

The Racial Shadow of American Politics

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Some things have changed since I first wrote the introductory paragraph about my topic for the brochure that announced this conference. As events have unfolded, the shadow of which I speak this afternoon has revealed more of itself - especially with respect to racial issues. What have we learned about our racial selves and shadow that we did not know before Donald Trump became the Republican Party's nominee? How has this learning affected us on a conscious level and what is the unconscious material that remains - waiting to push and shove and eventually to emerge - and demand that we change? How does race in American politics create a tension of opposites? And, finally, where is the third that will come to support a different kind of being and new ways of thinking that will move us to another place where skin color is no longer the primary factor in how we choose to live and how we co-exist with one another?

My family roots are Southern and go back through the generations to my ancestors who arrived in Charleston, South Carolina, aboard a slave ship. During my talk today I will refer to aspects of this Southern life because it has in fact helped create the racial complexes into which I fall. I will weave my personal story, with its resonances of racial complexes, in and out of this talk.

I begin my narrative today with a few thoughts about the shadow. Many, if not all of us have learned about and worked with shadow as a Jungian concept, either as analysts, clients, students, or from having an interest in Jung's work. We think of shadow as Jung first spoke of it: that function of psyche that wants to hide our secrets, embarrassments, and sufferings away from the eyes of others. Shadow is also what enables us to project onto the other. It gives us license to see the failings and faults of those around us (rather than in ourselves) in our various collectives of family, friends and strangers. In the realm of politics, we will be looking today at the shadow of racism in the American psyche. This is particularly challenging because our American racial shadow normally has some trickster energy, and I believe this is especially true in this election where trickster has shown up as an activation of the archetypal, collective energy in which we witness distortions and lies, like my grandmother used to say, "*right in my face without no shame.*" We can't believe our ears! It has been an election of continuous revelation of the deepest parts of our collective racial shadow. I honestly had no idea when this election campaign began that I would feel myself caught so thoroughly in the energy of trickster or that I would come to see so clearly how the American racial shadow as a collective experience tricks us into believing we are separate from one another because of the accident of skin color.

Water: The Source of Life

Several years ago, residents of New Orleans were struck by the tragedy of Katrina. The hurricane and its aftermath became a perfect storm for playing out racism in the context of Southern politics, showing the collective shadow at work. Katrina demonstrated how that most poignant symbol of racism and racial differences in the southern United States, the drinking water fountain with a sign designating *Whites Only*, was still lurking in the shadows of the multiracial, twenty-first century culture of New Orleans.

When we consider the *roots* of Africanist philosophical thinking regarding water and the sacredness attached to these perceptions, the act of not being able to quench one's thirst in such a simple, Goddess-natural way must have been an enormous defeat for the spirit. Many African Americans had long known segregation and discrimination based on race by the time water fountains became popular in public places. Their ancestors working the levees, boats and fields of Louisiana had been denied water many times. To not be able to drink at the same water fountains as whites in the 1940's and 1950's was an accepted part of southern white culture. The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's made discrimination against African Americans in public facilities its initial target – facilities oftentimes paid for at least in part with African American tax dollars.

When Katrina devastated large parts of New Orleans, many African Americans living there were still poor and suffering the effects of racial discrimination, longing to get more of what belonged to them economically as Americans and to have a share of the financial rewards of *being* American. In 2005, there were no more segregated water fountains to be found in New Orleans

but their terrible essence - the shadow of racism - was still very much there. In the days after Katrina, African Americans who attempted to find food and water throughout New Orleans and surrounding areas were attacked and beaten by whites who felt they were “protecting” their homes, food and drinkable water. African Americans who did not escape the flooding by going to another state, or who could not make it to safety in the Superdome, risked losing their lives when they were perceived as thieves by some white citizens of New Orleans.

