***America's Second Civil War***

***Causes with Few Solutions***

**Michael Haas, University of Hawai’i (retired)**

Democracy, in essence, is rule by the people. Yet today millions in the United States prefer rule by Trump even though Trump Republicans represent a minority of the American population. On January 6, 2021, a coup was attempted. The next coup is predicted to occur on January 6, 2025, when a joint session of Congress will be convened by Vice President Kamala Harris. Based on elections run by Trump Republicans across the country (Barabak 2022b), as she opens “certified” presidential election results from Arizona, at least one member of the House and Senate will object, so the two bodies will convene separately for two hours of debate. That scenario will repeat until Donald Trump is declared the winner, to be inaugurated on January 20. A coup will have been achieved due to preparations involving ballots thrown out by state election officials that appear likely to have been cast by Democrats (Seligman 2022).

But a coup is not a civil war. Civil war has become a topic of current interest because most countries have experienced armed civil conflict since 1960, based on a large database including former colonies (Blattman and Miguel 2020; Ross 2004). The World Bank, now concerned about alleviating poverty, has focused much attention to the problem (Djankov and Reynal-Querol 2007). One reason for downplaying chances for civil war in the United States, based on various empirical databases, is that most civil wars start at a distance from the capital (Buhaug and Gates 2002), whereas Washington is the focus of those who seek to reinstall Trump.

Among the correlates of civil war across the globe are ethnolinguistic fractionalization amid populous countries, and low percapita income, political instability, rough terrain, and slow economic growth (Collier and Hoeffler 1998; 2007; Fearon and Laitin 2003) as well as floundering democracy, political instability, small military establishments, undemocratic neighbors, and war incidence (Elbadawi and Sambanis 2002; Hegre and Sambanis 2006; Gleditsch 2007; Hegre 2001; Vreeland 2008; Haas 2019a). One study suggests that political factors are more important than economic factors (Djankov and Reynal-Querol 2007).

Perhaps the most eloquent prediction that the United States will experience a second civil war is by Canadian novelist Stephen Marche. His book *The Next Civil War* (2022) describes in detail several alternative scenarios that might start the civil war. *How Civil Wars Start* (2022) by Barbara Walter identifies indispensable causes of civil wars that now seem to have been achieved by the United States; she also identifies alternative scenarios.

Although I agree that civil war activity is now taking place on many levels, I dispute their suggestions that the United States is now headed toward a violent civil war. In my judgment, a nonviolent coup is more likely, though nonviolent civil war symptoms already exist. Because of the symptoms, a more thorough analysis is needed to determine preventable causes of either a civil war or a coup.

Even before the attempted coup of January 6, 2021, Trump’s election stimulated a public and expert consensus that the likelihood of a civil war was about 35 percent to occur sometime in the present decade (Rasmussen 2018; Ricks 2017; Georgetown 2019). What the opinions did not foresee is that Trump could come to power when states run by Republicans insist that he will win in 2024, forwarding Electoral Votes to put him over the top. He would then appoint cronies as temporary department heads so that any objections to his rule can be stifled and by declaring martial law on January 20, something proposed by Lieutenant General Michael Flynn and others in December 2020, though Flynn recanted six months later (Brockell 2020; O’Sullivan 2021). One element of his proposed martial law declaration may be to declare the Democratic Party illegal, whereupon leaders will be arrested for treason and imprisoned awaiting trial.

The United States has already qualified as sliding into a civil war according to the Peace Research Institute of Oslo (PRIO). PRIO’s definition is that civil war exists when there are at least 1,000 anti-government combatant deaths per year, while minor civil strife meets the threshold at 25 fatalities, and intermediate civil strife is identified when there are at least 25 battle-related deaths per year within a recent conflict history of more than 1,000 battle-related deaths albeit fewer than 1,000 for any single year (Strand et al 2005; cf. Gersovitz and Kriger 2013). According to Anti-Defamation League statistics, the number of civil strife deaths for the United States was 70 in 2015, 72 in 2016, 37 in 2017, 53 in 2018, 42 in 2019, and 17 in 2020 (ADL 2021). In short, data reveal a level of civil strife that has not yet reached PRIO’s civil war threshold, though militias are now arming for that possibility (Cooter 2022). Nevertheless, mass shootings persist; 689 occurred in 2020, almost 2 per day, with 702 dead and 2,823 injured (Wikipedia 2022).

Other than the deaths of a few police officers due to the attack on January 6, 2021, there were no deaths from anti-government violence throughout 2021. Instead, preparations have been underway for a nonviolent coup in 2024/25 that would effectively end rule-by-the-people democracy. A coup is not a civil war. Instead, a coup is more likely to be accepted because the country is tired of an ongoing nonviolent civil war on many fronts. Trump evidently wants a bloodless coup, but support for his goal exists because a nonviolent civil war is being waged on many fronts.

As Americans are taking sides in a zero-sum struggle that may metastasize from a nonviolent to a violent a civil war, prevention is a priority. To do so, there is a need to separate the conflict into ten analytically different fronts—policy-oriented, verbal, ideological, informational, class- and race-based, civil society (pressure groups, political parties, media), Congressional, constitutional, and interstate—so that measures can be taken to dissipate the conflict. Together, all levels now point toward a violent outcome “at the end of the day.” An inventory of the various facets of the civil war follows so that a large problem can be broken down into smaller challenges. Insofar as proposed solutions seem elusive, American democracy right now seems doomed.

**Policy Civil War (Culture War)**

“Kulturkampf” was coined by Rudolf Virchow in the 1880s to refer to the division between Catholics and Protestants in the Germany unified in 1871 (Spahn 1910). In the United States, a division between traditional rural states and modernistic urban life gradually emerged during the twentieth century, but the term “culture war” arose to prominence in a book by James Davidson Hunter entitled *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America* (1991) after the end of the Cold War, when the main policy focus in the United States steered away from foreign affairs. The two cultural trends are now identified with Red states and Blue states.

Most of the reactionary effort to return to Social Darwinistic traditional values during the Trump Administration can be reversed by the Biden Administration (Haas 2019b:ch5). But Trump tried to reverse every accomplishment of the Obama Administration and will do the same to the Biden Administration if elected again. A country experiencing diametrically opposed four-year policy reversals is already engaging in policy civil war.

Meanwhile, states are encouraging citizen distrust. A new civil war was declared in Texas during 2021, when the governor signed a law authorizing private persons to sue anyone connected to having an abortion for $10,000. That law empowers individuals to spy on their neighbors, with a potentiality for false arrest. The governors of California and Florida have threatened similar laws to stop assault weapons and teaching of “critical race theory,” respectively (Dolan 2021). In Virginia, a government tip line now allows parents to complain about teachers who articulate anything perceived as racially “divisive” (Brown 2022).

In other words, a cultural civil war underlies the apparent policy civil war. Some Whites believe that they built the United States and are entitled to be honored according. Protestant evangelicals believe that the country began as a Christian Nation, whereas city dwellers believe that the United States was founded as a secular state (Fea 2016).

Contrary to evangelical beliefs, a large majority of the public supports the right to abortion, stricter control of the sale of firearms, gay rights, and many other policies that once were minority views (Hiltzik 2021b). The problem is that those in the minority have such intense preferences for traditional values that they are willing to express their opinions with rage. In particular, Proud Boys have increased their disruptive presence at city councils and school board meetings (Frenkel 2021).

Three policies are particularly illustrative—regarding the pandemic, immigration, and transgender people. Holdouts on the matter of masks and vaccines caused a new coronavirus spike in late summer 2021, and yet another variant emerged in the fall. A policy civil war over masks seems extraordinarily weird, but the result appears to be the prospect of indefinite disease with associated mental and physical problems (Broom 2020; Breslin 2021).

Whereas Trump caused immigrants to fear Nazi-like deportation raids (Wahdia 2019), the Biden Administration also has had to cope with a surge in asylum seekers, whether from Afghanistan, Central America, or elsewhere. Chauvinist resistance is destined to increase, as immigration policy has become the basis for a civil war in which one side celebrates diversity, the other a closed border.

Transgender problems have existed primarily for millennia under the political radar. However, female athletes are now complaining that they confront unfavorable competition when males change into females. As president, Donald Trump took discriminatory action of various sorts (Haas 2019a:101), but now Republican candidates and governors are taking steps to deny medical and psychological assistance (McMillan and Levy 2022).

Meanwhile, free speech on college campuses is threatened when outside speakers are invited and then disinvited because of something they once said. Books are being banned in public schools for their political content. Statues are being removed. School names are being changed. Yet more than 100 parks, schools, statues, and streets in New Orleans sill are memorials to Confederate figures (C.Smith 2021). Cancel culture affects both ends of the political spectrum (Schaeffer 2021; Wilson 2022).

In 2020, the Republican Party Convention decided not to adopt a new party platform, making the election a referendum on Trump’s effort to divide the country into cultural opposites. But he lost. He rants against an illegitimate “other” who illegally voted against him. And the intensity of cultural support backing Trump remains. Meanwhile, the Democratic Party tends to ignore cultural issues of importance to “swing voters” in the belief that “bread-and-butter” issues are more important (Galston and Kamark 2022). The culture war has given rise to a verbal civil war an expression of fervently held policy differences.

**Verbal Civil War**

Intense verbal civil war in the United States exists in the form of hate speech, not just on social media (Appelbaum 2021) but in person. Trump began his quest for the presidency by attacking the civility of “political correctness” (Shafer 2017), and as president he became a role model for incivility involving character assassination. His harsh rhetoric has legitimated nasty verbal behavior, especially when referring to those he identifies as his enemies.

Because of shutdowns due to the coronavirus, conversations that might lead to consensus evaporated from bars, offices, and social activities in general during 2020. Even before the pandemic, many of those who disagreed were increasingly vicious verbally on social media. Instead of reasoned discourse, protest demonstrators on both sides of an issue prefer to display signs and shout catchphrases and talking points—and even make face-to-face thuggish threats to intimidate. Psychological consequences of the “hate speech epidemic” have been dire in many cases, particularly for younger persons and minorities (Shaw 2012; cf. Bilewicz and Soral 2020).

The verbal civil war affects millions in their daily lives today. Families are torn apart if they have some members who are Democrats while others are Republicans (Chen and Rohla 2018). The aim of bullying is often to get honest officials to resign, providing openings to be filled by Trumpists.

Bullying has moved beyond were words to protests in front of public officeholders and their homes as well as death threats on social media. Officeholding Democrats and Republicans as well as the press are unable to live normal lives and must rely on bodyguards (Acosta 2019:258-59; Sollenberger 2021). Government can only stop free speech that has risen to the level of death threats.

As schools reopened in 2021, many with mask mandates, school board meetings have become increasingly contentious (Skelton 2021). Instead of tolerance across the spectrum of opinions, some persons have threatened school officials, principals, and teachers. Parents and students have been enraged by what they believe is ongoing.

Open discussion of locking up or even murdering detractors and rivals of Trump is not uncommon today (Marche 2022:83). Trump continues to use heated rhetoric at his campaign rallies. There is a danger of dismissing Trump’s followers for being stupid. They have cultural and personal reasons for supporting him and should not be summarily condemned. Midlife brats will continue to defy civility and hide behind the First Amendment.

The result of the verbal civil war is that families are divided, and friends have become enemies (Reno 2021). Many honest politicians are resigning to regain normal lives. Fortunately, partisan civil war has not yet reached the level of preferences for blue or red motor vehicles. But that day may come.

**Ideological Civil War**

The search for political ideology is a simpleton’s quest to understand how politics works. As Americans give less credence to religion, they often fill their comprehension of the world beyond them with ideology. A fundamental basis for the policy and verbal civil wars is ideology, which hardens the perspectives of adherents. A range of conspiracy thinking competes with scientific knowledge today. One prominent ideological struggle is between those espousing survival-of-the-fittest Social Darwinism, parading themselves as nationalists in opposition to advocates of democracy for all. Trumpists oppose welfare as something free for newcomers and the weak (Kuziemko and Washington 2018).

The science-based behavioral revolution in social science after World War II was a reaction to the rise of fascism and nationalism, which many believe caused that war (Groth 1964). Yet the main textbooks in the field of international studies now list ideologies as if they were the only theories worth studying while dismissing knowledge-based empirical theory as merely a bias rooted in ideology (Haas 2017:ch2). Attacks on the behavioral approach as a mere ideology have stunted the accumulation of knowledge. One blunder in American foreign policy occurred when neo-conservatives promulgated the idea that Iraq had “weapons of mass destruction” to justify war in their quest to forge American unipolar control of the world (Schmidt and Williams 2008).

Rational Choice ideology, long dominant within political science (Easton 1990; Tickner 2013), justifies allowing merchants to carry out such undemocratic policies as to deny serving gays (Smith 2019). Contrary to the ideology of Social Democracy (Roosevelt 1940), such anti-democratic policies ride roughshod over minorities. The attack on social justice “woke” thinking has emerged because government entitlements are perceived as favoring lazy Americans. Lazyism, one of the tenets of Social Darwinism, has become a rallying cry for conservatives (Cardone 2011; Haas 2019b:ch1).

Thus, an ideological civil war is taking place again, not just on the streets but within the academy. Similar divergences brought Franco to power in Spain and Hitler to prevail in Germany (Graham 2002; Goodrick-Clarke 1992).

Those who attacked the Capitol on January 6, 2021, have been incrementally charged with crimes and imprisoned. But locking up ideologues for criminal behavior may only martyr them as political prisoners. Leaders of ideologies may intensify their anger if imprisoned for many years; after all, Adolf Hitler wrote *Mein Kam*pf (1925) while in prison.

The ideological struggle has incited fear. Although not taught in public schools, fear that “critical race theory” indoctrinates students is now being spread widely (Ray and Gibbons 2021). “Critical climate theory” is next, and the list will go on *ad infinitum*. Scientists are being rejected for their alleged egotism. In addition, Fox News warns that socialist dictatorship is around the corner (Certo 2020).

The most difficult ideological war to fight is the belief among many Trump supporters that he has been sent by God (Smith 2020). One-third of Americans perceive that Trump is linked to a higher power, and many supporters have more regard for divine law than human law.

**Information Civil War**

When ideologies prevail, facts (“fake news”) no longer matter. As Thomas Friedman (2020) has said, “Without truth and trust, it’s very hard to sustain a healthy democracy.” Without a common perspective based on facts, political policies cannot be crafted to meet the needs of the people.

The buttress of ideological thinking is an acceptance of some “facts” rather than others. Nowadays, the Democratic information lane is quite separate from the Republican world of facts, with one side referring to the other as adhering to “fake news.” The Walter Cronkite era of widespread acceptance of reality disappeared long ago.

For some, Joe Biden is president due to a free and fair election with little fraud. For others, Donald Trump would have won if widespread fraud had been deducted from the total count. “Both-sides journalism” prevails, promoting partisan views while often leaving out the public interest (Hamad 2017).

Democrats and Republicans differ in their respect for science (Jones 2021). In 2021, 79 percent of Democrats had a high level of confidence in science compared to 45 percent among Republicans. However, the percentage in 1975 was 72 percent for Republicans. Climate change skepticism increased between 1975 and 2021. The difference also accounts for differing perspectives on how to handle the coronavirus pandemic in the United States.

Trump supporters have tended to be “low information” residents who live in less populated parts of the country (Fording and Schram 2017). However, more disinformation (propaganda) and misinformation (lies, contrary to fact) exist on social media, where most of the public now finds information about political reality (Cole 2017).

Meanwhile, Russians have wreaked havoc on American social media, providing much of the divisive rhetoric and false information. Social media are not subject to government regulation, and their self-policing has been inadequate.

**Class-Based Civil War**

One might expect class warfare as yet another manifestation of today’s civil war in the United States today. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (1848) analyzed the United States Civil War (1861) as a result of the Republican Party victory in 1860 that shut the door to slaveowning in new Western states; Southern slaveowners were threatened because they hoped that poor Whites in the South would get cheap land in the West and support the expansion of slavery. Marx also identified the revolts in France during 1848 and 1871 as due to class divisions (Marx 1900), while Émile Durkheim (1897) developed a non-Marxist explanation for anomie and suicide among the French working class that launched the mass society paradigm (cf. Haas 2017:ch5).

According to recent research, associated economic conditions of civil wars are increasing slow economic growth and low percapita income (Blattman and Miguel 2010) as well as the growth, level, and structure of income (Collier and Hoeffler 2007). But the form of the current civil war in the United States has not reached the level of proletarians versus capitalists. Instead, rural voters harbor mistrust of politically connected urbanites (Gimpel et al. 2020). The gradual disappearance of the middle class has been cited as a major reason for division in the United States today, with the gap most evident among White Americans (Murray 2013).

The theory of trickle-down economics is that tax cuts to the rich will permit them to increase employment and wages for the rest of the population. But the rich use the extra money for their own benefit, not to help those who did not benefit from tax cuts, thereby increasing inequality (Akinci 2018). Tax cuts of recent Republican presidents were premised on trickle-down economics, which have resulted in slow economic growth (CPBB 2022). Nevertheless, considerable funding now exists for militia groups that seem prepared to launch a civil war (cf. Collier and Hoeffler 2007).

Hard times ignite desperation and often extremism, with a search for those responsible (Bromhead, Eichengreen, O’Rourke 2012). Globalization has meant that workers lose jobs as manufacturers move their businesses elsewhere (Broz, Frieden, Weymouth 2021). At least 7.5 million jobs have evaporated since 1990 (Hernandez 2018). The Great Recession entailed mass evictions from junk mortgages, increased unemployment, and ultimately the higher cost of forced health insurance known as Obamacare (Gertler and Gilchrist 2018). Coronavirus brought not only health panic but also mass unemployment and threats of eviction from apartments and homes for more than 30 million (Haas 2021a:47). Recovery from the Coronavirus Recession has involved increased inflation with a divided Congress unable to provide “build back better” relief. Those adversely impacted have felt hopeless (Erdoğdu, Koçoğlu, Sevim 2020). For the first time, more men aged 18-34 are now living with parents than with wives; women prefer to marry partners with steady jobs (Fry 2014; Wang and Parker 2014). Hopelessness, in turn, is the seedbed for extremism (DeBruin 2019; Walter 2022:84).

A major target of anger has directed toward elites. Democrats talk about the extremely rich not paying their share of taxes on their accumulating wealth (Grimaldi 2019; Jagoda 2021). QAnon, a conspiracy theory enjoying some popularity among the non-college-educated public, attacks elites in films and politics as pedophiles who are now allegedly in control of the economic and political systems (Harwell 2021). Elites do not bother to defend themselves, so the anti-elite consensus is more symbolic than part of an ongoing Marxist class struggle.

Recovery from lockdowns has brought about mass resignations, as workers look for better employers or just retire (Kaplan 2021; Olen 2022). As businesses re-start operations, with demand higher than supply due to saving during the lockdowns, inflation has soared to record levels, thereby wiping out wage gains granted by new employers (Kennedy 2021). In short, there is ample evidence of worker unrest and consumer discomfort apart from those still unemployed.

Meanwhile, millions bought autos and property at loans with low-interest rates during the coronavirus crisis (Morgan 2022; Campisi 2021). What will happen when they cannot pay back their loans? A repeat of the Great Recession seems possible.

According to some historians, “every society in human history with levels of inequality like those in the United States today has descended into war, revolution, or plague.” (cf. Marche 2022:134). Plague has arrived, from which the very rich gained trillions (Collins 2021). What has happened is a perception among Whites that they are being downgraded in social status, not by economic class (Mutz 2018; cf. Peterson 2002). Attacks on elites by Whites, partly due to affirmative action, are rooted in the view that minorities are receiving preferential treatment from elites (Kinder and Sanders 2011).

**Racial Civil War**

The most common predictor of civil war is ethnic or racial discontent, especially when one group is bound together within a coherent political movement rooted in common identity (Denny and Walter 2014; Walter 2022:ch2). The basis for the discontent is that one dominant racial group is discriminating against others. If the subordinate group is geographically segregated, then their task of mobilization for a civil war is much easier.

Ethnic or racial diversity itself is not a correlation of civil wars. Instead, studies agree that civil war is most likely when a country’s population divides along factional lines, with a militant superfaction in the lead, capitalizing on identity based on either ethnicity or race (Collier and Hoeffler 1998; Fearon and Laitin 2003). Identity-based civil wars tend to be focused on matters of political policy rather than economics (Sambanis 2001). Along a scale of factionalization from 1 to 5, the United States today ranks 3 (Walter 2022: 146).

