order come the Ministries of Justice, National Defence, the Foreign Office, the Ministry of Economic Affairs, and then all other Ministries.

A single agent in each Ministry is sufficient to ensure a fairly good information service.

Immediately after the Ministries come the opposition parties, the big industrial enterprises — notably those of transport and of power, and then the trade unions.

Then come the secondary sectors: local administrations, cultural, social and patriotic organisations, etc.

Lastly come the minor sources of information of purely local interest but which the subversive machine never refuses, provided the information is reliable.

At this stage, the subversive machine has a clear picture. To some extent it can see the cards of its adversaries.

It is, therefore, ready to amend the rather vague outline plan of the initial logistics programme.

The plan becomes sufficiently precise for it to be possible to predict with accuracy the development of the following phases.

The subversive machine then begins the vast operation of investiture. One after the other, its agents are introduced into, and placed in, organisms where they will be able to carry out profitably one of the forms of subversive action, individually or in cells.

The ideal of the subversive apparatus is for it to be everywhere.

In certain cases the agents specialise in infiltration or in the setting-up of cells. In others, they try to succeed through seizure, by obtaining posts of command. At the same time, conspiracy is effected through the placing of local agents.

When this phase is completed, the machine is ready to pass on to the offensive through psycho-political action.

Until now we have only witnessed the placing of the pawns.

Now the game starts.

While the infiltration agents stealthily go about their intelligence work, through the action of the cells, the life of the nation slides insensibly into a relative disorder.

In government departments, regulations are applied slowly, as if the civil servants had succumbed to sleeping sickness.

In industry, inexplicable errors spoil whole batches of finished products.

The transport services suffer delays which become greater every day.

Fuses are blown more and more often in the electricity generating stations.

Letters go astray in the post.

The police begin to have scruples about whether they should pursue the subversive agents who "are all nice fellows and may, perhaps, be right".

In the army, the soldiers rebel against the orders they are given.

In the unions, strikes of a generalised nature, and for no reason, become more and more frequent.

The relationships between the different parties opposed to the political faction become increasingly acrimonious.

Forgetting the common enemy, they exhaust themselves in fighting each other.

In patriotic organisations, the members of the political faction ingratiate themselves in order to be considered the most patriotic of citizens, while in the cultural associations they present themselves as the greatest patrons of literature and the arts.

In provincial areas, local administration is snowed-under with an avalanche of complaints about blocked drains, badly-paved streets, or badly-maintained parks.

All these petitions create a growing disorder. General discontentment grows in proportion. The wavering, non-political masses do not notice that all this specious protest is the work of agents of a subversive machine. They attribute responsibility to their Government.

The spectacle of the parties opposed to the subversive faction indulging first of all in vilification of each other and then, later, as between the rank-and-file and the leadership of each of them, provokes disillusionment with them.

The population begins to ask itself whether, after all, it would not be better to put into power the subversive faction and to say that, in any case, things could not be worse.

This is the moment when the psychopolitical action has borne fruit and the subversive machine can proceed to the last phase: exploitation.

Meantime, the forces of order have tried to counter-attack against the subversive agents; but each time a suspect is held he either has a reason, a pretext, or an alibi.

The true characteristic of subversive action is that it is intangible.

The exploitation of results achieved by the subversive faction mount to a crescendo.

The agents who know the precise reasons for the discontent among those around them (we might say, "their clients"), take around petitions and protests which they get signed by the greatest number of people possible.

The subject of these petitions matters little. The essential point is that they reveal some degree of discontentment.

Soon mayors' parlours and ministerial offices are inundated with these petitions.

The same agents will dupe the simple-minded and these duly gathered in, will multiply the delegations at all levels—from alderman to Prime Minister.

The trade unions, patiently built-up through the work of agents who practise seizure and by those responsible for forming cells, will declare a general political strike called such, or a general strike on the pretext of a wage claim.

From this moment, the economic life of the country is paralysed. It does not matter whether the strike is called political or industrial. Either way its effect is political.

Wherever there are local signs of the strike flagging, sabotage produces an effective stoppage of work.

At this time the agents mingle with the strikers and stir them up.

Inevitably, there will be clashes with the services of public order; the more the sparks fly, the better it will be for the subversive machine.

If the law-enforcement agencies lose their heads and open fire, the subversive faction has won. Henceforth, the Government is irreparably disqualified in the eyes of the workers as being unfit to rule.

It is not difficult, at this stage, to organise a mammoth demonstration or even a march on the capital.

Now the political faction has found the allies it lacked and the conditions it had hoped for. It can risk a trial of force, attempt a *coup d'etat* with a chance of success.