Skin color has cast a long shadow in America, particularly in the South. The effects of this shadow have been felt not only between whites and blacks but within the African American community itself. In *The Color Complex: The Politics of Skin Color Among African Americans*, the authors write

Class distinctions made on the basis of color were also common among the Creoles, who were of French, Spanish, and African descent. When revolutions rocked the West Indies in the 1790's a wave of Creoles fled to America, settling predominantly in Charleston and lower Louisiana....they brought with them their French Catholic culture, still evident in New Orleans today....Yet it was difficult to emulate—much less penetrate—the Creole population. Their marriages were arranged so that the purity of the bloodline could be maintained. To this day, many Creoles see themselves as separate from other Blacks in America. In general, they resist the one-drop rule of racial identity, preferring a three-tiered system of racial

classification in which they place themselves well above others of African descent.¹ (page 17)

In the rich mix of race, ethnicity and culture in Southern Louisiana one finds the *octoroon* or *mulatto*, both of which had some portion of African black in them which made them not “pure white” and also some white that differentiated them from the “pure bloods” of African American ancestry who had no “mixing” with whites. In addition, Native Americans, the original occupants of Louisiana, were also members of early New Orleans society and mixed with African Americans. These various lineages, mixed together with white settlers of French origin, created the rich mix of New Orleans culture but carried with it a culture of differential privilege based on the hue of skin color. How do African Americans reconcile that they will be thought of as a “better person,” more worthy of help, the lighter their skin color? How does this sense of the *right* of entitlement based on skin color layer itself and continue to intrude, even in the extremis of managing humanitarian relief during an environmental disaster where whether one is treated as worthy of “saving” may be decided based on skin color? This was and still is one of the sorriest reflections of racism in New Orleans. And the idea that lighter skin color makes one have more positive attributes - and therefore rights - than someone of a darker pigment does not only exist in New Orleans. It is difficult to know with certainty but would such a factor have been so prevalent if Katrina had happened in another part of the United States? Is the problem confined to the Deep South or does the shadow of the racial complex fall in a

¹ Russell-Cole, K Wilson, M., and Hall, R. (1992). *The color complex: The politics of skin color among African-Americans*. N.Y.: Random House.

ubiquitous way over the entire United States? The problem is deeply entrenched. This sense of privilege accorded to lighter skin color, even within the group of African Americans, divided us all the way back to the plantation fields where water was often distributed according to favoritism linked to the fact that lighter skinned African Americans were known to have been fathered by the white overseer or plantation owner.

Is it possible for those who are socially deprived by the economics of racism to overcome environmental disasters such as Katrina without “calling out” the racial aspects of privilege granted to some and not others? How can African Americans influence the “politics of compassion” when they are in effect not even acknowledged as American citizens but as refugees? One of the main arguments proposed by defenders of George Zimmerman is that Trayvon Martin did not *belong* to the housing complex where he was killed. The fact that the murdered teenager was visiting with his father and had a *right* to be there is ignored by Zimmerman’s defenders.

American Racial Complexes in Black and White

In “A Review of the Complex Theory”, Jung writes, “Fear of complexes is a bad signpost, however, because it always points away from the unconscious and back into consciousness. Complexes are something so unpleasant that nobody in his right senses can be persuaded that the motive forces which maintain them could betoken anything good.”² (para. 211). When we consider Jung’s words in relationship to the *racial complex*, we can see how difficult it is to initiate a

² Jung, C.G. 1934/1948. A review of the complex theory. CW 8.

dialogue with this complex, particularly within the context of the American psyche where race has been such a divisive factor since the founding of the republic and especially in the context of this turbulent presidential election year. In his work on the complex Jung says that the complex is a representative part of our psyche that resides in the unconscious where it is beyond our control. While it has an archetypal core, it develops from both our individual personality and the environment in which we grow up. The psychic nature of the complex defies a strict definition and, like the archetype, can present us with bursts of energy that can swamp the ego's capacity for conscious control. Jung puts it so well when he says of the complexes that we might know we have them but it is more likely that they have us.

Black and white racial complexes have been the focus of African American authors, such as we see in Ralph Ellison's *The Invisible Man* and Richard Wright's *Black Boy*. Both these African American literary classics have as their theme racial inequality and how living in a racially unjust society causes them to suffer. And they both involve the emotionality of main characters attempting to resolve issues of an activated racial complex, where the resolution of the complex cannot come about through knowledge alone. Transformation of the complex requires not only adequate insight and understanding but also a concurrent emotional release. Furthermore, when we address the racial complex from an African American cultural perspective, as illustrated for example in the writings of Ellison and Wright, we can see that it can be manifest in blacks and whites somewhat differently. Jung says that each one has the racial complex of the other—white and black complexes exist as mirror images of one another. This

being so, how does the white complex show itself in African Americans? And how does the black complex show itself in whites?

