

# Ideological Possession and the Rise of the New Right

The Political Thought of Carl Jung

Laurie M. Johnson



# IDEOLOGICAL POSSESSION AND THE RISE OF THE NEW RIGHT

Political theorist Laurie M. Johnson deals with Jung's analysis of the effects of modern scientific rationalism on the development of communism, fascism and Nazism in the 20th century and applies this analysis to the rise of the New Right in the 21st century.

Jung's thought provides much needed insight into contemporary ideologies such as neoliberalism, Identitarianism and the Alt-Right. Johnson explains Jungian analytical psychology as it relates to these topics, with a chapter devoted to Jung's views on Friedrich Nietzsche, who exemplifies the modern problem with his proclamation that God is dead, and an in-depth discussion of Jung's views on truth and the psychological function of religion as a safeguard against deadly mass movements. She then turns to Jung's treatment of anti-Semitism and the Nazi movement, and his views on race and racism.

Johnson applies these historical insights to the current manifestations of mass psychological disruption in the clash between neoliberals and the right-wing populist and Identitarian movements on the rise in North America and Europe. She concludes by discussing the search for an authentic and meaningful life in a West that rejects extremism and is open to authentic spiritual experiences as a counterbalance to mass mindedness.

*Ideological Possession and the Rise of the New Right* will appeal to both undergraduate and graduate students of psychology and intellectual history. The book will also be of interest to those wishing to understand the new nationalist, nativist and Identitarian movements.

**Laurie M. Johnson** is Professor of Political Science at Kansas State University. She teaches a variety of courses, including Introduction to Political Thought, ancient and modern political thought, as well as a graduate seminar in political thought. Dr. Johnson has published seven other books, most concentrating on the development of modern liberal ideas and the limits of liberalism, the latest *Honor in America? Tocqueville on the American Enlightenment*. Other books include: *Thucydides, Hobbes, and the Interpretation of Realism*; *Hobbes's Leviathan*; *Thomas Hobbes: Turning Point for Honor and Locke and Rousseau: Two Enlightenment Responses to Honor*. She has published in numerous scholarly journals such as *IO—International Organization*, *Journal of Political Science Education* and *Interpretation: A Journal of Political Philosophy*.

'Johnson's book is an original and timely attempt to use resources from Carl Jung's psychological theories—especially his understanding of the collective unconscious—to make sense of the contemporary resurgence of far-right nationalism. In addition to its contributions to understanding current political reality, one major philosophical achievement of the book is to make Jung a potential participant in contemporary debates in critical theory concerning the concept of "social pathology." I highly recommend it.'

— *Frederick Neuhouser, Barnard College, Columbia University*

'Laurie Johnson provides a lucid introduction to Carl Jung's political thought and a powerful Jungian diagnosis for the political illnesses of our time. Drawing upon Charles Taylor's concepts of disenchantment and disembedding, Johnson elucidates Jung's account of modern man's predicament as a spiritual sickness: a pervasive psychological disharmony with the collective unconscious brought about by ideational, social and economic displacement. Johnson's demonstration that the imbalanced psyche of modern man is a fertile ground for ideological possession is a must-read for anyone seeking to understand the Identitarianism of the Alt-Right. The Jungian curative she offers—a recovery of a religious faith that is both sufficiently rich in rite and symbolism to generate genuine transcendent experience and supple enough to accommodate the doubts of the disenchanted—is timely and thoughtful.'

— *Kody Cooper, UC Foundation Assistant Professor,  
University of Tennessee Chattanooga*

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Carl Jung

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**To my friends**

**Thank you for your life-giving conversation and  
companionship**



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# PREFACE

I started writing this book in the early '90's at a time when I was intensely interested in mythology and Carl Jung's theory of archetypes and the collective unconscious. I was delighted when I realized that I could study those things as a political theorist! However, back then, scholarly credit was best earned by staying within one's disciplinary silo—a norm I now see as the perfect neoliberal divide-and-conquer strategy for academia. So, after completing some four chapters of the book, I published a couple of articles out of it and set it aside. Then, two years ago, I moved from one office to another and found my manuscript. After a half day of nostalgia, I realized I had the core of a book that was more than passingly timely and useful in a way that was not apparent back then. That began a process of revision and additional work. Fortunately, at least in my department, interdisciplinary work is now encouraged. And, fortuitously, I have also personally changed, and I care less about my annual evaluations than I do about communicating some important information.

It turns out that this topic is no longer just an esoteric or purely academic one. Back in the '90's we thought, for just a moment, that we were at the “end of history,” that liberal countries had figured it all out and that the days of destructive mass movements like communism, fascism and Nazism were behind us. But, just as this idea was being birthed, the liberal West encountered a contradiction in Islamic extremism and, try as it might to overcome this contradiction, the “war on terror” got more and more vicious. Attempts at overcoming the challenge of terrorism changed Western liberal democracies, that is, changed their governments, economies and cultures in what we now call the neoliberal direction. Along with waves of immigrants and refugees coming from the Middle East, ethno-nationalist and right-wing populist movements and parties erupted as a real force in Europe. In the United States, the

Alt-Right moved from the obscurity of internet chat rooms to become a household word.

The old manuscript became the basis for a dialogue in my mind among several authors who had influenced me since I first wrote it. These included most prominently Charles Taylor, but also Wendell Berry, Wendy Brown, Patrick Deneen, Jacques Ellul and Christopher Lasch. The popularity of Canadian Jungian psychologist Jordan Peterson took off about the time I started the revision, and his various levels of existence, from reactive anti-social justice warrior, to Jungian biblical theorist, to self-help guru, to sometimes advertiser for right-wing organizations, kept nagging me like a Socratic gadfly because they said something (maybe good, maybe bad) about our zeitgeist.

There are other more immediate, and therefore more important, gadflies in my life. Conversations with colleagues Michael Flynn, Ali Stoyan and John Warner helped me figure out how Jungian ideas appeared from other angles. I was continually spurred to keep thinking and exploring new ideas and possibilities, particularly in conversation with friends in the weekly gathering held at my home. Each in their own way either served as sources of information or of difficult questions that sent me on new quests. In general, these and other friends are to be thanked for bringing me so much happiness and hope that it was more than possible to deal with the alarming subject of this book without despair.

Ian Madewell, an undergraduate assistant, helped with research on the New Right, particularly the ideas of Aleksandr Dugin and Richard Spencer. Deanna Milligan helped type the original manuscript again, and my graduate teaching assistant Mohri Exline helped format the book and reduce the number of my errors. Both graduate students looked up many a book and article for me along the way. My son Hunter continues to be a most interesting source of new ideas and information as well as a sounding board for my ideas, good and bad. I am more than pleased that he understands the importance of community for life.