Using *The Ten Stages of Genocide* guide (Stanton 2020), the United States has reached several stages prefatory to “ethnic cleansing” already: (1) There is a perceived racial division between “them and us.” (2) Symbols of hatred are being labelled on pariah groups, as when Trump characterized some immigrants as coming from “shithole countries.” (3) New state restrictions make voting harder for minorities. (4) Trump has dehumanized groups by characterizing some as “animals.” (5) Militia members have attacked minorities, synagogues, and temples. (6) Hate groups broadcast polarizing propaganda. (7) Trumpists deny that #1 to #6 is anything wrong. Nevertheless, if genocide actually occurs, the next stages will be (8) separation of groups by ethnic or religious identity, (9), forced displacement into ghettos or concentration camps, and (10) extermination or mass deportation.

While some polls report that 90 percent of Republicans today are White (Schor and Crary 2020), others find that Whites have split their votes between Democrats and Republicans for decades on a 40/50 basis, respectively (Pew 2020a). What most divides Whites is education, with the less educated voting Republican. In addition, two-thirds of Republicans are White evangelicals. Democrats have increasingly attracted non-Christians and non-Whites. Resenting that they are looked down upon, White Trumpists seek to restore their higher status when “America was great” (Mutz 2018; Fukuyama 2018). Nevertheless, Trump supporters include some non-Whites, whom he prominently displays behind him during rallies.

The current racial civil war becomes even more evident when chauvinism and xenophobia are expressed. The Trump faction sees itself as “sons of the soil” who rightfully should be in charge because they were the first to build the United States (Walter 2022:150-51). Trumpists seek a return to White Supremacist “Herrenfolk democracy” (van der Berghe 1981).

“Jews will not replace us,” was the cry of White Supremacists at Charlottesville, Virginia, in mid-August 2017. Today, about half of Americans have never heard of the Holocaust, especially the younger generation (Pew 2020b). Anti-Semitism is increasing, measured in part by an increase in the public display of Nazi symbols (Hodge and Boddie 2021; Rapoport 2021).

As the United States becomes more racially diversified, Whites are destined to become a minority by 2045 (U.S. Census 2018; Frey 2020). More than half of current births are of non-Whites (Quan and Lichter 2007). Unlike Native Hawaiians, who lost majority status during the late nineteenth century as hundreds of thousands of Asians arrived to work in plantation agriculture, White Supremacists lack Aloha. Whites resent signs of non-European culture (Huntington 2004), loss of jobs to better-qualified non-White applicants, and decline of their small businesses while new businesses run by better-financed immigrants and minorities prosper (Norris 2018).

As the country becomes more racially diverse, Whites move away when non-Whites rent apartments or by housing (Rothwell 2011). Schools are more segregated today than in 1954 (Reardon et al. 2012). White businesses continue to discriminate against non-White in hiring employees (Lee et al. 2019; Lang and Spitzer 2020).

The fear generated by “ethnic entrepreneur” Donald Trump is that Whites are declining in a zero-sum struggle while other groups bring crime and disease and gain wealth through devious means (Lee 2015; Wetts and Willer 2018). Trump’s reference to “shithole” countries now excites White Supremacists, who fear that immigrants of color from lesser parts of the world are flooding into the United States (Dawsey 2018). To the joy of his adherents, his predatory promises have been to oppose the “dreamers” and even threaten to deport 11 million “illegals” (LoBianco 2015). Fox News coverage of immigration repeatedly refers to the “crisis at the border.” Businesses that benefit from immigrants nevertheless have a habit of attacking Trump’s immigration policy while funding his campaigns (Coles 2017). Yet no such opposition to immigration occurred when 125,000 Cubans arrived in Florida during 1980 (Borjas 1992), and Cuban voters are largely Republican today.

Some Americans with European backgrounds strongly identify as victimized Whites. Although the evidence is that White identity and opposition to non-Whites is more strongly held among those lacking college degrees, other correlational findings are surprising: White Supremacists tend to be at middle-income levels yet unemployed and divorced (Hawley 2018). Those radicalized tend to be socially alienated and disconnected, therefore able to spend considerable time on radical Internet websites (Newhouse 2021). The lockdowns of 2020 gave them even more time to do so. Attacks on teaching critical race theory serve to legitimate racial resentment by Whites (Bender-Slack and Godwyll 2022). When anti-immigrant attitudes are displayed by ill-manned Whites, both sides fall even farther behind in social acceptance.

The most endemic focus is something visible—color. The media continue to focus on color while the country becomes more racially mixed. Racial intermarriage, which accounts for half of all births in the Aloha State, is also increasing within the continental United States (Haas 2010:ch9; Quan and Lichter 2007), though not rapidly enough to overcome the ferocity of White Supremacists. Filipinos and Latinos are persons of mixed racial background (mestizos) even before they enter the United States but are presumed to be monoracial. Barack Obama was biracial, but the media insisted that he was Black, thereby feeding into the “one drop of blood” monoracial prejudice dressed up as “diversity” rather than a message of racial mixture (Ho, Kteily, Chen 2017). On social media and in testimony regarding census categories, many with African ancestry call themselves “racially mixed.” Color and religion have been racialized.

**Civil Society Civil War**

Civil society is also experiencing civil war. For Jϋrgen Habermas (1981). a vibrant civil society is the most important element sustaining democracy. However, pressure groups, political parties, and the media are choosing sides. The middle ground is difficult to discern.

**Pressure Groups**. Many business pressure groups seek to avoid regulations. Public interest groups primarily seek to stop constitutional violations and unequal treatment by government and businesses. The former outspend the latter 34:1, much more for lobbying than for candidates for elections (Drutman 2015). Accordingly to David Cole (2014:45), corruption is the number one threat to American democracy. Pressure groups most linked to political parties are engaging in civil war.

Meanwhile, campaign contribution secrecy is alive and well among both Democratic and Republican political action committees (PACs). Members of Congress are more loyal to their campaign contributors than to the people they are supposed to represent. In the United States, as one scholar eloquently stated, *Democracy Is for Sale* (Geoghegan 2020).

Meanwhile, civil society groups accounting for 11 million Americans have formed to promote a civil war—Boogaloos, Oath Keepers, Proud Boys, Three Percenters, and at least eight other groups (Farivar 2021). Some 300,000 Americans believe that they are “sovereign citizens” who can decide which laws to obey and which to violate; they are anarchists and thus may object to any coup that sets up a new government (SPLC 2021b). Perpetrating such tactics as obtaining recusals from judges by filing false liens against their property, they are among the top concern of law enforcement officers today (Carlin 2015).

The first dramatic civil war between pressure groups occurred in 2017, when Nazi marchers encountered anti-Nazi protesters in Charlottesville, Virginia. Many more were on display when Black Lives Matter (BLM) marchers attracted anti-BLM protesters during 2020. Police were observers until violence erupted. The fact that street protests are occurring is evidence that their demands are not being acted upon by government.

**Political Parties**. The political party civil war involves “Blue Democrats” and “Red Republicans.” Although most Americans call themselves Independents, 93 percent of them lean toward the two major parties, leaving only 7 percent as true Independents (Pew 2019). Partisanship is increasingly negative—opposition to the other party as evil and a threat to the country’s very existence, a polarized view that predated Trump but is now deeply cemented (Iyengar and Westwood 2015; Abramowitz and McCoy 2018).

The Republican Party, focused on identity more than issues, even decided not to adopt a party platform in 2020 (Blitzer 2020). Accordingly, bipartisan support for legislation is rare. Republicans focus on winning elections more than gaining support for specific ideas. As a result, members of both parties go home for weekends to raise campaign funds, leaving only part of their time for deliberation over proposed legislation (Hoffman and Lyons 2020).

The most dangerous divide is between Democrats wanting to make voting easier and Republicans preferring to restrict voting by purging voter rolls and making voting more difficult (Waldman 2022). Republicans now seek to purge voting officials of all who oppose Donald Trump’s view that he won the 2020 election (Norden and Tisler 2021).

Meanwhile, Democrats and Republicans largely use the term “democracy” as a catchphrase, with no serious debate about what democracy is and why the very nature of the political system is important. About 60 percent of Americans believe that “democracy” is in danger—and the same percentage applies equally to Democrats, Independents, and Republicans (Quinnipiac 2022).

Both parties have gone in extreme directions (Rothenberg 2020). Moderates within both parties have been annoyed by their own extremes, though Republicans decided upon condemnation (RNC 2022; Patteson 2021). Most moderates do not switch to the opposite party; many resign and end their political careers rather than facing defeat in primary elections.

Candidates for president have routinely promised to engage in bipartisanship. But not Trump, who clearly loves to create antipathy, even within the Republican Party.

**Media**. One function served by media in a democracy is to bring facts to light that inform the public so that they can be assured that government is responding to their needs. A second function is to expose misconduct, shaming officeholders into becoming more accountable to the people. But lately the media pay more attention to their profits than their responsibilities to democracy.

During the mid-1960s, more than 80 percent of Americans got their information from newspapers (Crosbie 2004). Some cities had two newspapers; although editorially one was on the left, the other on the right, they both provided mainstream news. Today, circulation and readers are significantly lower; in response, advertisers prefer other media, and newspaper have thinned (Karmack and Gabriele 2015). Nevertheless, Trump’s war on mainstream newspapers has targeted the New York Times and Washington Post as if they were the main source of “fake news.”

From 1988, Rush Limbaugh’s virulent right-wing slant on talk radio may have been the source of today’s radical conservativism (Berry and Sobieraj 2011). Some of Limbaugh’s message went to truck drivers, who benefitted from fulminating rhetoric by staying awake whie driving for miles on the road. Public radio, which originally tried to occupy a middle ground and has taken democratic responsibilities seriously, by default now appeals to listeners on the left end of the spectrum (Brewer and Pritchard 2008).

Today, mainstream television news is much milder than news found on cable news networks. Viewers exist in alternative universes of information with Fox News on the right and MSNBC on the left joined by CNN (Darr and Dunaway 2018). Although public television and Headline News try to operate in the middle, they lean left. A study in 2005 found that news source polarization was less of a problem than fragmentation: Viewers tend to be loyal to just one news source and will not change the channel (Webster 2005). Democrats (68 percent) trust traditional media far more than Republicans (11 percent), but the percentages have been falling in recent years (Brenan 2021). Nevertheless, television and cable news programming seeks to entertain more than educate (Klein, Fondren, Apcar 2019).

Today, however, the main marketplace of ideas is on social media, where most people get their news (Cole 2017:35). During 2016, half of the political messages in one state were false. Social media platforms host hate speech and even serve as the locus for plots involving violence. Facebook alone allowed more than 65,000 posts of disinformation messages about the 2020 election (Silverman et al. 2022). A social media algorithm quickly discovers a person’s interests and then presents similar persons and platforms to join. Soon, an individual has friends within platforms that provide a home to similar views, especially extremists. Compared to Democrats and liberals, Republicans and right-wing extremists are more likely to spread false information (Bradshaw and Howard 2018; Guess, Nagler, Tucker 2019).

Nevertheless, three-fourths of the public does not trust news on social media (Miller 2016; AP 2020). Although Twitter now regulates much content, Facebook lacks the personnel to self-police billions of persons, while other social media largely operate without regulation (Tornhabene 2021; Timberg and Dwoskin 2020; Contreras 2021; Romm and Lerham 2021). The rise of extremist platforms on social media accounts for the decline of democracy around the world (Walter 2022:118).

Lawsuits for defamation on media occur long after slanderous statements are posted, so damage is done to a person’s reputation long before penalties might be collected. As long as traditional media are repeatedly attacked for doing their job to keep democracy accountable, the danger of civil war increases (ibid., p. 21).

**Congressional Civil War**

Yet another form of civil war is taking place within Congress. Democrats and Republicans are about equally represented today, and the filibuster in the Senate requires 60 votes to pass legislation among the 100 Senators. Therefore, few measures are likely to pass unless they have bipartisan support. The result is gridlock, which delegitimizes Congress in the minds of more than 90 percent of the public (Rainie and Perrin 2019).

Members of the two political parties rarely socialize. They only address members of the opposite party within committee hearings and on the floor of Congress (Bonos 2021).

Due to the Hastert Rule, however, few measures are even placed on the agenda for a vote: The House Speaker and Senate Majority Leader schedule votes when they know in advance that a measure will pass. Debate is no longer a means to persuade; a speech in Congress is often a condemnation of views expressed by the opposite party. However, both parties have extreme and moderate wings, and the anti-moderation Gingrich Rule increasingly seems to prevail.

When Democrats control one or both houses of Congress, Republicans could simply play the role of the opposition party, or vice versa, as in the British parliament. Instead, they now consider each other the enemy and act accordingly (Woodward and Costa 2021:49). One Republican, Matt Gaetz, was once told to stop shouting during a proceeding on the floor of the House, and the same person disrupted a hearing of a House committee (Baragona 2020; Bump 2019). Newly elected member of Congress Marjorie Taylor Greene once urged the assassination of Democratic Speaker Nancy Pelosi (Thebault 2021). Paul Gosar, a sitting member of Congress, made a film in which he not only killed a fellow member of Congress, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, but also President Joe Biden (Sonmez 2021). An anti-Muslim slur against Ilhan Omar also emerged one day (Kaczynski 2021), once again without Republican condemnation. Violence on the floor of Congress, which existed in the years before the Civil War (Freeman 2018), is clearly possible today (Bella and Beachum 2021).

In response, Speaker Nancy Pelosi has tried to impose discipline. She twice presided over the impeachment of President Trump, requires masks on the floor of the House to prevent the spread of coronavirus, and she has removed some Republicans from committees for verbal misbehavior (Zakrzewski and Romm 2021). Republicans strongly disagree.

On February 7, 2022, a male Republican member of Congress poked a female Democrat in the back, demanding that she get on the subway that runs from Congressional offices to the Capitol. Her response was to ask him to wear a mask, whereupon he said,   
“Kiss my ass.” Although he later apologized, a new reporter commented “ Members of Congress often slam each other on Twitter, and occasionally say rude things to each other, but an actual physical poke is somewhat extra” (Delaney 2022).

Donald Trump has been taking efforts to ensure that any Republican voting against him will face a challenge whenever they seek re-election, thus purging the Congressional Republican Party of moderates. Death threats also have provoked resignations of moderate Republicans (Klapper 2021). If the purge succeeds, all Republicans will be Trump supporters.

Meanwhile, the Arizona Democratic Party has censured Democratic Senator Kyrsten Sinema (Clark 2022). Democratic Senator Joe Manchin strongly objected when Senator Bernie Sanders ran an ad in a West Virginia newspaper urging him to vote for the Build Back Better bill. But they remain within the Democratic Party (Evans 2021).

One reason there are so few moderates is that gerrymandered House districts overwhelmingly re-elect incumbents. Only 10 percent of House members are elected in “swing districts” where voters are almost equally divided between Democrats and Republicans (Azari 2019).

Some 138 Republicans in the House and 8 Republican Senators voted to reject the results of the 2020 election (Johnson 2021), so opinions fundamentally differ on whether Joe Biden is legitimately President of the United States. A special committee to investigate the January 6 insurrection has been appointed. The investigation may expose some Republicans for actively facilitating the insurrection of January 6, 2021.

If Republicans win back majority control in the 2022 election, the Congressional civil they promise revenge: Masks will come off, Democrats will be stripped from committees, the January 6 investigation will end, and Biden will be investigated and impeached (Knox 2022).

**Constitutional Civil War**

According to one theory, a precondition to civil wars around the world is when a country’s political system is neither constitutionally democratic nor dictatorial but in between—an anocracy (Vreeland 2008). Nevertheless, James Fearon (2011) argues that three factors in low-income anocracies prevent civil wars—upholding rule of law, assured freedom of expression including the right to vote, and government effectiveness. When a democracy significantly backslides on all three, civil war is more likely. In the United States, the Constitution does not fully guarantee any of the three parameters.

Two provisions of the Constitution are deliberately undemocratic: Winning the popular vote does not determine the outcome of presidential elections; instead, Electors chosen by states in an Electoral College determine the outcome of presidential elections. Undemocratically, the Senate consist of two members from each state, whether densely or sparsely populated.

For some, the Constitution is largely frozen, subject to interpretation by the Supreme Court; for others, the Constitution is a living document, subject to reinterpretation by the Supreme Court. Although Thomas Jefferson (1789) indicated that basic rules of government should be amended from time to time so that each generation would not be victims of the foibles of previous generations, he did not write the Constitution. James Madison (1787), who opposed pure democracy, wrote provisions for constitutional amendments that are so stringent that changes are rare unless there is wide consensus. Only 27 have been adopted in 233 years. He also wanted each of three branches of government to have the power to hold back excesses of the other two.

The main constitutional crisis today is that the presidency has absorbed so much power that checks and balances no longer apply. In *The Imperial Presidency* (2004), Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., notes that presidents use emergency powers, executive orders, and implementation interpretations of laws with almost impunity. Instead of three co-equal branches of government, Congressional gridlock greenlights presidential action that can only be stopped by court action. Trump tried to override legislative power by asserting emergency powers while in office and questioned the legitimacy of the 2020 election after losing.

Multiparty systems, where coalitions have to be forged in order to form the government, never have civil wars after elections (Reynal-Querol 2002). Presidential systems are more likely to have civil wars if the losing side refuses to accept electoral defeat.

However, the Supreme Court today in recent years has argued that presidents should not overreach their power while implementing vague laws passed by Congress. But presidents can delay judicial checks by endless redrafting. And since Congress is in gridlock, presidents feel free to do whatever they want.

The term anocracy is close to the label “pseudo-democracy” used in *The Ten Pillars of American Democracy* (Haas 2021b) to refer to governments that have formal institutions of democracy but are not run in the interest of the people. The United States is judged to be a pseudo-democracy because five preconditions to democracy (socioeconomic, vibrant civil society, informed citizen, belief in democratic ideology, and constitutional basis) are not present whle five government institutions (judicial, legislative, bureaucratic, elections, presidential) no longer operate to sustain democracy. Two of the most important pillars—belief in democratic ideology and informed citizenry—are now absent from a sizeable chunk of the American population. Most citizens, including one Senator, lack knowledge of basic elements of the Constitution of the United States (Annenberg 2017; Behrmann 2020).

The current constitutional civil war was launched when Donald Trump began to sew distrust in the Constitution, a document that he never read, and acted with impunity despite breaking numerous laws. His followers also have little knowledge of the Constitution (Annenberg 2017). As president, he did not defer to constitutional checks and balances until a judge acted. Even then, he attacked judges. The *Ten Pillars of American Democracy* identifies hundreds of loopholes exploited by Trump to undermine democracy. He also attacked the emoluments clause as “phony,” tried to fire a Supreme Court justice, and contemplated some sort of revenge against the framers (Collins, Jackson, Subramanian 2019; Borowitz 2019, 2021). Although the Constitution assigns more power to Congress than to the executive and judicial branches of government, he insisted that executive officers must refuse to respond to subpoenas to testify before Congressional committees (Morin 2019), and he obstructed the work of the Department of Justice on numerous occasions (Jurecic 2019).

Then came the 2020 election. Although Trump lost the popular and Electoral College votes, he refused to concede defeat. Instead, he developed a narrative similar to Southerners who believe that they unfairly lost the Civil War (Walter 2022:155). He repeatedly tweeted about a “stolen” election to fire up his followers. Two weeks after the election, 88 percent of Republicans believed him (Frankovic 2020). He first pressured “swing states” to cough up results contrary to the vote count (Woodward and Costa 2021:133-36, 165-67). Based on hearsay, he disputed elections as fraudulent in lawsuits but lost nearly 100 times in court (ibid. p. 214). He next tried to have fake Electors certified. He contemplated federal seizure of voting machines, but neither the Defense Department nor the Homeland Security Department agreed to do so (Choi 2022). Next, he asked Vice President Michael Pence to refuse to accept state Electoral Votes on January 6, 2021, when Congress by law meets to confirm state Electoral Votes. But Pence refused. On January 30, 2022, he admitted that his aim was to “overturn” the results of the 2020 election (Fortinsky 2020)—a blatantly criminal act.