The idea that African Americans can feel themselves invisible, ignored and even tortured for being African Americans, speaks to what could develop in the African American psyche as a “white complex” within the personal unconscious. This complex, if Jung is correct, goes unrecognized unless brought to life by psychic associations within the depths of the unconscious. When activated, it comes into painful awareness through its grip on the ego. The ego then wrestles to mediate the anxieties aroused by the awakened complex as it struggles to gain control over the impact of emotions pushing through into consciousness. An important question here might be: how does the African American ego mediate the constant threat of racial-inspired violence and death while being vulnerable and open to the intense emotions of the racial complex which must be reconciled to restore psychic balance? This is but one of many questions that must be asked if we truly want to investigate American Jungian psychology and our American political psyche. It and other questions have been dormant a very long time—almost like the complexes themselves, activated only by a psychic “push” to come into consciousness. I would suggest that racial complexes are some of the most “unpleasant” ones in part because their roots are not only in the neurotic suffering of which Jung speaks in defining the activity of an ego that wishes to avoid the painful emotions taken up in the psychological work of seeing and dealing with complexes but, as Wright’s and Ellison’s characters show in their representations of millions of African Americans who have suffered, not only by choosing to face their inner demons, but merely because of their skin color.

Jung states the following in his discussion of the psychic disruption that can be caused by a complex: “An active complex puts us momentarily under a state of duress, of compulsive thinking and acting, for which under certain conditions the only appropriate term would be the judicial concept of diminished responsibility.”³ (para. 200). In turning now to the black complex that Jung believed exists in white Americans, we can see how the racial violence so often projected onto African Americans can be found in whites as well. When Jung speaks of the “state of duress, of compulsive thinking and acting,” I am reminded of the recent death of eight African Americans murdered by Dylan Roof, a twenty-one-year-old white man, while praying in their Charleston, South Carolina church. The killer said he acted out of his “hatred” of African Americans and that he wanted to start a race war. His is considered a hate crime. Might we say that his actions, based on his own words and thoughts, prompted by a black complex under duress, led him to such an act of “diminished responsibility?”

It appears that due to the intensity of racial complexes and the powerful damage that can occur when they are unrecognized and unmitigated, it is crucial to bring our attention to acknowledging the challenges of facing this particular type of complex in our American context. Jung maintained that we can never resolve or remove complexes from our unconscious experiences. So our work as American Jungians is to first acknowledge these challenging factors in our collective psyche and then to integrate the powerful emotions connected with them. When we do not engage this psychological work, we perpetuate the racial conflicts that have existed in American society for centuries. We must further this

³ Jung, C.G. 1934/11948. A review of the complex theory. CW 8.

discussion and do the work. If American Jungians do not ever even mention the words “*racial complex*,” it is impossible for our community consciousness to increase our own knowledge and understanding of how to add our collective voices to a process of discovery. The complex remains hidden in the shadow.

As we engage in the politics of the 2016 American presidential election, we can perhaps once again see in bold relief the level of racial conflict that was so present in the country in the 1960’s and 1970’s. It is still a challenge to us as Americans to see how racism lives in our consciousness. Yet it is all but impossible to ignore it when, during the course of this election, the nominee of the Republican Party claimed he was being selectively persecuted by a judge of Mexican ancestry for the simple reason that the judge was of Mexican ancestry. Even after a political firestorm erupted because of the inherent racism of Trump’s comments, he refused to retract his statement and held fast to his position that he was being “unfairly” treated by the American-born federal judge.

Yes, Jung could identify these complexes but I’m not so certain we all can see with such clarity. In fact, one of the elements of racism in America is that those of us with white complexes, in this case African Americans, for the most part are like Ralph Ellison’s character - are invisible to whites in the society. When we do become visible, we are *the* problem. This is repeated over and over again— as if it were not for us African Americans, there would be no social or political problems in America. In the throes of the American election primary campaign, we have seen and heard barely concealed racial issues gradually emerge to reach a pitched point of heated discussion. This is as it should be. The American collective is once again bringing into consciousness, from shadow, a

racial complex that exists on both the individual and collective levels. These are the conversations we as Jungian analysts must begin to engage and worry over, and then do the hard work of integration.

The slogan of the Republican Party's nominee has been his call to "*make America great again*." Many have pointed out that these *great* times Trump refers to were times when there was mass oppression of African Americans socially, politically and educationally. Many individuals who voted in the primary elections for the Republican Party nominee were white males, reflecting the almost complete absence of racial diversity within the Republican Party. This continues to be a major problem for them even though their legacy is tied to their most storied leader, Abraham Lincoln, who freed African American slaves.

