

Y of beauty, dignity, and culture, so, too, are few peoples forsaken of a capability for cruelty. And no society has for long remained as such — a social grouping, clearly defined through history — without the appetite which builds structures, creates and defeats enemies, and nurtures the ambitious. Mankind may be many things, but is most comfortable, as Elias Canetti says in his seminal work, *Crowds and Power (Masse Und Macht)*¹, when he can band with his own clan, bowing to its laws, ready to sacrifice his life, as the price of *belonging*. This sense of belonging was changing starkly in some of its characterisations toward the end of the 19th Century, but in that change it reflected one of the fundamentals noted by Pliny the Elder, two millennia ago: “A foreigner scarcely counts as a human being for someone of another race.”

Robert L. O’Connell, a US philosopher-analyst writing in 1972², recognised in human evolution the phenomenon of “pseudospeciation”. Speciation is the creation of a new species. Pseudospeciation is defined by O’Connell as “species distancing”, but basically is the artificial or intellectual rendering of a foe into the position of a lesser being. Through this we bestialise and demonise those we wish to destroy, both to build our own self-confidence as a gorilla might beat his chest, and to demoralise, isolate and physically destroy the enemy.

My daily work deals heavily with this aspect of what author, friend and intelligence executive Miles Copeland called “The Game of Nations”. And when I wrote the following lines in 1978, there was none save Dr Stefan Possony, the great philosopher, who talked of “psychological strategy”, the over-arching umbrella strategic agenda which brings into a human matrix all the strands of political, military, economic, industrial and cultural strategies. It is, in essence, the working soul of Grand Strategy.

Psychological strategy aims to give leaders an integrated understanding of, and intelligence on, every aspect vital to national management and the gaining and exercise of governance. Little wonder, then, that its practice can become as easily a tool for repression as it can for enlightened, pluralistic society.

1 Canetti, Elias. *Crowds & Power*. New York, : Continuum. Originally published by Claasen Verlag, Hamburg, in , as *Masse und Macht*.

2 O’Connell, Robert L. *Ride of the Second Horseman: The Birth and Death of War*. New York, : Oxford University Press.

Masse und Macht

Crowds and Power: The Song of the Psychological Warrior

Give me pen;
Give me dreams,
I'll give you men.

Give me nations,
Give me peoples;
I'll give you hist'ry,
Hamlet and steeples.

Give me whirlwinds,
Give me schemes;
Give me the chance,
I'll make the dreams.

Give me masses,
Mindless and cruel;
I'll give you power
To seize and to rule.

Give me slogans,
Pack the square;
I'll promise each voice
Will fill the air.

Give me flags,
Dividing the storm;
I'll give you armies
To shape and to form.

Give me streams
From harmless clouds;
I'll give you the roar
Of the ocean crowds.

Give me the tinder
Of a parched mankind;
I'll set the blaze
Of the masses' mind.

Sounds and symbols
Mark my field:
Omnipotent sword
To flail and wield.

For I am the man
Who will play on the mind
Of the unthinking masses
To 'slave and bind.

Washington DC, August ,