Trump organized a rally on January 6, 2021, to give a speech inciting those attending to march to the Capitol in order to protest what he considered to be a false certification of the 2020 election by Congress. Even before his speech ended, protesters were illegally crashing through entrances to Congress, and soon 8,000 persons were on the grounds of the Capitol. Efforts to assassinate Pence and members of Congress failed, however, because they were able to escape to safety. A law prohibiting domestic terrorism has yet to be adopted, so most insurrectionists have been arrested for a variety of lesser offenses. During his presidency, Trump pardoned 143 and commuted sentences of 94 persons for political reasons instead of seeking justice, and he has promised to do so for January 6 rioters who have been “treated unfairly” (Gramlich 2021; Pengelly 2022).

As a result of January 6 events, the House of Representatives impeached Trump for a second time, but the Senate refused to convict him. Confidence in the integrity of American elections, one of *The Ten Pillars of American Democracy*, no longer exists among a majority number of citizens and has even declined since January 2021 (Shepherd 2022).

One reason for reduced confidence in elections is that Trump has been designing ingredients for a successful coup on January 6, 2025 (Gellman 2021). Trump asked Republicans in control of legislatures in “swing states” to re-examine ballots in order to find fraud that would change the election results (Levi 2021). In addition, some Republican state legislators introduced about 400 bills to prepare the legal groundwork for rejecting ballot box results in future elections (Baird 2021; Gardner, Rabinowitz, Stevens 2021; Woodward and Costa 2021:374). Individuals who might secure future free and fair elections are being opposed in several ways. One proposal, already enacted in crucial states, is to allow state legislatures to override the popular vote. Another move is to remove all officials, elected or otherwise, who were responsible for declaring that Biden won their states in 2020 (Brennan 2021). The most lucrative proposal is to make ballots with special ink so that counterfeit ballots would be easy to recognize, thereby enriching a particular ink company in Texas (Helderman 2022). At the end of January 2022, a false news story circulated claiming that the Wisconsin Assembly had just voted to withdraw the state’s Biden electors (White 2022).

Currently, 57 of the January 6 rioters are running for office in Red states. Many candidates openly subscribe to the “Big Lie” that the 2020 election was stolen—candidates for governor in 30 states, 55 candidates for the U.S. Senate, 13 for state attorney general, and 18 for secretary of state (Bolkin 2022; Alemany and Meyer 2022; John 2022). They may win with Trump’s backing and funding.

Trump’s Plan A—a peaceful coup on January 20, 2025—has been comprehensive. As new procedures are invoked to overturn election results in 2022 and 2024 (Riccardi 2022), the constitutional civil war will come out of the closet. If Republicans win control of the two houses of Congress, and a Democrat wins the popular and Electoral College votes for president, then on January 6, 2025, Vice President Kamala Harris will preside over a Congress eager to contest the Electoral votes in order to declare Trump as the winner (Elias 2021). However, if the House has a Republican majority and the Senate has a Democratic majority, the House may name Trump as Speaker of the House of Representatives (Ford 2021), knowing that any unresolved Electoral College dispute for the 2024 election would enable the Speaker to serve as the temporary president in accordance with the Presidential Succession Act of 1947. Other possibilities might confuse the outcome, making resolution by violence more likely. After all, there is a Plan B.

As president on January 20, 2025, Trump could call for a new constitutional convention to expand presidential powers. And he doubtless would do so.

**Interstate Civil War**

States are free to design their own election procedures under the Constitution, and their representatives in Congress can object to the outcomes of Electoral votes in other states. Many forms of interstate differences have long existed, but distrust in elections emerged when Trump refused to concede that he lost in 2020. Members of the Senate representing sparsely populated states can also block election standardization laws advocated by densely populated states.

States act independently on a wide variety of policies. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 originally required some states to receive advance approval from the Attorney General of the United States for any change in state voting law. But the Supreme Court’s 2013 decision in *Shelby v Holder* (557 U. S. 193), which allows each state to change voting regulations with almost complete impunity.

Federal funds for unemployment and welfare benefits go to states, which set their own criteria for distribution. California, joined by 16 mostly Blue states, has long been given permission by the president to require vehicle manufacturers to have higher fuel standards than the national standard (California 2021). Twelve Blue states have opted out of the Medicare Expansion provision of Obamacare (Kaiser 2022). Texas and other states have no state income taxes. Recreational marijuana is legal in 18 states but illegal under federal law (Burtka 2021). States have long competed for business with differing incentives. California’s high taxes are presumed to explain why Elon Musk took Tesla to Texas, which has no state income tax on residents (Feuer 2021).

One predictor of the likelihood of civil war is whether a previous civil war occurred (Walter 2004). Southern states lost the Civil War of 1860-1865, and the Confederate flag is still revered. But they are more likely to pressure the federal government for permission to secede again rather than militarize.

Moreover, “sanctuary cities” have in effect micro-seceded from federal immigration laws. The Capitol Hill Autonomous Zone of Seattle proves that some on the left are anarchistic (Jones 2020). Every time the Trump Administration relaxed a federal environmental standard, California’s attorney general had a remedy: He planned to issue an identical California regulation (Skelton 2019).

Lately, states have been ganging up against other states in the courts. Eighteen Republican-dominated states sued to have the Supreme Court declare Obamacare unconstitutional (Paxton 2019). California led several other Democratic-led states in suing the Trump Administration government, especially on environmental and immigration matters, though Trump also sued back (McGreevy 2020). Now Republican Attorneys-General are suing the Biden Administration (Garrison and King 2021).

In addition, state laws now differ radically in Red and Blue states. Based in part on the tendency for Blue states to impose mask mandates, Red states are passing restrictions on abortion, curriculum in public schools, gun rights, LGBTQ rights, protest rights, and voting rights (Brownstein 2022). The concept of “state’s rights” used to stop civil rights progress in the 1950s has re-emerged.

For example, many states pretend to believe that women have the right of abortion based on *Roe v Wade* but impose a variety of restrictions (411 U.S. 113). In 2021, Texas passed a law allowing any person in the country to spy on Texas women seeking abortion after they have been pregnant for six weeks. That woman and anyone assisting her can be sued for $10,000 in a Texas court. Vigilantism was thereby legitimated. When the Texas vigilante effort to ban abortion appeared before the Supreme Court later in 2021, a majority decided not to make a ruling, allowing the Texas law to stand (Chemerinsky 2021).

Accordingly, 31 copycat laws have been introduced in various states (Kindy and Crites 2022). For example, Oklahoma parents could sue teachers who discuss evolution if offensive to a student’s “closely held religious belief.” Californians might sue a gun shop owner or manufacturer if they learn that someone used a firearm to injure or kill someone; they need not be a victim. Virginia Republican Governor Glenn Youngkin has set up a “tip line” for residents to complain about teachers discussing supposedly “divisive” concepts (Brownstein 2022).

What is occurring is mini-secession, an interstate “state’s rights” civil war pathway being paved by originalist conservatives on the Supreme Court. Because states can have differing laws on abortions, elections, and other matters, while Congress is too gridlocked to establish national standards, Blue and Red states are charting their own way.

Under mini-secession, Blue states will continue to be more regulatory, so their businesses may move to Red states. Social welfare programs in Blue states will attract residents from the Red states (Hacker et al. 2022). Legal chaos is likely in the years ahead as the Supreme Court strikes down national standards, one after another.

The chaos has been analogized to several situations (Bell 2022:31). One is the period of between the end of Reign of Terror during the French Revolution that resulted in turmoil eventually resolved by the coup of Napoléon Bonaparte five years later. Another is the period from the ousting of the tsar in 1915 when the army joined the rebels to form a provisional government only to be ousted in seven months by the Bolshevik Revolution. The best analogy appears to be the Time of Troubles in Northern Ireland (1969-1998).

What is happening in the United today is a gradual movement in several states toward the very same Herrenfolk democracy that provoked unrest in North Ireland from 1969 to 1998. As Red states now crack down on non-Whites, Catholics in Northern Ireland had been explicitly discriminated against in employment, housing, and voting since 1921, when the Irish Free State was formed (McKittrick and McVea 2002). The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA), which was organized in 1967 as a peaceful protest organization might be equivalenced to the multiracial Black Lives Matter protests of 2020. However, White Supremacist counterprotesting is occurring in the United States, whereas the Irish Republican Army hijacked the peaceful NICRA movement in 1969. Whether the current trend is likely to change from nonviolence to sporadic violence is still difficult to discern, but a future “time of troubles” in the United States cannot be ruled out.

**Metastasizing from Nonviolent to Violent Civil War**

Some observers believe that some of the nonviolent civil wars identified above should be considered to be within the scope of ordinary politics. For example, one researcher has tried to prove that restrictions on voting will produce the same voting outcomes because voters will skirt around the restrictions and vote anyway (Abramowitz 2022). But such statistical manipulation ignores the purpose behind such restrictions as banning voters in long lines before polling locations from receiving food or water. The purpose is Schadenfreude—the joy of making “others” suffer.

The existence of Trump’s popular Schadenfreude approach is the clue that the passion of some may turn nonviolent civil wars into violence (Serwer 2022). For example, within the culture war there is a desire to punish women who have already been raped into forcing them to have a child that they do not want. In the verbal civil war, the tone of those who disagree is extremely nasty, including profanity. The information civil war involves demonizing opponents with such words as “fools,” “ignoramuses,” and “weirdos.” Ideological civil warriors often use the terms “communist,” “fascist,” and “socialist” to demonize adversaries. The class civil war includes QAnon followers who project their own Schadenfreude onto elites who are presumed to be raping children. The racial civil war is typified by “Jews will not replace us!” and “Go back to Mexico!” chants. Within civil society, pressure groups are attacked for blackmailing, news sources are supposed disseminators of “fake news,” and more extremist messages on social media actually increase “like” clicks. The viciousness of the Congressional civil war comes out not just in “kiss my ass” remarks during debates but inside elevators and hallways. The constitutional civil war goes beyond voting restrictions to proposals to seize voting machines. And there is probably nothing more Schadenfreude than the decision after the January 6 rioters had been cleared from the Capitol for some states to still contest the vote count for Pennsylvania as if carrying out the wishes of those who had just pissed on the walls of Congress.

Research on the persons who participate in civil wars indicate that they are persons with prior military or violent experience (Humphreys and Weinstein 2008). They are also more likely to be manipulated by leaders to turn their frustration into aggression.

If a violent civil war erupts, whether limited or widespread, the reason will be that some persons have such intense hatred toward others that they will be unable to control their anger when stimulated to act. Many histories have been written about how vehement people have gone on the warpath to topple governments. Accordingly, there needs to be an assessment of the probability that violence is likely to erupt in order to create such a chaotic environment that authoritarian rule seems necessary to restore order.

**Threat of Violence**

Extremist rhetoric abounds on the Internet today, and alarmist talk can ultimately lead to violence (Spaaji 2010), as when an armed North Carolinian showed up at a pizza parlor in 2016 to put an end to Hillary Clinton’s supposed secret pedophilia site (Fisher, Cox, Hermann 2016). Before Trump was elected, instances of domestic terrorism by right-wing perpetrators were slowly increasing, but nowadays right-wing extremists account for 90 percent of all terrorist violence (Jones 2020). Now that civil war is ongoing along ten fronts, those unleashing violence can choose among many rationales for their actions.

**Extent of the Threat**. In mid-2015, some 1,200 personnel from four branches of the U.S. military conducted a month-long military exercise to train soldiers in skills for operating in overseas combat environments, including maneuvering through civilian populations (Toohey 2016). Such an exercise could be used by a President Trump in 2026 to stop resistance to his rule in the United States. In midsummer 2020, his Operation Diligent Valor sent at least 13,000 personnel from several public agencies to protect federal property, though they were used to assist city law enforcement agencies in arresting protesters (Marshall 2020). Attorney General William Barr justified the Operation as a “training exercise,” which he believed to be a loophole in the Posse Comitatus Act, and he also applied to bring National Guard units from other states to quell Black Lives Matter demonstrations in the District of Columbia (Vladeck 2020). There is clear evidence that Trump supporters and White Supremacists have infiltrated the armed forces and police at local, state, and federal levels (German and Navarro 2020; Shane 2020).

Today, the most common daily acts of domestic political terrorism involve death threats, stalking, and verbal protests outside homes of politicians and voting officials (Hiltzik 2021a; Wagner 2021), including members of Congress (Jackman 2022) and the president of the United States (Marche 2022:74). More than 850 threats have been received by voting officials in 16 states (Eisler et al. 2021).

The extent of violence has also included assaults in schools (Branson-Potts 2021). Those whose family members have died from coronavirus, a disease that some deny exists, have assigned blamed for the death of their loved ones to those who care for them in hospitals and have even been violent toward them (Harper 2021).

Other recent targets of domestic violence have been Asians, Blacks, Latinx, and Jews. Asians have been assaulted for allegedly bringing the “China flu” to the United States (Kandil 2020; Dong et al. 2021). Repeated bomb threats have targeted dozens of historically Black colleges (Lumpkin 2022). Vigilantes massacred Latinx in Dayton and El Paso during 2020, which even Trump condemned (DeSantis 2019). Attacks on synagogues have also increased (ADL 2022). Emerging from the period of lockdowns and associated loss of jobs, some Americans have exploded in many ways, though the most visible was what took place on January 6.

The precedent for using a coup to seize power in the United States was established on January 6, 2021. Intense civil warriors showed up at the Capitol on January 6, 2021, some wearing T-shirts announcing “MAGA Civil War January 6, 2021” (Walter 2022:159). Although no gunfire was unleashed, they used physical means to invade. Nevertheless, the head of the Oath Keepers had been talking about civil war since 2009 (Giglio 2020). A stash of weapons had been collected in Virginia by the Oath Keepers to insert into a civil war that was expected on January 6 (Olmos 2022).

Nevertheless, some Republicans have tried to normalize the event as tourism, and last year 45 percent of Republicans approved of the January 6 attack on Congress (Shammas 2021; Sanders, Smith, Ballard 2021). About one year later, the Republican National Committee (RNC) unanimously characterized actions on January 6 as “legitimate political discourse,” though the next day the RNC Chairwoman clumsily tried to clarify the statement as referring to those who did not storm the Capitol (Fea 2022). Trump called for an even bigger “demonstration” during a rally on January 30, 2022, because “In reality, they’re not after me, they’re after you, and I just happen to be the person in the way” (Shoaib 2022; cf. Hiroi and Omori 2013).

Today, Trump supporters have the means to carry out systematic acts of violence anywhere, anytime, and he has given them a sense of legitimacy (Miller-Idriss 2021). One-third of the public, including Democrats as well as Republicans, now believes that violence against the government would be “somewhat justified” (Kleinfeld 2021; Balz, Clement, Guskin (2022). According to Steven Bannon and Matt Gaetz, an “army of patriots” and 4,000 “shock troops” should take over the government if Trump runs and wins in 2024 (Teh 2021). Trump has promised to pardon anyone jailed for acting on his behalf (Pager 2022).

Violence entrepreneurs have arisen to mobilize groups, notably militias (cf. Chenoweth and Stephan 2012). Yet police took no action to stop one young armed vigilante who marched into Kenosha, Wisconsin, during protests (Miah 2020). When militias are supported by the armed forces or police, democracy is over. Members of militias are armed to repeat the January 6 event and are standing by, gaining more recruits and weapons. Although many militias have a common goal though not a common leader, they are available for further action whether Trump is president again or not. Today, 169 out of 566 extreme antigovernment groups are militias (SPLC 2021a). About two-thirds of the extremist groups are White Supremacists; most of the rest are sovereignists (Yates et al. 2020).

The most serious danger exists when militias promise to provide law and order while government fails to do so (Walter 2022:213). Citizens lacking a sense of safety from police are more likely to side with insurgent groups. The drumbeat of Fox News complaints about lawlessness in cities run by Democrats has the aim of promoting Republicans and Trump as saviors, just as Richard Nixon won the presidency in 1968 on the “law and order” platform (Mayer 2001).

Trump now focuses on victory in 2024 as an answer to prayers from his patient supporters (Godfrey 2022). But they may lose patience if he loses. Should Trump fail again in 2024, they are ready to ensure victory by means of a coup on January 6, 2025. His defeat in the 2024 election, which he is expected to contest as “rigged,” may be viewed as the last straw by Trumpists. Loss of hope for a cause is often the trigger for violence in a divided country (Cederman, Gleditsch, Hug 2012; Walter 2022:ch4). Some 21 million Americans are now projected by one study to be willing to engage in violence to return Trump to the presidency (Pape 2021).

The acquisition of firearms has skyrocketed: In 2020 alone, 17 million bought firearms in the United States; 40 percent had never done so before, bringing the total to almost 1 weapon per person in the country (Tavernise 2021). Untraceable “ghost guns” can be made at home every 95 minutes from a computer-controlled milling machine about the size of a desktop (Wintemute 2021), thus rendering “gun control” impossible. In Michigan, one candidate for office has urged pollwatchers to bring guns to precinct voting locations for use in case of anything suspicious—or just pull the plug on voting machines (Lange and Ainsworth 2022).

Meanwhile, some governors are seeking to replace state National Guard troops with state militias (Orlando 2021; Winkie 2021). The aims include using them to monitor elections, having unvaccinated troops for emergencies, or in preparation for secession from the United States.

One scenario is for a continuation of domestic terrorism attacks eventually culminating in simultaneous terrorist bombings of several state legislatures (Walter 2022:164). The scenarios already are in print—*Siege* (Mason 2017) and *The Turner Diaries* (Pierce 1978). If terrorism became widespread all over the country, the public would doubtless accept military units to restore order. But that would empower the president to command sufficient force to quell all opposition. As the years 2022 to 2024 unfold, there is a fear of an increase in violent incidents and even assassinations.

At the same time, much of the population in the United States is neither armed nor ready for combat (Andersen 2021). The intensity of conflict in the Beltway and among politically-oriented persons is rarely visible in the heartland of the United States, where most people go about their lives with little attention to politics. The danger remains that those now nonpolitical will increasingly be mobilized, ending an armed civil war.

Trump appears to enjoy the occasional eruption of vigilante violence, which provides justification for his quest for “law and order.” Yet he clearly prefers a peaceful coup and is planning accordingly. After he returns to the White House, however, he might employ his “private army” to quell dissent. That’s Plan C.

In February 2022, the strike of truckers over the vaccine requirement in Canada led to a protest included blocking of shipments to the United States. Fox News hosts and Trumpists then provided support for a rally that would start in Fresno, California, Cleveland and Columbus, Ohio, and end up in Washington, DC, on March 6 (Casiano 2022). Lurking behind the incident is the possibility that Trump might face penalties for his violations of American law, whereupon truckers could bring the American economy to its knees with a general strike, requiring President Biden to take countermeasures, thereby constituting a violent civil war. The same scenario might occur if Trump lost in 2024.

**Measures to Lessen the Threat of Violence**. Among about 2,000 involved on January 6, more than 700 have been arrested, and prosecutions are ongoing. More than 120 people pleaded guilty, and 530 others awaited their date in court, while 350 had yet to be rounded up. Five-sixth are members of organized militia groups (Weiner et al. 2021). The Department of Justice is prosecuting terrorists of January 6 and other dates on an incremental basis, evidently mindful that a single violent crackdown might accelerate animosity toward the federal government (cf. Walter 2022:ch4). Lawsuits asking for monetary damages and imprisonment of culpable individuals from the January 6 insurrection have been filed throughout 2021 (Bella 2021; Hsu 2021).

In addition, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) has proceeded to take domestic terrorism seriously, having done so reasonably well with organized crime syndicates (Simon and Stevenson 2021). A Domestic Terrorist Unit has been formed within the Department of Justice (K.Alexander 2021; AP 2022). Although the FBI has not previously dealt with budding insurrections, though progress is occurring along that line, as evidenced by the arrest of a group plotting to kidnap the governor of Michigan in 2020 (Goldman 2021; Garrison and Bessinger 2021). Private militias are illegal, so infiltration of their ranks might lead to more arrests (McCord 2021).

Without the FBI as a bulwark against potential violence, the U.S. military might be utilized. Although the Insurrection Act of 1807 was so designed, the Posse Comitatus Act of 1878 explicitly limited that power. But the military follows the chain of command; local and state law enforcement authorities can act quite independently of the federal armed forces, especially when partisanized. Were a coup to succeed in taking over a state, however, contingency plans already exist for the president to call upon the national guard to dissolve a state coup (Benson and Weber 2012). One mini-precedent is President Dwight Eisenhower’s decision to use the national guard to permit desegregation of a high school in Little Rock.