In his essay "The Psychological Foundation of Belief in Spirits," Jung writes

Certain complexes arise on account of painful or distressing experiences in a person's life, experiences of an emotional nature which leave lasting psychic wounds behind them. A bad experience of this sort often crushes valuable qualities in an individual. All these produce unconscious complexes of a personal nature. A primitive would rightly speak of a loss of soul, because certain portions of psyche have indeed disappeared.⁴ (para 594)

In addressing the last line of the above quote, it might at first be important to note that the recognition of a loss of soul might also be apparent to a *white*

⁴ Jung, C.G. 1919/1948. The psychological foundation of the belief in spirits. CW8.

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person. This example of Jung ‘splitting’ between whites and blacks reinforces the psychological divide of racial opposites within Jungian psychology itself.

Returning to the opening sentence of the above quote, I focus on Jung’s idea of “lasting psychic wounds” and suggest that the aforementioned splitting is a further example of this type of wounding. African Americans, I think, have certainly had a life of “necessary” splitting due to trauma caused by racism. As African American children we learn at an early age the importance of self-identification by skin color. In the South Carolina racially segregated small town in which I spent my formative years, it was a matter of survival to internalize an understanding of social “place” based on Southern racial rules. I learned at an early age that I could only drink at the *Colored Only* water fountain, sit in the top of the *Colored Only* movie theatre balcony and attend the *Colored Only* elementary school. The punishment for breaking these rules could be a severe beating or even death. How does this kind of existence not “crush” the “valuable qualities” of not only individuals but entire generations?

Trump’s Nomination: Our Emergence from the Racial Shadow

Racial infection is a most serious mental and moral problem where the primitive outnumbers the white man. America has this problem only in a relative degree, because the whites far outnumber the coloured. Apparently he can assimilate the primitive influence with little risk to himself. What would

happen if there were a considerable increase in the coloured population is another matter. ⁵ (para. 966)

When Trump first said “We are going to build a wall and Mexico is going to pay for it,” I was surprised, actually shocked. He was speaking about keeping immigrants - illegal or not - out of the United States. Even more surprising, his sentiment was met by an audience that passionately agreed with him! At the time that Barry Goldwater was running for the presidency in 1964, I was still too young to vote. However, I do remember the racial overtones and undertones of his candidacy. Words such as “law and order” served as code for those who still believed in and wished for a return to racial segregation in America.

Jung’s idea of some portion of the American population being at risk to succumbing to an increased “primitive influence,” speaks directly to the shadow part of our society that has grown afraid of the “considerable increase” of which he spoke. We can see that Trump’s rhetoric has found a receptive home. There are millions of Americans who can now vocally express their fear of individuals of color coming to America—be they Muslims or Mexicans. This fear may be fed by a racial complex that has at its core the idea of the supremacy of whiteness. These are Americans who feel themselves disenfranchised not only by the lack of jobs so they can afford the American dream but by their sense of having also been abandoned by the American political system itself. They feel that their voices have been lost and that there is no one in political office who speaks for them. Trump’s silent majority is different and yet eerily like what I remember from

⁵ Jung, C.G. 1930/1968. The complications of American psychology. CW10.

previous decades. As jobs left the Midwest and so many who lived in this part of America lost employment and then their homes, resentment built. Trump long ago recognized the simmering anger that grew out of this situation and began his own attempt to capitalize on it. For years, he threatened to take leadership through seeking political influence but this did not crystallize outwardly on the national scene until last year. The rise of the Tea Party, the vacuum created by the leadership of the Republican Party, and the fears spiked in response to the presidency of Barack Obama, supported a candidate like Trump who unreservedly proclaimed he could lead Americans towards what looked like a Promised Land by restoring homes and jobs, and making the borders safe. Only he could “make America great again.”

But when Trump first began touting his slogan, “make America great again” I knew he was not speaking to me. I knew I was, for him and his followers, a part of the reason America was no longer great. It did not take long for him to address Mexican Americans as the cause for the lack of “greatness” in America, but it has taken him almost the entire year of his race to arrive at the doorsteps of African Americans, by first claiming an African American man who had attended one of his rallies as “*my* African American,” with all the echoing of slavery and Jim Crow that still exists in the American cultural unconscious and its unacknowledged racial complex. Trump saw nothing wrong with his claiming the African American as *belonging* to him. As other Americans—both black and white - expressed anger and surprise, Trump faced the firestorm generated by the lack of African Americans participating in his election effort, and he began to make sure there were some black faces at his rallies.