# 1

## JUNG'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

### An Introduction

This book is ultimately about dangerous ideological movements, what causes them and what might be done to prevent future outbreaks of extremism and violence. Carl Jung's analysis of the destructive ideological movements of the 20th century is worth contemplating to see if it can bear on the rising ideologies of our own times, particularly (for purposes of this book) the rise of ethno-nationalist/New Right movements in Europe and the United States. To that end, in this chapter I will lay out the basics of Jung's thought as it relates to the creation of mass ideologies. Other chapters in this book will provide the building blocks for a more nuanced picture of Jung's views. I will spend time on what Jung thought of Friedrich Nietzsche and his proclamation that "God is dead," Jung's analysis of the psychological value of religion in his work *Answer to Job*, as well as his views on the Nazis and on race and racism. In the latter two chapters, I will not only explore what Jung thought of fascism and racism but the possibility that his own views were tainted by these pernicious views. After these steps, I will turn to a Jungian reading of the current signs of mass psychosis in the Western world in the rise of Identitarian/ethno-nationalist movements.

Here, I hope to explain the building blocks of the psychological theory Jung used to analyze totalitarian communism, fascism and Nazism. According to Jung, each individual psyche contains a personal consciousness or ego and a personal unconscious containing repressed and forgotten memories. But our psyches also contain the "collective unconscious." As we will see, Jung's "cure" for various personal as well as political ills is a healthy awareness and expression of this common, ancient and unchanged part of ourselves. The collective unconscious can either help people become whole individuals who can resist the lure of ideological extremism or drive them to become little more than

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drones in some tyrannical political framework. The problem is, most people in the Western world were, in his view, alienated from the collective unconscious because of modernity's rejection of authentic spiritual experience. But, to understand why this is so, we must first learn what Jung meant by the collective unconscious.

### The Collective Unconscious

Jung claims that the collective unconscious is a stratum of the unconscious that is shared by everyone, regardless of their different civilizations and cultures. As Progoff points out, "collective" means that its contents are prior to the appearance of genuine individuality. Its origins are therefore very ancient and primitive. Beyond these observations, Jung concludes that it is impossible to answer the metaphysical question of how or exactly when the collective unconscious was first expressed—all we have are symbolic expressions that came, no doubt, long after they had already bubbled up in action and non-written communication.<sup>1</sup> The visible *symbols* by which the collective unconscious expresses itself will differ according to civilization, culture and time, even though the archaic ground from which these symbols arise is "identical in all individuals."<sup>2</sup> In "The Concept of the Collective Unconscious," he states that the archetypes "owe their existence exclusively to heredity."<sup>3</sup> However, the exact mode of transmission remains unclear.

Suffice it to say that Jung theorized something like a layered memory bank in the human psyche. Most of the time, only the most recent layers were accessible to our consciousness. But the symbols used in the past, even the very distant past, to express the archetypes of the collective unconscious in that age and place, were still stored in the lower levels of our unconscious along with the archetypes themselves. For instance, Progoff writes that ancient Druid or Etruscan symbols can be found buried in the modern Irish and Italian psyche. Today, ancient symbolism is still found in dreams, myths and even religions. If Jung's theory is correct, then the individual is a repository of ancient history.<sup>4</sup>

Why do symbols change over time within cultures even as the archetypes they express remain the same? Sometimes the change is forced by conflict, as it was during the Roman conquest of pagan Europe. Jung believed, for instance, that Europe and United States were still dealing with the consequences of the imposition of Christianity on the pagans. Christian symbols had largely usurped the pagans' symbols, but there was intermingling, and paganism lay beneath the surface, coming out in dreams. Also, symbols sometimes changed due to the slow erosion of the psychic power or life of a civilization. Such was the case with Rome in the days before the Christian conversion.

Philosopher Charles Taylor's argument in *A Secular Age* resonates with Jung's analysis of the collective unconscious. Taylor's book is perhaps the best

chronicle to date of how not only the modern scientific mentality, but certain developments within Christianity itself, produced a disproportionate rationalism in man. This rationalism and subsequent diminishment of spiritual openness in turn destroyed the “porous self” which could have direct spiritual experiences. It created growing “disenchantment” or disbelief in the possibility of the supernatural or numinous experience, producing the “buffered self.” Along with disenchantment, Taylor writes, came a great “disembedding,” in which human beings lost their sense of oneness with their society and became autonomous, isolated and atomistic. According to both Jung and Taylor, along with disenchantment and disembedding, doubt crept in as to the validity and meaning of Western society’s religious rituals and symbols. They began to lose their life and force. Individuals were cut loose into a sort of painful isolation in search of new meaning and new symbols which could recapture the power of the old.

We now see the aftermath of the great spiritual and psychological challenges of modernity. The collective unconscious is a powerful force that needs proper expression, and contemporary individuals still attempt to break through the modern “buffered self” to new experiences of identity, unity and spirituality. Attempts in our time are often mediated by technology. Disconnected individuals seek a feeling of wholeness. For instance, some people in the West follow counter-culture icons past and present, figures such as Terence McKenna, Duncan Trussell, Joe Rogan and Jordan Peterson, into a syncretistic spirituality, and even the use of psychedelics as a spiritual vehicle. At the level of psychological function, these esoteric pursuits might not be that dissimilar to other attempts to connect to something larger than the individual. For instance, some Americans have followed Alt-Right leader Richard Spencer into the white identity movement.<sup>5</sup> From a Jungian perspective, each attempt is aimed at finding some lost unity and some missing transcendent meaning.

The symbolic contents of the collective unconscious are the archetypes. Archetypes are ideas or forms imprinted on the human mind by innumerable and ancient experiences. Jung sometimes links the archetypes to the Platonic forms, though it is likely that he feels he has a more concrete handle on what these ‘Ideas’ are than did Plato:

In former times, despite some dissenting opinion and the influence of Aristotle, it was not too difficult to understand Plato’s conception of the Idea as supraordinate and pre-existent to all phenomena. “Archetype,” far from being a modern term, was already in use before the time of St. Augustine, and was synonymous with “Idea” in the Platonic usage.<sup>6</sup>

These archetypes within the collective unconscious can produce numinous or transcendent experiences. That is, they can affect us as if they are not a part of us, but some outside, superior force. This is what Taylor would call the experience of the porous self, a self which is open to perceiving and experiencing

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powerful transcendent forces. The most common manifestation of this in our everyday experience would be a foul mood which descends on someone and cannot be lifted despite her and everyone else's best efforts. In earlier times such a funk might be seen as the work of evil forces, and to this day it is experienced as something beyond our control. Plato pointed out that in ancient times there was a difference between the rational, conscious will and whatever it was that produced moods, feelings, irrational prejudices, hatreds and rage.<sup>7</sup> The consciousness struggles against feelings and even ideas as if they were invading enemies, but modern psychology tends to explain this situation as the result of chemical imbalances.