Using the military to stop an insurrectionist civil war failed in Afghanistan and Iraq (Bolger 2014). Based as well on the British use of the military in Northern Ireland (Lafree, Dugan, Korte 2019), any such military effort is bound to inflame insurrectionists, who will gain rather than lose support. Detention centers filled with political prisoners would provide more targets for insurrectionists.

Three retired generals, concerned about prospects for a civil war, were disturbed that somewhat more than 10 percent of the January 6 rioters had service records, including the group Flag Officers 4 America (Eaton, Tagupa, Anderson 2021). The three recommended the following actions: (1) Department of Justice prosecution of those conspiring to produce the January 6 insurrection. (2) Servicemembers should be briefed on the Constitution, election integrity, laws of war, how to deal with illegal orders, and the necessity of obeying superior officers, known as “unity of command.” (3) Detect and correct misinformation as well as purge the ranks of mutineers, which may be as high as 36 percent of active troops (Shane 2020). The first is ongoing, with more than 650 persons charged with offenses on January 6. The second, though normal soldier training, has now encompassed the prohibition of political activities. However, the purge has not begun (Baldor 2021). The self-purge by those refusing vaccines may not be sufficient.

Regarding the possibility of a general strike by truckers, most Americans would support a firm presidential response. Biden could call upon the army to not only arrest the strikers but to operate the trucks. The precedent is the Great Railroad Strike of 1877 (Stowell 1999).

Nevertheless, the focus on possible violence is a late stage in an effort to overthrow democracy. Trump now seems more interested in a peaceful coup attempt, so what is most important now is to focus on the possible causes of violence—the ten civil wars.

**Proposed Remedies to the Ten Civil Wars**

Based on the expansiveness of the civil war, many measures are needed to prevent what some believe may soon run amuck (the term used to describe unrestrained, furious violence). Although the ten civil wars are entwined, remedies for specific types unfortunately reveal that few are immediately possible.

**Policy Civil War (Culture War)**. To save democracy, one obvious remedy is to elect a pro-science political party with a wide margin. In addition, events must discredit false narratives. Global warming skeptics surely have had enough of the devastation caused by hurricanes and other natural disasters. The outbreak of Covid-19 unified Congress in passing rescue legislation (Haas 2021a:ch4). Some persons previously opposed to masks and vaccines changed their minds due to the mid-2021 surge in cases among the unvaccinated (Jasuja et al. 2021; Diamond 2021). At some point, those without masks might be tried for reckless endangerment or murder because they have spread the virus to someone who died. The Biden Administration’s requirement that federal contractors and employees must take Covid-19 tests or get vaccinated was struck down by the Supreme Court, though the mandate remains for health care professionals and air travelers (Kruzel 2022). Despite objections to vaccines as government overreach, the Supreme Court ruled in 1905 that vaccine mandates are constitutional in *Jacobson v. Massachusetts* (197 U.S. 11). The Covid-19 disagreement will end either when the disease stops infecting and killing or governments stop requiring masks and vaccines.

Bipartisanship emerges whenever foreign affairs issues become predominant, particularly as China and Russia increase threats. Vladimir Putin’s attack on Ukraine and threat to use nuclear weapons has united Congress. But no consensus will develop on immigration. Those who want Medicare for all and other planks of the progressive agenda argue that trust in government will increase when more in the public are beneficiaries of government largesse (Walter 2022:210-11). They downplay the fact that the cost will be an increase in already burdensome taxes. True conservatives want to limit the scope of government operations, and they go along with Trump despite his shortcomings. Little can be done to assuage those committed to authoritarian rule by someone sent by God to restore a fantasytime when life was less troubling. In time, as more move from rural and small town America to cities where lucrative jobs are plentiful, a policy consensus might develop. But many industries prefer to locate in small towns where workers are more likely to be friendly to one another (Mayer and Motoyama 2020).

**Verbal Civil War**. Ordinarily, nasty language is best handled by employers, parents, and principals as a matter of etiquette. Businesses, families, and schools cannot operate smoothly unless words are toned down. Because permits must be attained for legal demonstrations, one solution to verbal harassment in Los Angeles is to empower officeholders and their neighbors to sue illegal demonstrators for picketing within the range of 300 feet of the homes of officeholders (D.Smith 2021). A bill introduced in the California legislature during February 2022 would empower police to clear public meetings of those deemed “wilfully disruptive” (Wiley 2022). Of course, prosecutors can always charge those who make death threats.

Frustrations about masks will lessen as coronavirus crisis is under control. A new normal will arise as treatments are more effective. The public awaits Anthony Fauci to set that day.

A president can serve as a role model for moderate speech. Donald Trump’s nasty talk actually gained support because he was perceived as talking truth to power and liberating ordinary Americans from verbal restrictions (Conway, Repke, Houck 2017). Those hoping for the day when Trump no longer is part of the political discourse will have to wait at least a decade.

Trump’s sharp tongue was in deliberate contrast with sweet-talking Barack Obama (Hosseinian and Dahl 2009) and especially former Senator John McCain, who would correct members of the audience for misstatements (Martin and Parnes 2008). Joe Biden has been toning down rhetoric, though he has not taken advantage of every opportunity to keep his mouth shut when frustrated (Petrizzo 2022).

College education introduces students to a new range of nuanced vocabulary, but college attendance is currently down due to the coronavirus (Reeves and Smith 2021). As women fill more important roles throughout society, the verbal civil war will subside in due course. But not soon enough.

**Ideological Civil War**. Ending ideological civil war is not easily accomplished, since too many use their isms as the basis for their personal and group identities—and many isms exist (Haas 2022b:ch11). The clearest way out of ideological nonsense is for facts to emerge that contradict ideological bias. Anti-democratic ideological thinking can be vanquished if the people learn what democracy is and why rule-by-the-people government is important economically as well as politically. But pre-Enlightenment ideological thinking has much appeal to the less educated, who perceive scientists as pursuing their own self-interest based on one interpretation of social constructivism (Lynch 2007). Those who write textbooks for children can disseminate truth, but now their writing is ideologically contested, so the ultimate arbiter will be a political victory for those upholding science and truth.

When Donald Trump urged supporters at a rally last year to take the coronavirus vaccine, he was booed (Dastagir 2021). What Trump encountered was a preference for Libertarian Social Darwinism versus his Triumphalist Social Darwinism (Haas 2019b:ch1). Libertarians prefer to have the government not intervene in economic and social life, whereas Triumphalists want to use the government to reward the prosperous and vanquish weaker persons. One important remedy is to identify and attack Social Darwinism directly. For example, there is an apparent hidden agenda of Florida Governor Ron de Santis: Knowing that Blacks are more likely to die from coronavirus (Haas 2021a:Table 12.3), he has appointed an African American as the state’s surgeon general, who in turn aims to discourage Blacks from taking the coronavirus vaccines.

Attacks on Social Darwinism by Barack Obama and Robert Reich (Goldberg 2012) have been largely ignored. They will only succeed when they bring facts into an open debate. But the media need to recognize the threat of Social Darwinism to democracy. Thus far they have not done so.

**Information Civil War**. A self-assured leftist community competes with a right-wing consumed with rage. Dis - and mis-information exist as if protected free speech. The Foreign Malign Influence Center, set up by Congress in 2019 to address the problem, lacks a strategy and remains in limbo (Merchant 2021).

Instead of incessant Democratic Party optimism and giveaway promises, an effort is needed to prove to Trump’s supporters in their own communities that he made things materially worse for them. He promised to extend cellphone towers to rural areas, but Biden’s infrastructure bill delivered on that promise **(**Laris 2018;Maher 2021**)**. Instead of improving conditions for his supporters, he has been constructing an economic and political oligarchy for a complete takeover of the economy (Bernstein 2020; Haas 2021b:ch2). Although he gained $2.4 billion in income while in office (D.Alexander 2021), the Supreme Court declared an emoluments lawsuit as moot after he left office (Sherman 2021). Yet Democrats have apparently given up on trying to reach beyond their base (Roman 2021).

The solution to low information is more information. “Fact rallies” in small towns and rural areas could not only bring residents into sane political discourse but point out how government has made their lives easier by ensuring clean drinking water, paving formerly dirt roads, providing loans to small businesses, and in myriad other ways. Such rallies could be conduc.ted through cooperation among local preachers, teachers, and local heroes. The aim would be to get the facts to the people and dispel falsehoods that threaten public trust in government.

The most important information to disseminate is about democracy. Civics classes should be required, and media should provide information about the Constitution as a matter of public urgency.

**Class-Based Civil War**. The struggle will end when corporate executives realize that inequality stymies the economy; they should take measures to reduce the gap between their profits and measly salaries now paid to their employees. Such a realization among the rich took place in Europe after the ravages of World War II (Deak 2000). Instead, Congress followed Trump by giving the rich a bonus in the Tax Cut and Jobs Act of 2017 so that they could bankroll Republican candidates in 2018 and beyond (McCloskey 2021).

There must be increased acceptance of the fact that there is no evidence to support trickle-down economic theory (Peters and Nagel 2020:8). The richest Americans might realize that economies flourish and grow as the distribution of income becomes more equal (Oshima 1970; Jackman 1975; Haas 2014:ch7; Ostry, Loungani, Berg 2019). Patriotic Millionaires, a group formed in 2010, has not yet achieved their goal of increasing taxes on the wealth or even repealing the Tax Cut and Jobs Act.

Joe Biden has repeatedly praised efforts of unions to bring social justice to workers, and in February 2022 he required all federal construction contractors receiving at least $35 million to hire only union members (Buckley 2022). Repeal of laws restricting unions might come next but will be blocked by Republican officeholders financed by businesses. Antitrust legislation could be better enforced to stop monopolistic control in various sectors of the economic, but such litigation is expensive.

Barbara Walter (2022:199) believes that correcting the economy is less important than improving how government works for the people. She recommends a host of progressive reforms, including Medicare for all. But many Republicans want government to do less, not more, so her implementation of her recommendation might increase a desire for civil war.

Another possible remedy to inequality is government-guaranteed annual income, a goal advanced by Andrew Yang. The reform has been adopted by Republicans for more than a decade with success for all residents of Alaska (Kearney and Mogstad 2019). Stockton, California, has recently been successful in making regular payments to randomly selected residents Treisman 2021).

**Racial Civil War**. *How to Demolish Racism* (Haas 2016) provides evidence on how racial suspicions were overcome in Hawai’i, where no racial group has commanded a majority for at least a century. But White “replacement theory” resists any effort to end the racial civil war because exponents favor racial dominance.

Gregory Stanton (2020), who the ten-step pathway to genocide, urges the international community to take action before a situation develops too far. But no country or intergovernmental body is likely to intervene in the United States if treatment of racial groups goes down that road.

Affirmative action, one method for dismantling racial preference, was adopted so that work environments would become more productive as coworkers of diverse racial backgrounds work together. The aim was to have businesses hire workers based on their relative percentages for certain jobs in the larger workforce. But rivalry between workers can also inflame racial hatred, especially when some are fired or expelled. The backlash to affirmative action, interpreted incorrectly as “reverse discrimination,” prompted liberal California voters to abolish affirmative action in 1996 and reject the policy again in 2020 (Myers 2007; Peele and Willis 2020). The current Supreme Court appears unlikely to save affirmative action (Butler 2022).

Multicultural education, once tried to deal with xenophobia, was rejected for many reasons (Jay 2003). Nevertheless, “model minority” immigrants with high standards of kindness, friendliness, humility, and sociability have been welcomed by appreciative Whites who live and work alongside them (NIF 2019).

But the fact remains that segregation persists in public schools due to segregation in residential communities (Rothstein 2019). In 2007, the Supreme Court told school districts that efforts to desegregate are unconstitutional in *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1* (551 U.S. 701).

According to sociologist James Coleman (1975), the problem of racial discord will end when everyone is racially mixed within marriages or by birth, though he should have added when the mainstream media provide support to that goal. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., traces genetic roots on public television, but only one person at a time. Many African Americans prefer to describe themselves as of mixed race because most are part-White (Zack 1993). But media prefer the simplicity of dichotomy—the “one drop of blood” approach. Senator Elizabeth Warren, whose DNA test indicates some Cherokee background, even felt compelled to apologize to the Chief of the Cherokee Nation for her claim (Linskey and Gardner 2020). Some White Supremacists may discover that they have African or Native American background if they undertake DNA tests, but that subject never comes up. The United States may perhaps already have a White minority, since DNA testing has been limited. When racial mixing is celebrated, the racial civil war will end.

**Civil Society Civil War**. Regarding pressure groups, more transparency is needed about how they finance political campaigns and flood officeholders with funds (Walter 2022:203), including a law overriding the 2010 ruling by the Supreme Court in *Citizens United v Federal Election Commission* (558 U.S. 310). Public financing of election campaigns is possible, but Obama refused to do so in 2008 (Bellantoni 2008. Larry Diamond (2022) urges pro-democracy populist rallies to combat anti-democracy populism, but the only Democrats who can command large audiences are Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama—and Bill Maher.

The Southern Poverty Law Center has been taking racist organizations to court. The aim goes beyond having them found in violation of criminal law, such as the prohibition of public gatherings of “unauthorized militias” (Walter 2022:211-12). They have achieved success by civil suits—seeking damages for actions that harm citizens. The result has been to bankrupt hate groups (SPLC 1987).

The civil war between Democrats and Republicans occurs in the context of a four-party system: Each party has extreme and moderate wings. An unlikely victory of the same party in ten successive elections will end the partisan civil war by crowning its ideology and policy leanings as the norm for a generation. That happened when Republicans dominated for almost seventy years after the Civil War and when Democrats remained in power for two decades after the Great Depression. But now the parties are about equal, with moderates under attack in both parties (Earle 2021; Barabak 2022a).

One way to increase the number of elected moderates is the “open primary,” which allows Independents to vote for either party in a primary election. Half of the states have “open primaries,” which favor moderate candidates (NCSL 2021). However, evidence is not conclusive regarding victories for moderates under ranked-choice voting, a procedure that is difficult for the less informed voters (Coll 2021) but provides new opportunities for third parties.

Alternatively, traditional Republicans might establish a National Conservative Party, confident that a new centrist party will eventually overtake the Trump-controlled Republican Party as Trump joins the ranks of octogenarians. (There is a Conservative Party of New York, but the party fully supported Trump (Winger 2020).) Former Massachusetts Governor Bill Weld was among more than 150 Republicans who signed a declaration to that effect in mid-May 2021 after House Republicans ousted Liz Cheney from a leadership position in Congress (Earle 2021). The likely timing of a new party will occur after the 2022 election, when all but pro-Trump Republicans will have been purged from the party by voters.

Nevertheless, Biden won in part by a switch of 7 percent of 2016 Republican Trump voters (Goldberg 2021). Democrats might not benefit from the formation of a third party.

The media war seems intractable. One proposal to revive print media is for governmental or nongovernmental funding of nonprofit newspapers at the local level so that citizens will rely on nonpartisan fact-oriented information in jurisdictions where newspapers are now absent (Farhi and Izadi 2021). Baltimore Sun is now a nonprofit newspaper.

Radio and television once were regulated by the “fairness doctrine,” which was abolished during the era of President Ronald Reagan. If revived and extended to standard television and cable news, every opinion stated on cable television would be subject to an opposing opinion of the same length. Media might then become dominated by boring debates. A more useful way to counteract media bias is to hear refutations of statements believed to be false. Thus far, factcheckers openly operate on CNN, FactCheck.org, and the Washington Post, while layers of internal factchecking were exposed in *Pailin v New York Times* (Reilly 2022). Meanwhile, Fox News decries “fake news” from “radical left” sources. Thus, a common definition of “fairness” no longer exists for the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to enforce.

For Barbara Walter (2022:215), “Take away the social media bullhorn and you turn down the volume on bullies, conspiracy theories, bots, trolls, disinformation machines, hate-mongers, and enemies of democracy.” Nevertheless, the FCC now treats social media similar to information transmitted over the telephone—that is, as a platform of unregulated communication.

Accordingly, there has been much focus on censorship by Facebook, Twitter, and other social media. Website self-monitoring aims to remove messages that raise the likelihood of violence (Tornabene 2021). After January 6, Trump was entirely cut off from Facebook and Twitter (Bloomberg 2020, 2021), so he moved to less popular social media and carried his popularity with him. Anyone banned from a social media platform can also establish a podcast (Dwoskin 2022).

Pressure now exists for the FCC to declare the Internet a public utility (Broadkin 2020). However, the First Amendment would then apply, protecting more than regulating content. One justification would be that foreign infiltration of social media is a national security threat, so the government must regulate content (within limits, of course).

**Congressional Civil War**. For Barbara Walter (2022:196), one way to avoid civil war is for leaders to make key compromises, but Trump does not accept any adversary as an equal except for dictators. Beyond abolishing the filibuster and Hastert Rule, which prevent debate, there is a need to revive bipartisanship. When ten Republicans visited President Joe Biden in early 2021 to offer support for legislation to mitigate the coronavirus impact on everyday lives of Americans, Biden showed them the door because he preferred a larger price tag on the bill, catering to the progressive wing of the Democrats in the House of Representatives (Renshaw and Morgan 2021). He missed the chance to divide Republicans into two camps. Regular efforts to construct bipartisan solutions that might heal divisions only emerged once more in 2021—bipartisan infrastructure legislation. Republicans voting for Biden’s bipartisan infrastructure bill were attacked by Trump and received death threats, which resulted in at least one arrest (Dorman 2021). In short, Biden promised but has not delivered any “healing.”

Meanwhile, leftist Democrats held up passage of bipartisan infrastructure legislation as if to impose a Damoclean sword over moderate Democrats. The best way to end the Congressional intraparty civil war by extremists is to have voters reject them the next election. That requires an unlikely end to gerrymandering, which ensures that extremist incumbents are re-elected; only about 10 percent of members of the House (43) are from swing districts (Gest 2020). Bipartisan commissions to redraw voting district lines after the decennial census might end gerrymandering, but there are only six so far for Congressional seats (Ballotpedia 2022).

Regarding misconduct by members of Congress, Pelosi’s disciplinary efforts are only temporary. The remedy of expelling members of Congress cannot be used because a two-thirds vote is constitutionally required. Refusal to seat newly elected members of Congress is unlikely for the same reason.

However, Congress has the power of “inherent contempt,” which means that anyone defying a subpoena or engaging in fisticuffs on the floor of Congress could be put into a jail located within Congress. Speaker Pelosi has been too timid to use that power, though at least six Democratic members of the House want her to do so (Demings 2020). The only way a member of Congress can be arrested while attending a session of Congress is if they commit a breach of the peace, a felony, or are convicted of treason (Article I, Section 6). Gaetz, who has violated the “breach of the peace” provision, remains undisciplined.

Larry Diamond (2022) believes that an independent anti-corruption commission, a human rights commission, and an ombudsman to investigate citizen complaints are necessary. But they will not end the civil war inside Congress.

**Constitutional Civil War**. Regarding ignorance of the Constitution, one solution is for schools to adopt mandatory civics courses and exams on specifics in the founding document as a condition for high school graduation (cf. Walter 2022:204-5). Meanwhile, a charismatic leader defending democracy is urgently needed today for those not in school.

To plug constitutional and legislative loopholes utilized by Trump, the obvious solution would be legislation to eliminate them and, in addition, convert norms into law. More than fifty have been proposed, yet President Biden not made the issue a priority (Bauer and Goldsmith 2020; McManus 2022). Democrats passed a sweeping reform bill in December 2021 without Republican support, a signal that the bill is dead in the Senate (Bernstein 2022:18). For example, anyone promised a pardon after being elected president should be ineligible for a pardon.

To marginalize the Electoral College, Democratic states have adopted the National Popular Vote Interstate Compact. Under the agreement, states and the District of Columbia would cast Electoral votes for president (and vice president) on the basis of whoever won the national popular vote even if someone else won that state’s majority. Fifteen states and the District of Columbia have signed up for the pledge, accounting for 195 Electoral votes (Amar 2011). But 270 Electoral votes are needed to win. No Republican states have signed up.

Something must be done so that the events of January 6 will never happen again.

One plan by the Democratic Party is to hold hearings about the event, shame culpable members of Congress, and have them imprisoned after prosecution by the Department of Justice. Presumably, they will also recommend a law prohibiting domestic terrorism.

