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—Trebbe Johnson, author of *Radical Joy for Hard Times: Finding Meaning and Making Beauty in Earth's Broken Places*

Healing America's Narratives

The Feminine, the Masculine,
& Our Collective National Shadow

Becoming More Fully Human

REGGIE MARRA

"...a courageous, compassionate, wise, and visionary wake-up call.... Brilliant. Thoroughly researched and referenced. A tour de force. Read it."

—Bill Plotkin, Ph.D., author of *Soulcraft* and *The Journey of Soul Initiation*

".... an aching love story to an America capable of healing through an evolving imagination of human meaning and possibility."

—From the Foreword by Maureen Walker, Ph.D., author of *When Getting Along Is Not Enough: Reconstructing Race in Our Lives and Relationships*

PRAISE FOR HEALING AMERICA'S NARRATIVES

“Having worked as a psychologist for more than 35 years, I have spent a great amount of time in the shadow of the human psyche. I can attest that in order to heal from the possession of the shadow we must do the archeological work of uncovering all aspects and integrating even the most demonic energies. Not a fun task, and as Grandpa Jung said, ‘self-discovery is never a pleasant task.’ Marra is doing the collective archeology in his book as he explores how Collective shadow multiplies the power of personal shadow exponentially. Not integrating shadow is not an option, as we stand at the edge of the abyss looking down at the reflection of the demonic that is us.

“Clergy has failed in leading us on this treacherous journey. The creators of the new path are the dreamers, poets, storytellers and all who follow an ancient path of relationship with our earth. Marra is giving us the diagnosis and some of the treatment plan we need if we are to survive even into the near future. Let this poet, Reggie Marra, clear a new path into a new way of being as we integrate and befriend our personal and collective shadow.”

—Eduardo Duran (Tiospaye Ta Woapiye Wicasa), Ph.D.

Vietnam veteran, author of *Healing the Soul Wound: Trauma-Informed Counseling for Indigenous Communities*

“*Healing America's Narratives* bears blunt, bold, eloquent witness to the hidden assumptions and attitudes that have shaped America's history and psychology. Reggie Marra achieves something extraordinary here: he clarifies difficult concepts and shines unfaltering light on painful truths, yet he never loses sight of the voices, ideals, and possibilities that have been, and continue to be, dedicated to healing and wholeness. Stunning, insightful, intelligent, and fearless, this book deserves a place among the great narratives of the American psyche.”

—Trebbe Johnson, author of *Radical Joy for Hard Times: Finding Meaning and Making Beauty in Earth's Broken Places*

“In *Healing America's Narratives*, Reggie Marra offers compelling and extensive historical research regarding the deep trauma and dysfunction of which our current social fabric is woven. In a conversational tone that expresses welcome, humor, courage, and a non-judgmental attitude, he invites the reader to “wake up, grow up, clean up, show up” as an everyday practice of individual and collective listening, learning, and working for the good of all. This litany beckons us to commit our best efforts as we explore faultlines, deconstruct imposed barriers, and build more inclusive platforms of support.

“Marra writes, ‘The process of uncovering, recognizing, owning, and integrating Shadow is discomfiting at best, horrifying at worst, and inevitably necessary for the health of any individual, organization, nation, or species.’ He emphasizes that we stand to receive countless gifts in working to heal personal, collective, and ancestral Dis-ease. Aspects of Shadow into which Marra delves include violence against women, Native Americans, and people of African descent; destruction of the environment; and atrocities of war in Vietnam and Iraq.

“Acknowledging that many more civil rights challenges exist, the author presents connections and angles that have the potential to inspire any person – regardless of history, identity, and experience – to consider the larger picture in a new or shifted way.

“*Healing America's Narratives* posits that we are all are composed of intertwining stories, that these stories are made of basic life energy, and that we have the ability to learn and apply healing skills in navigating and transforming the full range of human understanding. Marra invokes the spirit of John Lewis's “Beloved Community” in affirming that we have something valuable to learn from those with whom we disagree. No matter where a conversation begins, Marra asserts, it is possible through active and empathetic listening to promote the next genuine connection.

“In the spirit of kindness, hope, and tenacity, Reggie Marra reminds us that regardless of the particular issues we face, each and every one of us needs and deserves the healing that arises from this essential work of becoming more fully human.”

—Janet E. Aalfs, author of
What the Dead Want Me to Know

“In this courageous, compassionate, wise, and visionary wake-up call, Reggie Marra asks some very deep and challenging questions about who we are as a nation, questions that all Americans would be asking if we were brave enough to look in our collective mirror. His socially, politically, and psychologically sophisticated answers are both shocking and self-evident, both outrageous and kind, both arresting and liberating.

“An exceptionally well-written and readable book, *Healing America’s Narratives* goes right to the heart and to the root of what ails our nation ... and to what just might enable us to build a better world, a life-enhancing society. Brilliant. Thoroughly researched and referenced. A tour de force. Read it.”

—Bill Plotkin, Ph.D.
author of *Soulcraft* and *The Journey of Soul Initiation*

“Throughout his eloquent and thorough exploration of America’s collective Shadow, Reggie Marra embraces ‘truth’ both as evidence-based and as an ongoing conversation about things that matter. Deeply engaging both the political lens of our collective historical and current events, as well as the psychological lens of our individual inner terrain, the lingering effect of this book fosters hope and proactively embraces the possibility of a radical shift in how humans interrelate, even—and especially—while some of the worst traits of our humanity are so dismally on display.”

—Bridgit Dengel Gaspard, author of
The Final 8th: Enlist Your Inner Selves to Accomplish Your Goals

“Healing America’s Narratives is brilliant at so many levels. Reggie Marra takes the history of America—the good, the bad, and the in-between—and turns it into a guide for transforming the heart and mind, not just for Americans, but for anyone interested in the radical transformation of body, mind, and spirit. His prose, both inspiring and engaging, invites us to embrace a new narrative that discerns among cultural givens and other means that mold us. Reading this book feels like a rehearsal for new ways of being in the world. It is a manual on becoming fully human and embracing love as the universal language it is.

“Marra brings voices together, rightening history with unprecedented accuracy. In his voice we find a confluence of narratives from opposite, alienated, privileged, unprivileged, and marginalized perspectives—balanced with gender, race, ideological and social strata representations. This book is actually a summit about what we can hope is the end of an era. Reading it requires us to redefine history, healing, shadow, and love. In the author’s hands, history is a living source of healing. Savvy readers will walk away feeling affirmed that from ill-told history, new vistas arise from which to tell whole new personal and collective stories that heal.

“The extensive research supports testimony that transcends simple abstractions about justice or rightness, and embraces the living flesh of spirit and the unambiguous language of universal love. The final two chapters both invite and gently coerce the reader to show up, elegantly pick up the scraps, and put the world back into a cohesive whole in which the masculine and feminine dance as they are meant to dance.”

—Marianela Medrano, Ph.D.

author of *Rooting: Selected Bilingual Poems*

Also by Reggie Marra

*Enough with the... Talking Points:
Doing More Good than Harm in Conversation*

*Killing America: Our United States of Ignorance,
Fear, Bigotry, Violence and Greed (poetry)*

And Now, Still: Grave & Goofy Poems (poetry)

*Coaching and Healing:
Transcending the Illness Narrative (co-author)*

This Open Eye: Seeing What We Do (poetry)

*Living Poems, Writing Lives:
Spirit, Self and the Art of Poetry*

Who Lives Better Than We Do? (poetry)

*The Quality of Effort: Integrity in Sport and Life
for Student-Athletes, Parents and Coaches*

Healing America's Narratives

The Feminine, the Masculine,
& Our Collective National Shadow

Becoming More Fully Human

REGGIE MARRA

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You are reading an authorized preview of *Healing America's Narratives*.

Included are the following:

- Front and back cover drafts
- Front matter
 - Early reviews
 - Title and copyright pages
 - Contents
- Foreword
- Introduction
- Chapter Two
- Chapter Eight
- Appendix I
- Notes
- Index

This will be the dedication page when the book is released.

You'll have to wait to see it!

“I don’t believe there is any problem of American politics and American public life which is more significant today than the pervasive civic ignorance of the Constitution of the United States and the structure of government...an ignorant people can never remain a free people. Democracy cannot survive too much ignorance.

....

“I don’t worry about losing republican government in the United States because I’m afraid of a foreign invasion. I don’t worry about it because I think there is going to be a coup by the military as has happened in some other places. What I worry about is that when problems are not addressed, people will not know who is responsible. And when the problems get bad enough, as they might do, for example, with another serious terrorist attack, as they might do with another financial meltdown, some one person will come forward and say, ‘Give me total power and I will solve this problem.’ That is how the Roman republic fell. Augustus became emperor not because he arrested the Roman senate. He became emperor because he promised he would solve problems that were not being solved.

“If we know who is responsible, I have enough faith in the American people to demand performance from those responsible. If we don’t know, we will stay away from the polls. We will not demand it. And the day will come when somebody will come forward and we and the government will in effect say, ‘take the ball and run with it. Do what you have to do.’ That is the way democracy dies. And if something is not done to improve the level of civic knowledge, that is what you should worry about at night.”

- David Souter, Retired U. S. Supreme Court Justice, from an interview at the University of New Hampshire Law School, September 14, 2012¹

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FOREWORD

What better time than right now to encounter a book that both nudges and guides us out of the cynicism and denial that enshrouds the American body politic? *Healing America's Narratives: The Feminine, the Masculine, and Our Collective National Shadow* is such a book – a soulful encounter. From its beginning pages to the final footnotes, Reggie Marra offers the possibility that troubling truths may also be a healing balm. In so doing, he unravels the unbroken and interlaced threads of feral deceit and abusive power from the 17th century to the 21st century: savagery that belies cherished American creeds of innocence, equality, and exceptionalism. That said, this book is no brutish screed; it is instead an aching love story to an America capable of healing through an evolving imagination of human meaning and possibility.

From the outset, Marra insists on clarity—of standpoint, purpose, and language. He begins by situating himself in the “cultural givens” (some quite humorous) that shaped his becoming as a second-generation Italian-American male human. From that point, he grounds his thesis in a precise explanation of Shadow, removing it from the domain of esoteric jargon where it is little understood and from the muddled appropriations of popular culture. Hence, he reveals Shadow as lived experience manifest through interactions as mundane as short-lived interpersonal encounters, and as

significant as presidential politics and US military operations. Using deep history, literary allusions, insights from psychological theory, and an occasional dose of good humor, Marra is unflinching in his insistence that truth counts. He chafes at the use of euphemisms to contaminate truth, as in: “*The arrival of Europeans in North America opened a new chapter in the history of Native peoples.*” Similarly, he takes on the hypocrisy of academic scholars who, whether in a quest for tenure or media attention for a loudmouth, denounce critical and comprehensive analysis of history and culture as bad for marginalized citizens.

To read this book is to live the political as personal. Reggie Marra invites us into *Shadow* for our personal and collective evolution. And he does so as a co-journeyer, not a pedant. There may be moments when the searing revelations might elicit a ‘*say it ain’t so*’ reaction and cause you to step away, which is fine, but for God’s sake come back. There are plenty of opportunities for reflective practice, but the book is not a workshop and won’t be apprehended by cognitive intelligences alone. It unearths the history that lives in us; it invites us to open our bodies to edifying truths. Read the book; then read it again and again.

—Maureen Walker, Ph.D.

author of *When Getting Along Is Not Enough:
Reconstructing Race in Our Lives and Relationships*

INTRODUCTION

*In what games are you attempting to limit the players in order to win and end play, and in what games are you attempting to invite players and keep the game going?*¹

IN EARLY SEPTEMBER 2016, AFTER the Republican party had chosen their presidential candidate, I wrote an online essay² that explored his embodiment of the “collective American Shadow.” A week or so before the 2018 midterm elections, I revisited and updated³ the original piece with an abundance of new evidence to support this embodiment. What you’re reading now contains the essence and integration of those 2016 and 2018 pieces along with a larger historical perspective and updates that continue to emerge as this book goes to press.

Simply put, the words and actions of the 2016 Republican candidate, who became the 45th President of the United States, embody the collective Shadow of the United States of America—those undesirable beliefs and traits that we, as a nation, see “out there” in others and deny in ourselves. While this writing focuses on his time as the Republican candidate and president, it is clear that he has embodied and continues to embody this Shadow throughout his public life. His access to the bully pulpit and titular authority that the White House provided enabled him to invite to the surface—into the mainstream—these elements of our culture that we, as citizens

of the United States, prefer to deny and to see only in other countries, cultures, political parties or neighborhoods.

That said, this book concerns itself not with this one guy, but with our collective American Shadow—what it is, how it manifests, and what we might be able to do with and about it if we have the will, stomach, and heart to do the work. The 45th president's aberrant and often abhorrent behavior is simply a convenient, glaring symptom of our collective Shadow, which carries the disowned or repressed aspects or traits of an individual or group that the individual or group doesn't recognize in itself and unknowingly tends to project onto to others—whether or not the trait is considered positive or negative, and whether or not the others actually embody the projected trait. Sometimes they do; sometimes they don't.⁴

His embodiment of these Shadow elements invites them to surface and become increasingly visible, and we, the people, consequently are given the opportunity to choose to better recognize, own, and integrate them. Through such integration, we become more whole in our shared movement toward a more perfect union. The process of uncovering, recognizing, owning, and integrating Shadow is discomfiting at best, horrifying at worst, and inevitably necessary for the health of any individual, organization, nation, or species.

Said differently, the damage Donald Trump has done and continues to do through his self-centered ignorance, arrogance, manipulation, and dishonesty gives Americans and others the gift of a clear look into the worst of ourselves in one handy musculoskeletal frame. This gift, if we are to benefit from it, is one we must unwrap and own together. Our national Shadow, of course, remains even in his absence from the White House. He, those who tolerate, enable, or overtly support him, and those who oppose him while demonizing all of his supporters are all symptoms of the deeper, more insidious problems that are at the core of this book.

The more-or-less easily discernible elements of the collective Shadow of the United States include, but are not necessarily limited to, *ignorance, arrogance, fear, bigotry, violence, greed, excess, bullying, and untrustworthiness*, which often manifests as *betrayal*. Sometimes two or more of these elements overlap and feed on each other. In Chapter Two, we'll define how each of these words is used in this volume.

The following chapters will also present more detail about what Shadow is and is not. They will briefly reflect on five specific events and issues in American history and current events, and they will explore the words and behaviors of the 45th president—all in light of the Shadow elements mentioned above. The closing pages consider how we, as individuals, communities, states, and a nation, might increasingly recognize, own, and integrate our collective Shadow, and outline the benefits of so doing—should we be willing to do the work required.

PART I—ME, AND MY SHADOW—provides context and establishes tone by offering my perspective and by clarifying what the word *Shadow* means and doesn't mean as it's used in the book.

Chapter One, in the tradition of an *apologia*, acknowledges my point of view—the perspective through which the writing emerges, as far as I can tell. In presenting my “cultural givens”—those beliefs and values I received through the time, place and people of my birth—my education, my experiences, and my ongoing intentional development as an adult, I invite you, gentle reader, through my example, to explore your own “givens” and development. This chapter makes clear that the book does not randomly convey some general (or generic) “truth” but rather presents an argument that emerges through a very specific view of the world, as all arguments do.

Chapter Two provides an introduction to the basic elements of Shadow. As Jung used the term, Shadow refers to that which we do not recognize or own in ourselves, and which we often project onto others. This is differentiated from another use of the word shadow that often refers to the “dark” or negative aspects of ourselves that we do not like. Again, as used in this book, Shadow refers to that which I (or we) see in you (or them), but not in myself or ourselves. Shadow sees the evil “out there” but not “in here.” Finally, although the book focuses on the negative aspects of American Shadow, Shadow, be it individual or collective, is not necessarily negative.