To be clear, Jungian archetypes are not images we observe such as church friezes or paintings. Rather, they are instances of the "inner, unconscious drama of the psyche" itself.<sup>8</sup> This makes them harder to grasp because, while we may be able to acknowledge similarities in the outward cultural symbols of different peoples, places and times, and even recognize their power and importance for cultures, it seems impossible to witness first-hand the inner unconscious drama. But, defending himself against the charge that the idea of archetypes were products of his imagination, Jung claimed that the idea was not really all that novel:

Mythological research calls them "motifs"; in the psychology of primitives they correspond to Levy-Bruhl's concept of "*representations collectives*," and in the field of comparative religion they have been defined by Hubert and Mauss as "categories of the imagination." Adolf Bastian long ago called them 'elementary' or 'primordial thoughts.' From these references it should be clear enough that my idea of the archetype—literally a pre-existent form—does not stand alone but is something that is recognized and named in other fields of knowledge.<sup>9</sup>

Jung stated that "there is not a single important idea or view that does not possess historical antecedents."<sup>10</sup> Symbols old and new shared the same origin in the archetypes. Jung looked to the events of his own times as indicators of the continuing existence within the psyche of the older symbols. He characterized the Nazis as possessed by ancient symbols and gods. The persecution of the Jews was a "revival of the medieval persecutions," and the Nazi salute revived the ancient Roman salute (a recent example of this can be seen in Richard Spencer's infamous speech in Washington DC in 2016, whose rousing "Hail Trump" lines elicited Roman salutes from several in the crowd). The "archaic swastika" was an ancient rival of the Christian cross.<sup>11</sup> These types of comparative observations may at first seem sweeping and unwarranted, even trivializing of specific historical events. What further proof does Jung have that the collective unconscious and the archetypes exist?

To answer that question, we need to more deeply understand the theory which underlies Jung's claims. Jung says that in primitive societies the archetypes

are not originally thought but are instead experienced directly as outward things. As I have suggested, this is what Taylor would call the experience of the porous self. Men encountered gods, spirits, bush-souls, etc., as real beings with independent powers, and they did so collectively as socially embedded beings. These types of phenomena are difficult if not impossible for modern people to imagine, even those who claim to be very religious. We are now thoroughly disenchanted and disembedded. But we see evidence, in scriptures many of us profess to believe, of real supernatural experiences: gods talking to men from mountaintops and burning bushes and angels speaking to people. Pre-modern people would have laughed at the suggestion that these phenomena were somehow products of their imagination. It was only once people achieved a higher stage of consciousness and saw themselves as separate from others and from nature that they began to self-consciously speculate on the origins of spiritual experiences. They then entertained the idea that in some way their own psyches, their own perceptions, were involved.

Jung is far from being anti-individualist, as we will see. But he is quite clear that modern man, with his highly developed ego-consciousness, has made a psychological mistake in taking individualization to the point of internalizing and psychologizing all spiritual phenomena. This mistake has made it impossible for most people to directly experience the spiritual world as their ancestors did. However, in the interim, before the excessive ego-consciousness that arose from modernity, man began to experience, contemplate and relate to the archetypes using symbols depicted in paintings and sculptures, acted out in rituals and handed down in stories. This way of relating to the contents of the collective unconscious was necessary for the growth of consciousness and individuality.

The rich store of symbolism that mankind built up in his relationship with the archetypal contents of the objective psyche is now our conduit to an approximation of the direct or porous experience. This is why Jung was so heavily involved in the cross-cultural and trans-historical study of symbols, and why Joseph Campbell and now Jordan Peterson have been able to popularize these studies for future generations.<sup>12</sup> Even though the symbols themselves are not the archetypes, the study of symbols is the primary means, not reliant on direct personal experience, of proving the existence and importance of the collective unconscious. It is Jung's impressive treatment of the similarities among myths, religions and dreams across time and within and across cultures that lends his concepts of the collective unconscious and the archetypes as much empirical weight as can be had in such matters.<sup>13</sup>

As one might expect, Jung points to tribal lore for more evidence. In such story-telling, the archetypes are externalized or projected onto outward objects with minimal reflection or contemplation. They are expressed and transmitted to future generations by ritualistic means. Jung also points to the fairy tales of more "advanced societies as bearers of archetypes." In both cases, he states that "we are dealing with forms that have received a specific stamp and been handed



down through long periods of time.”<sup>14</sup> They are expressions of archetypes which have been brought to consciousness and stylized, and thus altered from their original and largely unknowable state.

Religions are, in Jung's view, the noblest bearers of the archetypes. Religious symbolism provides a way for human beings to express the archetypes at a remove. Direct experience, when it is still had, is often disturbing and even terrifying, especially for those who possess strong ego-consciousness. To experience the archetypes first hand, from the depths of one's own psyche, is to have powerful visions, to be “out of touch with reality” (as might be the case among charismatic Christians today when they speak in tongues). Such experiences are not for everyone, even in primitive cultures.<sup>15</sup> Hence, as societies become more ego-conscious, “[d]ogma takes place of the collective unconscious by formulating its contents on a grand scale,” in a way in which all can safely participate.<sup>16</sup> Dogmas are necessary to channel the group's psychic energy to appropriate social purposes. Jung believes that human beings are by nature social beings, and he sees the process of creating dogma as completely natural and necessary.

Jung devoted much time to the comparative study of advanced religions because they were major sources of social cohesion. He looked at the symbolic products of different cultures ranging from Europe to Asia, the Americas to Africa. One of the “motifs” he found was that of the dual mother or dual descent (the being whose origins are both human and divine) which runs throughout many myths and religions. For instance, Egyptian pharaohs had origins that were both human and divine. Hera's adoption of Heracles made the latter divine. Christ was born from the union of human and God, and, through baptism, all Christians consider themselves born again. Many Christians are also provided with godfathers and godmothers, symbolizing their rebirth in the spirit. Jung found these and many other instances of the dual descent archetype in various cultures and times.<sup>17</sup>

Proffoff shows how the child motif is represented in many cultures. Often, like Moses, the child is abandoned by the parents, or, like Christ, experiences great danger at the beginning of his adventure. The child (i.e., pregnancy and birth) is an important part of all human experience and hence is repeated in many myths and religions. More fundamentally he argues that the child motif is representative of the psychic process of individuation. The womb represents the unconscious while the child represents rebirth, the emergence of the integrated Self, and the healthy psyche.<sup>18</sup> More will be said about the emergence of the Self and Jung's concept of “individuation,” but for now it is sufficient to note that Jung thinks that, in their original state, the archetypes are instigators of a universal psychic process, the process of becoming conscious and psychologically whole—in effect, the process of becoming fully human.

A word of caution is due here for those who understand Jung to mean that identical symbols can be found in many different cultures or all cultures. If he were to say this, any exception to the rule would amount to a falsification of his

theory. McGowan misinterprets Jung's argument in this way.<sup>19</sup> Jung does not claim, as McGowan suggests, that "water" means the same thing in all cultures.<sup>20</sup> Jung's theory is highly historically aware. Symbols vary across time and space. They represent archetypes within a cultural context. Indeed, if symbols remained as static in Jung's thesis as McGowan suggests, Jung would not be able to claim that previous symbols not currently in use are stored in the collective memory. Jung anticipated and tried to correct this error:

Again and again I encounter the mistaken notion that an archetype is determined in regard to its content, in other words that it is a kind of unconscious idea.... It is necessary to point out once more that archetypes are not determined as regards their content, but only as regards their form and then only to a very limited degree. A primordial image is determined as to its content only when it has become conscious and is therefore filled out with the material of conscious experience.<sup>21</sup>

Put simply, the archetypes remain the same, as they are part of the structure of the psyche, but the symbols that represent them can and do change. Thus, water may represent in one culture what the sun represents in another. Progoff calls the archetype as it manifests itself in history an "analogue." An analogue, he says, "takes up the symbol that is 'alive' in the depths of the psyche and adapts it to the cultural time and place in which the human being lives." The psyche "dresses [archetypes] with cultural overlays taken from the immediate environment."<sup>22</sup> Oftentimes, because of the inevitable influence of the changeless archetypes, symbols or analogues do share great similarities across time and space, but this is not always or necessarily so. The key, then, is to understand the historical and cultural context of the symbols encountered, not to use a sort of symbol decoder-book.