Some believe that Trump will be found guilty of crimes that may discredit him. The Department of Justice may charge him so that the public will know that no person is above the law. For example, he clearly violated the Presidential Records Act of 1978 by tearing up documents (Zelizer 2022). Giving aid and comfort to insurrectionists also violates a provision the 14th Amendment (Nichols2021). The penalty in both cases might be to bar him from ever holding office again. Voters in Congressman Jim Jordan’s Ohio district have asked to have him disqualified for his role on January 6 (Lemon 2022), citing the 14th amendment, something that only a judge could order but a probe that could be extended to Trump. However, the former president’s lawyers will file endless motions and appeals, and the Justice Department will fear the consequences of indicting a former president (Litman 2022). If convicted, an expected general strike by his supporters would amount to a civil war, so no lawsuit against him is likely under the Biden Administration’s Department of Justice.

Meanwhile, the end of democracy is not a campaign issue that delivers votes to Democrats (Dovere 2021). Politicians are preachers, not educators. Defeat of candidates upholding the “Big Lie” would restore some election integrity but now seems unlikely, though Senator “Mitch” McConnell has recruited candidates to oppose them in Senate elections for 2022 (Noble 2022).

The only remedies left are in the hands of President Joe Biden, Jr. (Kagan 2021). As the incumbent, he has powers to combat lawlessness and insurrectionist plots. But he has left the matter to the tedious Department of Justice. The FBI has arrested, convicted, and imprisoned many January 6 anarchists. But they may be out of prison in 2025, joined by insurrectionists not present in 2021. Although onetime U.S. Attorney Barbara McQuade (2022) has drafted a lengthy legal memo with 166 footnotes to prosecute Trump for his role in January 6 and related matters, the former president expects impunity from his violation of various laws by endless judicial motions and appeals.

**Interstate Civil War**. Because states differ in how they implement national laws, Congress should pass national standards. Accordingly, the Freedom to Vote Act and the John Lewis Vote Rights Enhancement Act sought to establish voting standards for all parts of the United States. But they were defeated by filibuster in January 2022. At a minimum, changes in the Electoral Count Act of 1877 might clarify the role of the vice president. Automatic voter registration for those who apply for voter vehicle licenses exist in 16 states and the District of Columbia, though the result is increased voter turnout (Rakich 2019).

The country is now divided and cannot act together because one party’s agenda has almost become the antithesis of the other. Never has the United States been more divided—and much more divided than all other industrial democracies today (Silver, Fetterolf, Connaughton 2021). The ferocity of the other nine civil wars and the prospect of King Donald I in 2025 have already resulted in talk about Plan D—secession.

All Californians have to do is refuse to file federal income taxes. Lacking the annual $472 million that now goes from the Golden State to the government in Washington (US IRS 2021), the federal government would shut down. No federal army or prison is large enough to arrest and jail every Californian for nonpayment. The Bear Flag Republic would be reborn without a shot.

Although secession appears to be unconstitutional and was debated before 1860 (Strauss 1997/98), no federal court has ever ruled on the issue. Nevertheless, secession would jeopardize control over the armed forces and nuclear weapons. Social security payments and pensions flowing across state lines would be in jeopardy; similar problems now prevent Québec and Scotland from seceding (Marche 2022:179). The national debt would evaporate, leaving those holding government bonds with scratch paper that would cause a worldwide depression. If the country cannot solve problems now, how could they handle them separately? Any effort to withdraw from a union will be messy.

However, interest in secession comes from Marjorie Taylor Greene among others, with nearly a majority of the American public now in favor (Cole 2021; Slisco 2021; Sabato, Kondik, Coleman 2021; Marche 2022:ch5). The state most likely to secede is Hawai’i, since the seizure of the Kingdom violated international law; precedent from the legal tradition of the kingdom is already being invoked in state courts (Haas 2016). A blueprint for Hawaiian independence exists—the constitution that once existed under the Kingdom of Hawai’i. Although Native Hawaiians might clamor for independence, they do not command a majority of the Island population today, and the rest of the population might not go along.

Meanwhile, formerly independent California and Texas, respectively the fifth and ninth-largest economies in the world, might survive as independent states (Forbes 2019; TEDC 2021). Senator Ted Cruz has contemplated restoring the independence of Texas and thereby seizing NASA, the oil, and everything on military bases (Hains 2021).

Several Native American nations, already semi-independent of the jurisdiction of the states in which they live, would have to confederate to become viable states, if then. The only other section of the country with a clear identity is the South, which might re-invent the Confederacy and Jim Crow, though purplish Florida and Georgia might not go along with the idea.

Secession might bring about conditions similar to the dysfunctionality that arose after the Articles of Confederation and National Union were adopted in 1781. After all, the Constitution created a federal government responsible for handling defense, diplomacy, and the national economy on behalf of the previously independent thirteen states (cf. Scruton 2017).

Nevertheless, the Supreme Court may continue to dismantle nationwide innovations adopted under the “necessary and proper clause,” such as the welfare state and widespread government regulation of the environment. The prospect is for continuing mini-secession until members of the Supreme Court realize what they are doing to destroy national unity. Accordingly, expansion of members on the court and court packing have been proposed (Epps and Sitaraman 2021).

**Conclusion**

The American experiment with “democracy” appears to nearing an end. Trump has found all the loopholes and weak spots and is prepared to resume control in 2025. He continues to enjoy support because the American political and social systems appear broken.

Donald Trump brought civil war out of the closet at many levels despite conscientious efforts inside his White House to prevent serious damage (Newman 2018:330). The danger is likely to heat up as long as he commands loyalty.

Although the concept of “civil war” is usually understood to involve a violent struggle, the current situation suggests that election infrastructure control by Trumpists will result in a nonviolent seizure of power by a coup on January 6, 2025. Congress, if controlled by Republicans, may only accept Electoral Votes that they approve.

A necessary but not sufficient condition for returning to normal is for him to lose influence. Due to ongoing litigation, he may fear being bankrupted, imprisoned, and unable to run for office again, but his lawyers can drag out any court case for a decade. Meanwhile, he has created enough momentum that the civil war can intensify without him (McManus 2021).

Although one view is that democracies die in small steps that seem lawful (Snyder 2017; Levitsky and Ziblatt 2018), Donald Trump has no interest in the Constitution or laws. If he becomes president again, Plan C is expected to unfold, following Vladimir Putin’s Ukraine playbook: Trump would wreak vengeance on all his opponents, whom he will consider enemies to be jailed. Democracy will end as he kicks the press out of the White House, has the FBI arrest Democratic Party members in Congress, pardons everyone he considers a “political prisoner,” and organizes a new constitutional convention. Discrimination based on race, sex, and other bases will become rampant throughout the country, reinstituting Jim Crow, and he will try to deport millions of legal and illegal residents. Medicare and Social Security will be abolished. State troops will take over police forces in cities with Democratic mayors. Cellphones will be monitored to arrest dissidents.

The future of democracy is in the hands of President Joe Biden, Congress, and the Supreme Court until the presidential election of 2024. In a few years, we may have to learn to adjust to a United States [sic] that is led by King Donald I.

Thus, the most serious problem is that millions will cheer a peaceful Trump coup, and the rest of the people of the United States will be unable to prevent or stop whatever happens. As of mid-February 2022, the Capitol Police were still not up to the level where they could stop a second outbreak of violence (Wire 2022). Efforts to avoid the worst-case scenario of an end to American democracy are under consideration but are mostly long-term solutions (Parker 2021; Walter 2022:224-26).

To end the present crisis, the problem has been unpacked into ten civil wars so that corrective measures could be surgically precise. Many suggestions have been made above to mitigate or end those civil wars. But they are mostly long-term measures for a crisis that exists right now.

One reform might effectively work in a timely manner to prevent a nonviolent or violent coup—formation of a National Democratic Party by disaffected moderate Republicans in advance of the 2024 election. The American people desperately want a strong centrist party to overcome and heal differences. However, a new political party alone will not cure all ten problem areas that have burgeoned into civil war territory.

By default, a coup followed by Plan C might stimulate Plan D—a secession of states similar to the breakup of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1991. Red and Blue states might agree to form two separate states, leaving Purple states in chaos until they choose where to go. The end of the United States and American democracy may be down the road.

**References**

Abramowitz, Alan (2022). “Why Voter Suppression Probably Won’t Work: Voting Procedures, Turnout, and Vote Margins in the 2020 Election,” [*https://centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/articles/why-voter-suppression-probably-wont-work/*](https://centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/articles/why-voter-suppression-probably-wont-work/), February 3.

Abramowitz, Alan, and Jennifer McCoy (2018). “United States: Racial Resentment, Negative Partisanship, and Polarization in Trump’s America,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 681 (1): 137-156.

Akinci, Merter (2018). “Inequality and Economic Growth: Trickle‐Down Effect Revisited,” *Development Policy Review*, 36 (S1): 1-24.

Alemany, Jacqueline, and Theodoric Meyer (2022). “On the Jan. 6 Anniversary, Republican Candidates Embrace the ‘Big Lie’,” *Washington Post*, January 6.

Alexander, Dan (2021). “Trump’s Business Hauled in $2.4 Billion During Four Years He Served as President,” *https://www.forbes.com/sites/danalexander/2021/07/19/trumps-business-hauled-in-24-billion-during-four-years-he-served-as-president/?sh=44bc8c8e10c0*, July 19.

Alexander, Keith L. (2021). “Prosecutors Break Down Charges, Convictions for 725 Arrested So Far in Jan. 6 Attack on U.S. Capitol,” *Washington Post*, December 31

Amar, Vikram (2021). “The Case for Reforming Presidential Elections by Subconstitutional Means: The Electoral College, the National Popular Vote Compact, and Congressional Power,” *Georgetown Law Journal*, 100 (1): 237-259.

Andersen, Kurt (2021). “Doing Our Bit to Avoid a Civil War.” *https://gen.medium.com/doing-our-bit-to-avoid-a-civil-war-2b971261b781*, November 20.

Annenberg Public Policy Center (2017). “Americans Are Poorly Informed About Basic Constitutional Provisions*,” https://www.annenbergpublicpolicycenter.org/americans-are-poorly-informed-about-basic-constitutional-provisions*, September 12.

Anti-Definition League (2021). “Murder and Extremism in the United States in 2020,” [*https://www.adl.org/media/15825/download*](https://www.adl.org/media/15825/download), February.

Anti-Definition League (2021). “Antisemitism in the US,” [*https://www.adl.org/what-we-do/anti-semitism/antisemitism-in-the-us*](https://www.adl.org/what-we-do/anti-semitism/antisemitism-in-the-us). Accessed February 1, 2022.

Applebaum, Anne (2021). “The New Puritans,” *theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2021/10/new-puritans-mob-justice-cancelled/619818*, September 7.

Associated Press (2020). “Americans’ Trust in Virus Information Is Declining,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 21.

Associated Press (2022). “Justice Department Announces Domestic Terrorism Unit,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 12.

Azari, Julia (2019). “It’s the Institutions, Stupid: The Real Roots of America’s Political Crisis,” *Foreign Affairs*, 98 (4): 52-60.

Baird, Addy (2018). “Republicans Nationwide Enact Back-Up Plan After Losing Elections: Just Reject the Results,” *https://archive.thinkprogress.org/republicans-undermining-voters-ut-wi-mi-pa-258a89ab53f1/*, December 6.

Baldor, Lolita C. (2021). “New Rules Target Military Extremist Activity,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 21.

Ballotpedia (2022). “Redistricting Commissions,” [*https://ballotpedia.org/Redistricting\_commissions*](https://ballotpedia.org/Redistricting_commissions). Accessed February 8, 2022.

Balz, Dan, Scott Clement, and Emily Guskin (2022). “Republicans and Democrats Divided Over Jan. 6 Insurrection and Trump’s Culpability, Post-UMD Poll Finds,” *Washington Post*, January 1.

Barabak, Mark Z. (2022a). “Nevada Divide Imperils Democrats,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 11.

Barabak, Mark Z. (2022b). “Trump and His Allies Want to Run Elections,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 24.

Baragona, Justin (2020). “Matt Gaetz Shouts Down Democratic Rep. Cedric Richmond: ‘Who the Hell Do You Think You Are?!’,” *https://www.thedailybeast.com/matt-gaetz-shouts-Strategiesdown-democratic-rep-cedric-richmond-who-the-hell-do-you-think-you-are*, June 18.

Bauer, Bob, and Jack Goldsmith (2020). *After Trump: Reconstructing the Presidency*. Washington, DC: Lawfare Institute.

Behrman, Savannah (2020), “Sen.-Elect Tommy Tuberville Botches History Facts, Including Three Branches of Government,” *USA Today*, November 13.

Bell, David A. (2022). “The End of the Terror,” *New York Review of Books*, 69 (4): 31-33.

Bella, Timothy (2021). “Roger Stone Served ‘a Big, Big Stack of Papers’ from Capitol Riot Lawsuit During Radio Interview,” *Washington Post*, September 16, 2021.

Bella, Timothy, and Lateshia Beacham (2021). “‘Sit down!’ ‘No, You Sit Down!’ Democrat’s Speech Nearly Triggers Fistfight on House Floor,” *Washington Post*, January 7.

Bellantoni, Christina (2008). “Obama Refuses Public Financing,” *Washington Times*, June 19.

Bender-Slack, Delane, and Francis Godwyll, eds. (2022). *Towards Anti-Racist Educational Research: Radical Moments and Movements*. Lanham, MD: Lexington.

Benson, Kevin, and Jennifer Weber (2012). “Full Spectrum Operations in the Homeland: A ‘Vision’ of the Future,” *Small Wars Journal*, *https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/full-spectrum-operations-in-the-homeland-a-%E2%80%9Cvision%E2%80%9D-of-the-future*, July 25.

Bernstein, Andrea (2020). *American Oligarchs: The Kushners, the Trumps, and the Marriage of Money and Power*. New York: Norton.

Bernstein, Jake (2022). “Trump’s Unbridled Pardons,” *New York Review of Books*, 69 (3): 16-19.

Berry, Jeffrey M., and Sarah Sobieraj (2011). “Understanding the Rise of Talk Radio,” *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 44 (4): 762-767.

Bilewicz, Michał, and Wiktor Soral (2020). “Hate Speech Epidemic. The Dynamic Effects of Derogatory Language on Intergroup Relations and Political Radicalization,” *Political Psychology*, 41 (1): 3-33.

Blattman, Christopher, and Edward Miguel (2010). “Civil War,” *Journal of Economic Literature*, 48, (1): 3-57.

Blitzer, Ronn (2020). “GOP Announces No New 2020 Platform, Party to ‘Enthusiastically Support’ Trump Agenda,” *https://www.foxnews.com/politics/gop-no-new-2020-platform-trump-agenda*, August 24.

Bloomberg News (2020). “Trumps Attack on Social Media Firms Is Nearing Defeat,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 25.

Bloomberg News (2021). “Parle Alternatives Tout Own Apps,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 12.

Bolger, Daniel (2014). *Why We Lost: A General’s Inside Account of the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars*. New York: Mariner.

Bolkin, Camryn (2022). “At Least 57 Jan. 6 Rioters Are Now Running for Political Office,” *https://upolitics.com/news/at-least-57-jan-6-rioters-are-now-running-for-political-office/*, January 6.

Bonos, Lisa (2021). “Republicans Have More Friends Across the Political Divide Than Democrats, Study Finds,” *Washington Post*, July 3.

Borjas, George (1992). “Immigration Research in the 1980s: A Turbulent Decade,” *Research Frontiers in Industrial Relations and Human Resources*, eds. David Lewin, Olivia S. Mitchell, and Peter D. Sherer, pp. 417-446. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Borowitz, Andy (2017). “Trump Says He Has Been Treated Very Unfairly by People Who Wrote Constitution,” [*https://newyorker.com/humor/borowitz-report/trump-says-he-has-been-treated-very-unfairly-by-people-who-wrote-constitution/utm\_source=nl&u*](https://newyorker.com/humor/borowitz-report/trump-says-he-has-been-treated-very-unfairly-by-people-who-wrote-constitution/utm_source=nl&u), February 10.

Borowitz, Andy (2020). “Trump Attempts to Fire Amy Comey Barrett,” [*https://newyorker.com/humor/borowitz-report/trump-attempts-to-fire-amy-comey-barrett*](https://newyorker.com/humor/borowitz-report/trump-attempts-to-fire-amy-comey-barrett), December 9.

Bradshaw, Samantha, and Philip N. Howard (2018). “The Global Organization of Social Media Disinformation Campaigns,” *Journal of International Affairs*, 71 (15): 23-32.

Branson-Potts, Hailey (2021). “Curses, Punches, Threats at Schools Navigate Pandemic,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 5.

Brenan, Megan (2021). “Americans’ Trust in Media Dips to Second Lowest on Record,” *news.gallup.com*, October 7.

Brennan Center for Justice (2021). “Election Officials Under Attack,” [*https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/policy-solutions/election-officials-under-attack*](https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/policy-solutions/election-officials-under-attack),June 16.

Breslin, Ryan (2021). “Experts Seeing Increase in Mental Health Issues During the Pandemic,” [*https://www.wsmv.com/news/experts-seeing-increase-in-mental -health-issues-during-the-pandemic/article\_a56e89e2-0efb-11ec-8831-8311d32a5952.html/*](https://www.wsmv.com/news/experts-seeing-increase-in-mental%20-health-issues-during-the-pandemic/article_a56e89e2-0efb-11ec-8831-8311d32a5952.html/), September 6.

Brewer, Paul R., and David Pritchard (2008). “Ideology and Public Trust in Radio as a Source for Local News,” *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, 15 (2): 124-135.

Brodkin, John (2020). “Making Internet Service a Utility—What’s the Worst That Could Happen?,” *https://arstechnica.com/information-technology/2020/05/worst-case-scenario-why-the-cable-lobby-is-scared-of-becoming-a-utility/*, May 23.

Brockell, Gillian (2020). “Trump Loyalists Harboring Martial Law Fantasies Don’t Know Their History,” *Washington Post*, December 22.

Bromhead, Alan de, Barry Eichengreen, and Kevin H. O’Rourke (2012). “Right-Win Political Extremism in the Great Depression,” *National Bureau of Economic Research*, *Working Paper* #17871, February.

Broom, Douglas (2021). This Is How We Prevent Future Pandemics, Say 22 Leading Scientists,” [*https://weforum.org/agenda/2021/11/covid-19-pandemics-nature-scientists/*](https://weforum.org/agenda/2021/11/covid-19-pandemics-nature-scientists/), November 27.

Brown, Lee (2022). “Virginia Gov Sets Up Tip Line to Report Schools Teaching ‘Divisive’ Critical Race Theory,” *New York Post*, January 25.

Brownstein, Ronald (2022), “Red States Are Remaking the Civil Liberties Landscape,” *https://www.cnn.com/2022/02/22/politics/republicans-civil-liberties-abortion-voting-race/*, February 22.

Broz, J. Lawrence, Jeffry Frieden, and Stephen Weymouth (2021). “Populism in Place: The Economic Geography of the Globalization Backlash,” *International Organization*, 75 (2): 464-494.

Buckley, Bruce (2022). “Biden Mandates Project Labor Agreements on Large Federal Projects,” *https://www.enr.com/articles/53551-biden-mandates-project-labor-agreements-on-large-federal-projects*, February 4.

Buhaug, Halvard, and Scott Gates, S. (2002). “The Geography of Civil War,” Journal of Peace Research, 39 (4): 417-433.

Bump, Philip (2019). “Here’s Why the Matt Gaetz Sit-In Stunt Was Particularly Weird,” *Washington Post*, October 23.

Burtka, Jeff (2021). “Marijuana Possession Laws by State,” [*https://www.findlaw.com/state/criminal-laws/marijuana-possession-laws-by-state.html*](https://www.findlaw.com/state/criminal-laws/marijuana-possession-laws-by-state.html), July 12.

Butler, Paul (2022). “I Once Told a Supreme Court Justice That Affirmative Action Got Me into Harvard and Yale. Today They Wouldn’t Listen.,” *Washington Post*, January 27.

California Air Resources Board (2021). “States that have Adopted California’s Vehicle Standards Under Section 177 of the Federal Clean Air Act,” *https://ww2.arb.ca.gov/resources/documents/states-have-adopted-californias-vehicle-standards-under-section-177-federal*, December 6.