In Part II—The Evil Out There—we explore the presence of the collective American Shadow through five narratives: the fear of the feminine and the subjugation of women; the removal, betrayal, and slaughter of Native Americans; slavery, Reconstruction, Jim Crow, lynching, civil rights, and the African-American experience; the Vietnam War; and the invasions in 2001 of Afghanistan and in 2003 of Iraq. Each chapter explores the denial and projection of specific disowned traits onto various *others*.

Chapter Three recognizes women's experiences, roles (or lack thereof), and influence in the founding and unfolding of the United States (and in everything else in history). Though Mary Wollstonecraft did not make the Atlantic crossing, her 1792 *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman: with Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects* set the tone in Great Britain and in the new United States for a closer look at the then-current cultural givens concerning women's roles and expectations. In addition to the political, social, and private events and changes that follow—from Seneca Falls in 1848 to the 19th Amendment in 1920 to the ongoing resistance to passing an Equal Rights Amendment that could ensure educational, employment, and salary parity—we also explore and clarify what we mean by *woman*, *man*, *feminine* and

masculine, and we provide evidence that *unhealthy* masculine tendencies, reinforced by fear of the *healthy* feminine, drive the negative aspects of the collective American Shadow

In Chapter Four we acknowledge the various European arrivals on what are now known as North, South, and Central America and the islands of the Caribbean. We focus on those arrivals on the portion of North America now known as the United States—beginning with the pre-1776 Dutch, English, and French competitions for various pieces of the northeast, and then turning to the post-American Revolution trajectory of skirmishes, wars, thefts, treaties, betrayals, removals, and attempts to assimilate that characterizes the relationships among diverse Native American Nations and the United States. This chapter’s exploration of ignorance, arrogance, greed, excess, violence, and untrustworthiness takes a close look at the 1830s period of “Indian removal” and examines the ramifications of the Fort Laramie Treaties of 1851 and 1868. It also acknowledges and reflects upon the subsequent breaking of those agreements by the government and the people of the United States.

In Chapter Five, we again begin with the Europeans—first acknowledging the kidnapping of Africans who were shipped to the “New World” and then exploring pre- and post-American Revolution enslavement, the American Civil War, Reconstruction, Jim Crow, the U. S. civil rights movement and the backlash against it, ongoing attempts, primarily but not only in former slave states, to disenfranchise black voters, and the violence by some in law enforcement against unarmed people of color. Finally, this chapter acknowledges the cumulative impact of this history on twenty-first-century American society. We acknowledge here both the progress that has been made and the work that remains to be done. Included in this acknowledgement are the debates around critical race theory and antiracism.

Chapter Six begins with the end of World War II and the movement into the Cold War, which together provided rich soil for the cross-fertilization of ignorance, arrogance, fear, greed, and violence in the United States. Five presidential administrations, beginning with Truman in 1945 and ending with Nixon thirty years later, refused to acknowledge Ho Chi Minh's post-World War II plea for help, financed as much as 80% of France's failed military efforts to retain its colonial power in Vietnam, refused to sign the 1954 Geneva Agreements intended to end the violence, helped prevent the 1956 Vietnamese national elections, regularly lied to the American public, and eventually spent billions of dollars, thousands of American lives, and millions of Vietnamese lives in a failed attempt to prevent the Vietnamese people from engaging in self-determination—expenditures that tore at the hearts of America and Vietnam.

Chapter Seven explores the similarities and differences between the Vietnam conflict and the U. S. invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. Despite claims from both political and military leaders concerning lessons learned from Vietnam, the Bush administration pre-emptively invaded Iraq in March 2003—first under the pretense of removing weapons of mass destruction and then under the pretense of removing Saddam Hussein, whom the U.S. had armed and financed in an earlier war against Iran. Removing Saddam ostensibly supported freedom for the Iraqi people. Six weeks after the 2003 invasion began, President Bush stood under a “Mission Accomplished” banner on an aircraft carrier and declared that the United States and its allies had prevailed. And yet, more than 4,000 U.S. military personnel would die in Iraq after that declaration. The war in Afghanistan went on for twenty years—including ten years beyond the killing of Osama bin Laden. Despite significant differences in some details, the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq are characterized by similarities to

Vietnam, not the least of which are the lies told to the public, the lack of clear, justifiable reasons for being and/or staying there, and the loss of one human life, millions of times—while making billions in profits for defense contractors.

Chapter Eight moves beyond the specific narratives developed in chapters three through seven and identifies additional examples of our uniquely American collective Shadow’s manifestation. These examples include care of the planet itself (which, if not addressed, renders the rest of the discussion moot), the prevalence of depression, anxiety, and suicide; unprecedented gun violence; access to affordable health care; biases and violence against American citizens perceived as “other,” including those who appear to be from Asia, the Middle East, and Spanish-speaking Caribbean, Central or South American countries, as well as those whose sexual orientation or identity is perceived as other than cisgender and heterosexual. In each case, we see in various degrees the same foundational elements explored in detail regarding women, Native Americans, slavery and African Americans, Vietnam, Iraq, and Afghanistan—ignorance, arrogance, fear, bigotry, violence, greed, excess, untrustworthiness and bullying.

Chapter Nine proposes that bullying is the Shadow element most consistently manifested—both leading to and resulting from the other elements. Whether bullying physically, emotionally, intellectually, financially, politically, or in some combination of these, the bully is often ignorant, arrogant, violent, afraid, and untrustworthy, and sometimes motivated by greed or excess. This chapter further clarifies the underlying bullying perspective in the histories and current events that were explored in chapters three through eight. It also takes a close look at how the bully shows up on all sides of contemporary “woke” and “cancel culture” debates.

Chapter Ten presents the case that 1) the 2016 Republican presidential candidate who became the 45th President of the United States embodies all of the collective Shadow elements explored thus far; 2) his words and actions, before, during, and after his presidency invite, allow, and embolden those Americans who also embody these elements to become increasingly visible and outspoken; and 3) his so doing unwittingly provides a gift to those Americans who are authentically inclined to begin the work of recognizing, owning, and integrating their own individual Shadows and our collective national Shadow. The lasting gift of this integration is a movement toward healing our diverse American narratives.

In Part III—Prospects & Possibilities for Healing—we explore some strategies, tactics, practices, and ways of being in the world that can help us on the path of realizing the “promise” of this book’s title and subtitle.

Chapter Eleven begins with the body and the breath as essential elements of the healing process. It then offers and explores individual, collective, contemporary, and ancient wisdom, practices, and resources for such healing. The offering and exploration arise through five questions and two statements: Who am I really? Everything is a story. What’s my impact and what impacts me? What am I not seeing or not understanding? Who are my people? I am going to die. How am I in relationship with all of this?

The chapter implicates readers and encourages them to shine the light of awareness first on their own Shadow and then on their country’s Shadow by exploring each question and statement.

Chapter Twelve, a complement to Chapter One, reflects briefly on my cultural givens, my ongoing development, and the integration of my “view from here,” and invites readers to

embrace their own integration toward an inevitable engagement with love.

Appendix I juxtaposes Dwight Eisenhower’s post-World War II precepts with lessons learned and not learned from Robert McNamara’s post-Vietnam War reflections and with ongoing reports from the office of the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR).

Appendix II depicts, through poetry, the normalization of violence in American society—both in terms of relentless military engagement and in unprecedented civilian violence, especially, but not only, with firearms.

Appendix III provides a synopsis of my 2020 volume, *Enough with the Talking Points*, with the aim of embodying the book’s subtitle, *doing more good than harm in conversation*. The synopsis is followed by an excerpt of a step-by-step application of the book’s recommendations to a “real-life” social media thread.

IF THIS INTRODUCTION LEADS YOU to feel uncomfortable or angry—perhaps because you imagine that the ideas herein might be “un-American” or “unpatriotic,” or, as we’ll explore below, conveniently “Marxist,” “socialist,” or “leftist,” I admit that I share your discomfort and anger, but perhaps for different reasons. Making believe that our history and our current events are *not* characterized by these traits, along with many other good traits, is, in fact, un-American and unpatriotic, especially if we want to continue growing toward a more perfect union in which *every one of us* has access to equal protection of the laws. And while our founders spoke of law as a means toward the ends of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, I, embracing the benefits of two-hundred-plus years of our unique experiment, would argue that care, compassion, empathy, community, mercy, and love, among other traits and qualities, are equally important ends.

That Donald Trump spent four years in the White House, and that most Republicans in Congress are afraid of him, while problematic, is not the essential problem. The essential problem, which is considerably more complex, is that more than seventy million Americans were willing to give him four more years, and some of them, at his beckoning, vandalized the U. S. Capitol and attempted to overturn the 2020 election and prevent the peaceful transfer of power that lies at the heart of our democracy. We'll say more about the complexities of this problem in the coming chapters.

Finally, the questions that appear at the beginning of this Introduction and of all subsequent chapters except Chapter Two were inspired by James P. Carse's 1986 book, *Finite and Infinite Games: A Vision of Life as Play and Possibility*. For Carse, a finite game is played with a limited number of players whose intentions are to win and bring the game to an end; an infinite game is played by an unlimited number of players whose intentions are to invite more players to play and to keep the game going.

The pages that follow beckon us to acknowledge the limitations of our finite wins and losses, and to embrace an infinite game that allows and invites all of us to continue to play.

CHAPTER TWO

A Brief Overview of Shadow

“Deliberately to place something in the underland is almost always a strategy to shield it from view. Actively to retrieve something from the underland almost always requires effortful work. The underland’s difficulty of access has long made it a means of symbolizing what cannot openly be said or seen...”

- Robert Macfarlane¹

IN MID-MARCH, 2003 I SAT with Animas Valley Institute’s Bill Plotkin and others at the Merritt Center in Payson, Arizona, for five days of an experience entitled “Sweet Darkness: The Initiatory Gifts of the Shadow, Projections, Subpersonalities, and the Sacred Wound.” On the evening of our first day there, the United States, under orders from President George W. Bush, began bombing Iraq. So while we at the Merritt Center were exploring our respective individual Shadows and projections, our country’s collective Shadow and projections—“the evil out there” that we tend to see in other nations, groups, cultures, genders, colors, orientations, and people—was on full display, providing us an opportunity for recognition, ownership, and integration at the national level as well. As many folks claimed in the months leading up to March 2003, and as we now know, the reasons for attacking Iraq were fabricated;

as each reason was discredited, the Bush administration added another one to the news cycle—something we'll take a closer look at in Chapter Seven.

Jungian analyst Robert Johnson refers to “persona” as “what we would like to be and how we wish to be seen by the world...our psychological clothing”—the mask we wear. He refers to “ego” as “what we are and know about consciously” and to “Shadow” as “that part of us we fail to see or know... that which has not entered adequately into consciousness.”²

In *A Little Book on the Human Shadow*, Robert Bly describes children as “living globe[s] of energy.” Behind each of us in childhood, “we have an invisible bag, and the part of us our parents don't like, we, to keep our parents' love, put in the bag.” In order to keep our elementary-school teachers happy, we continue to fill the bag, and by high school we throw more stuff into the bag in order to fit in with our peers. “We spend our life until we're twenty deciding what parts of ourself to put in the bag, and we spend the rest of our lives trying to get them out again. Sometimes retrieving them feels impossible, as if the bag were sealed.”³ To the point of our work here, Bly points out that “There is also a national bag, and ours is quite long... we are noble; other nations have empires. Other nations endure stagnant leadership, treat minorities brutally, brainwash their youth, and break treaties.”⁴

With the above as our foundation and as it is used throughout this book, Shadow refers to disowned or repressed aspects or traits of an individual or group that the individual or group doesn't recognize in itself and unknowingly tends to project onto others, whether or not the trait is considered positive or negative and whether or not the others actually embody the projected trait. Sometimes they do; sometimes they don't. For example, if I tend to have a *disproportionately* highly charged emotional response to someone I experience as angry, there's a very good chance that I've repressed or disowned my own

anger—it's in my invisible bag.⁵ Until I recognize this dynamic and work to integrate my anger, anger will follow me around and allow me to see all these angry people “out there” everywhere I go, while I remain oblivious to my being the one constant at every scene of all this anger. Everyone else is angry. I'm not. Oops.

So, the behavior or trait itself—in this case, anger, whether considered healthy or unhealthy, is *not* Shadow. The repression/denial of the trait in myself, and the projection of the trait or behavior onto others—again, whether or not they actually have or do it—*is* Shadow.

As mentioned above, the repressed, projected trait can be positive, although sadly and necessarily, we're not focusing on positive projections in this book. If I have a disproportionately intense admiration for or attraction to someone because of his, her, or their generosity, creativity, patience, intelligence, or trustworthiness, there's a good chance that I have not yet owned my own generosity, creativity, et cetera, and am projecting it onto the other, again, whether or not he, she, or they actually have the trait in the abundant way I perceive it. In each case, whether considered positive or negative, the key lies at the intersection of the “disproportionate” nature of my response, my denial of the trait in myself, and my projection of the trait onto the other(s).

People who know us, and especially people who know us well, can see our Shadow and projections much more easily than we can. For example, if I'm irresponsible in some particular way that I do not see, even if I'm generally a responsible person, and I'm constantly and passionately pointing to others' lack of responsibility, some of my friends and family will see this pretty clearly and perhaps attempt to bring it to my attention. If I'm not willing to do the work of recognizing, owning, and integrating the trait, I'll simply continue to deny it. If I am willing, and I do the work, I will

grow into an increasingly integrated or whole(er) way of being in the world. In recognizing that I am capable of *acting irresponsibly* sometimes, and in understanding that that does not mean *I am irresponsible* all the time, I will become more fully human. I will have a more accurate and honest sense of myself. As we'll see, our cultural givens are a significant source of what we put in our individual and collective "invisible bags"—albeit often with very different content amid our diverse experiences and cultures.

Finally, the word *shadow* is sometimes used to refer to negative, undesired, or "dark" traits that we recognize in and don't like about ourselves. We might refer to these traits as our "dark side." These undesired traits that were never in or that we've already retrieved from our invisible bag are *not* what we mean by *Shadow* in this book.⁶ We don't know our Shadow is there. Our repression and denial are not conscious choices. "Collective" Shadow as used here refers to elements that are common to individuals in the United States. A *nation* does not have a discrete psyche or Shadow. A nation's Shadow exists in the collective impact of individual Shadow elements that are common to many—not necessarily all—of its citizens.

BEGINNING SOME TWELVE YEARS after that mid-March "Sweet Darkness" gathering in Arizona and Iraq bombing, and continuing as this volume goes to press, we citizens⁷ of the United States of America once again were and are still gifted with an opportunity to see our disowned, repressed, and projected traits. This opportunity arose in the presidential candidacy, expanded during the presidency, and now continues to beckon to us, in the post-presidency words and behaviors of one man.

