

Keen

FACES OF THE ENEMY

**FACES
OF
THE
ENEMY**

Sam Keen

FACES OF THE ENEMY

**Reflections
of
the
Hostile
Imagination**

Photo Editor Anne Page



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For the new breed of heroes and heroines who dare to struggle with the enemy within and look at the shadow of evil that obscures every human heart.

In the hope that by disarming the self we may find the clarity to envision and the courage to create a new social order free of organized carnage and sanctified genocide.

For our children, especially Lael, Gifford, Jessamyn, who teach us time and time again that love can triumph over enmity.

To Create an Enemy

Start with an empty canvas
Sketch in broad outline the forms of
men, women, and children.

Dip into the unconscious well of your own
disowned darkness
with a wide brush and
stain the strangers with the sinister hue
of the shadow.

Trace onto the face of the enemy the greed,
hatred, carelessness you dare not claim as
your own.

Obscure the sweet individuality of each face.

Erase all hints of the myriad loves, hopes,
fears that play through the kaleidoscope of
every finite heart.

Twist the smile until it forms the downward
arc of cruelty.

Strip flesh from bone until only the
abstract skeleton of death remains.

Exaggerate each feature until man is
metamorphasized into beast, vermin, insect.

Fill in the background with malignant
figures from ancient nightmares—devils,
demons, myrmidons of evil.

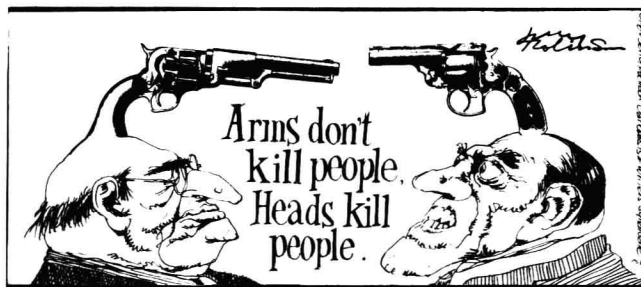
When your icon of the enemy is complete
you will be able to kill without guilt,
slaughter without shame.

The thing you destroy will have become
merely an enemy of God, an impediment
to the sacred dialectic of history.

INTRODUCTION

Homo Hostilis, The Enemy Maker

Since wars begin in the minds of men,
it is in the minds of men
that we have to erect the ramparts of peace.
UNESCO Charter



Jerry Robinson
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In the beginning we create the enemy. Before the weapon comes the image. We *think* others to death and then invent the battle-axe or the ballistic missiles with which to actually kill them. Propaganda precedes technology.

Politicians of both the left and right keep getting things backward. They assume the enemy will vanish if only we manage our weapons differently. Conservatives believe the enemy will be frightened into civility if we have bigger and better weapons. Liberals believe the enemy will become our friend if we have smaller and fewer weapons. Both proceed from rationalistic, optimistic assumptions: we human beings are reasonable, pragmatic, tool-making animals. We have progressed thus far in history by becoming *Homo sapiens* ("rational human") and *Homo faber* ("tool-making human"). Therefore, we can make peace by rational negotiation and arms control.

But it isn't working. The problem seems to lie not in our reason or our technology, but in the hardness of our hearts. Generation after generation, we find excuses to hate and dehumanize each other, and we always justify ourselves with the most mature-sounding political rhetoric. And we refuse to admit the obvious. We human beings are *Homo hostilis*, the hostile species, the enemy-making animal. We are driven to fabricate an enemy as a scapegoat to bear the burden of our denied

enmity. From the unconscious residue of our hostility, we create a target; from our private demons, we conjure a public enemy. And, perhaps, more than anything else, the wars we engage in are compulsive rituals, shadow dramas in which we continually try to kill those parts of ourselves we deny and despise.

Our best hope for survival is to change the way we think about enemies and warfare. Instead of being hypnotized by the enemy we need to begin looking at the eyes with which we see the enemy. Now it is time to explore the mind of *Homo hostilis* ("hostile human"), we need to examine in detail how we manufacture the image of the enemy, how we create surplus evil, how we turn the world into a killing ground. It seems unlikely that we will have any considerable success in controlling warfare unless we come to understand the logic of political paranoia, and the process of creating propaganda that justifies our hostility. We need to become conscious of what Carl Jung called "the shadow." The heroes and leaders toward peace in our time will be those men and women who have the courage to plunge into the darkness at the bottom of the personal and the corporate psyche and face the enemy within. Depth psychology has presented us with the undeniable wisdom that the enemy is constructed from denied aspects of the self. Therefore, the radical commandment "Love your enemy as yourself" points the way toward both self-knowledge and peace. We do, in fact, love or hate our enemies to the same degree that we love or hate ourselves. In the image of the enemy, we will find the mirror in which we may see our own face most clearly.

But wait a minute. Not so fast! A chorus of objections arises from the practitioners of realistic power politics: "What do you mean, 'create' enemies? We don't make enemies. There are aggressors, evil empires, bad men, and wicked women in the real world. And they will destroy us if we don't destroy them first. There are real villains—Hitler, Stalin, Pol Pot (leader of the Cambodian Khmer Rouge, responsible for the murder of 2 million of his own people). You can't psychologize political events, or solve the problem of war by studying perceptions of the enemy."

Objections sustained. In part. Half-truths of a psychological or political nature are not apt to advance the cause of peace. We should be as wary of psychologizing political events as we should be of politicizing psychological events. War is a complex problem that is not likely to be solved by any single approach or discipline.