Campisi, Natalie (2021). “Housing Market Predictions 2022: Will Prices Drop*?*,” [*https://www.forbes.com/advisor/mortgages/housing-market-predictions/*](https://www.forbes.com/advisor/mortgages/housing-market-predictions/), December 28.

Canto, Minerva (2021). “Spying on Students Won’t East Their Mental Health Crisis,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 26.

Cardone, Grant (2011). “Lazy Is an Entitlement Concept,” *https://www.huffpost.com/entry/lazy-is-an-entitlement-co\_b\_939883*, October 29.

Carlin, John P. (2015). “Remarks on Domestic Terrorism at an Event Co-Sponsored by the Southern Poverty Law Center and the George Washington University Center for Cyber and Homeland Security’s Program on Extremism,” *https://www.justice.gov/opa/speech/assistant-attorney-general-john-p-carlin-delivers-remarks-domestic-terrorism-event-co*, October 14.

Casiano, Louis (2022). “American Truckers Plan Convoy to DC in Protest of COVID-19 Mandates,” *https://www.foxnews.com/us/american-truckers-convoy-dc-protest-covid-19*, February 17.

Cederman, Lars-Eric, Kristian Gleditsch, and Simon Hug (2012). “Elections and Ethnic Civil War,” *Comparative Political Studies*, 46 (3): 387-417.

Center for Budget and Policy Priorities (2022). “Chart Book: Tracking the Post-Great Recession Economy,” *https://www.cbpp.org/research/economy/tracking-the-post-great-recession-economy*, February 5.

Certo, Peter (2020). “Who’s Afraid of ‘Socialism’?,” *https://ips-dc.org/whos-afraid-of-socialism/*, February 12.

Chemerinsky, Erwin (2021). “Abortion Decision Imperils All Our Rights,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 11.

Chen, Keith, and Ryne Rohla (2018). “The Effect of Partisanship and Political Advertising on Close Family Ties,” *Science*, 360 (3692): 1020-1024.

Chenoweth, Erica, and Maria Stephan (2012). *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Choi, Joseph (2022). “Second Draft Order by Trump Advisers Sought to Ask DHS to Seize Voting Machines: Report,” *https://thehill.com/homenews/administration/592201-second-draft-order-by-trump-advisers-sought-to-ask-dhs-to-seize*, January 31.

Clark, Joseph (2022). “Arizona Democratic Party Censures Sinema as Party Reels from String of Defeats,” *Washington Times*, January 22.

Cole, Brendan (2021). “Marjorie Taylor Greene Asks If U.S. Should Be Divided Between GOP and Democrats,” *https://www.newsweek.com/marjorie-taylor-greene-asks-us-divided-gop-democrats-national-divorce-1638025*, October 21.

Cole, David (2014). “How Corrupt Are Our Politics,” *New York Review of Books*, 61 (14): 45-46, 48.

Cole, David (2017). “Why Free Speech Is Not Enough,” *New York Review of* Books, 64 (5): 34-36.

Cole, David (2022). “The First Salvo in the War on Regulatory Action,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 24.

Coleman, James (1975). “Integration, Yes; Busing, No,” *New York Times*, August 24.

Coles, T.J. (2017). *President Trump, Inc.: How Big Business and Neoliberalism Empower Populism and the Far Right*. West Hoathly, West Sussex: Clairview.

Coll, Joseph A. (2021). “Demographic Disparities Using Ranked-Choice Voting? Ranking Difficulty, Under-Voting, and the 2020 Democratic Primary,” *Politics and Governance*, 9 (2): 293-305.

Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler (1998). “On Economic Causes of Civil War,” *Oxford Economic Papers*, 50 (4): 563-573.

Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler (2007). “Civil War.” In *Handbook of Defense Economics*: *Defense in a Globalized World*, eds. Todd Sandler, Keith Hartley, Volume 2, Chapter 23. New York: Elsevier.

Collins, Chuck (2021). “U.S. Billionaires Got 62 percent Richer During Pandemic. They’re Now Up $1.8 Trillion.,” *https://ips-dc.org/u-s-billionaires-62-percent-richer-during-pandemic/*, August 24.

Collins, Michael, David Jackson, and Courtney Subramanian (2019). “‘Phony.’ Donald Trump Mocks “Emoluments’ Clause of the U.S. Constitution That Bans Foreign Gifts,” *USA Today*, October 21.

Contreras, Brian (2021). “A Shift from Tweets to Parler Tricks?,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 10.

Conway, Lucian Gideon, Meredith A. Repke, and Shannon C. Houck (2017). “Donald Trump as a Cultural Revolt Against Perceived Communication Restriction: Priming Political Correctness Norms Causes More Trump Support,” *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 5 (1): 244-259.

Cooter, Amy (2022). “Citizen Militias in the U.S. Are Moving Toward More Violent Extremism,” [*https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/citizen-militias-in-the-u-s-are-moving-toward-more-violent-extremism/*](https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/citizen-militias-in-the-u-s-are-moving-toward-more-violent-extremism/), January.

Darr, Joshua P., and Johanna L. Dunaway (2018). “Resurgent Mass Partisanship Revisited: The Role of Media Choice in Clarifying Elite Ideology,” *American Politics Research*, 46 (6): 943-970.

Dastagir, Alia E. (2021). “What Trump Getting Booed Can Teach Us About This COVID Movement,” *USA Today*, August 25.

Dawsey, Josh (2018). “Trump Derides Protections for Immigrants from ‘Shithole’ Countries,” *Washington Post*, January 12.

Deak, István, ed. (2000). *The Politics of Retribution in Europe: World War II and Its Aftermath*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

DeBruin, Claire (2019). “Right-Wing Extremism in the United States,” [*https://ideaexchange.uakron.edu/honors\_research\_projects/997/*](https://ideaexchange.uakron.edu/honors_research_projects/997/), September 10.

Delaney, Arthur (2022). “Rep. Joyce Beatty Says Rep. Hal Rogers Poked Her, Said ‘Kiss My Ass’ Over Mask Request,” *https://www.huffpost.com/entry/joyce-beatty-hal-rogers\_n\_6202d2c0e4b039350e6af60c*, February 8.

Demings, Val (2020). “Rep. Demings Cosponsors Inherent Contempt Bill,” *https://demings.house.gov/media/press-releases/rep-demings-cosponsors-inherent-contempt-bill*, June 29.

Denny, Elaine K., and Barbara F. Walter (2014). “Ethnicity and Civil War,” *Journal of Peace Research*, 51 (2): 199-212.

deSantis, Rachel (2019). “Amid Celeb Criticism He ‘Inspires’ Mass Shooters Trump Condemns Racism and Violent Video Games,” [*https://people.com/politics/donald-trump-speech-toledo-after-mass-shootings/*](https://people.com/politics/donald-trump-speech-toledo-after-mass-shootings/), August 5. ā

Diamond, Dan (2021). “The Coronavirus Vaccine Skeptics Who Changed Their Minds,” *Washington Post*, May 3.

Diamond, Larry (2022). “January 6 and the Paradoxes of America’s Democracy Agenda: Why Protecting Liberalism Will Require a Dose of Populism,” *https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2022-01-06/january-6-and-paradoxes-americas-democracy-agenda*, January 6.

Djankov, Simeon, and Marta Reynal-Querol (2007). “The Causes of Civil War,” *World Bank Policy Research Paper* #4254. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Dolan, Maura (2021). “Texas Kindles Copycat Statutes,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 21.

Dong, Lu, Dong, Jennifer Bouey, Douglas Yeung, Peggy G. Chen, and Priya Gandhi (2021). “Addressing Anti-Asian Racism in the Era of COVID-19,” [*https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\_reports/RRA1594-1.html*](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RRA1594-1.html). Accessed February 1, 2022.

Dorman, John L. (2021). “A New York Man Was Arrested After Allegedly Issuing a Death Threat to GOP Rep. Andrew Garbarino Over His Vote for the Bipartisan Infrastructure Bill,” *https://www.businessinsider.com/bipartisan-infrastructure-bill-death-threat-andrew-garbarino-arrest-gop-pressure-2021-11*, November 14.

Dovere, Edward-Isaac (2021). “Democratic Governors Worry About Threat to Democracy But Don’t See It as a Winning Message for 2022,” *https://www.cnn.com/2021/12/12/politics/democratic-governors-2022-messaging/index.html?utm\_campaign=wp\_the\_daily\_202&utm\_medium=email&utm\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\_daily202*, December 13.

Drutman, Lee (2015). *The Business of America Is Lobbying: How Corporations Become Politicized and Politics Became More Corporate*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Durkheim, Émile (1897). *Suicide: A Study in Sociology*. New York: Free Press, 1951.

Dwoskin, Elizabeth (2022), “Conspiracy Theorists, Banned on Social Networks, Connect with Audiences on Newsletters and Podcasts,” *Washington Post*, January 26.

Earle, Geoff (2021). “The 150 Republicans Who Threatened to Form a Third Party,” *https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/politics/revealed-the-150-republicans-who-threatened-to-form-a-third-party/ar-BB1gHvg1*, May 13.

Easton, David (1990). “The Future of the Behavioral Phase in Political Science.” In *Contemporary Empirical Theory*, ed. Kirsten Renwick Monroe, Chap 1. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Eaton, Paul D., Antonio M. Tagupa, and Steven M. Anderson (2021). “3 Retired Generals: The Military Must Prepare Now for a 2024 Insurrection,” *Washington Post*, December 18.

Eisler, Peter, Jason Szep, Linda So, and Sam Hart (2021). “Anatomy of a Death Threat,” *https://graphics.reuters.com/USA-ELECTION/THREATS/mopanwmlkva/*, December 30.

Elbadawi, Ibrahim, and Nicholas Sambanis (2002). “How Much War Will We See? Explaining the Prevalence of Civil War,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 46 (3): 307-334.

Elias, Marc (2021). “How the GOP Will Try to Subvert Our Elections,” *democracydocket.com/news/how-the-GOP-will-try-to-subvert-our-elections/*, October 13.

Epps, Daniel, and Ganesh Sitaraman (2021). “The Future of Supreme Court Reform,” *Harvard Law Review*, 134 (7): 398ff.

Erdoğdu, Yeşim, Filiz Koçoğlu, and Celil Sevim (2020). “An Investigation of the Psychosocial and Demographic Determinants of Anxiety and Hopelessness During COVID-19 Pandemic,” *Journal of Clinical Psychiatry*, 23 (Supp 1): 24-37.

Evans, Zachary (2021). “Manchin Rips Sanders over Reconciliation-Bill Op-Ed in West Virginia Newspaper,” *https://www.nationalreview.com/news/manchin-rips-sanders-over-reconciliation-bill-op-ed-in-west-virginia-newspaper/*, October 16.

FairVote (2022). “Data on Ranked Choice Voting,” *https://www.fairvote.org/data\_on\_rcv#research\_snapshot*.

Farhi, Paul, and Elahe Izadi (2021). “The Baltimore Sun Was Spared a Hedge-Fund Owners. Now It Will Try to Survive as a Nonprofit,” *Washington Post*, February 17.

Farivar, Masood (2021). “Researchers: More Than a Dozen Extremist Groups Took Part in Capitol Riots*,” https://www.voanews.com/a/2020-usa-votes\_researchers-more-dozen-extremist-groups-took-part-capitol-riots/6200832.html*, January 16.

Fea, John (2016). *Was America Founded as a Christian Nation? Revised Edition: A Historical Introduction*. Louisville, KY: John Knox Press.

Fea, John (2022). “‘Legitimate Political Discourse’,” *https://currentpub.com/2022/02/05/legitimate-political-discourse/*, February 5.

Fearon, James (2011). *Governance and Civil War Onset*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin (2003). “Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War,” *American Political Science Review*, 97 (1): 75-90.

Feuer, Will (2021). “Elon Musk’s Tesla HQ Move to Texas Reportedly Shocked Staff,” *New York Post*, October 28.

Ford, Matt (2021). “You Should Take Matt Gaetz’s Plan to Make Trump the Speaker of the House Seriously *and* Literally,” *https://newrepublic.com/article/164670/matt-gaetz-trump-speaker-2024*, December 9.

Fisher, Marc, John Woodrow Cox, and Peter Hermann (2016). “Pizzagate: From Rumor, to Hashtag, to Gunfire in D.C.,” *Washington Post*, December 6.

Forbes (2019). “Best States for Business 2019: California,” *https://www.forbes.com/places/ca/?sh=7b9f1c203fef*.

Fording, Richard C., and Sanford F. Schram (2017). “The Cognitive and Emotional Sources of Trump Support: The Case of Low-Information Voters,” *New Political Science*, 39 (4): 670-686.

Fortinsky, Sarah (2022). “Trump Says He Wanted Pence to Overturn the 2020 Election and Falsely Claims It Was Vice President’s ‘Right’,” *https://www.cnn.com/2022/01/30/politics/trump-pence-2020-election/index.html*, January 31.

Francovic, Kathy (2020). “Trump Voters Still See Biden’s Victory as Illegitimate,” *https://today.yougov.com/topics/politics/articles-reports/2020/11/19/trump-voters-biden-poll*, November 19.

Freeman, Joanne B. (2018*). Field of Blood: Violence in Congress and the Road to the Civil War*. New York: Macmillan.

Frenkel, Sheera (2021). “Proud Boys Regroup, Focusing on School Boards and Town Halls,” *New York Times*, December 14.

Frey, William H. (2020). “The Nation Is Diversifying Even Faster Than Predicted, According to New Census Data,” *https://www.brookings.edu/research/new-census-data-shows-the-nation-is-diversifying-even-faster-than-predicted/*, July 1.

Friedman, Thomas L. (2020). “Only Truth Can Save Our Democracy.” *New York Times*, November 11.

Fry, Richard (2014). “For First Time in Modern Era, Living with Parents Edges Out Other Living Arrangements for 18- to 34-Year-Olds,” *https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2016/05/24/for-first-time-in-modern-era-living-with-parents-edges-out-other-living-arrangements-for-18-to-34-year-olds/*, May 24.

Fukuyama, Francis (2018). *Identity: The Demand for Dignity and the Politics of Resentment*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.

Galston, William, and Elaine Kamark (2022). “The New Politics of Evasion: How Ignoring Swing Voters Could Reopen the Door for Donald Trump and Threaten American Democracy,” *https://www.progressivepolicy.org/publication/the-new-politics-of-evasion%20%5bprogressivepolicy.org%5d*, February 21.

Gardner, Amy, Kate Rabinowitz, and Harry Stevens (2021). “How the GOP-Backed Voting Measures Could Create Hurdles for Tens of Millions of Voters,” *Washington Post*, March 11.

Garrison, Jessica, and Ken Bensinger (2021). “The FBI Allegedly Used at Least 12 Informants in the Michigan Kidnapping Case,” *https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/jessicagarrison/fbi-informants-in-michigan-kidnap-plot*, July 12.

Garrison, Joey, and Ledyard King (2021). “12 Republican State Attorneys General Sue President Biden Over Climate Change Order,” *Newsweek*, March 8.

Gellman, Barton (2021). “Trump’s Next Coup Has Already Begun,” *Atlantic*, December 6.

Geoghegan, Peter (2020). *Democracy For Sale: Dark Money and Dirty Politics*. New York: Apollo.

Georgetown (2013). “NEW POLL: Voters Find Political Divisions So Bad, Believe U.S. Is Two-Thirds of the Way to ‘Edge of a Civil War’,” *https://politics.georgetown.edu/2019/10/23/new-poll-voters-find-political-divisions-so-bad-believe-u-s-is-two-thirds-of-the-way-to-edge-of-a-civil-war/*, October 23.

German, Michael, and Mireya Navarro (2020). “Confronting Explicit Racism in Law Enforcement,” *https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/confronting-explicit-racism-law-enforcement*, September 4.

Gersovitz, Mark, and Norma Kriger (2013). “What Is a Civil War? A Critical Review of Its Definition and (Econometric) Consequences,” *World Bank Research Observer*, 28 (2): 159-190.

Gertler, Mark, and Simon Gilchrist (2018). “What Happened: Financial Factors in the Great Recession,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 32 (3): 3-30.

Gest, Justin (2020). “The Three Biggest Myths About Battleground States,” *www.cnn.com/2020/10/05/opinions/us-election-three-biggest-myths-battleground-states-gest/index.html*, October 9.

Giglio, Mike (2020). “A Pro-Trump Militant Group Has Recruited Thousands of Police, Soldiers, and Veterans,” *The Atlantic*, November.

Gimple, James G., Nathan Lovin, Bryant Moy, and Andrew Reeves (2020). “The Urban–Rural Gulf in American Political Behavior,” *Political Behavior*, 42: 1343–1368.

Gleditsch, Kristian Skrede (2007). “Transnational Dimensions of Civil War,” *Journal of Peace Research*, 44 (3): 293-309.

Godfrey, Elaine (2022). “Trump Soft-Launches His 2024 Campaign,” *The Atlantic*, January 15.

Goldberg, Jonah (2012). “Fantasies of Social Darwinism,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 23.

Goldberg, Jonah (2021). “A Third Party to Impose Pain on the Trump GOP,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 12.

Goldman, Adam (2021). “Domestic Terrorism Threat Is ‘Metastasizing’ in U.S., F.B.I. Director Says,” *New York Times*, March 2.

Goodrick-Clarke, Nicholas (1992). *The Occult Roots of Nazism: Secret Aryan Cults and Their Influence on Nazi Ideology*. New York: New York University Press.

Graham, Helen (2002). *The Spanish Republic at War, 1936-1939*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gramlich, John (2021). “Trump Used His Clemency Power Sparingly Despite a Raft of Late Pardons and Commutations,” [*https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/01/22/trump-used-his-clemency-power-sparingly-despite-a-raft-of-late-pardons-and-commutations*](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/01/22/trump-used-his-clemency-power-sparingly-despite-a-raft-of-late-pardons-and-commutations), January 22.

Grimaldi, John (2019). “Democratic Party Is the Party of Rich Elitists,” [*https://minamac.us/opinion-democratic-party-is-the-party-of-rich-elitists/*](https://minamac.us/opinion-democratic-party-is-the-party-of-rich-elitists/), January 17.

Groth, Alexander J. (1964). “The ‘Isms’ in Totalitarianism,” *American Political Science Review*, 58 (4): 888-901.

Guess, Andrew, Jonathan Nagler, and Joshua Tucker (2019). “Less Than You Think: Prevalence and Predictors of Fake News Dissemination on Facebook,” *Science Advances*, 5 (1): 1-8.

Haas, Michael (2010). *Looking for the Aloha Spirit: Promoting Ethnic Harmony*. Los Angeles: Publishinghouse for Scholars.

Haas, Michael (2014). *Neobehavioral Political Science: A Profession’s Fascinating History, Subfields, Paradigms, Research Agendas, Policy Applications, and Future*. Los Angeles: Publishinghouse for Scholars.

Haas, Michael (2016). *How to Demolish Racism: Lessons from the State of Hawaii*. Lanham, MD: Lexington.

Haas, Michael (2017). *International Relations Theory: Competing Empirical Paradigms*. Lanham, NJ: Lexington.

Haas, Michael (2019a). *Donald Trump’s Hidden Agenda for America: Institutionalizing Bigotry, Dismantling Democracy*. Los Angeles: Publishinghouse for Scholars.

Haas, Michael (2019b). *Why Democracies Flounder and Fail: Remedying Mass Society Politics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Haas, Michael (2021a). *The Politics of Lockdowns, Masks, and Vaccines: The Trump Administration and the Coronavirus*. New York: Peter Lang.

Haas, Michael (2021b). *The Ten Pillars of American Democracy: Has the United States Become a Pseudo-Democracy?* New York: Peter Lang.

Habermas, Jürgen (1981). *The Theory of Communication Action.* 2 vols.Boston, MA: Beacon, 1985.

Hacker, Jacob S., Alexander Fertel-Hernandez, Paul Pierson, and Kathleen N. Thelen, eds. (2022). *Political Economy: Politics, Markets, and Power*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hains, Tim (2021). “Ted Cruz: Independent Texas Would ‘Take NASA, Take the Oil, Take the Military,’ Joe Rogan Could Be President,” *https://www.realclearpolitics.com/video/2021/11/08/ted\_cruz\_independent\_texas\_would\_take\_nasa\_take\_the\_oil\_take\_the\_military\_joe\_rogan\_could\_be\_president.html*, November 8.