This book explores selected chips from the tip of the very large national iceberg that floats in a vast ocean that covers most of the tiny planet that circles an average star within a

solar system within a galaxy within the universe of context within which this exploration takes place. One of the most challenging aspects of this writing, perhaps captured in the preceding sentence, is tied directly to one of the traits that characterizes our national Shadow—that of excess. The evidence of Donald Trump’s embodiment of our Shadow is itself excessive. The process of completing Chapter Ten has been one of deletion—what to leave out, how to bring the exploration to a close. The challenge has been to sort through the mire he continues to create, especially but not only amid his excessive denial of the 2020 election results and his remarkably excessive invisibility as a leader amid a global pandemic that killed more than 185,000 Americans—more than 2,300 every day—in the 79 days between November 3, 2020, when he lost the presidential election, and January 20, 2021, when Joe Biden was inaugurated as America’s 46th president.⁸

Virtually every day that goes by, sometimes every hour of every day, he says or does something new, or repeats something old, that serves as evidence of the ignorance, arrogance, fear, bigotry, violence, greed, excess, bullying, and untrustworthiness he embodies.⁹ If you disagree with him, you are “fake,” “failing,” or a “loser.” If he wins, he claims he would have won by more if the system and media weren’t against him. If he loses, he rages that the system is rigged and he’ll use his wealth, or convince others to use theirs, to pay his lawyers to litigate. This behavior is evident not just in his two presidential runs; it is his *modus operandi* in life. And again, it is only in his public embodiment of our national Shadow that he is relevant to the core of this book. He is a useful symptom, and, as with many symptoms of underlying disease, we may discover and treat the cause if we pay attention to the symptom. Perhaps, then, we can begin the healing process.

The examples of our national Shadow that follow in chapters three through seven are selective and illustrative. They are not exhaustive. They do not and cannot capture the enormity of the suffering and loss of the ordinary men, women, and children—U. S. citizens and others—whose lives were ended or catastrophically changed by the perpetrators and perpetuators of the events depicted. Much has been written already about each. We return to them here specifically as evidence in our exploration of our American Shadow and the perception within and projection from the United States of the “evil out there.” Our intention is to neither blame nor praise the United States unnecessarily. Part of our focus is on the opportunities that the 45th president’s time in the White House and influence in the public sphere give us to recognize, work with, and integrate the Shadow of the “American experiment”—its underbelly, its less desirable traits. If we are truly committed to the ongoing effort required to form a more perfect union, we must recognize the need for infinite play, which may be unlike anything we have imagined in our past and current finite games.

Such reflection, recognition, and integration are necessary and need to be ongoing. Samuel Flagg Bemis, former president of the American Historical Association and Pulitzer Prize-winning historian, asked in 1961:

Have not our social studies been tending overmuch to self-study—to what is the matter with us rather than to perils and strengths that test our liberty? Too much self-study, too much self-criticism is weakening to a people as it is to an individual. There is such a thing as a national neurosis.¹⁰

If we emphasize Bemis’s “too much,” then perhaps self-study and self-criticism, as with too much of almost anything, can be weakening. But too *little* self-study and self-criticism sustains ignorance, which weakens a people and an individual as well.

As Justice Souter reminded us in 2012, “an ignorant people can never remain a free people.”¹¹ We’ll proceed here with the hypothesis that too little self-study and self-criticism, and the quality of each, are at play.

Again, the Shadow characteristics we’re concerned with include ignorance, arrogance, fear, bigotry, violence, greed, excess, bullying, and untrustworthiness, which often overlap and reinforce each other and are present in varying degrees in the examples we’ll explore. They all do share, however, a common foundation, what we’ll call the traits of the “unhealthy masculine.” Underlying America’s collective Shadow is a disproportionate and destructive focus on the individual, at the expense of community; freedom, at the expense of equality; rights, at the expense of caring and responsibility; and winning, at the expense of cooperation—each and all of which lead to a deepening disconnection. There is, of course, nothing inherently wrong with *healthy* manifestations of the individual, or of freedom, rights, or winning. We’ll have more to say about the traits of the *healthy* and *unhealthy masculine* and *feminine* in Chapter Three.¹²

Here’s how we’ll be using the language of these Shadow elements in the pages that follow:

Ignorance refers to not knowing—which is, ironically, also the best place from which to learn. When we do not learn and when we make assumptions and take action informed by our ignorance, we can cause great harm, as we did and do through our ignorance of various “others.” We have done great harm, for example, to the people, cultures and histories of hundreds of indigenous Nations; to multiple African, and later, African-American people, cultures and histories; to the Vietnamese people, culture, and history; to Iraqi people, culture, and history; to Afghan people, culture, and history; and to women, across cultures and histories.

Arrogance, in this volume, refers to the manifestation of a sense of superiority, which often, if not always, is based in ignorance. Historically, when the dominant white Christian male cultures in Europe and the United States engaged with others about whom they were ignorant, they assumed that their “difference from” these others indicated “better than” or “superior to” as well. This sense of superiority is often accompanied by a need to save face and avoid the humiliation of being wrong, especially in public—which leads to much of the bullying and lying we’ll see in chapters three through ten. While they’re not exact synonyms, we’ll occasionally use *arrogance* and *hubris* synonymously.

Fear is a body-mind response to a perceived future threat, whether that future is five years or five seconds away. Once we have something, whether comfort, health, money, material goods, power, position, opinion, reputation, or perspective, we often develop an unhealthy attachment to what we have, which leads us to fear losing it, or to fear others who have, or may soon have, different versions of it—whether we perceive the difference to be better or worse. A combination of ignorance and arrogance can lead to and reinforce fear of these others and of a change to our current status. Healthy, rational fear, or caution, is necessary for survival; unhealthy, irrational fear leads us to harm others who are not a threat to us.

Bigotry refers to negative attitudes and actions we may take against those about whom we are ignorant, arrogant, or fearful. Once we have our ignorance, arrogance, and fear in place, it’s easy—perhaps inevitable—to turn the energy of these three states of being into diminishing, ridiculing, and attacking others. To recognize, learn from, and celebrate difference is healthy; to recognize difference, resent it, refuse to tolerate it, and attack it is bigotry.

Bullying, which will be discussed in some detail in Chapter Nine, refers to the abuse of physical, emotional, financial,

political, or intellectual power by those who appear, or may actually be, somehow stronger than their victims. We often choose to bully because of our own fear and/or sense of inadequacy. Bullying, therefore, is often informed by ignorance and insecurity.

Violence refers to the use of force or the threat to use force against another or oneself. (It also refers to the destructiveness of natural events like hurricanes, but our focus here is on intentional human violence). The force can be physical, emotional, and/or intellectual-psychological. Its tools can include the body, a physical object such as a gun or a pipe, or drugs, words, money, or the law. When the law is used to perpetrate or perpetuate violence, it is unethical, despite the costume of legality. Indian “removal” and Jim Crow laws, which we’ll discuss in Chapter Four and Chapter Five, are examples of this kind of violence. Words that we disagree with or that bring up a sense of discomfort are not *necessarily* violent, but can be—especially when they deliver literal, personal threats. The ongoing debate between “words that wound” and “freedom of speech” is an essential one, and both relevant to and beyond the scope of this book.

Greed refers to an excessive desire for getting or having something. Often, that “something” refers to money and things. Greed, as we’re using the term, can lead to excess.

Excess, related to and different from greed, refers to a behavior or a quantity of something that is more than what is necessary or usable. Excess, as we’re using the term, can, but need not, result from greed.

Untrustworthiness refers to being undeserving of trust, usually because of past or current duplicity or dishonesty. Betrayal refers to the act of violating an agreement, trust, or one’s word. The act of betrayal often results from the trait of being untrustworthy.

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WHAT FOLLOWS IN PART II provides unsettling reminders of American history and current events. Each of us has his or her individual experience of the world. When we read in history books or in the daily news, stories of this war, that pandemic, this insurrection, that mass shooting, this hero, that victim, this natural disaster, and that election result, the unique birth, life, and death of each human being impacted by the larger stories is often minimized or lost entirely. Rabbi Marc Gellman eloquently made this minimization clear in his September 23, 2001 comments at Yankee Stadium. Just twelve days after the September 11 attacks, he estimated the number of people killed was around 6,000:

On that day—on that day—6,000 people did not die. On that day, one person died 6,000 times.... We say 6,000 died, or we say six million died and the saying and the numbers explain nothing except how much death came in how short a time.... The real horror of that day lies not in its bigness, but in its smallness. In the small searing death of one person 6,000 times, and that one person was not a number. That person was our father or our mother or our son or our daughter or our grandpa or grandma or brother or sister or cousin or uncle or aunt or friend or lover, our neighbor, our co-worker, the woman who delivered our mail or the guy who put out our fires and arrested the bad guys in our town. And the death of each and every one of them alone would be worthy of such a gathering and such a grief.... The dimensions of last week's horror only become fully drawn when we enter each murdered world one world at a time....¹³

John Tarrant put it this way: "...counting the worth of people only as numbers, which the corporate and bureaucratic mind loves to do, is puritan because it ignores the necessary uniqueness of each person."¹⁴ Ta-Nehisi Coates, railing against the death of Prince Jones, reminds us of "all the love poured

into him”—from school tuitions to sleepovers, to “soccer balls, science kits...model trains” and “all the private jokes, customs, greetings, names, dreams...”¹⁵ Gellman, Tarrant, and Coates remind us that the names we know and the stories we read do not capture the unique details of each human life and death.

We often think we understand events through the titles, headlines and slogans we create—*Slavery, Jim Crow, Operation Iraqi Freedom, Wounded Knee, Vietnam, #MeToo, the Trail of Tears, My Lai, 9/11, Sandy Hook, Women’s Rights, Black Lives Matter, the Bill of Rights, January 6, 2021, the 13th, 14th, 15th and 19th Amendments*. We may think we understand all the more deeply if we are familiar with some of the more well-known names that history passes on to us—Sojourner Truth, Abraham Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, Robert McNamara, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Teddy Roosevelt, Crazy Horse, George W. Bush, John Lewis, John Trudell, Audre Lorde, Robert Kennedy, Barbara Lee, Barack Obama, Gloria Steinem, Donald Trump, Kamala Harris, and so on. But what warrants remembrance and exploration is how each of us lives his or her life, the day-to-day, moment-to-moment experience of our breath-by-breath existence—that which poet Jack Gilbert, after his wife’s death, lamented having lost in “two thousand habitual / breakfasts” and “that commonplace I can no longer remember.”¹⁶

With an *all of us* or *all that is* view, we can then extend that remembrance and exploration—perhaps enhanced by imagination and love, one life at a time, one breath at a time—to the billions of individuals who live and lived through our current and historical events. Often unnamed and unknown, these are the very real human beings who were enslaved, displaced, oppressed, bombed, shot, lynched, subjugated, harassed, raped, lied to, and otherwise minimized by those who, lacking ethical awareness and moral authority, had the physical, and sometimes legal, power to so treat them. And if we want the

fullest understanding, we need to extend that same remembrance and exploration to the individual enslavers, oppressors, bombers, shooters, rapists, and others who so abused their power(s).¹⁷

None of these explorations is easy. Remembering and attempting to understand the individual perpetrators of violence is exceptionally difficult, and the purpose of such attempts to understand is not to condone or justify abhorrent acts, but to understand them in a way that enables us to minimize or eliminate their ever happening again. This is essential work; if we do not do it, we risk repeating the same horrors, costumed for new generations by new perpetrators.

Toward this end, we are called to open our hearts and minds to the unnamed, unknown, real human beings who lived, died, “won,” and “lost” on all sides of the conflicts depicted in chapters three through eight. We’ll explore the historical and current aspects of our collective American Shadow that some of us would rather deny concerning women, Native Americans, African Americans, and the wars in Vietnam, Afghanistan and Iraq. The scope of each exploration is necessarily limited; volumes have been and continue to be spoken, written, and otherwise expressed about these issues and the ancillary issues that inform them. The examples of collective Shadow that are of deepest concern to you, as a reader, may not be included here—I ask for your understanding. Captured here are selected snapshots of what we would prefer to deny, ignore, or minimize as a nation—that which we have stuffed into the long, invisible bag we drag behind us. I have chosen these snapshots in order to point to where we are in the context of where we’ve been and with an increasingly deep, wise, clear, and loving interest in where we might go from here.

While these histories provide necessary context, their purpose is to inform the present—the moment-to-moment

lives of Vietnamese, Afghan, and Iraqi survivors and American veterans of those wars and their families; of the lives of the individual members of the more than 560 Native American tribes, both on and off the reservation today; of the individual lives of twenty-first-century African Americans and other people of color; and the individual life of every girl and woman within and beyond these selected groups. As James Baldwin wrote, "...the great force of history comes from the fact that we carry it within us."¹⁸

Essential in this exploration is the need to recognize both the horrors of the past and the relative advantages of hindsight and new learning we humans have today in our understanding of that past and our attempts not to repeat those, or any new, horrors. Our critiques of the shortcomings of the men who wrote and ratified what we now call the U. S. Constitution and its Amendments would be more difficult to voice today without the still imperfectly realized rights, freedoms, and responsibilities that they handed down to us. Said differently, the framers did not have access, as we do, to the two-hundred-plus years of implementation and amendment of the documents they framed. Both our critiques of these men and our gratitude for their unique, imperfect invitation to play an infinite game are valid.

Homo erectus and *Homo habilis* were not stupid or wrong-headed *Homo sapiens*; they were earlier versions. The framers succeeded in doing something that had never been done before on earth—implementing a democratic republican form of government that was voted on and ratified by representatives of the people from the various states that would be governed.¹⁹ This bears repeating. We can see the imperfections in what they gave us in large part *because of ongoing applications of and revisions to what they gave us*, not the least of which was the wisdom to remind us to keep working toward "a more perfect union." The evolution of humans' individual

worldviews, behaviors, cultures and societies is real.²⁰ It is also not guaranteed, and it does not always manifest in healthy ways. As author of *Recapture the Rapture*, Jamie Wheal, put it in a 2021 interview:

Somewhere in the midst of the articulation of capitalism, the articulation of nation states and democracy, and all the things that came out of the French Enlightenment, the American experiment, was this infinite game of all men and women are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, regardless of race, color or creed. Now there's all sorts of frustrated, pissed off and bitter folks that are saying 'that was a lie.' But the question is, 'Was it a *lie* or was it a noble, fragile experiment that has never been fully attempted or satisfactorily executed, but the idea is still one of the best ideas we've ever had.'²¹

We should neither withhold informed, thoughtful criticism of the past—whether of people or events—nor impose upon that past the wisdom and knowledge that we (think we) hold today and that was not yet available to our predecessors. It is our responsibility—if we choose to play with an expanding community of truth-seeking players in an infinite game, rather than with a limited team of win-seeking players in a variety of finite games—to explore with imagination, integrity, and due diligence that which is possible for us today in the context of that which was not yet available to them.

We are the people of today, and we will be looked upon and variously criticized and praised in an ongoing series of tomorrows—if our species is fortunate enough to survive. What is it, exactly, that we need to access, recover, recognize, and integrate in the United States of America (and elsewhere) in order to be increasingly whole as a people? Let's check that seatbelt buckle again and find out together.

CHAPTER EIGHT

And That's Not All

*How are you limiting yourself?*¹

BOTH BEYOND AND WITHIN THE narratives explored in chapters three through seven, other manifestations of our collective American Shadow beckon. Each, as with those we've already explored, deserves much more consideration than it gets here. As previously noted, this volume presents selected—not exhaustive—examples to make the case for our national Shadow.

It's important to remember that we're exploring denial and projection here—those tendencies to deny both historical and current uniquely American manifestations of ignorance, arrogance, fear, bigotry, violence, greed, bullying, excess, and untrustworthiness and to project them onto others. Until we recognize, own, and begin the work of integrating what we deny in ourselves and project onto others, we will continue to unconsciously embrace the underlying elements of our national Shadow and to repeat the horrors of the past, if not exactly, then in some new, more subtle manifestations.