To deal with it we need, at the very minimum, a *quantum* theory of warfare rather than a single-cause theory. As we understand light only by considering it as both particle and wave, we will get leverage on the problem of war only by seeing it as a system that is sustained by both:

The warrior psyche	and	The violent polis
Paranoia	and	Propaganda
The hostile	and	Value and
imagination		geopolitical
		conflicts be-
		tween nations

Creative thinking about war will always involve considering both the individual psyche and social institutions. Society shapes the psyche and vice versa. Therefore, we have to work at the tasks of creating psychological and political alternatives to war, changing the psyche of *Homo hostilis* and the structure of international relations. Both a heroic journey into the self and a new form of compassionate politics. We have no chance of lessening warfare unless we look at the psychological roots of paranoia, projection, and propaganda, nor if we ignore the harsh child-rearing practices, the injustice, the special interests of the power elites, the historic racial, economic, and religious conflicts and population pressures that sustain the war system.

The primary task of this book is to fill a void in our thinking about war. Look in any library and you will find books that deal with every imaginable aspect of war except one—the enemy. One would suppose that, since war is designed to kill the enemy, someone would have thought long and hard about the identity of the enemy. Those assigned to kill him—the military—usually leave the task of defining who the enemy is, and why he must be destroyed, to politicians. The military prefer the limited role of training men to kill, dealing with means, tactics, and strategy. Ordinarily, the job of turning civilians into soldiers involves a liberal use of propaganda and hate training. A variety of dehumanizing faces is superimposed over the enemy to allow him to be killed without guilt. The problem in military psychology is how to convert the act of murder into patriotism. For the most part, this process of dehumanizing the enemy has not been closely examined. When we project our shadows, we systematically blind ourselves to what we are doing. To mass produce hatred, the body politic must remain unconscious of its own para-

noia, projection, and propaganda. “The enemy” is thus considered as real and objective as a rock or a mad dog. So our first task is to break this taboo, make conscious the unconscious of the body politic, and examine the ways in which we create an enemy.

To do this, I will construct in Part 1 what philosophers call a “phenomenology of the hostile imagination.” This task requires that I bracket the historical question of guilt and innocence, and focus on the recurring images that have been used in different times and places to characterize the enemy. My initial quest is for what Jung would have called “the archetype” of the enemy. What we will find is that wars come and go, but—strangely, amid changing circumstances—the hostile imagination has a certain standard repertoire of images it uses to dehumanize the enemy. In matters of propaganda, we are all platonists; we apply eternal archetypes to changing events.

Needless to say, in certain circumstances, such as the war against the Third Reich, the images we hold of the enemy seem almost realistic. Hitler was such a perfect devil incarnate, a paragon of evil, that we have been using him ever since to vilify our enemies. Just because the paranoid mind projects its rejected vices onto the enemy does *not* automatically mean the enemy is innocent of these projections. As popular wisdom tells us, paranoids sometimes have real enemies. Nevertheless, we can never determine our own degree of complicity in the creation of evil unless we are willing, for a moment, to suspend our belief in all propaganda and study the sources of the projections of the hostile imagination. After we have been willing to look honestly at the eyes with which we see the enemy, we will still be left with the agonizing decision of when we should take up arms to resist a particular enemy. Studying the psychology of perception, the logic of *Homo hostilis* will not eliminate conflict, but it may make us examine our own motives and will introduce a healthy doubt into our otherwise self-righteous conduct of warfare.

After we have examined the archetypes of the enemy, we will, in Part 2, turn the spotlight within and look at some of the psychological roots of the habit of enmity, and how we may reclaim the shadow we have projected onto the enemy.

In the final part of the book, we will look at a variety of scenarios for the future of enmity. Here we will move from the most minimal political possibilities to the most radical psychological option, from the desperate

hope that we may die with dignity in the nuclear apocalypse to the near-utopian hope that we may find political and psychological equivalents of war and create a new human being—*Homo amicus* (“friendly human”)—who is animated by kindness, has a friendly psyche, and a politics of compassion.

PART 1

ARCHETYPES OF THE ENEMY

**Apparitions
of
the
Hostile
Imagination**



U.S., W.W.II

Look carefully at the face of the enemy. The lips are curled downward. The eyes are fanatical and far away. The flesh is contorted and molded into the shape of monster or beast. Nothing suggests this man ever laughs, is torn by doubts, or shaken by tears. He feels no tenderness or pain. Clearly he is unlike us. We need have no sympathy, no guilt, when we destroy him.

In all propaganda, the face of the enemy is designed to provide a focus for our hatred. He is the other. The outsider. The alien. He is not human. If we can only kill him, we will be rid of all within and without ourselves that is evil.

How are these faces of the enemy created? And why is the repertoire of images so universal?

THE ENEMY AS STRANGER

Consensual Paranoia

No one knows for certain when warfare became an abiding human habit. Some archaeologists believe there was a pre-Neolithic Eden peopled by peaceful hunters and gatherers, and that greed and systematic violence arose only when the agricultural revolution created sufficient surplus wealth to tempt some men to steal what others had produced. The best evidence we have suggests that warfare is no more than 13,000 years old. According to Sue Mansfield, our earliest human artifacts from the Paleolithic period testify to hunting, art, myth, and ritual, but give no pictures of men engaged in battle.¹

Once invented, warfare became a nearly universal practice. But there are enough exceptions to establish the crucial point on which hope rests its delicate case: enemy making and warfare are social creations rather than biological imperatives. The peaceful peoples, such as the Hopi, the Tasaday, the Mbuti Pygmies, the K'ung Bushmen of the Kalahari, the Copper Eskimo, the Amish, and others, show us that human beings are capable of creating sophisticated cultures without the use of systematic violence, without a warrior class and a