As the cries of racism grew louder, Trump began his mission to claim African Americans were supporting him. However, unlike in the days of slavery and Reconstruction when newspapers only told the story of those with power and money from the perspective of American nationalism, the technology of the 20th century has democratized the news so that television broadcasts, newspapers and legal records came to light revealing, for example, Trump's discrimination against African Americans in the New York housing market. The record revealed a pattern of discrimination: African Americans who applied for apartments owned by Trump and his father were turned down, their application forms marked with the letter 'c' indicating *Colored*, while whites who applied for the same apartments they were offered rental contracts. This was not something new as the issue of discrimination in housing has a long history for African Americans. As more of us moved from southern towns in migrations from the 1940's through the 1960's, large urban areas became our homes while whites who had occupied these cities and did not wish to share the city or housing with African Americans began an exodus to the suburbs. The Trump family was the epitome of powerful white real estate developers, the friends of New York bankers who were red-lining New York neighborhoods so that African Americans could not get bank loans to purchase homes. When my father returned from fighting against the Nazis in Europe and helping free the French in Paris, he returned to my mother who had saved all his checks in the hope of purchasing a home in Brooklyn where she had lived when he was overseas during the war. Their dream of home ownership there was never realized and so they returned to South Carolina. There my father built two houses, one for my grandmother and one for my mother. It

was in fact easier for my parent to build homes in their small Southern town with its Jim Crow laws than face the intense discrimination of the New York housing market in the years after the second world war. My parents returned to New York in 1963 to escape the increased Ku Klux Klan presence in South Carolina and to seek better job opportunities. I was born by then and they also wanted more educational opportunities for me in a Northern city. By then, Bedford-Stuyvesant was a thriving African American community in Brooklyn. There was no longer a need to attempt to break into the segregated New York housing market because my father had defeated segregation the only way he knew how – he gained his freedom by building his own home. The hidden aspects of shadow may haunt us but they can also allow us to find those places within ourselves that are positive and encourage energies that enhance life, as my father did in the years after the war. So, at the time Trump was following racial segregation practices in housing to keep African Americans out, my father had found a way into his own private housing with psychological power and self-respect. He didn't need Trump's housing.

This feature of being African American - making do and not needing what white Americans may take for granted, finding alternative ways to survive and have success - has been trashed by Trump. His most recent rant regarding African Americans has been that our cities are full of "bad people, no jobs and crime." His claims paved the way to bring out of mothballs the old call for "law and order." If African Americans streets were that "bad, really bad," then we required a savior – which of course would be Trump. As you might understand, his appeal to white audiences in heavily Republican neighborhoods did nothing

to bring him into the political fold of African American life. In fact, it further alienated him from it. African Americans who have made moderate to vastly improved gains since slavery and Reconstruction did not need a Donald Trump to tell them how badly they were doing and how their streets were overrun with crime. Eventually, the news media began to understand and share the message emerging from the Trump shadow that portrayed African Americans as still only victims. We are victims of crimes *and* we are criminals. And Trump's promise of "jobs, lots of jobs", does not resonate with most African Americans because we know his message is not for us.

In 1989, five teenagers ages 14-16, were taken into custody and accused of raping and beating a white woman in Central Park. They were labeled the "Central Park Five" in the press, interrogated by the police and swiftly convicted of rape and attempted murder. However, in 2002, someone else, a career rapist, confessed to the crime. His DNA was tested and it matched what had been found in the rape victim. Though the five men declared repeatedly that they were not guilty of the crime, a large segment of New York City's white community did not believe them. During their trial, Donald Trump took out a full-page ad in the New York Daily News demanding the death penalty be reinstated. He became the default spokesperson for those who were convinced that the five teenagers were guilty of the sexual assault. After the men were exonerated and given a \$40 million settlement for wrongful conviction in 2012, Trump continued - *even up until three weeks ago* - to claim that the teenagers were guilty. When Trump made his play to take African American votes away from Hillary Clinton by presenting himself at a Black church, more news re-emerged about his public