As a practicing psychologist, Jung also had direct access to another source of support for his theories—his patients. In the dreams he analyzed, he often found elements of both the personal and collective unconscious. In many cases he surmised that the patient was not only working out his personal problems in his dreams, often by compensation, but also processing the age-old problems of mankind. Hence Jung's treatment not only involved bringing patients' personal thoughts, feelings and experiences to the fore when they had been repressed or forgotten, but also slowly calling their attention to the ways in which their neuroses and the dreams and fantasies they produced were working out universal themes and problems.

Jung found proof of the existence of archetypes in individual patients who lacked the historical and anthropological knowledge to manipulate such ideas consciously. Their dreams sometimes offered up highly specific and identifiable imagery. Archetypal images also appeared during a treatment method Jung called "active imagination," as well as in patients' paranoid delusions. In order

to prove that such images were indeed archetypal, not only did Jung have to prove that the patient had no previous knowledge of such symbols (a task that Lewin does not think he accomplished),<sup>23</sup> but to demonstrate that they appeared in the patient's dream or fantasy in the same context as they did in myth, that is, that they behaved in a way that would be understandable to one informed by their appearance in a myth. Such was the case of a schizophrenic patient whose vision of the sun emitting life-giving wind was very similar to the image and meaning of the sun in Mithraic ritual. Jung explained that no single dream should convince anyone of the appearance of an ancient analogue. Many dreams had to be recorded and analyzed to reach any firm conclusions.<sup>24</sup>

In Jung's observations of some of his patients, when archetypes overwhelmed their consciousness their insanity appeared as a sort of possession. Men possessed by the anima might wish to turn into women by self-castration, or they might become fascinated by anima-laden mythology. Jung cites published cases of this type of obsession.<sup>25</sup> But in cases where her consciousness was firmly in control, the archetypes were still to be seen everywhere in a person's normal fantasies. Today, if we know what we are looking for, we will be able to see archetypal symbols all around us. A good place for us to start might be any number of superhero books and movies such as *Star Wars*, *Star Trek*, *Harry Potter* or other stranger phenomena that people don't quite understand, like the film "Mother!"<sup>26</sup>

### Important Archetypes

Some archetypes carry such psychic energy that Jung referred to them as autonomous psychic "complexes" or "constellations." They become constellations when, because of their strength in the unconscious, they force their way into consciousness.<sup>27</sup> These are of special importance because of the prominent role they play in everyone's psychic life. They are the *persona*, *shadow*, *anima*, *animus* and the *God-archetype*.

The *persona* will probably be immediately recognizable to most readers, especially in the United States where one's profession tends to become one's identity. Jung calls the *persona* our "mask." It is only one part of ourselves, though it can become dominant to the unhealthy exclusion of all else. People have more than one *persona*, changing them based on who they are with. Hence, we can have many identities and personalities. For many of us, such personality transformations are so routine that we are not even aware of when the switch occurs. The *persona* is what we want to be at any given time and situation, but, despite our individual expression of it, the *persona* is also collective, "a mask of the collective psyche, a mask that feigns individuality, making others and oneself believe that one is individual, whereas one is simply acting a role through which the collective psyche speaks."<sup>28</sup> The individual puts on one of a variety of masks around which the ego-consciousness coalesces and which is acceptable or at

least recognizable to society. The persona is a compromise with society, but the individual is other than his or her mask.

Jung points out that, if we strive for the perfect persona, whether that means developing moral perfection or the highest professional status or something else, we create a strain on our overall psyche.<sup>29</sup> We may find ourselves plagued by troubling moral lapses which we can only explain with something like “the devil made me do it.” Taylor attributes the development of what he calls the “police state” to the desire for personal perfection writ large. He does not mean what we would call authoritarian government, but simply the development of the concept of society and the state as “policers” of our behavior with the overall aim of social perfectibility.<sup>30</sup> In order to avoid various negative consequences, Jung taught that the persona must be well-grounded in the reality of the person's overall psyche, especially the larger area of unconsciousness. From this perspective, the less chameleon-like or strained our public mask is, the healthier our psychology.

Jung called what we suppress from our personas the *shadow*. This is our darker, weaker side. It tends to operate at the level of the personal unconscious, though it is attached to an archetype in the collective unconscious. Jung calls this archetype the “trickster-figure.” This figure appears in mythology as demons, fools, poltergeists and malicious medicine-men. In modern man, it appears as an unwanted aspect of the personality, “a personal ‘gaffe,’ ‘slip,’ faux pas,’ or worse, which is then blamed on a defect of the conscious personality.”<sup>31</sup> He speculates that its origin is in the continual remembrance of, and often contempt for, man's earlier stages of development. With each new stage of development, previous generations appear more stupid, less conscious and their mentality more unpredictable. Yet their mentality remains, unconsciously, a part of the present generation.<sup>32</sup> The development of myths concerning trickster-figures, such as the Joker in *Batman*, fulfill the purpose of unconsciously reminding people of what they once were and could become again. But, according to Jung, because they do not understand the origin of such myths, modern people deny their potency and ignore them, hence internalizing their shadow.

As Odajnyk points out, Jung claims that whole societies can project their collective shadow onto other groups, scapegoating entire races or nations, as was the case with the Nazis. It is at this point that the shadows of thousands and millions of people become attached to activated symbols in the lower levels of the unconscious and become part of a dangerous mass movement.<sup>33</sup> The larger the group, the lower the level of their consciousness, according to Jung. The shadow emerges and cuts off people's individual, ethical judgment.<sup>34</sup> No doubt thinking of Hitler, Jung wrote, “As soon as people get together in masses and submerge the individual, the shadow is mobilized, and, as history shows, may even be personified and incarnated.”<sup>35</sup> We will be looking at this mass phenomenon more closely in later chapters.

The *anima* is the feminine aspect in the male unconscious, produced by ages of man's interaction with woman.

For the son, the anima is hidden in the dominating power of the mother, and sometimes she leaves him with a sentimental attachment that lasts throughout life and seriously impairs the fate of the adult. On the other hand, she may spur him on the highest flights. To the men of antiquity, the anima appeared as a goddess or a witch, while for medieval man the goddess was replaced by the Queen of Heaven and Mother Church.<sup>36</sup>

In Jung's view, both sexes share something of the other. This internal "other" always represents the frightening, uncontrollable but fascinating aspect of the unconscious. For men, the anima represents everything "unconditional, dangerous, taboo, magical. She is the serpent in the paradise of the harmless man with good resolutions and still better intentions."<sup>37</sup> Jung finds evidence of the anima in ancient and modern literature, in figures like Venus and Helen of Troy. Men project their anima on women both real and fictional, producing the great attraction they sometimes feel for a woman, an attraction that can make them do irrational things.