The briefer narratives in this chapter are interdependent with each other and with the longer narratives in the previous five chapters in varying degrees. Among many examples, we can see this interdependence in how the historical subjugation of women impacts the foundational infrastructures and cul-

tures of government, business, education, and other disciplines. We can see it in that the trillions of profit-producing dollars spent on making war are not available to be spent on healthcare (or anything else), even as this war-making renders quality healthcare essential in order to address the physical and psychological injuries that war produces. We can see it in how our ambivalence about and feeling separate from the planet impacts our sense of connection and how we relate to each other—across beliefs about religion, economics, gender, race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation and identity.

So here we go. Here are additional manifestations of our national Shadow.

Ambivalence About the Planet

All of the other issues explored in this book are moot if we don't address this one. We express this ambivalence through our stances on a variety of not necessarily synonymous but inevitably interrelated issues that include climate change, global warming, pollution, resource depletion, over-development, species extinction, and disease (in the broadest meaning of the word). Yes, these issues are global concerns. The U. S. contributes to them, suffers because of them, and inconsistently works to resolve them. As 'once-in-a-century' storms, fires, and floods arrive every few years if not yearly and as glaciers melt and sea levels rise, the only ignorance we can claim is vincible and willful—and it is underwritten by greed, excess, arrogance, and untrustworthiness. Our ambivalence about the planet arises from our remarkable misperception of being apart from it rather than an intimate living part of it.

Whatever damage our pre- and early-industrial ancestors did to the planet was limited by their relatively small populations—estimated at about 770 million *globally* in 1760, and about 3.9 million in the U. S. according to the country's first census in 1790. The technology of the times also limited the

variety, speed, and scale of the damage they could do.² By the time the industrialized polluters raised their smokestacks and laid their waste pipes to respectively darken our skies and rivers, they didn't know what we've learned in the ensuing two-plus centuries, but they knew that they were creating waste and had to get rid of it. They also knew that population, population density, and the number of polluters were on the rise. The point here is not to let our predecessors off the hook, but to make sure we don't let ourselves off. We know more than they did, and we have more evidence of the consequences of our actions.

As we'll see in Chapter Eleven, poets Audre Lorde and Tony Hoagland each wrote about cancer as a great equalizer amid perceived differences. Our extraordinary common home is a greater equalizer still, twirling and shooting us through space with just the right conditions for life as we understand it.

Recent statistics are sobering, as have been the statistics from earlier decades. The scope and scale of evidence for planetary deterioration, global warming, climate change, and our human role in these unfoldings are vast. The specific details of the deterioration across species of flora and fauna and on our land and in our water and air are vaster still. Some of the consequences, especially of climate change, are being felt by increasingly more people in "developed" countries, but their greatest impacts are and will continue to be on people who live much closer to and connected with the natural world in our "developing" and "least developed" countries.

Selected key messages in the 2019 "Global Assessment Report on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services," a document produced by the Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (IPBES), include the following. Unless otherwise indicated, each statement is a direct quote; page numbers are in parentheses:

- Nature and its vital contributions to people, which together embody biodiversity and ecosystem functions and services, are deteriorating worldwide. (10)
- Human actions threaten more species with global extinction now than ever before. (11)
- Climate change is a direct driver that is increasingly exacerbating the impact of other drivers on nature and human well-being. (13)
- Most of nature's contributions are not fully replaceable, yet some contributions of nature are irreplaceable. (22)
- Humanity is a dominant global influence on life on earth, and has caused natural terrestrial, freshwater and marine ecosystems to decline. (23)
- The global rate of species extinction is already at least tens to hundreds of times higher than the average rate over the past 10 million years and is accelerating. (24)
- Today humans extract more from the earth and produce more waste than ever before. (28)
- Land-use change is driven primarily by agriculture, forestry and urbanization, all of which are associated with air, water and soil pollution. (28)³

Each of these items is a header or sub-header in the report, and is followed by detailed evidence, sources, and cross-references.

Here's another view with a focus on climate change. The *Climate Change 2021: The Physical Science Basis* report from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) includes, among much else, the following. Again, unless otherwise indicated, each item is a direct quote, with page numbers in parentheses:

- It is unequivocal that human influence has warmed the atmosphere, ocean and land. Widespread and rapid changes in the atmosphere, ocean, cryosphere and biosphere have occurred. (6)
- Each of the last four decades has been successively warmer than any decade that preceded it since 1850. (6)

- Human influence has warmed the climate at a rate that is unprecedented in at least the last 2000 years. (8)
- Observed warming is driven by emissions from human activities, with greenhouse gas warming partly masked by aerosol cooling. (9)
- The scale of recent changes across the climate system as a whole and the present state of many aspects of the climate system are unprecedented over many centuries to many thousands of years.
 - In 2019, atmospheric CO₂ concentrations were higher than at any time in at least 2 million years.
 - Global mean sea level has risen faster since 1900 than over any preceding century in at least the last 3000 years. (10)
- Many changes due to past and future greenhouse gas emissions are irreversible for centuries to millennia, especially changes in the ocean, ice sheets and global sea level.
 - Mountain and polar glaciers are committed to continue melting for decades or centuries.
 - In the longer term, sea level is committed to rise for centuries to millennia due to continuing deep ocean warming and ice sheet melt, and will remain elevated for thousands of years. (29)⁴

For at least sixty years, science, corporate profit, and economic/political power have mostly clashed and occasionally cooperated as evidence of climate change, global warming, and pollution of our land, water, and air have become increasingly harder to ignore. In his introduction to the November 1965 *Report of the Environmental Pollution Panel, President's Science Advisory Committee*, President Johnson wrote:

....the technology that has permitted our affluence spews out vast quantities of wastes and spent products that pollute our air, poison our waters, and even impair our ability to feed ourselves....

Pollution now is one of the most pervasive problems of our society.... [T]he flow of pollutants to our air, soil and waters is increasing.... [O]ur present efforts in managing pollution are barely enough to stay even, surely not enough to make the improvements that are needed.⁵

In an excerpt in *The Guardian* of her 2021 book, *Our Biggest Experiment: An Epic History of the Climate Crisis*, climate campaigner Alice Bell writes that a 1974 CIA study on “climatological research as it pertains to intelligence problems,” warned that “weird weather” could lead to “political unrest and mass migration.” Bell chronicles the continuing emergence of this weird weather, beginning in the 1970s and still globally manifesting itself as droughts, crop failures, and floods. She posits that “debate about climate change in the last third of the 20th century would be characterised as much by delay as concern,” that “fightback from the fossil fuel industries,” played a role in the delay, and that fossil fuel companies do “run on science” and that “they are strategic about which bits of it they use.”

Amid the scientific, corporate, and government interplay, Bell admits that:

[O]ne of the hardest parts of writing about the history of the climate crisis was stumbling across warnings from the 1950s, 60s and 70s, musing about how things might get bad sometime after the year 2000 if no one did anything about fossil fuels. They still had hope back then. Reading that hope today hurts.⁶

Perhaps informing Johnson's and the CIA's concerns was the 1962 publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, which Johnson's White House predecessor, John F. Kennedy, had acknowledged. With its specific focus on the impact of DDT and other pesticides, which Carson noted as early as 1945, *Silent Spring* “deliberately challenged the wisdom of a

government that allowed toxic chemicals to be put into the environment before knowing the long-term consequences of their use.” The book further asserted that “the human body was permeable and, as such, vulnerable to toxic substances in the environment.⁷ The debates about human-made toxins and their impacts on land, water, air, flora, fauna, and humans continues today.

Lack of Health and Caring

At least three distinct and related issues intersect here: the physical and mental health of each individual American; the general health of our American culture and society; and the details of if, how, and to whom healthcare is delivered in the United States. If the quote attributed to Jiddu Krishnamurti, “It is no measure of health to be well-adjusted to a profoundly sick society” is accurate, how might we assess the health of American society, how well-adjusted are we to it, and what are we to learn from and do about our assessment and adjustment?⁸

The statistics are not reassuring. The *number* of organizations, public and private, that address the prevalence of anxiety, depression, trauma, addiction, and suicide in the United States is itself revealing and disturbing. This was true before the emergence of COVID-19, which only exacerbated an already extensive mental health problem.⁹ What might it mean to be well-adjusted in a society in which 51.5 million adults (20.6% of our adult population) suffer from “any mental illness,” and 13.1 million (5.2% of adults) suffer from “severe mental illness”?¹⁰ Or, what if “half of millennials and 75% of Gen Zers have left their job for mental health reasons”?¹¹ More generally, workplace stress and “burnout” are estimated to cost the U. S. economy over \$500 billion annually, and it’s becoming increasingly clear that changes in the workplace culture and environment, and not just helping employees practice

better “self-care” are needed.¹² These statistics relate only to adults and the workplace. Anxiety, depression, and “behavior disorders” impact our children and adolescents as well.¹³

Related to anxiety, depression, and suicide is addiction to a variety of legal and illegal substances, including alcohol, nicotine, heroin, cocaine, opioids, and methamphetamine—among many others.¹⁴ According to the Centers for Disease Control (CDC), overdose deaths were approximately 64,000 in 2016; 71,000 in 2017; 68,000 in 2018; 72,000 in 2019; and 93,000 in 2020.¹⁵ More than 900,000 Americans died from a drug overdose between 1999 and 2019. Of those, almost 247,000 died from prescription opioids.¹⁶ That much killing requires cooperation and/or apathy among patients/victims, pharmacies, healthcare professionals, and pharmaceutical companies.

One example: On October 21, 2020 the U. S. Department of Justice reached a federal criminal and civil settlement with Perdue Pharma and members of the Sackler family, who founded the company, for more than \$8 billion, the dissolution of the company, and a repurposing of its assets for the public good. In 2007 Perdue Pharma and three of its executives had pled guilty to criminal charges for minimizing the risk of OxyContin addiction. By September 2019, the company was facing 2,900 lawsuits and filed for bankruptcy. In late summer 2021, the U.S. Bankruptcy Court completed those proceedings, dissolving the company but largely shielding the Sacklers and their remaining billions from further civil charges. None of the Sacklers will serve time. Some states appealed, and a new settlement was negotiated in March 2022. The issue, it seems, is not completely resolved.¹⁷

Two familiar lessons emerge from this example. First, the justice system does not provide equal protection of the laws. Those who can afford to pay attorneys for years of litigation are better protected. Second, we'll return once again to Neil Sheehan's view that the My Lai massacre was inevitable as a

consequence of the political and military leadership of the time—leadership that I characterize as ignorant, arrogant, excessive and comfortable with violence. Likewise, hundreds of thousands of opioid addictions, overdoses, and deaths are, perhaps, inevitable consequences of the arrogance, greed, excess, and untrustworthiness of Perdue Pharma's founders and leaders, who were enabled by the larger for-profit-pharmaceutical-medical-government-lobbying culture and infrastructure.

Here's a different view: what kind of society has 16,066 substance abuse facilities available to complete the 2020 National Survey of Substance Abuse Treatment Services?¹⁸ And that's just the number of facilities that were both eligible and chose to participate. It provides no measure of those facilities that were ineligible or chose not to participate.

It is not a healthy society when in 2020 more than half-a-million people were homeless—including 171,000-plus individuals within families, 37,000-plus veterans, and 34,000-plus unaccompanied minors.¹⁹ It is not a healthy society when from 2014 through 2019, an American killed someone else with a gun 40 times every day, on average; when another 63 Americans killed *themselves* with a gun every day; and another 62 Americans killed themselves by some other means. Every day. We'll say more about these numbers below. Violence in the U.S. gets its own subheading.

Despite their relevance in this conversation about health and caring, we won't list the statistics for cancer, HIV-AIDS, obesity, heart, lung, and vascular disease, aging, or other conditions through which we suffer. While these are more conventionally considered to be of the body, and not of the mind, soul, or spirit, this distinction is increasingly seen as partial at best thanks to the work of Gabor Maté, Bessel van der Kolk, Johann Hari and many others who relate the health of the body to the health of the mind, soul, and spirit.²⁰

That the United States remains one of the few countries on the planet, across political and economic ideologies, that does not provide access to quality healthcare for its citizens remains a mystery to the countries that do. That alone should arouse a sense of embarrassment, or at least curiosity, for us. In the context of Assistant Secretary of Defense John McNaughton's 1965 memo that noted that 70% of our reason for being in Vietnam was to avoid a humiliating defeat, it's ironic that we don't seem humiliated by our willful denial of equal access to quality healthcare for all American citizens. That those in Congress, including the folks I vote for and sometimes agree with, provide themselves with better health insurance than the average citizen has access to is evidence enough of the disparity. It adds insult to injury.

In *Enough with the...Talking Points* I explored the problems of sweeping generalizations and characterizations—they are typically meaningless and useless. Without the excesses and lobbying that are inherent in the insurance-pharmaceutical-medical-financial-government complex, the U. S. would be better able to provide access to affordable healthcare for all of its citizens. Without the intentional, political pandering to the nonrational American fear of words like *socialism*, more Americans might notice that we already accept nationally socialized military, highways, medical subsidies for the poor (Medicaid) and the old (Medicare), and Social Security for everyone. We already rely on locally socialized law enforcement, firefighting and education. Yet, the fear of actually respecting each human being equally and the deep embrace of profits over people, among other things, seem to prevent us from providing what virtually every other country on the planet provides.

As with those who would fight for the day-to-day manifestation—as opposed to just the legislation—of equal civil rights, those who would like equal healthcare access are called

socialists, and therefore demonized in America. Yet, in the healthier democracies on the planet, the people are free, it's easier to vote than in many of our United States, war is a less frequent pastime than in the United States, and their public institutions are more "socialized" than in the United States, which enables them to take care of more people than does the United States. How we suffer is an inevitable manifestation of a culture built on acquisition, accumulation, and winning all the finite games, which, you may have noticed, we don't.

While the *socialism* scare is effective, it tends to hide the underlying culprits that feed it—ignorance, arrogance, greed, and excess. The for-profit insurance-pharmaceutical-medical-financial-government industry known as healthcare in the United States has to pay its providers fair wages and pay for the increasingly expensive infrastructure, research, and testing that modern medicine requires—and this is true for not-for-profit healthcare systems in other countries as well. In the United States, the cost of service has to be high enough to pay excessive salaries for corporate leaders with enough left over for shareholder dividends. Premiums that for-profit insurance corporations charge must be high enough to make profits and pay dividends as well. Said differently, a relatively small number of American executives and shareholders profit from the billions of dollars of their fellow citizens' health issues.

As noted in chapter four, this same profit structure underlies the government's demands for and use of a variety of weapons of individual and mass destruction—from handguns, rifles and bullets to bombs, missiles, ships, jets, and everything in-between, plus all of the infrastructure required to implement and maintain them. Private military contractor executives and shareholders reap financial rewards, while U. S. military personnel, especially those who put their lives on the line, risk injury, death, and PTSD, had a starting salary of \$1833.00 per

month in 2022. And many of our daughters can't afford menstrual products. Who, pray tell, *are* we?

The COVID-19 pandemic exacerbated and ultimately exposed one specific consequence of greed in the healthcare industry. A conversation with nurses, published in January 2022 by the *New York Times*, makes clear that, despite an abundance of nurses available, "America's frontline nurses are overworked, burnt out and quitting in droves.... America is facing a national nursing shortage." According to the nurses themselves, the cause of the shortage is not difficult patients, emotional overwhelm, or even COVID-19. "The biggest force that's driving nurses away: greedy hospitals. To maximize profits, American hospitals have been intentionally understaffing nurses for decades, long before the pandemic."²¹ Which leads us to the relationships among money, power, things, beliefs, and people.