prosecution of the Central Park Five. He steadfastly maintained his claim that the teenagers (now young men) are guilty and need to be punished for their crime and he attempted to use this discredited narrative to bolster his status as the “law and order” candidate. In this light, when he recently claimed that the police policy of “stop and frisk” should be instituted again in Chicago to help curb crime and violence, we were uncertain if he even cared that the practice had been ruled unconstitutional by the New York State courts. Was he just appealing to his followers because he needed the use of some law and order case to which he could attach himself? In revisiting these racial issues, Trump showed African American voters that he was not a changed man who came to their house of worship to form a sincere alliance but rather a man who had a history of using what was expedient to him for his own purposes. Despite his efforts to appeal to African Americans, the transparency of his self-serving motivation was clear and they have continued to strongly support Hillary Clinton. However, his racist message hits home for white audiences who feel that they have been overlooked by the leaders of American politics, and who fear that their lives are worth so much less because African Americans and others have come to America to take from them. Trump has played the race card in a way that it has not been played since Barry Goldwater. He has stolen the Republican Party, become its nominee, and in so doing has unveiled the darkest part of the American political shadow.

And so, issues of racial inequality and social injustice as aspects of the American political shadow have become highlighted in the glare of Trump’s nomination. Should we, in a sense, be grateful for this revelation that shines a brighter light on our racial shadow and complexes? Perhaps so because it fuels

the imperative to grow. When I first considered my topic for this paper I felt very strongly about doing it on the racial shadow in American politics. At the time, I did not know that so much would have been revealed by the time we met. I had anticipated that the shadow would still be at its darkest point, in the thicket of the alchemical nigredo. I have been wrong and this somehow seems right. I think we are well served by Jung's idea of unconscious movement in the service of psychic development that can produce a deepening of consciousness, and that this is what has been happening in the wake of the nomination of Donald Trump. Malcolm X understood that intentional segregation was useful for African Americans. He felt that there was power in African Americans creating and building their own social, financial and religious networks away from whites. There was a time when we as African Americans required that solitude of being together so we could strengthen ourselves and build a strong middle class. However, that time past, we grew together and this is part of our collective destiny. Our gains came with the loss of Dr. Martin Luther King, the beatings and deaths of demonstrators in the Civil Rights Movement in southern and northern cities, and the psychological torture of African American parents and their children fighting for integrated schools from St. Augustine, Florida to Boston, Massachusetts. Today, when Trump speaks only to the poverty that still exists in African American communities, he shows his ignorance of the suffering, effort, conscious-raising and physical death that so many of us endured to obtain the successes we have earned in the America political system. When I hear Trump speak about African Americans from a model of deprivation, I know he is informed by the shadow of racism that still only sees defects in us as Americans.

President Barack Obama as a symbol of our Blackness

The message of President Obama's campaign for the presidency was hope and change. He campaigned for the White House in an upbeat, assured manner like any other candidate who belonged to America. He was one of her sons and in his representation of us as Americans, he also claimed the fullness of identity inherent in the words, "African American." Perhaps because of this very factor, Barack Obama's status as president was questioned and undermined from the very start by accusations that he was not born in America and therefore could not legitimately serve as president. Unfortunately, this lie that began during his campaign for the presidency had some staying power throughout his administration, even after he refuted it completely by making his birth certificate part of the public record. This racist attempt to undermine the president was initially led by Donald Trump. He made use of his celebrity status to join with Tea Party members to weaken the incipient power of Obama's message of hope and change. The attempt to declare President Obama an illegitimate president reveals a racial complex at work. The additional stress on the racial complexes of those who cannot bear the idea of a black president was overwhelming as the shadow of racism present in Trump's message goes directly to that unconscious place where some Americans refuse to accept African Americans as legitimate citizens of this country. For some, the White House belongs to whites, and blacks are only allowed there only to work - as they did in the cotton and tobacco fields. The Obama presidency is living proof of the fact that change has come and that the days are over when the descendants of slaves could live and work in America but never be true Americans.

Conclusion

I believe that as a collective we have a need for understanding the inner energies that drive us - complexes, archetypes, and how we are psychically hard-wired. We need patience as we grow into a new and different consciousness regarding skin color differences. Our skin color does not change and we cannot deepen in consciousness by wishing one another away—we are all here to stay, both black and white Americans. Together we must continue the necessary struggle for racial equality in our country—we are all we have and America belongs to all of us.

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