The *animus* is the male aspect of the feminine psyche, which Jung warns can come out in the expression of arbitrary, even obnoxious and unfounded opinions if it is severely suppressed by the overly feminine woman. Jung has less to say about the animus than the anima, but we know that the same dangers are present concerning its suppression or over-emphasis, and the same admonition for balance is indicated. Jung's teaching on the anima and animus may at first sound sexist to both men and women today. For instance, Jung warns that men must consciously express their feminine side, just as women must express their masculine side, or else these qualities will come out in less appealing manifestations. The strong, macho man, for example, may secretly be very weak. All this points to a criticism of rigid gender role-playing. While that criticism might be politically correct today, Jung's views on homosexuality would not. He explains homosexuality as an overdeveloped attachment to one's anima or animus and thus something that theoretically could be cured.<sup>38</sup> Once again, he appeals to balance as the definition of psychic health.

We must remember that both the anima and animus are inferior and largely unconscious elements in the opposite gender, and do not represent the best or even the most common characteristic of either sex. The other sex will always be "other," and thus naturally becomes the roosting ground for psychological contents in ourselves that can be strongly negative and that we would not willingly own. Both the anima and animus show up in the dreams of individuals as faceless, anonymous or unrecognizable members of the opposite sex.

In these examples there has been an over-arching theme of balance. The persona cannot be molded into the perfection of the perfectly pious Christian,

or the always-cheerful housewife, without the psyche paying a price. The shadow grows longer as the mask grows stronger. Thus, it is best to maintain a balance between the persona and the shadow, a task which requires becoming more conscious of the shadow. The overly-feminine woman or the extremely masculine man are apt to be neurotic as the animus or anima assert their power from the unconscious. In all these instances, what is repressed becomes less benign the more it is repressed. The repressed materials will try to reassert themselves, popping up at the most inconvenient times and in the most embarrassing and harmful ways. This theme of balance or imbalance becomes especially important for our topic as we turn to the most powerful and influential of Jung's archetypes: God, or the Self.

The *God-archetype* is the most autonomous complex in the psyche, the one with the most psychic energy, because it represents the life-process itself. The God-archetype is also what Jung refers to as the archetype of the *Self*. It is a symbol of the unity of the conscious and unconscious, the psyche as a whole. It is "historically symbolized by quaternities, circles, mandalas, and trinities."<sup>39</sup>

To say that the Self-archetype and the God-archetype are one and the same is not to say that the Self is God or that we are all gods. This is an error that is made by some New Age admirers of Jung. For instance, Joan Chamberlain Engelsman, author of *The Feminine Dimension of the Divine*, advocates belief in a feminist goddess whose job it is to "shatter the old values of patriarchy, hierarchy, dualism and triumphalism."<sup>40</sup> According to Engelsman, when a woman comes to know the goddess, she will eventually "internalize" her and will be able "to see herself and her friends as Goddesses, or, if I may be blunt, to see that they are divine."<sup>41</sup>

A more accurate view of the relationship of the Self-archetype to the God-archetype can be found in the Christian idea of *theosis* or divinization, which typically refers to the identification of human beings with God, or the indwelling and unity between God and man, not a transformation of human beings into gods or a melting away of individual identity into God.<sup>42</sup> A proponent of *theosis*, Maximus the Confessor stressed "the unscathed integrity of both natures, which interpenetrate in the person of Christ..."<sup>43</sup>

The Self is always more than us, that is, more than our conscious ego which is the locus of our experience. Hence it is suitable to say that we can have a relationship with the Self, not that we are the Self.<sup>44</sup> Not all, indeed only a few, can come to this kind of relationship to the Self. *Individuation* is a process in which consciousness gives unconsciousness its place in a sort of balance, when the conscious mind acknowledges the power and role of the unconscious life and accommodates it within an overall psychological framework, as people do when practicing a living religion. We acknowledge that we are not the "absolute master in our own house,"<sup>45</sup> and in doing so, ironically, we become a little more our own masters. However, if the ego truly disappears in the Self or the Self in the ego, psychic inflation will occur. The unconscious cannot be

subsumed under consciousness, but neither should it be allowed to swallow consciousness. Thus, the psychologically healthy position is that of an individual who retains his individuality, that is, his ego-consciousness, but is anchored in the eternal and recognizes the role of the unconscious in giving his life meaning and direction. "Consciousness should defend its reason and protect itself, and the chaotic life of the unconscious should be given the chance of having its way too—as much of it as we can stand."<sup>46</sup> This, as difficult as it might seem, is necessary for individuation.

Of all the archetypes thus far discussed, the God or Self archetype is the most important for understanding Jung's political thought. Because of its tremendous power in the psyche, it can hold great benefits for us (the pursuit and achievement of individuation), but it can also hold great dangers (its deflection onto mass movements). Hence, the God archetype is extremely important not only for the individual but for society. It is both the source of political stability and great political instability, and as we will find out in the next section and in coming chapters, freedom or tyranny.

### The Archetypes in Modernity

For Jung, the archetypes of the collective unconscious act as a "law of nature"<sup>47</sup> from which the conscious mind departs at its peril.<sup>48</sup> They assert themselves in neuroses or even psychoses when they are denied acknowledgement and proper channeling into consciousness. When our conscious thinking is out of line with or denies the existence of the archetypes or the power of the unconscious in general, psychic disturbances are bound to take place.<sup>49</sup> An atheist, for instance, who tends to rationalize spiritual experiences or ignore what he cannot, will try to compensate for the imbalance between the collective unconscious and the conscious by projecting the powerful, mysterious qualities of the former onto an outer object. This projection might be aimed at his therapist, a process known as transference, or onto some group or movement that takes on an almost obsessive energy. Unfortunately, from Jung's perspective, it seems that even most self-proclaimed religious Westerners are, functionally speaking, atheists.

The importance of the latter situation becomes clear when Jung extends this theory to ideological phenomena. He claims that widespread inability to process the contents of the collective unconscious through authentic religion leads to movements that are potentially highly destructive. He is very much concerned with the destructive tendencies of the Self archetype which emerge when the conscious ego denies its existence. The Self archetype is particularly subject to denial in modern man, who deep in his heart is convinced by Nietzsche that God is dead. Jung devotes a great deal of space in many of his works to this problem. If it were not for the imbalance in the psyche of modern man, Jung believes psychiatry would not even be necessary: "All ages before us have

believed in gods as psychic factors, that is, as archetypes of the unconscious."<sup>50</sup> While we will be learning more about Jung's critique of modernity in later chapters, it will be useful to give some more explanation of that critique now.

As the reader has no doubt gleaned already, Jung considers himself to be an empiricist, and more truly an empiricist than many of his contemporaries. As a psychologist, he refuses to ignore mental and spiritual phenomena which do not easily fit within the modern empirical model. Because of this, he is given to inserting commentaries on the narrowness of the modern scientific mindset in unlikely places. We find at the beginning of the essay "Psychological Aspects of the Mother Archetype" a rather blistering attack on his critics and on modern rationalists generally.