Hamad, Ruby (2017). “‘Both Sides’ Journalism Betrays the Public Interest,” *Eureka Street*, 27 (18): 3-5.

Harper, Karen Brooks (2021). “Verbal and Physical Attacks on Health Workers Surge as Emotions Boil During Latest COVID-19 Wave,” *Texas Tribune*, September 1.

Harwell, Drew (2021). “Qanon Believers Seek to Adapt Their Extremist Ideology for a New Future: ‘Things Have Just Started’,” *Washington Post*, January 21.

Hawley, George (2018). “The Demography of the Alt-Right,” *https://ifstudies.org/blog/the-demography-of-the-alt-right*, August 9.

Hegre, Håvard (2001). “Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, Political Change, and Civil War, 1816–1992,” *American Political Science Review*, 95 (1): 33–48.

Hegre, Håvard, and Nicholas Sambanis (2006). Sensitivity Analysis of Empirical Results on Civil War Onset,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 50 (4): 508-535.

Helderman, Rosalind S. (2022). “GOP Lawmakers Are Pushing High-Tech ‘Fraud-Proof’ Ballots. A Texas Company Could Be the Only Supplier.,” *Washington Post*, February 18.

Hernandez, Richard (2018). “The Fall of Employment in the Manufacturing Sector,” [*https://www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/2018/beyond-bls/the-fall-of-employment-in-the-manufacturing-sector.htm*](https://www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/2018/beyond-bls/the-fall-of-employment-in-the-manufacturing-sector.htm), August.

Hiltzik, Michael (2021a). “The Anti-Vax Crowd’s Intimidation Tactics,” Los Angeles Times, December 12.

Hiltzik, Michael (2021b). “US Polarized? Big Majorities Say Otherwise,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 26.

Hiroi, Takeo, and Sawa Omori (2013). “Causes and Triggers of Coups D’état: An Event History Analysis,” *Politics & Policy*, 41 (1): 39-64.

Hitler, Adolf (1925). *Mein Kampf*. New York: Mariner Books, 1998.

Ho, Arnold K., Nour Kteily, and J.M. Chen (2017). “How Are Black–White Biracial People Perceived in Terms of Race?,” *https://insight.kellogg.northwestern.edu/article/how-are-ktblack-white-biracial-people-are-perceived-in-terms-of-race*, December 6.

Hodge, David R., and Stephanie Clintonia Boddie (2021). “Anti-Semitism in the United States: An Overview and Strategies to Create a More Socially Just Society,” *Social Work*, 66 (2): 128-138.

Hoffman, Mitchell, and Elizabeth Lyons (2020). “A Time to Make Laws and a Time to Fundraise? On the Relation Between Salaries and Time Use for State Politicians." *Canadian Journal of Economics*, 53 (3): 1318-1358.

Hosseinian, Jahra, and Fredrik Dahl (2009). “Iran: Obama ‘Sweet Talk’ Not Enough for Muslims,” *https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/iran-obama-sweet-talk-not-enough-for-muslims-1696587.html*, June 4.

Hsu, Spencer S. (2021). “Rep. Eric Swalwell Sues Trump Over Jan. 6 Riot, Alleging He Poses Risk of ‘Inciting Future Political Violence’,” *Washington Post*, March 5.

Humphreys, Macartan, and Jeremy M. Weinstein (2008). “Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War,” *American Journal of Political Science*, 52 (2): 436-455.

Hunter, James Davidson (1991). *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America*. New York: Basic Books.

Huntington, Samuel P. (2004). *Who Are We? The Challenges to America’s National Identity*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Iyengar, Shanto, and Sean J. Westwood (2015). “Fear and Loathing Across Party Lines: New Evidence on Group Polarization,” *American Journal of Political Science*, 59 (3): 690-707.

Jackman, Robert W. (1975). *Politics and Social Equality*. New York: Wiley.

Jackman, Tom (2022). “Capitol Police See Sharp Increase in Threats to Congress, Departure of Dozens of Officers,” *Washington Post*, January 3.

Jasuja, Guneet K., Mark Meterko, Ledjona D. Bradshaw, Richard Carbonaro, Marla L. Clayman, Lara LoBrutto, Danielle Miano, Elizabeth M. Maguire, Amanda M. Midboe, Steven M. Asch, Allen L. Gifford, D. Keith McInnes, and A. Rani Elwy (2021). “Attitudes and Intentions of US Veterans Regarding COVID-19 Vaccination,” *JAMA Open Network*, *https://jamanetwork.com/journals/jamanetworkopen/fullarticle/2785793*, November 3.

Jay, Michelle (2003). “Critical Race Theory, Multicultural Education, and the Hidden Curriculum of Hegemony,” *Multicultural Perspectives*, 5 (4): 3-9.

Jefferson, Thomas (1789). “Thomas Jefferson to James Madison,” *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 15 (27 March 1789 to 30 November 1789), pp. 392-398. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958.

John, Arit (2022). “A New Midterm Target: Secretaries of State,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 12.

Johnson, Jake (2021). “Here Are the Names of Every Republican Who Voted to Overturn Election Results,” *https://truthout.org/articles/here-are-the-names-of-every-republican-who-voted-to-overturn-election-results/*, January 7.

Jones, Seth G. (2020). “The Escalating Terrorism Problem in the United States,” *https://www.csis.org/analysis/escalating-terrorism-problem-united-states*, June 17.

Jurecic, Quinta (2019). “Obstruction of Justice in the Mueller Report: A Heat Map,” *https://www.lawfareblog.com/obstruction-justice-mueller-report-heat-map*, April 21.

Kagan, Robert (2021). “Our Constitutional Crisis Is Already Here,” *Washington Post*, September 23.

Karmack, Elain C., and Ashley Gabriele (2015). “The News Today: 7 Trends in Old and New Media,” [*https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/6/07/new-media.pdf*](https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/6/07/new-media.pdf), November.

Kandil, Caitlin Yoshiko (2020). “Asian Americans Report over 650 Racist Acts Over Last Week, New Data Says,” [*https://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/asian-americans-report-nearly-500-racist-acts-over-last-week-n1169821?fbclid=IwAR1NvTx3m6Wup0loZZSuWzeZ2GneWm1xGqWkbgGmdMJXUg2Dchg1tcA6je0*](https://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/asian-americans-report-nearly-500-racist-acts-over-last-week-n1169821?fbclid=IwAR1NvTx3m6Wup0loZZSuWzeZ2GneWm1xGqWkbgGmdMJXUg2Dchg1tcA6je0), March 26.

Kaczynski, Andrew (2021). “Rep. Lauren Boebert Suggested Rep. Ilhan Omar Was Terrorist in Anti-Muslim Remarks at Event,” *https://www.cnn.com/2021/11/26/politics/lauren-boebert-ilhan-omar-anti-muslim-comments/index.html*, November 27.

Kaiser Family Foundation (2022). “Status of State Medicaid Expansion Decisions: Interactive Map,” *https://www.kff.org/medicaid/issue-brief/status-of-state-medicaid-expansion-decisions-interactive-map/*, January 18.

Kaplan, Juliana (2021). “The Psychologist Who Coined the Phrase ‘Great Resignation’ Reveals How He Saw It Coming and Where He Sees It Going. ‘Who We Are as an Employee and as a Worker Is Very Central to Who We Are.’,” *https://www.businessinsider.com/why-everyone-is-quitting-great-resignation-psychologist-pandemic-rethink-life-2021-10*, October 2.

Karmack, Elaine C., and Ashley Gabriele (2015). “The News Today; 7 Trends in Old and New Media,” *www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/new-media.pdf*, November.

Kearney, Melissa S., and Magne Mogstad (2019). “Universal Basic Income (UBI) as a Policy Response to Current Challenges,” *https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/UBI-ESG-Memo-082319.pdf*, August 23.

Kennedy, Simon (2021). “‘Transitory’ Inflation Gets a Stress Test,” *https://www.bloomberg.com/news/newsletters/2021-10-28/what-s-happening-in-the-world-economy-stress-testing-transitory-inflation-bet*, October 28.

Kessler, Glenn (2021). “Trump Made 30,573 False or Misleading Claims as President. Nearly Half Came in His Final Year,” *Washington Post*, January 23.

Kinder, Donald R., and Lynn M. Sanders (2011). “Mimicking Political Debate with Survey Questions: The Case of White Opinion on Affirmative Action for Blacks,” *Social Cognition*, 8 (1): 73-103.

Kindy, Kimberly, and Alice Crites (2022). “The Texas Abortion Ban Created a ‘Vigilante’ Loophole. Both Parties Are Rushing to Take Advantage.,” *Washington Post*, February 22.

Klapper, Rebecca (2021). “Death Threats to Members of Congress Have Doubled This Year, Capitol Police Say,” *Newsweek*, May 18.

Klein, Tim, Elisabeth Fondren, and Leonard M. Apcar (2019). “News Editing and the Editorial Process,” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication,* [*https://oxfordre.com/communication/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228613-e-802*](https://oxfordre.com/communication/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228613-e-802), November 22.

Kleinfeld, Rachel (2021). “The Rise of Political Violence in the United States,” *Journal of Democracy*, 32 (4): 160-176.

Knox, Oliver (2022). “Republicans Rally Around a 2022 Message: Revenge,” *Washington Post*, January 15.

Kruzel, John (2022). “Supreme Court Rejects Bid to Block Mask Mandate on Airplanes,” [*https://thehill.com/regulation/court-battles/590141-supreme-court-rejects-bid-to-block-mask-mandate-on-airplanes,*](https://thehill.com/regulation/court-battles/590141-supreme-court-rejects-bid-to-block-mask-mandate-on-airplanes,) January 18.

Kuziemko, Ilyana, and Ebonya Washington (2018). “Why Did the Democrats Lose the South? Bringing New Data to an Old Debate,” *American Economic Review*, 108 (10): 2830-2867.

LaFree, Gary, Laura Dugan, and Raven Korte (2009). “The Impact of British Counterterrorist Strategies on Political Violence in Northern Ireland: Comparing Deterrence and Backlash Models,” *Criminology*, 47 (1): 17-45.

Lang, Kevin, and Ariella Kahn-Lang Spitzer (2020). “Race Discrimination: An Economic Perspective,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 34 (2): 68-89.

Lange, Amy, and Amber Ainsworth (2022). “Michigan Poll Workers to Bring Guns, Unplug Machines If They Suspect Voter Fraud,” *https://www.fox2detroit.com/news/republican-candidates-urge-michigan-poll-workers-to-bring-guns-unplug-machines-if-they-suspect-voter-fraud*, January 31.

Laris, Michael (2010). “Trump Wants to Pass Out Billions for Rural Infrastructure. But What Counts as ‘Rural’?,” *Washington Post*, March 1.

Lee, Michelle Ye Hee (2015), “Donald Trump’s False Comments Connecting Mexican Immigrants and Crime,” *Washington Post*, July 8.

Lee, Randy T., Amanda D. Perez, C. Malik Boykin, and Rodolfo Mendoza-Denton (2019). “On the Prevalence of Racial Discrimination in the United States,” *PloS One*, 14 (1): e0210698.

Lemon, Jason (2022). “Lim Jordan Should Be Disqualified from Ballot Over Jan. 6: Protestors,” *https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/politics/jim-jordan-should-be-disqualified-from-ballot-over-jan-6-protestors/ar-AAU5YEB*, February 20.

Levi, Mark (2021). “GOP Reviews of 2020 Vote Go On,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 27.

Levitzky, Steven, and Daniel Ziblatt (2018). *How Democracies Die*. New York: Broadway Books.

Linskey, Annie, and Amy Gardner (2020). “Elizabeth Warren Apologizes for Calling Herself Native American,” *Washington Post*, February 5.

Litman, Harry (2022). “A Solid Case Where Trump’s Misconduct Won’t End in Charges,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 27.

LoBianco, Tom (2015), “Donald Trump Promises ‘Deportation Force’ to Remove 11 Million,” *cnn.com/2015/11/11/politics/donald-trump-deportation-force-debate-immigration/index.html*, November 12.

Lumpkin, Lauren (2022). “FBI Reports at Least 57 Bomb Threats to HBCUs, Other Institutions Since January,” *Washington Post*, February 23.

Lynch, Michael (2007). “Expertise, Skepticism and Cynicism: Lessons from Science & Technology Studies,” *Spontaneous Generations: A Journal for the History and Philosophy of Science*, 1 (1): 17-24.

Madison, James (1787), “Federalist #10,” [*https://founders-archives-,gov/documents/madison/01-10-02-0178*](https://founders-archives-,gov/documents/madison/01-10-02-0178), November 22.

Maher, Savannah (2011). “The Infrastructure Bill Is on the President’s Desk. What’s in It for Rural America*?,” https://www.marketplace.org/2021/11/15/the-infrastructure-bill-is-on-the-presidents-desk-whats-in-it-for-rural-america/*, November 15.

Marshall, Josh (2020). “Under DHS Boss: We’re Taking This National,” *https://talkingpointsmemo.com/edblog/dhs-under-boss-were-taking-this-national*, July 18.

Martin, Jonathan, and Amie Parnes (2008). “McCain: Obama Not an Arab, Crowd Boos,” *https://www.politico.com/story/2008/10/mccain-obama-not-an-arab-crowd-boos-014479*, October 10.

Mason James N. (2017). *Siege*. *ironmarch.com*.

Marx, Karl (1900). *The Civil War in France*. Paris: International Library Publishing Company.

Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels (1848). *The Communist Manifesto*. New York: Penguin, 2011.

Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels (1861). *The American Civil War*. New York: International Publishers, 1961.

Mayer, Heike, and Yasuyuki Motoyama (2020). “Entrepreneurship in Small and Medium-Sized Towns,” *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development*, 32 (7-8): 467-472.

Mayer, Jeremy D. (2001). “Nixon Rides the Backlash to Victory: Racial Politics in the 1968 Presidential Campaign,” *The Historian*, 64 (2): 351-366.

McCloskey, Emily (2021). “Inequality Will Not Be Solved with Tax Breaks for the Rich,” [*Patriotic Millionaires*](https://patrioticmillionaires.org/2021/12/10/inequality-will-not-be-solved-with-tax-breaks-for-the-rich/), December 21.

McCord, Mary B. (2021). “Dispelling the Myth of the Second Amendment,” [*https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/2021-06/McCord\_final\_0.pdf*](https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/2021-06/McCord_final_0.pdf), June.

McGreevy, Patrick (2020). “California vs. Trump Hits the 100-Lawsuit Mark with New Challenge to Environmental Rules,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 28.

McKittrick, David, and David McVea (2002). *Making Sense of the Troubles: The Story of the Conflict in Northern Ireland*. New York: New Amsterdam Books.

McManus, Doyle (2021), “Election Denialism Means Jan. 6 Was Just the Beginning,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 3.

McManus, Doyle (2022). “Biden Must Fix Riven Guardrails of Democracy,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 30.

McMillan, Jeff, and Marc Levy (2022). “GOP Candidates Nationwide Find Wedge Issue: Transgender People,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 27.

McQuade, Barbara (2022). “United States v. Donald Trump: A ‘Model Prosecution Memo’ on the Conspiracy to Pressure Vice President Pence,” *https://www.justsecurity.org/80308/united-states-v-donald-trump-model-prosecution-memo/*, February 22.

Merchant, Nomaan (2021). “New Intelligence Center Has an Agenda, But Nothing Else,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 26.

Miah, Malik (2020). “Shooting of Jacob Blake Intensifies Racial Divide,” *Green Left Weekly*, September.

Miller, Michael E. (2016). “Protesters Outside White House Demand ‘Pizzagate’ Investigation,” *Washington Post*, March 25. Accessed March 26, 2017.

Miller-Idriss, Cynthia (2021). “From 9/11 to 1/6: The War on Terror Supercharged the Far Right,” *Foreign Affairs*, 100 (5): 54-64.

Morgan, Kyle (2022). “Car loan Statistics*,” https://www.finder.com/car-loan-statistics*, January 9.

Morin, Rebecca (2019). “Attorney General Barr to House Speaker Pelosi: ‘Did You Bring Your Handcuffs?’,” *USA Today*, May 15.

Murray, Charles (2013). *Coming Apart: The State of White America, 1960-2010*. New York: Crown.

Mutz, Diana C. (2018). “Status Threat, Not Economic Hardship, Explains the 2016 Presidential Vote,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 115 (19): E4330-E4339, *https://www.pnas.org/content/115/19/E4330.short*, May 8.

Myers, Caitlin Knowles (2007). “A Cure for Discrimination? Affirmative Action and the Case of California’s Proposition 209,” *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 60 (3): 379-396.

National Conference of State Legislators (2021). “State Primary Election Types,” *https://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/primary-types.aspx*, January 5.

National Immigration Forum (2019). “Polling Update: American Attitudes on Immigration Steady, But Showing More Partisan Divides,” *https://immigrationforum.org/article/american-attitudes-on-immigration-steady-but-showing-more-partisan-divides/*, April 17.

Newhouse, Alex (2021). “The Threat Is the Network: The Multi-Node Structure of Neo-Fascist Accelerationism,” *Combatting Terrorism Center Sentinel*, 14 (5): 17-25.

Newman, Omarosa Manigault (2018). *Unhinged: An Insider’s Account of the Trump White House*. New York: Gallery Press.

Nichols, John (2021). “Calls to Disqualify Trump Using the 14th Amendment Grow Louder,” *https://www.thenation.com/article/politics/14th-amendment-trump-foner/*, February 19.

Noble, Becky (2022). “McConnell, Bush, GOP Establishment Working to Foil Trump-Endorsed Candidates,” *https://thepoliticalinsider.com/mcconnell-bush-gop-establishment-working-to-foil-trump-endorsed-candidates/*, February 14.

Norden, Lawrence, and Derek Tisler (2021). “Addressing Insider Threats in Elections,” [*https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/analysis-opinion/addressing-insider-threats-elections*](https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/analysis-opinion/addressing-insider-threats-elections), December 8.

Norris, Michele (2018). “As America Changes, Some Anxious Whites Feel Left Behind,” *National Geographic*, 233 (4): 79-89.

O’Sullivan, Donie (2021). “Flynn Says He Didn’t Endorse Myanmar-Style Coup After He Appears to Back Plan in Video Exchange,” *https://www.cnn.com/2021/05/31/politics/michael-flynn-qanon/index.htm*l, June 1.

Olen, Helaine (2022). “The Great Resignation Is Also the Great Retirement of the Baby Boomers. That’s a Problem.,” *Washington Post*, February 18.

Olmos, Sergio (2020). “Guns, Ammo … Even a Boat: How Oath Keepers Plotted an Armed Coup,” *https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2022/jan/14/oath-keepers-leader-charges-armed-plot-us-capitol-attack*, January 14.

Orlando Sentinel (2021), “What’s the Motive Behind the Florida Militia?,” *Orlando Sentinel*, December 9.

Oshima, Harry (1970). “Income Inequality and Economic Growth in the Post-War Experience of Asian Countries,” *Malayan Economic Review*, 15 (2): 7-41.

Ostry, Jonathan D., Prakash Loungani, and Andrew Berg (2019). *Confronting Inequality: How Societies Can Choose Inclusive Growth*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Pager, Tyler (2022). “Trump Suggests That If He Is Reelected, He Will Pardon Jan. 6 Capitol Rioters,” *Washington Post*, January 29.

Pape, Robert (2021). “Why We Cannot Afford to Ignore the American Insurrectionist Movement,” https://*cpost.uchicago.edu/research/domestic\_extremism/why\_we\_cannot\_afford\_to\_ignore\_the\_american\_insurrectionist\_movement/*, August 6.

Parker, Ashley (2021). “As Trump Hints at 2024 Comeback, Democracy Advocates Fear a ‘Worst-Case Scenario’ for the Country,” *Washington Post*, September 28.

Patteson, Callie (2021). “Democrats Frustrated Over Biden’s Inability to Deal with Sinema, Manchin,” *New York Post*, October 15.

Paxton, Ken (2019). “AG Paxton Leads 18-State Brief Urging 5th Circuit to Declare Obamacare Unlawful,” *https://www.texasattorneygeneral.gov/news/releases/ag-paxton-leads-18-state-brief-urging-5th-circuit-declare-obamacare-unlawful*, May 1.