*Prioritizing Money, Power, Things, and Beliefs Over People
(and Other Living Beings)*

The desire for and the importance placed on money, power, and things are connected to, if not the driving force behind, much of what manifests as American Shadow. Our theft of both land and life from Native Americans emerged from our placing a higher value on the profitable use of stolen land than we placed on people and culture. Slavery dehumanized those enslaved and provided free labor so landowners could make money without working too hard. The attacks on Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Iraq (and the occupations that followed those last two) made billions of dollars for weapons and infrastructure manufacturers and cost millions of Vietnamese, Iraqi, Afghan, and American lives. Limiting women's roles to childrearing and housekeeping devalued their full humanity.

Beyond these specifics, this prioritizing has led to an unprecedented unequal distribution of wealth. As mentioned

above and in Chapter Five, many Americans voice a non-rational fear of the words *socialist* and *socialism* whenever prospects are raised for using government funds (taxpayer dollars) to help their less fortunate fellow citizens. They don't want the government deciding who wins and who loses. They don't want those other people to get what they didn't earn because such help might make them lazy(ier). They seem less vocal when the government provides trillions to the already wealthy and fortunate in moments of difficulty. Here are a few recipients of government hand-outs and bail-outs, often called corporate welfare: General Motors, Chrysler, Ford, Harley Davidson, Apple, Goldman Sachs, the entire airline industry, Citigroup, Bank of America, Bear Stearns, Lockheed, Wells Fargo, JPMorgan Chase, Morgan Stanley, PNC, American Express, Capital One, and many, many more needy corporations who could not make it without taxpayer assistance.²² The argument is that some of these companies and industries are too big to fail—helping them helps the people who work for them and the national economy. That may be true(ish) and it's definitely partial. The other side of that argument seems to be that some people are too small to help. The unhealthy masculine manifestations of wealth and greed trump the healthy feminine traits of compassion and caring.

Others Being Othered

Ignorance, arrogance, fear, bigotry and violence inform every instance of harmful discrimination, including but not limited to that directed at Asian, Latinx, Middle Eastern, LGBTQ+, and other groups—and the many discrete communities within each of them.²³ I limited the more detailed explorations in this book to those in chapters three through seven. At the same time, I am very aware that any of the groups named (and others not named) in this paragraph can easily be focused on as examples of our “tradition” of only very

slowly recognizing our common humanity across gender, culture, ethnicity, race, color, orientation, and identity differences. I chose to dedicate full chapters to the five particular narratives I did for a variety of reasons. First, the scope and scale of Native American and African American experiences are fundamental to the founding and history of the United States. Second, the Vietnam and post-9/11 wars capture our biases against Asian and Middle Eastern peoples, our repetition of both political and military mistakes, the ease and frequency with which we rely on violence, and the lessons we might learn if we genuinely explored the reasons that Native Americans, African Americans, Middle Eastern Americans, and Asian Americans are willing to serve in the U.S. military. Finally, the subjugation of women and fear of the feminine are fundamental to all of these issues—across ethnicity, race, culture, color, orientation, and identity. Within each of these narratives, women's voices were silenced while they carried and birthed and helped nurture, educate, and otherwise raise each and every one of us.

Abundant additional examples point to the tone-deaf ignorance and arrogance that often inform many powerful, often wealthy, Americans' perceptions of those they perceive as different. Consider the Reagan administration's initial lack of response to the onset of the AIDS crisis, and their literally laughing about it at press conferences.²⁴ Consider their (and many Americans') inability to understand Ben Vereen's black-face performance honoring Bert Williams at the 1981 inauguration as the satire it was.²⁵ Consider their request, rejected by the songwriter, to use Bruce Springsteen's "Born in the U. S. A." during the 1985 inaugural—only to have the president still proudly refer to the song—perhaps not listening past the title or not understanding the lyrics he did hear.²⁶

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Increasing Confusion About Truth and Falsehood in the Real and Virtual Worlds

Ralph Waldo Emerson, reflecting in 1837 on a powerful technology of his time—a technology that he both contributed to and consumed—wrote:

This is bad; this is worse than it seems. Books are the best of things, well used; abused, among the worst. What is the right use? What is the one end which all means go to effect? They are for nothing but to inspire. I had better never see a book than to be warped by its attraction clean out of my own orbit, and made a satellite instead of a system. The one thing in the world, of value, is the active soul,—the soul, free, sovereign, active.”²⁷

Getting a book into print in 1837 was not something you could do on your laptop, phone, or in your home office. It was a relatively rare event by twenty-first-century standards, and yet it was still possible to get into print information that was false, harmful, or both. Emerson believed that books—someone else’s accumulated knowledge, imaginings or opinions—could inspire us. He also believed that they could deprive us of a direct experience of life—or even the desire for it—and render us vicarious beings, living through what others offer us, true or not. Fast-forward to instantly available streaming news, entertainment, and information—audio, visual, video and print, social media, “content creation,” and deliberate mis- and disinformation. Trolling. Not becoming a satellite can be a fulltime job.

Jonathan Rauch gets to the heart of the matter. Where pre-social-media-age propagandists spread false information to discredit opponents or their views, current social-media-age propagandists and trolls intentionally “flood the zone with shit” in order to “degrade the information environment *around* the reality-based community.” They use a “cacophony

of wild claims” in order to foster an “inability to know where to turn for truth,” and they “exhaust your critical thinking,” “not to persuade but to confuse: to induce uncertainty, disorientation and attendant cynicism.”²⁸

We saw in Chapter Three that the generation of humans who were tweens and teens in the years during which smart phones and social media began clamoring for our attention (roughly 2007-2012), were dubbed “iGen” by researcher Jean Twenge. They have grown up, phones in hand, amid this cacophony and degraded information environment that makes it hard to know where to turn for truth (and not just for them). Research suggests that we are most impressionable between the ages of 14 and 24, with a peak impressionability around age 18, and that significant events during this time deeply influence our values and sense of the world.²⁹ All of us face the collective dignities and disasters of our respective generations during this height of impressionability, mitigated or exacerbated by our personal experiences and circumstances.

Those of us who are committed to what Rauch refers to as the “reality-based community”—regardless of our generational identities—have an obligation, especially if we lived through the gradual degradation of the information environment, to assist those who have only known it in its current degraded condition.³⁰

Our American Culture of Violence

As mentioned above, from 2014 through 2019, on average, an American killed another American with a gun 40 times every day, another 63 Americans killed *themselves* with a gun every day, and another 62 Americans killed themselves by some other means. That’s 103 gunshot deaths and 125 suicide deaths, on average, per day³¹—all *before* the additional stressors of COVID-19. During the pandemic, 2020 saw the largest one-year increase on record in homicides (all causes),

with 4,901 more than in 2019,³² and the highest number of gun violence homicides, 19,436, in the last twenty years, complemented by an additional 24,156 suicides by gun.³³

I specifically addressed our American culture of violence in 2018 with *Killing America* (Appendix II). Violence is at once a foundational element of our national Shadow and a primary manifestation of it—thus its mention here. We are immersed in it. It is and has been our status quo. Civilized nations that kill less easily and less frequently than we do look at us with sadness and incredulity. This violence is not new, and it includes, but is not limited to, our love affair with firearms. Our national denial and projection recognizes violence when it is perpetrated against us, but not the violence we perpetrate against others and ourselves. Much of our post-9/11 rhetoric bears this out. This is from Representative Eric Cantor:

I rise today in support of this resolution [to authorize the use of United States Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent attacks launched against the United States]. Civilized society has long sought to end the use of violence, but the perpetrators of terrorism and states that harbor them are the enemies of civilized society. They only understand the use of force, and the time has come to speak to them on their terms.³⁴

How, then, might we reconcile this language of civilized society with our killing of civilians at Wounded Knee, in Tulsa, Dresden, Tokyo, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Vietnam, Afghanistan, Iraq, in Littleton, Atlanta, Orlando, Charleston, Newtown, Pittsburgh, Charlotte, Red Lake, Annapolis, Las Vegas, Minneapolis, Buffalo and Uvalde—to name just a few locations? What will it take for us to acknowledge and own this part of our American nightmare? How, exactly, do we qualify as civilized amid these violent acts?

While Vietnam was raging, before the onsets of daily

domestic gun violence and mass shootings and before what Andrew Bacevich would call *America's War for the Greater Middle East*, Vine Deloria, Jr. reflected in 1969:

When one examines the history of American society one notices the great weakness inherent in it. The country was founded in violence. It worships violence and it will continue to live violently. Anyone who tries to meet violence with love is crushed, but violence used to meet violence also ends abruptly with meaningless destruction.

He continues along subtle parallels with Eisenhower (whom he also criticizes) and channels McNamara and McNaughton, neither of whose writings were available to him in 1969:

But name if you can the last peace the United States won. Victory, yes, but this country has never made a successful peace [which] requires...recognizing the fact that two distinct systems of life can exist together without conflict....

The United States.... always fails to understand the nature of the world and so does not develop policies that can hold the allegiance of people.... It worries about its reputation and prestige but daily becomes more vulnerable to ideologies more realistic than its own.³⁵

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., at New York City's Riverside Church on April 4, 1967, exactly one year before an assassin's bullet would violently end his life, reflected on his conversations with young black men, especially in the ghettos of northern cities—conversations in which he had tried to convince them that violence would not solve their problems:

But they asked, and rightly so, 'What about Vietnam? They asked if our own nation wasn't using massive doses of violence to solve its problems, to bring about the changes it wanted. Their questions hit home, and I knew that I could

never again raise my voice against the violence of the oppressed in the ghettos without having first spoken clearly to the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today: my own government. For the sake of those boys, for the sake of this government, for the sake of the hundreds of thousands trembling under our violence, I cannot be silent.³⁶

Zeroing in on one specific manifestation of American violence, Andrew Bacevich reflected on the “Bush doctrine” of preventive war after five years of it in Iraq: “Yet our actual experience with preventive war suggests that, even setting moral considerations aside, to launch a war today to eliminate a danger that *might* pose a threat at some future date is just plain stupid. It doesn’t work.”³⁷

And again, from Doug Anderson’s poem, “Same Old”:

Always a war somewhere and underneath
the crack of rifles, the sound of money
sliding down the chute, and a
whimpering of mothers over here, over there.³⁸

None of these insights, however, quite captures the collective and individual suffering within each manifestation of violence. Ignorance of the other breeds fear, which encourages bigotry, which makes bullying of, violence against, and betrayal of those considered to be “other” much more palatable or at least easier to justify—reinforcing the ignorant, violent cycle for each succeeding generation. Staying armed against these others feeds the greed and excess that line the pockets of a select few. We can never really have enough firepower to protect ourselves and our way of life from these frightening others and the evil they embody. And we’ve proven, in our ongoing embrace of violence, that it doesn’t work.

In the Smithsonian Channel’s documentary, *9/11: The Heartland Tapes* (to mention just one example) genuinely shocked

Americans from beyond the New York City, Washington, D.C., and Stonycreek Township, Pennsylvania areas, spoke of *lunatics* and *terrorists*, much as Representative Cantor differentiated *civilized society* and *perpetrators of terrorism*, and asked why someone would *do this*, in response to the events of that horrific September morning. Again, the persistent questions remain: Why, then, are so many of us unable to muster our shock, outrage, and empathy for the people of Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Iraq during our decades of violence there? Where is our collective grief for Africans and their descendants in America concerning our 400+ years of violence and oppression against them? What prevents our national acknowledgement of and compassion for the Native Peoples of North America for our 500+ years of violence against and betrayal of them? What will it take to end, once and for all, the two-millennia-plus violence against and subjugation of women? Yes, some conditions have improved somewhat, sometimes, in some places, for some people, but the questions remain: who are the lunatics and terrorists and where is the civilized society in each of these scenarios? Why would anyone do these things? Good questions.

An interesting example of America's relationship with violence occurred on March 27, 2022 at the Dolby Theater in Los Angeles during the live broadcast of the Academy Awards. One talented, successful, well-known, and wealthy entertainer slapped the face of (committed battery against) another talented, successful, well-known, and wealthy entertainer who had made a joke about his wife. The slapper later apologized—more than once—and each subsequent apology seemed to carry with it increasing levels of self-awareness, regret, and remorse. The slapper stayed onstage after the slap, continued his hosting duties, and did not press charges. The slapper was not removed from the theater, detained, or arrested, and later received a Best Actor award.

Mainstream and social media coverage of the slap was immediate. It continued for days. Other celebrities (and many noncelebrities) debated who was right and who was wrong through various *it's about us* perspectives that included supporting the slapper for defending his wife; criticizing the slapper because women can stand up for themselves; noting that protection of the laws is not equal if a celebrity can commit battery in public and not be detained or arrested; alternately criticizing or supporting the slapped because his joke was either inappropriate or well within the norms of stand-up comedy; characterizing the slapper as an example of the inherent violence of toxic masculinity; and pointing out the impact of the altercation on the artists who subsequently received awards—especially those awards that immediately followed the slap. The next night, while the slapped was performing in another city, a noncelebrity heckler was removed from the audience, handcuffed, and taken away by the local police—as if to punctuate the unequal protection of the laws noted above.

While the celebrities were slapping and being slapped, and while the rest of us were debating the slap, gun violence, suicide, and other violence continued in Los Angeles and across the country. We've accepted as normal and don't engage with 103 gunshot deaths a day, but we're shocked and engaged when one entertainer slaps another entertainer.³⁹ If that's not enough, in May 2022, correspondence in the *New England Journal of Medicine* cited CDC statistics showing gun violence surpassing motor vehicle accidents in 2020 as the number one cause of death for children and adolescents (ages 1-19).⁴⁰

IN THE CLOSING PAGES of *The Great Gatsby*, Nick Carraway's reflections on his experiences of and with Tom and Daisy provide us with one way to look at the elements of our collective national Shadow:

I couldn't forgive him or like him but I saw that what he had done was, to him, entirely justified. It was all very careless and confused. They were careless people, Tom and Daisy—they smashed up things and creatures and then retreated back into their money or their vast carelessness or whatever it was that kept them together, and let other people clean up the mess they had made...⁴¹

Like Tom and Daisy, many of us are often careless and unconcerned with skillful means. We toggle between unhealthy iterations of our me- and us-centric worldviews. The developmental moves from it's all about *me*, to it's all about *us*, to it's all about *all of us*, to it's all about *all that is* perspectives take time and attention. They are real and neither automatic nor guaranteed. Most of us inhabit versions of *it's all about us*—some iteration of group-centrism—which at its healthiest can invite both intra- and inter-group cooperation. At its unhealthiest, it is the petri dish for bigotry, sexism, racism, and any other -ism we might conjure. Until enough of us grow into and embody at least a training-wheels competency with an *it's about all of us* perspective, we'll carelessly continue to embrace the boundaries of our selected -isms. We will stagger in anger and disbelief at the audacity and lunacy of horrors perpetrated against us and our selected group(s), and have no chance to grow into an even more comprehensive and inclusive *it's about all that is* perspective, which the planet is begging us to see. Obsessed with the seedlings in the eyes of others, we will continue to ignore the sequoias in our own eyes, and not be moved in the least by the audacity, lunacy, and horrors we, ourselves, perpetrate, perpetuate, tolerate, and fund.