As an empiricist, I must point out that there is a temperament which regards ideas as real entities and not merely as *nomina*. It so happens—by the merest accident, one might say—that for the past two hundred years we have been living in an age in which it has become unpopular or even unintelligible to suppose that ideas could be anything but *nomina*. Anyone who continues to think as Plato did must pay for his anachronism by seeing the "supracelestial," i.e., metaphysical, essence of the Idea relegated to the unverifiable realm of faith and superstition, or charitably left to the poet.<sup>51</sup>

Jung does not deny the benefits of the truncated empirical view for certain human achievements, but he realizes that the price for those benefits has been high. We have lost our belief in universals. To believe in universals again, we must be able to believe in a priori ideas, whereas we now believe that ideas are "secondary and derived," the nominalist view.<sup>52</sup> According to the nominalist view, ideas are nothing more than a product of the conscious human mind and, as such, they are mutable. They change radically depending on culture, location and time. Jung characterizes this victory of the moment in philosophical terms: "Greek natural philosophy with its interest in matter, together with Aristotelian reasoning, has achieved a belated but overwhelming victory over Plato."<sup>53</sup>

In commentary that resonates with political philosopher Leo Strauss's comparison of ancient and modern thought, which delivered a profound critique of modern proto-liberal ideas, Jung describes a remarkable change in our understanding of ourselves and our experience in modernity, from an acceptance of universals to a belief in perspectivism or relativism. "We no longer ask, 'Has this or that been seen, heard, handled, weighed, counted, thought, and found to be logical?' We ask instead, 'Who saw, heard, or thought?'"<sup>54</sup> This change in our understanding is indeed influenced by psychology, but it leads to a serious philosophical—and psychological—mistake. "Not only our philosophers, but our own predilections in philosophy, and even what we are fond of calling our 'best' truths are affected, if not dangerously undermined, by this recognition of



a personal premise," Jung writes.<sup>55</sup> This undermining is a psychological fact that Jung observes quite apart from the philosophical argument.

How did we get from empiricism to a perspectivism which threatens to nullify previously cherished beliefs, including religious beliefs? Empiricism refuses to acknowledge the existence of anything unseen or immeasurable. Because of this, empiricists tend to explain human behavior and human beliefs as products of their environment. As Strauss explained in works like *Natural Right and History* and *What is Political Philosophy*, in this way of thinking the human being becomes a by-product of his surroundings: the culture, economy, geography, class, family background, etc.<sup>56</sup> Importantly, he is *nothing more* than this bundle of influences. But, if this is true, then an individual's thoughts are nothing but his perspective; what he believes is the height of orthodoxy, another person can believe legitimately to be of no account. They are both right, or again, neither is right, because all views are relative and "valid." There can be no universals at this point, no truths, only different perspectives competing politically for the allegiance of the majority or—much worse—competing through force. Yet, while Strauss's way of thinking may sound depressing when played out to its logical conclusions, Jung's ideas are more immediately jarring to our modern ears, because the universals he points to have religious implications.

Jung reasons on a common-sense level concerning the standards of proof that can be required of him. If human beings are animals, then why is it so inconceivable that we carry our instincts as a species? Animals separated at birth from their parents and isolated from their kind nevertheless perform complicated tasks inherent to their species. We see everywhere and at all times that mankind has developed communities and religions. While there is no doubt a higher level of consciousness on the part of humans in the performance of these tasks, why do we shrink from the possibility that the basis for them is instinctual? Why do modern people see both community and religion as mere constructs, products solely of the conscious will?

Jung rejects the Enlightenment view that each human child arrives at its humanness anew, completely through learning, as "preposterous:"

There *is* an *a priori* factor in all human activities, namely of the inborn, preconscious and unconscious individual structure of the psyche. The preconscious psyche—for example, that of a new-born infant—is not an empty vessel into which, under favourable conditions, practically anything can be poured.<sup>57</sup>

He also rejects the modern materialist teaching that sees "the psyche as a mere reflection or imprint of physical and chemical processes ..." claiming that the materialist hypothesis lacks any convincing proof.<sup>58</sup> Indeed, Jung points out that the psyche often reacts to physical stimuli by producing images which hardly

resemble the original “cause.” As a scientist, he admits that neither his nor the materialist or perspectival hypotheses will be proven empirically beyond doubt, but also as a scientist he attempts to persuade us that he has more and better reasons for adopting his hypothesis “until it has been sufficiently proved that psychic processes can be fabricated in a retort.”<sup>59</sup> Thus Jung maintains unswervingly his position that the psyche is not a product of our environment or our mere biology (an important point for my later discussion of race and racism).

These images are “primordial” images in so far as they are peculiar to whole species, and if they ever “originated” their origin must have coincided at least with the beginning of the species. They are the “human quality” of the human being, the specifically human form his activities take.<sup>60</sup>

Because of modern man’s empiricism and rationalism, the sort of seemingly unstoppable mechanization of life that Jacques Ellul referred to as “technique,” and the growing disbelief in anything superior to mundane human experience, people are alienated from nature and life.<sup>61</sup> His culture is degraded and destroyed with the destruction of the symbolic, that is, the irrational side of life. He is much more susceptible to psychic inflation, attributing to himself godlike capabilities and importance. More frequently, he is susceptible to identification with the ideological mass movement or with the state or leader as his God. This is what Jung thought had led the world into the catastrophes of World War I and World War II. Such monstrosities are inspired by Nietzschean “supermen whose ‘god is dead’ because they themselves have become gods—but tin-gods with thick skulls and cold hearts.”<sup>62</sup>

Jung looked on his times as a lesson in psychological imbalance in which religion was not being eliminated in favor of a more enlightened, peaceful humanism but instead being turned upside down in the most dangerous manner. The modern denial of the religious instinct, which we will examine more in coming chapters, pushed the instincts which produced religion back into the unconscious, from which demons hatched forth instead of angels. These demons appeared to be of our own making, and therefore unrelated to the growing disbelief in modern times. But was that true?

A man may be convinced in all good faith that he has no religious ideas, but no one can fall so far away from humanity that he no longer has any dominating *representation collective*. His very materialism, atheism, communism, socialism, liberalism, intellectualism, existentialism, or what not, testifies against his innocence. Somewhere or other, overtly or covertly, he is possessed by a supraordinate idea.<sup>63</sup>

Indeed, a fundamental element of Jung’s thesis is that the growth of secular and often tyrannical “isms” is related to our growing spiritual impoverishment and

disbelief. We find an echo of Jung's observation in the contemporary debate between the religious Right and the religious Left. We find it in the Right's claim that the Left has raised secular humanism to the level of a religion which they wish to proselytize in schools and universities, and the Left's vehement denial of this charge and hostility towards religion as superstition. From the viewpoint of Jungian psychology, the fundamentalists' indictment of the secular humanists on this point may be correct.