SUBVERSIVE ACTION CARRIED OUT BY A POLITICAL FACTION ON BEHALF OF A FOREIGN POWER

All the methods employed in the preceding case can be employed in this. However, there are always fundamental differences.

Firstly, the aim here is not so much to seize power, as to weaken the national capacity to resist a foreign invasion and to prepare the country to accept domination by the aggressor.

Further, the subversive apparatus must be adapted to satisfy the needs of the beneficiary power.

For this purpose, the Intelligentsia prepares its logistics programme in direct agreement with, and with the participation of, official representatives of the beneficiary power.

Under the "Information" plan, priority will be given to the Ministries of National Defence

and of Foreign Affairs, rather than to the Home Office.

Infiltration into the other ministries follows in the same order as before.

In industry, war-production will have priority immediately followed by power, heavy industry and transport.

The general use by powers intent on aggression of the subversive action of political factions has progressively replaced the former use of spies.

There can be no doubt that subversive factions working for foreign powers are contestants who are virtually unbeatable.

For one thing, agents of infiltration in these factions form net-works. The cumulative information is complete in itself, it is accurate by reason of its scope and through being continually renewed.

Furthermore, it is often less expensive. Most infiltration agents of subversive machines work for an ideal and, therefore, the quality of their information is reliable.

The completeness of the information gathered by infiltration, allows the beneficiary

power to prepare its plan of aggression and the Intelligentsia to pass on to the investiture stage. This operation is carried out as in the other cases, but always with priority given to organisms considered by the beneficiary power to be the most important.

At the same time as the classic investiture, the subversive apparatus may undertake the creation of cultural or social associations with the object of promoting an atmosphere of confidence in, sympathy with, and if possible, admiration for the beneficiary power.

Naturally, to the agents responsible for setting-up cells the armed forces are an object of particular attention.

Psycho-political action is conducted according to the foregoing method, but from a different angle.

In this case, it is a question of breaking national unity completely and of weakening the defensive capacity of the country in every area — the military, economic, social, diplomatic and moral.

The disintegration of the armed forces is achieved by encouraging insubordination through pacifist propaganda, by secret support

for the rebellious and unruly elements, and through a pretended glorification of conscientious objectors.

Lastly, the agents will create a hostile atmosphere as between military and civilians.

But, in order to achieve a general demoralisation of the country the subversive machine will proceed by means of a double action — the one negative and the other positive.

On the one hand, the political and economic system of the country, its authorities and its institutions, are rationally discredited, whilst its traditions and culture are deliberately underrated.

On the other hand, the political and economic system of the beneficiary power, together with its authorities and institutions, is praised to the skies, and its traditions and culture proclaimed infinitely superior to those of the country.

To sum up, this means to say that all belonging to the nation is bad or mediocre, and that all belonging to the beneficiary power is good or superior.

The results of this turn to paradox during the phase of exploitation.

One will witness the unreal spectacle of citizens who will proclaim, with easy conscience, their prior determination to collaborate with the occupying power and to consider it as their liberator.

One will see citizens scorning their country and its institutions, being ashamed of their own nationality, and hoping for one thing only—to obtain the nationality of the beneficiary power, to get to know its "regime" and its institutions.

At the exploitation stage, thanks to the infiltration agents of the subversive faction, the beneficiary power will know in detail the whole military dispositions of the country.

The armed forces themselves will have become an unreliable instrument, riddled with insubordination, infected with ceaseless talk, deprived of ideals, and cut-off from the people.

On the diplomatic level the position of the country will be weakened.

The agents of the political faction will have created currents of opinion and have pro-

voked by them open hostility towards national policy.

Within the country there will be dissension of all kinds.

The national parties will disagree among themselves with an animosity cleverly fostered by intrigue, deception and the sowing of dissension.

At the heart of each one of them there will be distrust as between rank-and-file members and the leaders.

Social conflicts and class-differences will be aggravated, political strikes under pretext of industrial claims will multiply and most of all when there is no hope of them succeeding. The sole purpose of this is to foment discontent everywhere.

In the administration, the creation of cells and the work of seizure will bring about a well-concerted disorder.

Every Town Hall will be flooded with protests and delegations over the most futile grievances.

In the end, the demoralised state of the people will be such that it will be ripe for ac-

cepting, without effective resistance, domination by the foreign power.

At this time, the subversive machine will be at the last stage of its existence.

When attack by the foreign power is imminent, the subversive apparatus prepares for the last, and determining stroke. The local agents, dispersed by conspiracy, will group themselves into armed bands. Agents responsible for cell-formation will prepare themselves for general acts of sabotage, with or without violence.