APPENDIX I

Precepts Ignored & Lessons Not Learned: Eisenhower, McNamara and the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction

President Eisenhower's Precepts, 1946

1. No people on earth can be held, as a people, to be enemy, for all humanity shares the common hunger for peace and fellowship and justice.
2. No nation's security and well-being can be lastingly achieved in isolation but only in effective cooperation with fellow-nations. [Compare with McNamara, *In Retrospect*, #9]
3. Any nation's right to form of government and an economic system of its own choosing is inalienable.
4. Any nation's attempt to dictate to other nations their form of government is indefensible.
5. A nation's hope of lasting peace cannot be firmly based upon any race in armaments but rather upon just relations and honest understanding with all other nations.¹

[Note the underlying themes of not understanding others' values, beliefs, cultures, histories, etc., of respecting differences, and of a people's right to self-determination that connect Eisenhower's #3 & #4 with McNamara's #3-5 and #8 from *In Retrospect*].

Robert McNamara's Lessons from *In Retrospect*, 1995

1. We misjudged then—as we have since—the geopolitical intentions of our adversaries...and we exaggerated the dangers to the United States of their actions.
2. We viewed the people and leaders of South Vietnam in terms of our own experience. We saw in them a thirst for—and a determination to fight for—freedom and democracy. We totally misjudged the political forces within the country.
3. We underestimated the power of nationalism to motivate a people (the North Vietnamese and Vietcong) to fight and die for their beliefs and values—and we continue to do so today in many parts of the world.
4. Our misjudgments of friend and foe alike reflected our profound ignorance of the history, culture, and politics of the people in the area, and the personalities of their leaders....
5. We failed then—as we have since—to recognize the limitations of modern, high-technology military equipment, forces, and doctrine in confronting unconventional, highly motivated people's movements. We failed as well to adapt our military tactics to the task of winning the hearts and minds of people from a totally different culture.
6. We failed to draw Congress and the American people into a full and frank discussion and debate of the pros and cons of a large-scale U.S. military involvement in Southeast Asia before we initiated the action.
7. After the action got under way and unanticipated events forced us off our planned course, we failed to retain popular support in part because we did not explain fully what was happening and why we were doing what we did. We had not prepared the public to understand...and how to react constructively to the need for changes in course.... A nation's deepest strength lies not in its military prowess but, rather, in the unity of its people. We failed to maintain it.

8. We did not recognize that neither our people nor our leaders are omniscient.... We do not have the God-given right to shape every nation in our own image or as we choose.
9. We did not hold to the principle that U.S. military action—other than in response to direct threats to our own security—should be carried out only in conjunction with multinational forces fully (and not merely cosmetically) by the international community.
10. We failed to recognize that in international affairs, as in other aspects of life, there may be problems for which there are no immediate solutions.... [which] is particularly hard to admit. But, at times, we may have to live with an imperfect, untidy world.
11. Underlying many of these errors lay our failure to organize the top echelons of the executive branch to deal effectively with the extraordinarily complex range of political and military issues, involving the great risks and costs—including, above all else, loss of life—associated with the application of military force under substantial constraints over a long period of time.... We thus failed to analyze and debate our actions in Southeast Asia...and the necessity of changing course when failure was clear...²

McNamara's Lessons from *The Fog of War*:

1. Empathize with your enemy.
2. Rationality will not save us.
3. There's something beyond oneself.
4. Maximize efficiency.
5. Proportionality should be a guideline in war.
6. Get the data.
7. Belief and seeing are both often wrong.
8. Be prepared to reexamine your reasoning.
9. In order to do good, you may have to engage in evil.
10. Never say never.
11. You can't change human nature.³

**Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR),
2021**

*What We Need to Learn: Lessons from Twenty Years of
Afghanistan Reconstruction, August 2021*

- 1. Strategy:** The U.S. government continuously struggled to develop and implement a coherent strategy for what it hoped to achieve.
- 2. Timelines:** The U.S. government consistently underestimated the amount of time required to rebuild Afghanistan, and created unrealistic timelines and expectations that prioritized spending quickly. These choices increased corruption and reduced the effectiveness of programs.
- 3. Sustainability:** Many of the institutions and infrastructure projects the United States built were not sustainable.
- 4. Personnel:** Counterproductive civilian and military personnel policies and practices thwarted the effort.
- 5. Insecurity:** Persistent insecurity severely undermined reconstruction efforts.
- 6. Context:** The U.S. government did not understand the Afghan context and therefore failed to tailor its efforts accordingly.
- 7. Monitoring and Evaluation:** U.S. government agencies rarely conducted sufficient monitoring and evaluation to understand the impact of their efforts.⁴

NOTES

1. David Souter, Retired U. S. Supreme Court Justice, from an interview at the University of New Hampshire Law School, September 14, 2012, excerpt:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rWcVtWennr0>; full interview: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yVJhXQB1TAK>

INTRODUCTION

1. Inspired by James P. Carse, *Finite and Infinite Games: A Vision of Life as Play and Possibility* (Free Press-MacMillan, 1986), 3.
2. <https://reggiemarra.com/2016/09/14/donald-trump-collective-american-shadow-and-the-better-angels-of-our-nature/>
3. <https://reggiemarra.com/2018/10/28/revisiting-donald-trump-collective-american-shadow-and-the-better-angels-of-our-nature/>
4. Throughout this volume “Shadow” refers to this denial and projection of what is disowned, and “shadow” refers to other meanings of the word. The difference is explicitly stated in Chapter 2.

CHAPTER ONE – Cultural Givens & the View from Here

1. Inspired by Carse, *Finite and Infinite Games*, 62.
2. See this chapter (8-13) for a summary of my own cultural givens; and see *Enough with the...Talking Points*, (5-8+) for more on the role of cultural givens in our struggles to engage in conversations that do more good than harm.
3. Originally from “A New President,”

<https://reggiemarra.com/2016/09/11/a-new-president/>.

this poem has been revised to include all three branches of the federal government. Now titled “Broken Branches” it appears in *Killing America: Our United States of Ignorance, Fear, Bigotry, Violence and Greed* (2018), 55-58; you can find an earlier version of the revised poem online at:

<https://reggiemarra.com/2017/10/03/1599/>.

4. John Robert Lewis, (February 21, 1940-July 17, 2020) served in the United States House of Representatives for Georgia's 5th congressional district from 1987-2020. He became interested in the racial equality and justice in his teens and was a central figure in the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. He often said that his work included civil rights, but was really about building a Beloved Community that included all human beings.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Lewis. American philosopher Josiah Royce is credited with being the originator of the phrase, “Beloved Community.” See Jon Meacham's *His Truth Is Marching On: John Lewis and the Power of Hope*, (2020), 63.
5. The carefully curated and litigated story of Trump's successful image and finances continues to unfold. Here's one place to begin: Russ Buettner, Susanne Craig, and Mike McIntire, “Long-Concealed Records Show Trump's Chronic Losses and Years of Tax Avoidance,” *New York Times*, September 27, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/09/27/us/donald-trump-taxes.html> Accessed September 27, 2020.
6. General McChrystal's full comment is available here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k-HYFziXNlY&fbclid=IwAR2Yft9Lx8O6Ax5BD0gPYkYl_ZwonlyRXaib-BeHmlaDHjKQ0ZJMdT28e2I.
7. This language is from Ken Wilber, *The Religion of Tomorrow*, (Shambhala, 2017). What follows is my application: *waking* up refers to engaging available *states* of consciousness such as waking, dreaming, and deep dreamless sleep (and is not the intended meaning of “woke” in popular parlance); *growing* up (closer to what the popular use of the word “woke” approximates) refers to developing through *stages* of consciousness that can be simplified as it's about *me*, it's about *us*, it's about *all of us*, and it's about *all that is*; *cleaning* up refers to uncovering what's repressed—such as Shadow; *showing* up refers to being in the world in a way that embodies the fullness and freedom of waking, growing, and

- cleaning up with attention to the individual, collective, interior, and exterior aspects of existence. See note 11 below.
8. If we are fortunate to develop in more or less healthy ways, we begin to question what has been and is given and see how it holds up when compared and contrasted with our own direct experience of the world and the givens and direct experiences of others—part of the process of waking, growing, cleaning and showing up.
 9. Thomas Merton, “The Inner Experience,” *Thomas Merton: Spiritual Master*. Ed. Lawrence S. Cunningham, (Paulist, 1992), 295.
 10. Ken Wilber, *Integral Spirituality: A Startling New Role for Religion in the Modern and Postmodern World*, (Integral-Shambhala, 2006), 277. “Multiplistic level” and “orange altitude” refer to the developmental level, also known as *modern* and *rational* that gave us modern science, the U.S. Constitution, and evidence-based, strategic approaches that undergird many institutions and corporations.
 11. This four-part “check-in” is based on Ken Wilber’s quadrants. Here’s a nine-minute intro: <https://integrallife.com/four-quadrants/>. Various books and online resources provide a deeper dive; Wilber, Patten, Leonard & Morelli’s *Integral Life Practice* (2008) present the quadrants in the larger context of integral (AQAL) theory (quadrants, levels and lines of development, gender and personality types, and states of consciousness). Terry Patten’s *A New Republic of the Heart* (2018) provides a thorough, concise, practical overview of AQAL in the context of what we might do together to save ourselves and the planet. For the brave and curious deep-divers, see also Wilber’s *The Religion of Tomorrow* (2017).
 12. Audre Lorde, “The Transformation of Silence into Language and Action,” *Sister Outsider*, (Crossing Press, 1984), 41; and *The Cancer Journals*, (Penguin, 2020/1980), 13.
 13. See Jonathan Rauch’s *The Constitution of Knowledge: A Defense of Truth*, (Brookings Institute Press, 2021) for a deep dive into our contemporary struggles with knowledge and truth.
 14. Parker J. Palmer, *The Courage to Teach: Exploring the Inner Landscape of a Teacher’s Life*, (Jossey-Bass, 1998), 104.
 15. *Love*, as used in this book, includes: “the joyful acceptance of belonging,” (Br. David Steindl-Rast, *Gratefulness: the Heart of Prayer*, (Paulist, 1984), 167; “the will to extend one’s self for the purpose of nurturing one’s own or another’s spiritual growth,” (M.

Scott Peck, *The Road Less Traveled*, (Simon & Schuster, 1978), 81; and *the absence of fear*, (based on Marianne Williamson's reflections on *A Course in Miracles*, (Foundation for Inner Peace, 1976, 1992) in *A Return to Love*, (HarperPaperbacks, 1993). We'll revisit love in chapters eleven and twelve.

CHAPTER TWO – A Brief Overview of Shadow

1. Robert Macfarlane, *Underland: A Deep Time Journey*, (Norton, 2019), 11-12.
2. Robert A. Johnson, *Owning Your Own Shadow*, 3-4.
3. Robert Bly, *A Little Book on the Human Shadow*, 17-18.
4. *Ibid.*, 26.
5. Anger is not necessarily a “bad” thing; it is clarifying. What can go wrong is how we understand and what we do with our anger.
6. We'll explore some ways to work with Shadow in Chapter Eleven. For more on Shadow, beyond what's cited above, see Bill Plotkin's *Wild Mind: A Field Guide to the Human Psyche*, 207-34; his *Soulcraft: Crossing into the Mysteries of Nature and Psyche*, 267-80; and Connie Zweig and Jeremiah Abrams, eds. *Meeting the Shadow: The Hidden Power of the Dark Side of Human Nature*.
7. Use of the word “citizens” is noted here because “American citizens” and/or “the American people” while indicating a specific legal status, are ambiguous, if not meaningless, phrases due to the diversity of beliefs, ideologies, developmental worldviews, ethnicities, et cetera, that makes up the United States, or any nation or large group. I recognize that not every “American citizen” would agree that Donald Trump personifies the collective American Shadow or even that the country has a collective Shadow. I believe, and provide evidence here, that he does, and it does.
8. See Centers for Disease Control, specifically the daily trends setting: https://covid.cdc.gov/covid-data-tracker/#trends_dailytrendscases
9. The volume of reporting and writing that details his words and behaviors since 2016 is itself formidable. Some writers hold him as their focus; others note his relationship to larger socio-cultural concerns around truth, knowledge, partisanship, discourse and democracy. From among many: Leonnig and Rucker's *I Alone Can Fix It* and *A Very Stable Genius*; Kessler, Rizzo and Kelly's *Donald Trump and His Assault on Truth*; Kakutani's *The Death of Truth*;

- Bacevich's *After the Apocalypse*; Rauch's *The Constitution of Knowledge*; Esper's *A Sacred Oath*.
10. Samuel Flagg Bemis, presidential address to the American Historical Association, December 29, 1961.
<https://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/presidential-addresses/samuel-flagg-bemis>. Accessed March 23, 2021. See also Gaddis Smith's "The Two Worlds of Samuel Flagg Bemis," <https://academic.oup.com/dh/article/9/4/295/361855>, Accessed March 23, 2021, and Howard Zinn's *Declarations of Independence*, (HarperPerennial, 1991), 60-64.
 11. Retired U.S. Supreme Court Justice David Souter's interview at the University of New Hampshire's Franklin Pierce School of Law, September 14, 2012, (see contents-facing page in this volume).
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D5aM2WnpCO8>
 Accessed June 27, 2018.
 12. For more on how "masculine" and "feminine" are used in this volume, see Chapter Three, 36-37 and note 3.
 13. Rabbi Marc Gellman, remarks at the September 23, 2001 Prayer Service at Yankee Stadium in the Bronx, New York. This excerpt is my transcription of the video from a C-Span DVD. The video is now available for free online:
<https://www.c-span.org/video/?166250-1/york-city-prayer-service>. Hearing these words (and others from that day) as they were spoken is more powerful than reading them. Rabbi Gellman's remarks begin at 1:14:55.
 14. John Tarrant, *Bring Me the Rhinoceros: and Other Zen Koans That Will Save Your Life*, (Shambhala, 2008/2004), 76.
 15. Ta-Nehisi Coates, *Between the World and Me*, (One World/Random House, 2015), 81-82.
 16. Jack Gilbert, "Highlights and Interstices," *The Great Fires: Poems 1982-1992*, (New York: Knopf, 2005/1995), 56. The poem is available online at *PBS News Hour*, November 19, 2012,
<https://www.pbs.org/newshour/arts/weekly-poem-highlights-and-interstices>, Accessed July 30, 2021.
 17. A powerful example of such "fullest understanding" is Thich Nhat Hanh's poem, "Please Call Me by My True Names," which we'll return to in Chapter Twelve. You can read it here:
<https://plumvillage.org/articles/please-call-me-by-my-true-names-song-poem/>; also available in *Call Me by My True Names: The Collected Poems of Thich Nhat Hanh*, (Parallax, 2001).

18. Jon Meacham, *The Soul of America* (Random House, 2019) ix, 277. Meacham cites Baldwin's "The White Man's Guilt" in *Ebony*, August 1965, 47. See Chapter Five, 118 for the full quote.
19. Small scale democracies existed for a time and then collapsed in Ancient Greece and Rome. For a lively overview of the U.S. Constitution, check out Akhil Reed Amar's interview with Meghna Chakrabarti, "'The Words That Made Us': Scholar Akhil Reed Amar on How to Better Understand the Constitution," *WBUR, On Point*, May 17, 2021, <https://www.wbur.org/onpoint/2021/05/17/the-words-that-made-us-how-to-better-understand-the-constitution> Accessed May 17, 2021. For an equally lively and more detailed exploration, see Amar's *The Words That Made Us: America's Constitutional Conversation*, (New York: Basic, 2021).
20. As used here "culture" refers to *interiors*—shared beliefs and values; "society" refers to *exteriors*—infrastructure/environment; each emerges from and informs the other.
21. Jamie Wheal, "Until We Collapse," Anthony Chene, Producer, July 27, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VFkmI4PxnYA> Accessed August 25, 2021. The full the 40-minute interview provides context for this passage.