Other all-too-prescient examples come to mind. One is the great clash between the secular Western world and Islamic fundamentalism and extremism. Among the many reasons for the prolonged war between the West and Islamic fundamentalists, and the ever-increasing extremism of militant Islamic forces, may very well be the result of the deep existential threat the secular West poses in a part of the world in which many people are still "embedded" in their religions and traditional cultures. Another example of the crusading mentality is to be found in the violent clashes between various neo-reactionaries or fascists and Muslim immigrants in Europe, or more recently still, between the white supremacist Alt-Right and Antifa resisters in the United States. The various ethno-nationalist groups growing in Europe and the United States have something in common with Islamic extremists: they focus zealously on their chosen dogmas to the exclusion of all others, and this may be because they feel the last vestiges of their own embeddedness disappearing and they instinctively transfer their rage onto the alien group. There are many other milder examples of ideological zealotry, of course, including groups who are strangely *religious* about their political causes: outraged pro-life and pro-choice protestors, gay-rights and anti-gay militants, weapon-worshippers and single-minded gun banners, animal rights advocates who trash laboratories and those who attach great political significance to eating meat, violent union strikers and rabid anti-labor free marketeers, university cultural warriors for a rigid "canon" and uncritical crusaders for "diversity" and "multiculturalism." All these groups have in common a single-minded and emotional rejection, nay contempt, of the other group.

Jung argues that traditional religion is psychologically superior to secular or ideological belief systems, and that the latter is more dangerous to society and to individual life and freedom than the former. What is the state of traditional religions in the Western world which has supposedly led to the psychic imbalance that Jung spends so much time describing and prescribing for? To answer that question, I will explain more fully Jung's views on the essence of religion.

## Jung on Religion

Jung defined religion as "the attitude peculiar to a consciousness which has been changed by experience of the *numinosum*."<sup>64</sup> The numinous experience is the feeling of being influenced by a mysterious force outside oneself—the experience of the "porous self."<sup>65</sup> Jung argued that religious ritual should not be lifeless or

meaningless as it is for many today. It could satisfy the psychic needs of millions of people if conceived and practiced rightly. Yet, when its rituals lose their meaning, their ability to awaken the feeling of participation in a real spiritual experience, their inflexibility can lead to psychic disturbance. These psychic disturbances at the level of the individual can produce neuroses, even psycho-somatic illnesses.<sup>66</sup> If shared by enough people they can lead to psychic epidemics. Edinger writes:

[W]hen the archetypes have no adequate container such as an established religious structure, they have to go somewhere else because the archetypes are facts of psychic life. One possibility is that they will be projected into banal or secular matters. The transpersonal value can then become how high one's standard of living is, or personal power, or some social reform movement, or any one of a number of political activities. This happens in Nazism, the radical right, and in Communism, the radical left. The same sort of dynamism can be projected onto the race problem, either as racism or anti-racism. Personal, secular or political actions become charged with unconscious religious meaning.<sup>67</sup>

Simply put, Jung believes that the terror which human beings perpetrate in the name of some abstract idea or ideology is caused by misplacing the religious contents in their psyches onto an ideological movement, the state or leader, where they are turned into a "fanatical obsession." Conflicts among competing ideologies then reflect the "antimonies of the Self or God ... acted out in history."<sup>68</sup> He predicts that, rather than being a thing of the past, ideological violence will increase in the future.<sup>69</sup> Once an individual becomes gripped by an ideology, his mind and his morals sink. Being lost in the crowd allows him to respond with no sense of personal responsibility to the always-present demons which dwell in his psyche. Institutional religion was developed to harness these arbitrary and destructive tendencies of the psyche, erecting rules and procedures as walls around the unpredictable.<sup>70</sup> But the advent of the scientific enlightenment made many people reject Christian institutions because their beliefs and practices seemed untenable.

Jung implies that Western Christianity has clung to its old dogmas too long, and that its forms must change, or else it will lose more and more people to secular fanaticisms.<sup>71</sup> He criticizes contemporary theologians for getting caught up in the spirit of the times, unable to resist the prevailing rationalism. They seek to "demythologize" religion with "rationalistic explanations that are a hundred years behind the times."<sup>72</sup> They reject the symbolic, miraculous and numinous potential of their religion in a vain attempt to hold on to their ever-more alienated flocks. They would be better served, he thinks, by realizing "for once ... these psychological facts..."<sup>73</sup> As we will see more clearly later, Jung believes that at this point analytical psychology has something to offer the theologians in order to make their project more successful.

## Conclusion

Jung once wrote the following about what he had learned from one of his patients:

We are moved by the laudable and useful ambition to extirpate the chaos of the irrational both within and without to the best of our ability. Apparently the process has gone pretty far. As a mental patient once told me: "Doctor, last night I disinfected the whole heavens with bichloride of mercury, but I found no God." Something of the sort has happened to us also.<sup>74</sup>

This scouring of the heavens is the cause of the catastrophic nature of our age, according to Jung. In the age of scientific enlightenment which continues to unfold, mankind has rejected the belief that the gods dwell above and has become convinced that they are nothing more than projections of human psychological needs and wishes. But the gods, as it were, have returned with a vengeance in the disastrous politics of the 20th and 21st centuries. They have returned in the form of mass movements of the Right and Left, in the destruction of total war caused by total enmity, in the slide into ever-increasing identification with and dependence on liberal big government, in the rise of Islamic fundamentalism and subsequent endless war on terror, and, most recently, a marked upswing in Western ethno-nationalism.

Jung is doing nothing less than trying to diagnose the continuing crisis of our time. He does this by pointing out what any student of political philosophy should know, that the modern political thought that eventually gave rise to the totalitarian political structures of the 20th century was born in a rebellious denial of the religious instinct in man, and that this is not mere coincidence. This connection between religion and ideology, and the implication that religion is superior to ideology, and with the further implication that we might be able to learn from religion, is jarring to our modern ears. This is especially true for today's scientists who have consigned such "value" issues to theologians and philosophy departments. Indeed, it is very difficult for many of us to accept the idea of a religious instinct that will not go away. Our resistance to this idea is a product of modernity, which sees all aspects of religion as "irrational" and therefore outside the purview of what to take seriously. Yet, in ignoring religion, we are ignoring the fact that, outside intellectual circles, the majority around the world is still clinging perilously to some sort of religious faith. Surely, as Jung points out, ignoring or downplaying the importance of religion is not the position of a *truly* objective social scientist but, instead, the position of someone who fears what he does not understand. At the same time, for at least one of the foremost "enemies" that the West should try better to understand, religion seems to be everything. If nothing else, understanding Jung should

allow us to get back in touch with the importance of these still largely misunderstood phenomena in the human psyche and to explore their impact on individuals and on society.