At last, at zero hour, when the beneficiary power decides to strike, the subversive machine becomes the "Fifth Column" and does not hesitate to use violence against the remnants of the national army still capable of fighting.

Naturally, under the conditions created by the subversive faction, the conquest of national territory by the foreign power will be effected in a twinkling of an eye.

In actual fact, the aggressor arrives with a disciplined army, backed by a government strongly supported by a united population. The aggressor is well-informed of the objectives to be attained and knows the weaknesses

of the country attacked. Furthermore, the subversive "Fifth Column" serves as a vanguard, opening all doors to him.

Finally, the state of moral disintegration of the population assures him of passive acceptance of the occupation for some time.

When the population reacts, it will be too late!

With the collaboration of the former subversive faction, the aggressor will have established his machinery for policing the country and will be in a position to firmly maintain his authority over the enslaved people.

CONCLUSIONS

"The only really good thing is to fight for one's country."

HOMER: ILIAD, xii.

If subversive action is a means of political struggle, we can certainly not call this a school of fair play.

But do politics themselves ever depend upon moral criteria for determining their ends and means?

The mechanism of subversive action, when used by a political faction to serve its own ends, presents a simple problem to common-sense.

It is minor Machiavelism.

Against certain forms of government this method might be able to find some element of legitimacy to justify it.

On the other hand, subversive action employed by a political faction on behalf of a foreign power is, *a priori*, something shocking and incomprehensible.

Considered in the abstract, it seems impossible to justify this practice and it seems highly improbable that it could be effected with an untroubled conscience, even more so with the sense of having accomplished some great deed.

And yet, for almost half-a-century, thousands, perhaps millions, of men and women have dedicated themselves to subversive action in these conditions, and with the sense of having performed an heroic and meritorious act.

You may ask, from whence comes this moral blindness which presents treason as if it were valour, and which is sufficiently contagious to contaminate the national life of an entire people?

Are the subversive agents who carry out the orders mental degenerates, social delinquents, or simply persons devoid of conscience?

The truth is otherwise.

It is not by chance that this study has been treated exclusively in an abstract manner. It would have been quite possible to illustrate the account with actual examples taken from contemporary life, and from ideological con-

texts diametrically opposed to each other, thus making the presentation much more convincing.

But the use of these examples seemed an invitation to subjectivism. One would remember the example and forget the theory.

No, I will not do that! Voluntarily and deliberately, I will confine myself to the abstract.

It is not a question of writing a thesis to serve as propaganda for such-and-such political faction, or for explicitly attacking another. On the contrary, there is a case for describing, defining and explaining one method of doing something which is not essentially peculiar to the one or to the other and which, moreover, has been practised by opposed parties.

The reader will find his own examples for himself.

So much the worse for those political factions who are recognised or who recognise themselves.

However, we were talking about this hidden and imperious force which substitutes itself for the traditional loyalty of a citizen for his country.

In the beginning there is always a doctrine. This may be either social, racial, economic, philosophic or religious. Whatever the case, it carries within it a promethean theme from which it derives its mystical power and seductive force.

Each doctrine is served by its own special rhetoric. It has its own vocabulary and produces its own appropriate pre-conceptions.

Traditional man thinks according to traditional principles.

The convert to a doctrine thinks in terms of the principles of that doctrine, speaks its language and acts according to it.

Traditional man acknowledges the common law; the doctrinaire substitutes the law of his doctrine.

Ordinary man is a citizen of a country which is a social and geographical entity firmly establishing itself by its history, its numbers and its space.

The doctrinaire is, before all else, one subordinate to a way of thinking. His isolation from ordinary people only serves to increase his feeling of brotherhood with his own kind, and his desire to make new converts.

The fact that the doctrine must inevitably have its chosen land—which must necessarily be a country where this doctrine may be enjoyed, if I dare say so, legally — designates that country as the spiritual homeland of the doctrinaires. These fulfil their subversive apostleship with the pure love of Christian martyrs.

It is this that makes these traitors of clear conscience hold their heads high when the law of the country demands the reckoning.

It is also what makes for the effectiveness of these subversive agents.

It would cost a colossal fortune to employ mercenaries to do their work and it would not be carried out half as well.

Faced with these emissaries of the promethean myths, the West can only oppose them with the commonplace banality of tolerance.

However, deplorable as this is, is it certain that the subversive psalms do not extol an overrated paradise?

Who knows? Perhaps a day will come when the West will recognise the menace of the artificial paradises and tolerant banality, in its eyes, will once again take the place of the promethean myth.