CHAPTER THREE: Fear of the Feminine & the Subjugation of Women:
Getting "Their Feet from off of Our Necks"

1. Inspired by Carse, *Finite and Infinite Games*, 30-31.
2. The interplay of biology, cultural beliefs, means of production, technology and other factors impacts the respective roles that have been expected of men and women, and, historically, "allowed" by men for women.
3. Regarding *earlier/later* levels and *healthy/unhealthy* manifestations of the feminine and masculine, early levels are often referred to as "low" since our earlier development embodies lesser or smaller capacities than later development can, and usually does (contrast a healthy toddler with a healthy adult; neither is better, worse, right, or wrong and both can be "perfect" manifestations of toddlerhood and adulthood, respectively).
 - an earlier/lower, *me-centric* orientation is a necessary aspect of development that, when healthy, allows me to function in the world as a competent, confident human being. When

unhealthy, however, it takes only the self, and no one else, into consideration—others are only useful objects to be manipulated and used for *my* purposes. I'm an insider; everyone else is an outsider.

- a later/medium, *group/us-centric* orientation allows me to identify with others (family, community, religion, team, friends, nation, etc.) without losing my self-efficacy from the earlier stage. When healthy, a group-centric orientation allows my family, my community, my team, my religion, or my country to function cooperatively among other families, communities, teams, religions, and countries. When unhealthy, this orientation often pits my group *against* other groups—other groups are wrong or bad. Manifestations of the unhealthy include bigotry, caste, xenophobia, misogyny, homophobia, racism and war—tribalism at its worst.
- a later/higher *all-of-us/human-centric* (sometimes called *world-centric*) orientation allows me to still function in various groups, but to identify primarily with other human beings, period, regardless of group or tribe. While I am aware of billions of unique human beings and the various groups we identify with, when healthy, my primary orientation acknowledges and transcends individual and group differences and embraces our common humanity. When unhealthy, I can operate in an anthropocentric manner that ignores or devalues other types of life and matter—including flora, fauna, and the planet itself.
- A still later/higher, *all-that-is-centric* orientation allows me to function in embrace of myself, my groups, all of life, matter, and the whole of interior and exterior existence. This is an orientation that embodies and acts on (as opposed to just espousing) care for the planet and beyond.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that a majority of human beings on the planet live day-to-day in group- and me-centric orientations, which, again, can be healthy or unhealthy. Many people understand and even espouse the *world-* and *all-that-is-centric* orientations, sometimes referred to as “a global perspective,” but have not yet developed the consciousness that allows them to *live* at these levels: that is, they (we) don't all walk the talk.

Unhealthy manifestations of the feminine concerns with care, embrace, collaboration, mercy, and compassion very generally can include a lost or missing sense of self and self-efficacy, in which I

have no intrinsic identity or value and I only matter in terms of my attention to and from others. Codependency and an inability to assert oneself or to practice self-compassion are possible manifestations in both women and men.

Unhealthy manifestations of the masculine focus on rights, independence, individualism, justice, and wisdom very generally can include a lack of awareness of and concern for other individuals or groups, which makes it easier to ignore, discriminate against, exclude, persecute, abuse and otherwise devalue these "others." Aggression, lack of awareness and/or denial of emotions, and an absence of empathy are possible manifestations—available to both men and women. This characterizes much of our collective American Shadow.

4. *Benet's Reader's Encyclopedia*, (Harper & Row, 1987), 1,073.
5. *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, Margaret Drabble, ed. 5th edition (Oxford UP, 1985), 1,030.
6. Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States: 1492-Present*, (Harper Perennial, 1999/1980), 119.
7. *Ibid.*, 121. See also the American Women's History Museum: <https://www.womenshistory.org/womens-history> for biographies and resources that haven't made it into most school history texts.
8. Lawrence, Hurley, "U.S. Supreme Court's Ginsburg, a Liberal Dynamo, Championed Women's Rights," *Reuters*, September 18, 2020, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-court-ginsburg-obituary/u-s-supreme-courts-ginsburg-a-liberal-dynamo-championed-womens-rights-idUSKBN26A003>, Accessed December 10, 2020. Ginsberg's paraphrase of Grimké appears in the documentary, *RBG*: [https://www.amazon.com/RBG-Ruth-Bader-Ginsburg/dp/B07CT9Q5C6/?tag=harpersbazaar-auto-append-20&ascsubtag=\[artid|10056.a.34083262\[src|\[ch|\[lt](https://www.amazon.com/RBG-Ruth-Bader-Ginsburg/dp/B07CT9Q5C6/?tag=harpersbazaar-auto-append-20&ascsubtag=[artid|10056.a.34083262[src|[ch|[lt)
9. Zinn, *A People's History of the United States: 1492-Present*, 184.
10. Debra Michals. "Sojourner Truth." National Women's History Museum. National Women's History Museum, 2015, <https://www.womenshistory.org/education-resources/biographies/sojourner-truth>. Accessed January 12, 2021.
11. Zinn, *A People's History of the United States: 1492-Present*, 202.
12. The quotes in this paragraph are from "The Development of Relational-Cultural Theory Beginnings: Self-in-Relation," Jean Baker Miller Training Institute,

- <https://www.wcwonline.org/JBMTI-Site/the-development-of-relational-cultural-theory>. Accessed January 13, 2021. While that site is still accessible online, the International Center for Growth in Connection, which emerged through the JBMTI, is now the primary home for RCT scholarship and work in the world: <https://growthinconnection.org/>
13. Jean Baker Miller, *Toward a New Psychology of Women*, (Beacon, 1986), 76-77. Miller develops the selected points I cite here in great detail.
 14. Susan Faludi, *Stiffed: The Betrayal of the American Man*, (William Morrow, 1999), 594-95. Andrew Bacevich, *Washington Rules: America's Path to Permanent War*, (Metropolitan, 2010), 11; see Chapter Seven, 182-83 and note 21.
 15. Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Harvard UP, 1993), 33. For an overview of Gilligan's findings and excerpts of the children's responses, see pp. 24-39. One striking example of what Gilligan points to is in the nature and the power dynamic of the research interview itself, in which the girl "is answering a different question from the one the interviewer thought had been posed," and "is considering not *whether* Heinz should act in this situation ('*should* Heinz steal the drug?') but rather *how* Heinz should act... ('should Heinz *steal* the drug?'). The interviewer is asking if it's okay to take the proposed action: steal the drug; the girl is wrestling with whether other possible actions are available besides stealing (31). A different voice indeed.
 16. *Ibid.*, Wollstonecraft and Stanton, quoted in Gilligan, 129.
 17. *Ibid.*, xiii.
 18. While a detailed consideration of "The Declaration of Sentiments and Resolution" that emerged from the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention is beyond the scope and intention of this book, even a surface familiarity with its contents provides a beginning sense of what was denied women at the time. Here's one place to become familiar: <https://www.womenshistory.org/resources/primary-source/declaration-sentiments-and-resolution>
 19. Attempts to amend Title IX, or do away with it entirely, include then Republican Texas Senator John Tower's 1974 "Tower Amendment" to protect revenue-producing sports (e.g. football) from the regulation. This and subsequent attempts to amend Title IX continued for years, and included both legislation and

- litigation. A bit of editorializing: opponents of Title IX typically are men, and the arguments typically involve money (funding for sports). Had girls and women historically had equal access and equal protection, and had there been no inequality, there would be no need for Title IX, and no need to oppose it. More info here: https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/tix_dis.html
20. Gillian R. Brasil, "Sedona Prince Has a Message for You", *New York Times*, May 29, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/29/sports/ncaabasketball/sedona-prince-ncaa-basketball-video.html> Accessed June 10, 2021. Based on the video, the women's "weight room" was a single rack that housed 12 dumbbells; the men's facility offered at least two-dozen weight stations and multiple dumbbells, barbells, and free-weight plates. Prince's video has had an impact. See Billy Witz, "Her Video Spurred Changes in Women's Basketball. Did They Go Far Enough?" *New York Times*, March 15, 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/03/15/sports/ncaabasketball/womens-march-madness-sedona-prince.html> Accessed March 16, 2022.
 21. Two points here: 1) the first page of Google search results for "advertising expenditures for NCAA basketball tournament" provided results for the men's tournament only; the 6th result on the second page was the first to mention the women's tournament, and *that* was an indictment of the NCAA's management of the women's tournament, well worth the read: Sally Jenkins, "The NCAA's shell game is the real women's basketball scandal," *Washington Post*, March 25, 2021, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/sports/2021/03/25/ncaa-women-basketball-tournament-revenue/> Accessed September 7, 2021. 2) The interplay of greed, untrustworthiness, ignorance and arrogance, at the very least, is present here, and both feeds and is fed by wealthy powerful men (and a few women) who run corporations and universities and who (apparently) value bottom lines over equality for women.
 22. Jeannette Rankin: <https://history.house.gov/People/Detail/20147#biography>
 23. So, yes, progress is being made, *and* in light of women making up about 51% of U.S. population, currently just 25% of Senators and 27% of Representatives are women. Senate History of women in the U.S. Congress: <https://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/WIC/Historical-Data/Women-Representatives-and->

Senators-by-Congress/;

https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/briefing/women_senators.htm#:~:text=Appointed%20to%20fill%20a%20vacancy,way%20for%20other%20women%20senators;

<https://cawp.rutgers.edu/list-women-currently-serving-congress>

24. Nancy Pelosi:

<https://history.house.gov/People/Detail/19519#bibliography>

25. U.S. Senate and House salaries:

<https://pressgallery.house.gov/member-data/salaries>

26. Amid the abundant and conflicting explorations, rants and thoughtful commentaries on gender pay equity that are available, this site presented a balanced overview with recent statistics, and other than being in favor of gender pay equity, did not seem to skew the stats in order to make one point or another:

<https://www.payscale.com/data/gender-pay-gap>.

Beyond the gender gap, pay disparity ties in with race and ethnic gaps as well. For a look at the intersection of these disparities, as reported by the National Partnership for Women & Families in January 2022, see:

[https://www.nationalpartnership.org/our-](https://www.nationalpartnership.org/our-work/resources/economic-justice/fair-pay/quantifying-americas-gender-wage-gap.pdf)

[work/resources/economic-justice/fair-pay/quantifying-americas-gender-wage-gap.pdf](https://www.nationalpartnership.org/our-work/resources/economic-justice/fair-pay/quantifying-americas-gender-wage-gap.pdf). The essential issues that arise at the intersection of the race, caste and gender inequities inherent in the history of the United States are foundational to “intersectionality” as articulated by Kimberlé Crenshaw, about which and whom we’ll say more in Chapter Five:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ViDtnfQ9FHC>

(1:54 interview excerpt from 2018);

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9yKX_MH2bHs

(2:58, Omega’s Women and Power Series, excerpt, 2016);

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=akOe5-UsQ2o> (18:49 TED Talk, 2016).

27. Crotti, Robert, Kusum Kali Pal, et. al. “Global Gender Gap Report”, *World Economic Forum*, March 2021,

[https://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-](https://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2021/)

[2021/](https://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2021/) Accessed March 30, 2021. For a summary of the report, see Ivana Saric, “U.S. women won’t reach pay equity with me for at least 60 years”, *Axios*, March 30, 2021,

[https://www.axios.com/wef-gender-equality-2021-e7e074e0-baa0-4c89-935a-](https://www.axios.com/wef-gender-equality-2021-e7e074e0-baa0-4c89-935a-1a5107b2a2c1.html?utm_source=newsletter&utm_medium=emai)

[1a5107b2a2c1.html?utm_source=newsletter&utm_medium=emai](https://www.axios.com/wef-gender-equality-2021-e7e074e0-baa0-4c89-935a-1a5107b2a2c1.html?utm_source=newsletter&utm_medium=emai)

- [l&utm_campaign=newsletter_axiosam&stream=top](#). One more view comes from a March 7, 2022 report from *The Economist*, which found that the United States ranks a solid twentieth globally when it comes to “the role and influence of women in the workplace.” Belgium, Slovakia, Poland, Italy, and Sweden are among the nineteen nations that have a better record:
<https://www.economist.com/graphic-detail/glass-ceiling-index>
28. What this expectation ignores is the integration of grit and grace that many women embodied when their roles were “limited” to loving their husbands, having and raising kids, cooking, and cleaning. Husbands and fathers who choose to share these responsibilities so their wives can pursue their careers learn this integration very quickly. My primary reference regarding this brief exploration of *grit* and *grace* is the work of Leslie Williams (she’s not responsible for how I’m exploring). Find out more about her work as a coach, teacher and author at <https://leadershift.net/>. I highly recommend spending some time with her clear writing through multiple perspectives on leadership, grit and grace at <https://leadershift.net/grit-grace-blog/>.
 29. Melinda Wenner Moyer, “‘A Poison in the System’: The Epidemic of Military Sexual Assault,” *New York Times Magazine*, August 3, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/03/magazine/military-sexual-assault.html> Accessed September 12, 2021.
 30. Ibid.
 31. Helene Cooper, “Senate Rejects Blocking Military Commanders From Sexual Assault Cases,” *New York Times*, March 6, 2014, <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/07/us/politics/military-sexual-assault-legislation.html> Accessed September 13, 2021.
 32. *Annual Report on Sexual Assault*: Dave Philipps, “‘This Is Unacceptable.’ Military Reports a Surge of Sexual Assaults in the Ranks,” *New York Times*, May 2, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/02/us/military-sexual-assault.html> Accessed September 12, 2021. For access to the DOD’s annual reports on sexual assault: <https://sapr.mil/>. Reports indicate that men also experience sexual assault and harassment in the military, albeit significantly less frequently than women. Regarding *Fort Hood*: Sarah Mervosh and John Ismay, “Army Finds ‘Major Flaws’ at Fort Hood; 14 Officials Disciplined,” *New York Times*, December 8, 2020, updated April 30, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/08/us/fort-hood-officers-fired-vanessa-guillen.html> Accessed September 12, 2021.

- Regarding *Senator Gillibrand's 2021 proposed legislation*: Jennifer Steinhauer, "After Failures to Curb Sexual Assault, a Move Toward a Major Shift in Military Law," *New York Times*, August 3, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/27/us/politics/military-sexual-assault.html> Accessed September 12, 2021; also, Lolita C. Baldor, "Panel: End commanders' power to block military sex cases," *Associated Press*, April 22, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/sexual-assault-loyd-austin-government-and-politics-13077b68cbaf65e8ad862a00aa3c5552> Accessed September 13, 2021; and Karoun Demirjian, "Broad overhaul of military justice system being sidelined in favor of narrower focus on sexual assault," *Washington Post*, December 5, 2021, https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/military-sexual-assault-reform/2021/12/04/5946b0cc-5455-11ec-9267-17ae3bde2f26_story.html Accessed December 5, 2021.
33. This language is adapted from Brett Thomas and the Integral Leadership Collaborative (2012-2015). For a deeper dive into developmental and integral models of leadership, see Bill Joiner's and Stephen Josephs' *Leadership Agility*, Bill Torbert, et. al.'s *Action Inquiry*, and Frederic Laloux's *Reinventing Organizations*, among others.
34. Susan Faludi, *Stiffed, The Betrayal of the American Man*, 13.
35. Joseph Epstein, "Is There a Doctor in the White House? Not if You Need an M.D." *Wall Street Journal* online. December 11, 2020. Accessed December 12, 2020. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/is-there-a-doctor-in-the-white-house-not-if-you-need-an-m-d-11607727380>. This incident feels at once small (in light of other suffering that women experience) for the theme and scope of the chapter and book, *and* it captures well the staying power of gender bias and the unhealthy masculine that underlies it—thus the decision to include it.
36. Thomas Merton, "The Inner Experience," *Thomas Merton: Spiritual Master*, Lawrence Cunningham, ed. 295. See Chapter One, note 9.
37. Ken Wilber, *Integral Spirituality*, 277. See Chapter One, note 10.
38. Northwestern University's response to Joseph Epstein's December 11, 2020 *Wall Street Journal* opinion piece: <https://news.northwestern.edu/stories/2020/12/joseph-epstein-statement/&fj=1>.