## Notes

- 1 Ira Progoff, *Jung's Psychology and Its Social Meaning* (New York: The Julian Press, 1953), 53; C.G. Jung, "Psychological Aspects of the Mother Archetype," in *The Collected works of C.G. Jung, vol. 9, part 1: The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious* (New York: Bollingen, 1990), 101.
- 2 C.G. Jung, "The Concept of the Collective Unconscious," in *The Collected works of C.G. Jung, vol. 9, part 1: The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious* (New York: Bollingen, 1990), 43. Nicholas Lewin's book, *Jung on War, Politics, and Nazi Germany: Exploring the Theory of Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious* (London: Karnac Books, 2009) covers Jung's confusion about whether the collective unconscious is universal like this. See also, "Dream Analysis in its Practical Application," Chapter 1 in C.G. Jung, *Modern Man in Search of a Soul* (Eastford, CT: Martino Fine Books, 2017).
- 3 Jung, *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, 42.
- 4 Progoff, *Jung's Psychology and Its Social Meaning*, 232.
- 5 Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Pr., 2007). For examples of the ideas of McKenna on the spiritual and social benefits of psychedelics: [www.youtube.com/watch?v=PP-Zgp757K8&feature=youtu.be](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PP-Zgp757K8&feature=youtu.be), and Duncan Trussell on the same: <https://youtu.be/On5m4EtkM2I>. For an example of National Policy Institute President and white nationalist Richard Spencer's ability to influence: [www.youtube.com/watch?v=3SgLSV9Mgfw&feature=youtu.be](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3SgLSV9Mgfw&feature=youtu.be).
- 6 Jung, "On the Concept of the Archetype," in *The Collected works of C.G. Jung, vol. 9, part 1: The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious* (New York: Bollingen, 1990), 75.
- 7 See Rana Saadi Leibert, "Pity and Disgust in Plato's Republic: The Case of Leontius," *Classical Philology*, vol. 108, no. 3, July 2013, 179–201.
- 8 Jung, "Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious," in *The Collected works of C.G. Jung, vol. 9, part 1: The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious* (New York: Bollingen, 1990), 6.
- 9 Jung, "The Concept of the Collective Unconscious," 42–43.
- 10 Jung, "Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious," 33.
- 11 Jung, "The Concept of the Collective Unconscious," 48. Excerpts from the Spencer speech: [www.youtube.com/watch?v=1o6-bi3jlxk](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1o6-bi3jlxk).
- 12 See Joseph Campbell, *The Power of Myth* (New York: Anchor, 1991).
- 13 See in the *Collected Works*, "Transformation Symbolism in the Mass," Vol. 11; *Symbols of Transformation*, Vol. 5; *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, Vol. 9; *Aion*, Vol. 9; *Civilization in Transition, Psychology and Religion: East and West*, Vol. 11; *Psychology and Alchemy*, Vol. 12; *Alchemical Studies*, Vol. 13; *Mysterium Coniunctionis*, Vol. 14.
- 14 Jung, "Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious," 5.
- 15 Jung, "Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious," 8–11.
- 16 Jung, "Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious," 12.
- 17 Jung, "The Concept of the Collective Unconscious," 45.
- 18 Progoff, *Jung's Psychology and Its Social Meaning*, 194–197.
- 19 Don McGowan, *What is Wrong With Jung* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1994), 13. Cockiness is only tolerable when there is a brilliant argument to attend it.
- 20 McGowan, *What is Wrong With Jung*, 184.
- 21 Jung, "Psychological Aspects of the Mother Archetype," in *The Collected works of C.G. Jung, vol. 9, part 1: The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious* (New York: Bollingen, 1990), 79.

## 20 Jung's Political Thought: An Introduction

- 22 Progoff, *Jung's Psychology and Its Social Meaning*, 189, 193.
- 23 Lewin speculates that it is possible that Jung's patients were consciously picking up on old lore that was popular reading back then, and then dreaming about it.
- 24 Jung, "The Concept of the Collective Unconscious," 48–53.
- 25 Jung, "The Concept of the Collective Unconscious," 39. It is possible to speculate on what Jung would think of the current trend toward normalization of transgenderism, but that would be a task for another time.
- 26 Here is an explanation of "Mother!" which is rich in symbolic speculation, by Matt Goldberg: <http://collider.com/mother-movie-explained/>.
- 27 Calvin S. Hall and Vernon J. Nordby, *A Primer of Jungian Psychology*, (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1973), 43.
- 28 Jung, "The Persona as a Segment of the Collective Psyche," in *The Collected works of C. G. Jung, vol. 7: Two Essays on Analytical Psychology* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Pr., 1977), 157.
- 29 See Jung, "Concerning Rebirth," in *The Collected works of C. G. Jung, vol. 9, part 1: The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious* (New York: Bollingen, 1990), 123.
- 30 Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 61.
- 31 Jung, "On the Psychology of the Trickster-Figure," in *The Collected works of C. G. Jung, vol. 9, part 1: The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious* (New York: Bollingen, 1990), 262.
- 32 Jung, "On the Psychology of the Trickster-Figure," 263.
- 33 Walter Odajnyk, *Jung and Politics: The Political and Social Ideas of C. G. Jung* (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1976), 82–85.
- 34 There is resonance here with Nicolaus Berdyaev's realm of dark "meonic freedom." Berdyaev, *The Destiny of Man* (Brooklyn, NY: Semantron Press, 2009).
- 35 Jung, "On the Psychology of the Trickster-Figure," 267.
- 36 Jung, "Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious," 29.
- 37 Jung, "Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious," 28.
- 38 See Jung, "Concerning the Archetypes and the Anima concept," 71, and "The Mother-Complex," in *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious, The Collected Works of C. G. Jung, vol. 9, part 1, 85–86*.
- 39 Antonio Moreno, *Jung, Gods & Modern Man* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1970), 61.
- 40 Joan Chamberlain Engelsman, "Beyond the Anima: The Female Self in the Image of God," in *Jung's Challenge to Contemporary Religion* (Asheville, NC: Chiron, 1987), 95.
- 41 Engelsman, "Beyond the Anima," 100.
- 42 For an overview of theosis/divinization as seen through various Christian traditions, see Michael J. Christensen and Jeffery A. Wittung, *Partakers of the Divine Nature: The History and Development of Deification in the Christian Traditions* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007).
- 43 Elena Vishnevskaya, 'Divinization as Perichoretic Embrace in Maximus the Confessor,' in *Partakers of the Divine Nature: The History and Development of Deification in the Christian Tradition*, 133.
- 44 See Moreno, *Jung, Gods & Modern Man*, 64.
- 45 Jung, "Concerning Rebirth," in *The Collected works of C. G. Jung, vol. 9, part 1: The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious* (New York: Bollingen, 1990), 131.
- 46 Jung, "Conscious, Unconscious, and Individuation," in *The Collected works of C. G. Jung, vol. 9, part 1: The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious* (New York: Bollingen, 1990), 288.
- 47 Jung, *Modern Man in Search of a Soul*, 30.
- 48 See Barbara Eckman, "Jung, Hegel, and the Subjective Universe," *Spring* 31 (1986), especially 91–94.
- 49 Jung, "The Stages of Life," in *Modern Man in Search of a Soul*, 114–116.

- 50 Jung, "Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious," 23.
- 51 Jung, "Psychological Aspects of the Mother Archetype," 76.
- 52 Jung, "Psychological Aspects of the Mother Archetype," 76.
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