Peele, Thomas, and Daniel J. Willis (2020). “Dropping Affirmative Action Had Huge Impact on California’s Public Universities,” *https://edsource.org/2020/dropping-affirmative-action-had-huge-impact-on-californias-public-universities/642437*, October 20.

Pengelly, Martin (2022). “Trump Considered Blanket Pardon for Capitol Insurrectionists,” *https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2022/feb/02/trump-blanket-pardon-capitol-attack-january-6*, February 2.

Peters, Brainard Guy, and Maximilian Lennart Nagel (2020). Zombie Ideas: Why Failed Policy Ideas Persist. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Peterson, Roger D. (2002). *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Petrizzo, Zachary (2022). “Biden Phoned to Make Amends After Calling Reporter ‘Stupid Son of a Bitch’,” *https://www.thedailybeast.com/joe-biden-phoned-peter-doocy-to-make-amends-after-calling-him-a-stupid-son-of-a-bitch*, January 24.

Pew Research Institute (2019). “Political Independents: Who They Are, What They Think,” *https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2019/03/14/political-independents-who-they-are-what-they-think/*, March 14.

Pew Research Institute (2020a). “In Changing U.S. Electorate, Race and Education Remain Stark Dividing Lines,” *https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2020/06/02/democratic-edge-in-party-identification-narrows-slightly/*, June 2.

Pew Research Institute (2020b). “What Americans Know About the Holocaust,” *https://www.pewforum.org/2020/01/22/what-americans-know-about-the-holocaust/*, January 22.

Pierce, William Luther (1978). *The* *Turner Diaries*. Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books

Qian, Zhenchao, and Daniel T. Lichter (2007). “Social Boundaries and Marital Assimilation: Interpreting Trends in Racial and Ethnic Intermarriage,” *American Sociological Review*, 72 (1): 68-94.

Quinnipiac (2022). “Political Instability Not U.S. Adversaries, Seen As Bigger Threat, Quinnipiac University National Poll Finds; Nearly 6 in 10 Think Nation's Democracy Is in Danger of Collapse,” *https://poll.qu.edu/poll-release?releaseid=3831*, January 12.

Rainey, Lee, and Andrew Perrin (2019). “Key Findings About Americans’ Declining Trust in Government and Each Other,” *https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/07/22/key-findings-about-americans-declining-trust-in-government-and-each-other/*, July 22.

Rakich, Nathaniel (2019). “What Happened When 2.2 Million People Were Automatically Registered to Vote,” *FiveThirtyEight.com*, October 10.

Rapoport, David C. (2021). “The Capitol Attack and the 5th Terrorism Wave,” *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 33 (5): 912-916.

Rasmussen (2018). “31% Think U.S. Civil War Likely Soon,” *https://www.rasmussenreports.com/public\_content/politics/general\_politics/june\_2018/31\_think\_u\_s\_civil\_war\_likely\_soon*, June 27.

Ray, Rashawn, and Alexandra Gibbons (2021). “Why Are States Banning Critical Race Theory?,” [*https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2021/07/02/why-are-states-banning-critical-race-theory/*](https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2021/07/02/why-are-states-banning-critical-race-theory/), November.

Reardon, Sean F., Elena Tej Grewal, Demetra Kalogrides, and Erica Greenberg (2012). “Brown Fades: The End of Court-Ordered School Desegregation and the Resegregation of American Public Schools,” *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 31 (4): 876-904.

Reeves, Richard V., and Ember Smith (2021). “The Male College Crisis Is Not Lust in Enrollment, But Completion,” *https://www.brookings.edu/blog/up-front/2021/10/08/the-male-college-crisis-is-not-just-in-enrollment-but-completion/#:~:text=College%20enrollment%20has%20steadily%20declined%20following%20the%20Great,at%20the%20time%2C%20compared%20to%208.6%20million%20men%29*, October 8.

Reilly, Patrick (2022). “NYT Editors Ignored Fact checkers Before Publishing Editorial Linking Palin to Shooting: Emails,” *New York Post*, February 4.

Reno, Russell Ronald III (2021). “The Shadow of Nothingness,” *First Things,* 18 (March): 1-17.

Renshaw, Jarrett, and David Morgan (2021). “Despite ‘Productive’ Republican Meeting, Biden Will Not Accept a Scaled-Down COVID-19 Bill—White House,” *https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-usa-congress/despite-productive-republican-meeting-biden-will-not-accept-a-scaled-down-covid-19-bill-white-house-idUSKBN2A12TV*, February 1.

Republican National Committee (2022). “Resolution to Formally Censure Liz Cheney and Adam Kinzinger and to No Longer Support Them as Members of the Republican Party,” *https://www.washingtonpost.com/context/rnc-resolution-to-censure-cheney-kinzinger/cf48ebbc-aeb2-42c2-9a6b-3802186203e3/?utm\_campaign=wp\_the\_daily\_202&utm\_medium=email&utm\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\_daily202*, February 3.

Reynal-Querol, Marta (2002). “Political Systems, Stability, and Civil Wars,” *Defense and Peace Economics*, 13 (6): 465-483.

Riccardi, Nicholas (2022). “‘Slow-Motion Insurrection’: How GOP Plans to Control Elections,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 3.

Ricks, Thomas E. (2017). “What Are the Chances of a Second American Civil War? (A Best Defense Update),” *https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/06/28/what-are-the-chances-of-a-second-american-civil-war-a-best-defense-update/*, June 28.

Roman, Daniel (2021). “Democrats are Trapped by the Extremism of Their Own Base on Cultural Issues,” *https://www.amac.us/democrats-are-trapped-by-the-extremism-of-their-own-base-on-cultural-issues/*, November 16.

Romm, Tony, and Lerman (2021). “Amazon Suspends Parler, Taking Pro-Trump Site Offline Indefinitely,” *Washington Post*, January 11.

Roosevelt, Eleanor (1940). *The Moral Basis of Democracy*. New York: Howell, Soskin.

Ross, Michael L. (2004). “What Do We Know About Natural Resources and Civil War?,” *Journal of Peace Research*, 41 (3): 337-356.

Rothenberg, Stuart (2020). “Four Decades and Counting — the GOP’s Shift to the Right Is Bigger than the Democrats’ Shift Left,” *https://rollcall.com/2020/12/16/four-decades-and-counting-the-gop-shift-to-the-right-is-bigger-than-the-democrats-shift-left/*, December 16.

Rothstein, Richard (2019). “The Myth of De Facto Segregation,” *Phi Delta Kappan*, 100 (5): 35-38.

Rothwell, Jonathan T. (2011). “Racial Enclaves and Density Zoning: The Institutionalized Segregation of Racial Minorities in the United States,” *American Law and Economics Review*, 13 (1): 290–358.

Sabato, Larry, Kyle Kondik, and J. Miles Coleman (2021). “New Initiative Explores Deep, Persistent Divides Between Biden and Trump Voters,” *https://centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/articles/new-initiative-explores-deep-persistent-divides-between-biden-and-trump-voters/*, September 30.

Sambanis, Nicholas (2001). “Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes?: A Theoretical and Empirical Inquiry,” Journal of Conflict Resolution, 45 (3): 259-282.

Sanders, Linley, Matthew Smith, and Jamie Ballard (2021). “Most Voters Say the Events at the US Capitol Are a Threat to Democracy,” *https://today.yougov.com/topics/politics/articles-reports/2021/01/07/US-capitol-trump-poll*, January 6.

Schaeffer, Katherine (2021). “How Americans Feel about ‘Cancel Culture’ and Offensive Speech in 6 Charts,” *https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/08/17/how-americans-feel-about-cancel-culture-and-offensive-speech-in-6-charts/*, August 17.

Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr. (2004). *The Imperial Presidency*. New York: Mariner.

Schmidt, Brian C., and Michael C. Williams (2008). “The Bush Doctrine and the Iraq War: Neoconservatives Versus Realists,” *Security Studies*, 17 (2): 191-220.

Schor, Elena, and David Crary (2020). “AP Vote Cast: Trump Won White Evangelicals, Catholics Split,” *apnew.com*, November 6.

Scruton, Roger (2017). *Confessions of a Heretic: Selected Essays*. Mirefoot, Burneside, Kendal, UK: Notting Hill Editions.

Seligman, Matthew (2022). “A Realistic Risk Assessment of the Presidential Election of 2024,” [*https://ssrn.com/abstract*](https://ssrn.com/abstract=), January 26.

Serwer, Adam (2022). *The Cruelty Is the Point: The Past, Present, and Future of Trump’s America*. New York: One World.

Shafer, Jessica Gantt (2017). “Donald Trump’s ‘Political Incorrectness’: Neoliberalism as Frontstage Racism on Social Media,” *Social Media + Society*, 3 (3): 1-10.

Shammas, Brittany (2021). “A GOP Congressman Compared Capitol Rioters to Tourists. Photos Show Him Barricading a Door,” *Washington Post*, May 18.

Shane, Leo III (2020). “Signs of White Supremacy, Extremism Up Again in Polls of Active-Duty Troops,” *https://www.militarytimes.com/news/pentagon-congress/2020/02/06/signs-of-white-supremacy-extremism-up-again-in-poll-of-active-duty-troops/#:~:text=Signs%20of%20white%20supremacy%2C%20extremism%20up%20again%20in%20poll%20of%20active%2Dduty%20troops*, February 3.

Shaw, LaShel (2012). “Hate Speech in Cyberspace: Bitterness Without Boundaries,” *Notre Dame Journal of Ethics and Public Policy*, 25 (1): 279-304.

Shepherd, Brittany (2022). “Americans’ Faith in Election Integrity Drops,” *https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/americans-faith-election-integrity-drops-poll/story?id=82069876*, January 6.

Sherman, Mark (2021). “Supreme Court Ends Trump Emoluments Lawsuits,” *Boston Herald*, January 25.

Shoaib, Alia (2022). “Trump Calls for ‘the Biggest Protest We Have Ever Had; in DC and Other Cities If Prosecutors Investigating Him ‘Do Anything Illegal’,” *https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/politics/trump-calls-for-the-biggest-protest-we-have-ever-had-in-dc-and-other-cities-if-prosecutors-investigating-him-do-anything-illegal/ar-AATihJC*, January 30.

Silver, Laura, Janell Fetterolf, and Aiden Connaughton (2021). “Diversity and Division in Advanced Economies,” *https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2021/10/13/diversity-and-division-in-advanced-economies/*, October 13.

Silverman, Craig, Craig Timberg, Jeff Kao, and Jeremy B. Merrill (2022). “Facebook Groups Popped 10,000 Daily Attacks on Election Before Jan. 6, Analysis Shows,” *Washington Post*, January 4.

Simon, Steven, and Jonathan Stevenson (2021). “How Can We Neutralize the Militias?,” *New York Review of Books*, 68 (13): 34-36.

Skelding, Conor (2021). “Canada Secretly Tracked 33 Million Phones During COVID-19 Lockdown: Report,” *New York Post*, December 25.

Skelton, George (2019). “Stoking the Battle with Trump—and Water War,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 11.

Skelton, George (2021). “Sounding Alarm on a Threat to Nation,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 8.

Slisco, Aili (2021). “47% of West Coast Dems, 66% of Southern Republicans Want to Secede from U.S.,” *https://www.newsweek.com/47-west-coast-dems-66-southern-republicans-want-secede-us-1609875*, July 14.

Smith, Clint (2021). *How the Word Is Passed: A Reckoning with the History of Slavery Across America*. New York: Little, Brown.

Smith, Dakota (2021). “L.A. Tightens Rules on Protests Outside Private Homes,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 15.

Smith, Rogers M. (2019). “The Twilight of the Constitution,” paper presented at the annual convention of the Western Political Science Association, San Diego.

Snyder, Timothy (2017). *On Tyranny: Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century*. New York: Crown.

Sollenberger, Roger (2021). “GOP Wants to Pay Bodyguards with Donations. FEC: Not So Fast,” [*https://news.yahoo.com/gop-wants-pay-bodyguards-donations-005009893.html?fr=sycp\_catchall*](https://news.yahoo.com/gop-wants-pay-bodyguards-donations-005009893.html?fr=sycp_catchall)*/*, March 12.

Sonmez, Felicia (2021). “Rep. Paul Gosar Tweets Altered Anime Video Showing Him Killing Rep. Ocasio-Cortez and Attacking President Biden,” *Washington Post*, November 8.

Southern Poverty Law Center (1987). “Donald v United Klans of America,” *splcenter.org*.

Southern Poverty Law Center (2021a). “Antigovernment Movement,” [*https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/antigovenment-movement*](https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/antigovenment-movement).

Southern Poverty Law Center (2021b). “Sovereign Citizens Movement,” [*https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/sovereign-citizens-movement*](https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/sovereign-citizens-movement). Accessed January 21, 2022.

Spaaji, Ramon (2010). “The Enigma of Lone Wolf Terrorism: An Assessment,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 33 (9): 854-870.

Spahn, Martin (1910). “Kulturkampf,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Appleton.

Stanton, Gregory (2020). “The Ten Stages of Genocide,” *www.genocidewatch.com*, May 14.

Stowell, David O. (1999). *Streets, Railroads, and the Great Strike of 1877*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Strauss, David A. (1997/98). “The New Textualism in Constitutional Law,” *George Washington Law Revie*w, 66/67: 1153ff.

Tavernise, Sabrina (2021). “An Arms Race in America: Gun Buying Spiked During the Pandemic. It’s Still Up.,” *New York Times*, May 29.

Teh, Cheryl (2021). “Matt Gaetz and Steve Bannon Said an “Army of Patriots’ and ‘Shock Troops’ Should Take Over the Government If Trump Runs and Wins in 2024,” *https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/politics/matt-gaetz-and-steve-bannon-said-an-army-of-patriots-and-shock-troops-should-take-over-the-government-if-trump-runs-and-wins-in-2024/ar-AARFsqv?ocid=msedgdhp&pc=U531*, December 8.

Texas Economic Development Corporation (2022). “Texas Enters 2021 as the 9th Largest Economy by GDP,” *https://businessintexas.com/news/texas-enters-2021-as-worlds-9th-largest-economy-by-gdp/*, January 27.

Thebault, Reis (2021). “Rep. Marjorie Taylor Greene’s Endorsement of Conspiracy Theories, Violence Sparks Call for Her Resignation—Again,” *Washington Post*, January 27.

Tichner, Arlene B. (2013). “Core, Periphery, and (Neo)Imperialist Relations,” *European Journal of International Relations*, 19 (3): 627-646.

Timberg, Craig, and Elizabeth Dwoskin (2020). “Another Facebook Worker Quits in Disgust, Saying the Company ‘Is on the Wrong Side of History’,” *Washington Post*, September 8, 2020.

Toohey, Marty (2016). “5 Things You Should Know About Jade Helm 15,” *Austin American-Statesman*, *https://www.statesman.com/story/news/local/2016/09/23/5-things-you-should-know-about-jade-helm-15/9807539007/*, September 23.

Tornabene, Juliana (2021). “Pres. Trump Concedes in New Video Since Account Ban,” *https://www.nbc15.com/2021/01/08/pres-trump-concedes-in-new-video-since-account-ban*/ January 7.

Treisman, Rachel (2021). “California Program Giving $500 No-Strings-Attached Stipends Pays Off, Study Finds,” *https://www.npr.org/2021/03/04/973653719/california-program-giving-500-no-strings-attached-stipends-pays-off-study-finds*, March 4.

United States, Bureau of the Census (2018). “Demographic Turning Points for the United States: Population Projections for 2010 to 2060,” Report #25-1144, [*https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2020/demo/p25-1144.html*](https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2020/demo/p25-1144.html), March.

United States, Internal Revenue Service (2021). “Gross Collections, by Type of Tax and State” *IRS Data Book*, Table 5. [*https://www.irs.gov/statistics/soi-tax-stats-gross-collections-by-type-of-tax-and-state-irs-data-book-table-5*](https://www.irs.gov/statistics/soi-tax-stats-gross-collections-by-type-of-tax-and-state-irs-data-book-table-5). Accessed February 25, 2022.

van der Berghe, Pierre (1981). *The Ethnic Phenomenon*. New York: Elsevier.

Vladeck, Steve (2020). “Why Were Out-of-State National Guard Units in Washington, D.C.? The Justice Department’s Troubling Explanation*,” https://www.lawfareblog.com/why-were-out-state-national-guard-units-washington-dc-justice-departments-troubling-explanation*, June 9.

Vreeland, James Raymond (2008). “The Effect of Political Regime on Civil War: Unpacking Anocracy,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 52 (3): 401-425.

Wagner, Dennis (2021). “America’s Public Servants Are Being Terrorized with Death Threats. The ‘Emotional Toll’ Is Lasting.,” *USA Today*, October 31.

Wadhia, Shoba Sivaprasad (2019). *Banned: Immigration Enforcement in the Time of Trump*. New York: New York University Press.

Waldman, Michael (2022). “The Push to Restrict Voting Rights Continues,” *https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/analysis-opinion/push-restrict-voting-rights-continues*, February 9.

Walter, Barbara F. (2004). “Does Conflict Beget Conflict? Explaining Recurring Civil War,” *Journal of Peace Research*, 41 (xx): 371-388.

Walter, Barbara F. (2022). *How Civil Wars Start: And How to Stop Them*. New York: Crown.

Wang, Wendy, and Kim Parker (2014). “Record Share of Americans Have Never Married,” *https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2014/09/24/record-share-of-americans-have-never-married/*, December 24.

Webster, James G. (2005). “Beneath the Veneer of Fragmentation: Television Audience Polarization in a Multichannel World,” *Journal of Communication*, 55 (2): 366-382.

Weiner, Rachel, Spencer S. Hsu, Tom Jackman, and Sahana Jayaraman (2021). “Desperate, Angry, Destructive: How Americans Morphed into a Mob,” *Washington Post*, November 9.

Wetts, Rachel, and Robb Willer (2018). “Privilege on the Precipice: Perceived Racial Status Threats Lead White Americans to Oppose Welfare Programs,” *Social Forces*, 97 (4): 793-822.

White, Andrew (2022). “Wisconsin Assembly Unanimously Votes to Withdraw Biden's 2020 Electoral Votes,” *https://nationalfile.com/wisconsin-assembly-unanimously-votes-withdraw-bidens-2020-electoral-votes/*, January 26.

Wikipedia (2022). “List of Mass Shootings in the United States in 2021,” [*https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\_of\_mass\_shootings\_in\_the\_United\_States\_in\_2021*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_mass_shootings_in_the_United_States_in_2021).

Wiley, Hannah (2022). “Bill Seeks to Tame Public Meetings,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 21.

Wilson, Christopher (2022). “Books on Race, Gender Pulled from Schools Amid Conservative Push Against ‘Radical’ Literature,” *https://www.aol.com/news/books-race-gender-pulled-schools-100038556.html*, January 29.

Winger, Richard (2020). “New York Conservative Party Nominates President Trump,” [*http://ballot-access.org/2020/09/13/new-york-conservative-party-nominates-president-trump/*](http://ballot-access.org/2020/09/13/new-york-conservative-party-nominates-president-trump/), September 13.

Winkie, Davis (2021). “Oklahoma Guard’s Vaccine Defiance Part of Long History of Disputes Over Guard Control,” *Army Times*, November 15.

Wintemute, Garen J. (2021). “Ghost Guns: Spookier Than You Think They Are,” Injury Epidemiology, 8 (13): [*https://doi.org/10.1186/s40621-021-00306-0*. Accessed November 8](https://doi.org/10.1186/s40621-021-00306-0.%20Accessed%20November%208), 2021.

Wire, Sarah D. (2022). “Capitol Police Changing, Yet Slowly,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 18.

Woodward, Bob, and Robert Costa (2021). *Peril*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Yates, Elizabeth, Gary LaFree, Michael Jensen, and Sheehan Kane (2020). “Profiles of Individual Radicalization in the United States (PIRUS).” National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, Research Brief.

Zack, Naomi (1993). *Race and Mixed Race*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Zelizer, Julian (2022). “Trump’s Habit of Ripping Up Documents Is the Symptom of a Bigger Problem,” *https://www.cnn.com/2022/02/09/opinions/trump-presidential-records-act-zelizer/index.html*, February 10.

Zuboff, Shoshana (2020). *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism: The Fight for a Human Future at the New Frontier of Power*. New York: Public Affairs.