39. Along with Jonathan Rauch's *The Constitution of Knowledge*, which provides a clear (and often fun) exposition and analysis of the precedents and consequences of these diverse, divisive, grave and goofy information sources, Ezra Klein's *Why We're Polarized*; Greg Lukianoff and Jonathan Haidt's *The Coddling of the American Mind*; and Haidt's *The Righteous Mind* provide insight into the current state of America's troubles with truth.
40. PRRI Staff, "Understanding QAnon's Connection to American Politics, Religion and Media Consumption," *Public Religion Research Institute*, May 27, 2021, <https://www.prrri.org/research/qanon-conspiracy-american-politics-report/> Accessed May 31, 2021. "[O]kay, true and/or desirable" are my characterizations and not Faludi's or PRRI's.
41. "State of the Period 2021: The widespread impact of period poverty on US students," <https://period.org/uploads/State-of-the-Period-2021.pdf> Accessed September 10, 2021. The study, commissioned by Period and Thinx, was conducted online by SKDK in spring 2021.
42. Dr. Shelby Davis, interviewed by Robin Young, "Here & Now," *NPR*, September 7, 2021, <https://www.npr.org/2021/09/07/1034914097/muslim-americans-on-growing-up-in-a-post-9-11-world-access-to-menstrual-products-begin-26:46> Accessed September 9, 2021.
43. Ibid. For one (search-engine generated) example, among many, of age-appropriate, medically accurate online information, see the Nemours Children's Health site: <https://kidshealth.org/en/kids/menstruation.html#catperiods>
Again, online access to information like this is helpful; it doesn't replace what a loving parent, or trusted doctor, nurse or teacher can provide.
44. Greg Lukianoff and Jonathan Haidt, *The Coddling of the American Mind: How Good Intentions and Bad Ideas Are Setting Up a Generation for Failure* (Penguin, 2018), 146-61. Percentages are from p. 149; quote is from p. 146. Lukianoff and Haidt draw on Jean Twenge's book, *iGen*, cited below, and its Appendix A, which is available online, and which charts decades-long longitudinal studies: <http://www.jeantwenge.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/igen-appendix.pdf>
45. Jean Twenge, *iGen* (Atria, 2017), 2-7; and Lukianoff and Haidt, 146-47.

46. Lukianoff and Haidt, 152-53, citing Twenge.
47. *Ibid.*, 149-51, 157. Lukianoff and Haidt, citing Twenge and others, note the higher rates for girls. Their book focuses, however, on the larger picture of iGen's unhealthier traits (such as learned helplessness, external locus of control, and impaired ability to navigate the difficulties of life) and the parenting styles, educational approaches, and social factors that seem to be at play.
48. The word *know*, in this and the preceding paragraph (and the rest of the book) refers to publicly validated *knowledge*, as opposed to mere shared *information* or *content*. As Jonathan Rauch writes in *The Constitution of Knowledge*, this validation comes from a network that is "large and global and impersonal and public and critical," such as the science, education, and journalism communities at their unbiased bests (71). In *The Courage to Teach*, (1988), Parker Palmer put it this way: "*To teach is to create a space in which the community of truth is practiced*" and (as noted earlier) "*truth is an eternal conversation about things that matter, conducted with passion and discipline*" (90, 104). Italics in original. Knowledge, truth, and reality are ongoing, communal conversations.
49. Claire Cane Miller, "The World 'Has Found a Way to Do This': The U.S. Lags on Paid Leave," *New York Times*, October 25, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/25/upshot/paid-leave-democrats.html>, Accessed October 25, 2021. Nine states have paid leave plans in place or pending: <https://www.abetterbalance.org/resources/paid-family-leave-laws-chart/>, Accessed October 25, 2021.
50. Gilligan, *In a Different Voice*, xvi.
51. Tony Hoagland, *The Art of Voice*, (Norton, 2019), 3, 5.
52. Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein, Or, the Modern Prometheus*, Author's Introduction. (Signet-Penguin, 2013). Daughter of Wollstonecraft and William Godwin, married to Percy Bysshe Shelley, and neighbor to Lord Byron at the time she wrote *Frankenstein*, Mary Shelley was surrounded by writers and literature, encouraged by her husband and Byron to write, and a self-described "devout but nearly silent listener" to the two men's "many and long conversations," 5. *Frankenstein* was conceived as the author lay awake in her bed one night after Lord Byron proclaimed, "We will each write a ghost story," 3.
53. Rosemary Sutcliff, "Gawain and the Loathely Lady," *The Sword and the Circle*. (Puffin-Penguin, 1981), 224-42. I deeply enjoyed

and recommend Sutcliff's version. Her love of language and storytelling is evident. I apologize for the synopsis. The origins of the story go back at least to the Middle Ages, most notably to Chaucer's "The Wife of Bath's Tale." Sutcliffe cites "a Middle English ballad" as her primary source for this rendering.

CHAPTER FOUR – Trails of Tears & Broken Treaties, the Third Colorado Regiment, & the Only Good Indians

Abbreviations for books frequently cited in this chapter:

- BMH* Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*, (Owl/Holt, 1970).
- UR* Claudio Saunt, *Unworthy Republic: The Dispossession of Native Americans and the Road to Indian Territory*, (W. W. Norton, 2020).

1. Some folks (many of whom are white and well-intentioned) maintain that "Native American," "Indigenous Peoples," and "First Peoples," among others, should be used instead of "American Indian." I include "American Indian" along with other titles in this volume in order to honor the American Indian Movement (AIM) and the writings of Dee Brown and Vine Deloria, Jr.
2. Inspired by Carse, *Finite and Infinite Games*, 32.
3. Adam Rutherford. "A New History of the First Peoples in the Americas." *Atlantic*. October 3, 2017, <https://www.theatlantic.com/science/archive/2017/10/a-brief-history-of-everyone-who-ever-lived/537942/>. Accessed March 8, 2021. The article is adapted from Rutherford's *A Brief History of Everyone Who Ever Lived: The Human Story Retold Through Our Genes*. New York: The Experiment, 2017.
4. Of course, any one of these contemporary inconveniences could, in a specific circumstance, involve a life-or-death situation. Generally, this is not the case.
5. Claudio Saunt, *UR*, 48. All subsequent references to this author are to this volume.
6. Dee Brown, *BMH*, 5. All subsequent references to this author are to this volume.
7. Saunt, *UR*, "traitors and recreants," 76; impact of the three-fifths compromise on the House vote, 78-83.

8. Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States*, 133-34.
9. Saunt, *UR*, 97. Saunt cites *The Papers of Andrew Jackson Digital Edition*, ed. Daniel Feller (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press: 2015). See also Chapter Nine, note 13 in this volume.
10. *Ibid.*, 69.
11. D.S. Heidler and J.T. Heidler, "Manifest Destiny," *Encyclopedia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/event/Manifest-Destiny>. Accessed February 9, 2021. Attributed to John L. O'Sullivan, the initial appearance of the phrase was a complaint against France and England, who he felt were acting "for the avowed object of thwarting our policy and hampering our power, limiting our greatness and checking the fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions."
12. Brown, *BMH*, 5.
13. Saunt, *UR*, "deter others..." 145; cholera outbreak, 143-55.
14. *Ibid.*, 280.
15. Elizabeth Prine Pauls, "Trail of Tears," *Encyclopedia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/event/Trail-of-Tears>. Accessed February 10, 2021.
16. Saunt, *UR*, 74.
17. *Ibid.*, 200-13.
18. *Ibid.*, 270.
19. *Ibid.*, 236-37.
20. "An Act to provide for the armed occupation and settlement of the unsettled part of the peninsula of East Florida," aka the Armed Occupation Act of 1842. Selected resources:
<https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/27th-congress/session-2/c27s2ch122.pdf>;
https://myfloridahistory.org/date-in-history/august-04-1842/armed-occupation-act#:~:text=1842%20%2D%20The%20Armed%20Occupation%20Act,rations%20from%20the%20Federal%20government;http://digitalcollections.fiu.edu/tequesta/files/1993/93_1_04.pdf
21. Fighting each other "in a white man's war." My synopsis oversimplifies the deep complexities of the Civil War era for Native Americans. This source focuses on the Cherokee experience: <https://www.history.com/news/civil-war-native-american-indian-territory-chokeee-home-guard> Accessed March 8, 2021.
22. Brown, *BMH*, 74.
23. *Ibid.*, 77.

24. Ibid., 79.
25. Ibid., 86-87. Brown cites U.S. Congress, 39th. 2nd session. Senate Report 156, 53, 74.
26. Ibid., 87-91.
27. Ibid., 92-94.
28. Ibid., 94-96, 102.
29. Ibid., 134-37. Quotations, 137.
30. Ibid., 141-46. Full text of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 and the list of signatories is available at:
<https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/fort-laramie-treaty#transcript>; For a synopsis of the Fort Laramie Treaties of 1851 and 1868 and what has transpired (through 2018), see Kimbra Cutlip, "In 1868, Two Nations Made a Treaty, the U.S. Broke It and Plains Indian Tribes are Still Seeking Justice," *Smithsonian*, November 7, 2018,
<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/1868-two-nations-made-treaty-us-broke-it-and-plains-indian-tribes-are-still-seeking-justice-180970741/>
31. Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, Article XVI:
<https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/fort-laramie-treaty#transcript>
32. Text of the "Indian Appropriations Act" of March 3, 1871:
<https://reggiemarra.files.wordpress.com/2022/05/acts-of-the-forty-first-congress-of-the-united-states.pdf>, 544-71 (pages refer to the Act, not the PDF); see page 570, Sec. 3 for the paragraph that ends treaty-making. See also:
<https://coloradoencyclopedia.org/article/indian-appropriations-act-1871>. The full title of the act is "An Act making Appropriations for the current and contingent Expenses of the Indian Department, and for fulfilling Treaty Stipulations with Various Indian Tribes, for the Year ending June thirty, eighteen hundred and seventy-two, and for other Purposes." For one historical perspective on the Act, see Mark Hirsch, "1871: The End of Indian Treaty-Making," *American Indian*, Vol. 15 No. 2 / Summer/Fall 2014.
<https://www.americanindianmagazine.org/story/1871-end-indian-treaty-making> Accessed March 7, 2021.
33. Brown, *BMH*, 168.
34. Ibid., 167-69.
35. Ibid., 170-72.
36. Ibid., 146.
37. Ibid., 282.

38. Treaty of 1868, Article XII:
<https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/fort-laramie-treaty#transcript>
39. Brown, *BMH*, 283-84.
40. *Standing Bear v. Crook*:
https://indianlaw.mt.gov/Portals/127/fed_state/court_decisions/u-s-bear/us_crook.pdf Accessed April 19, 2021.
Sources for the details of Standing Bear’s case include Brown, *BMH*, 355-62; Jennifer Davis, “Chief Standing Bear and His Landmark Civil Rights Case,” *Library of Congress*. November 21, 2019, <https://blogs.loc.gov/law/2019/11/chief-standing-bear-and-his-landmark-civil-rights-case/> Accessed April 19, 2021; Poncas’ History Timeline: <http://ponca.com/ponca-history> Accessed April 19, 2021.
41. Brown, *BMH*, 363-66.
42. Gillian Brockwell, “The civil rights leader ‘almost nobody knows about’ gets a statue in the U.S. Capitol,” *Washington Post*, November 20, 2019,
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2019/09/20/civil-rights-leader-almost-nobody-knows-about-gets-statue-us-capitol/> Accessed April 19, 2021.
43. Vine Deloria, Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins*, (U of Oklahoma P, 1969/1988), 107.
44. Dennis Zotigh, “Native Perspectives on the 40th Anniversary of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act”, *Smithsonian*, November 30, 2018,
<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/blogs/national-museum-american-indian/2018/11/30/native-perspectives-american-indian-religious-freedom-act/> Accessed May 3, 2021. The text of the “Rules Governing the Court of Indian Offenses” is available here:
<http://robert-clinton.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/code-of-indian-offenses.pdf> Accessed May 3, 2021.
45. American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1978):
<https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-92/pdf/STATUTE-92-Pg469.pdf#page=1>. Amendment (1994):
<https://www.congress.gov/103/bills/hr4230/BILLS-103hr4230enr.pdf> Both accessed May 3, 2021.
46. Miles Hudson, “Wounded Knee Massacre,” *Encyclopedia Britanica*, December 22, 2020,

- <https://www.britannica.com/event/Wounded-Knee-Massacre>
 Also: The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Dawes General Allotment Act," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Dec. 4, 2019,
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Dawes-General-Allotment-Act>. Accessed April 23, 2021.
47. Brown, *BMH*, 431-38. Also: The Editors of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Wovoka: American Indian prophet," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, September 27, 2020,
<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Wovoka> Accessed April 23, 2021.
48. Brown, *BMH*, 440-45. Also: Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States*, 524, and <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/u-s-army-massacres-indians-at-wounded-knee> | <https://www.history.com/news/remembering-the-wounded-knee-massacre> | <https://www.britannica.com/event/Wounded-Knee-Massacre>
49. William C. Meadows, "The Code Talkers' Legacy: Native Languages Helped Turn the Tides in Both World Wars," *Magazine of Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian*, Fall 2020 / Vol. 21 No.3,
<https://www.americanindianmagazine.org/story/code-talkers-legacy-native-languages-helped-turn-tides-both-world-wars>
 Accessed April 29, 2021. Also: National World War II Museum: <https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/american-indian-code-talkers>, and U.S. Department of the Interior: <https://www.doi.gov/blog/honoring-native-american-code-talkers>
50. "Indian Citizen Act" Library of Congress:
<https://www.loc.gov/item/today-in-history/june-02/#:~:text=Indian%20Citizenship%20Act,barred%20Native%20Americans%20from%20voting>. Also: National Archives:
<https://www.archives.gov/historical-docs/todays-doc/?dod-date=602> Both accessed April 29, 2021.
51. Termination Policy: 1953 House Concurrent Resolution 108:
<https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-67/pdf/STATUTE-67-PgB132-2.pdf>
 1953 Public Law 280:
<https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-67/pdf/STATUTE-67-Pg588.pdf> Also:
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_termination_policy
 Accessed April 29, 2021.

52. <http://nativeamericannetroots.net/diary/1511> Accessed April 29, 2021.
53. Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States*, 527-29. Also: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/20/us/native-american-occupation-alcatraz.html> and: <https://www.history.com/news/native-american-activists-occupy-alcatraz-island-45-years-ago> Accessed April 30, 2021. The \$24.00 offer was symbolic of the price allegedly paid by the Dutch for Manhattan Island in the 1600s.
54. *Ibid.*, 534. The summary of the 1973 Wounded Knee occupation derives from Zinn, 534-35 along with sources cited in note 55.
55. Emily Chertoff, "Occupy Wounded Knee: A 71-Day Siege and a Forgotten Civil Rights Movement," *The Atlantic*, October 23, 2012. <https://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2012/10/occupy-wounded-knee-a-71-day-siege-and-a-forgotten-civil-rights-movement/263998/> Accessed April 29, 2021. Additional background and perspectives: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wounded_Knee_Occupation <https://www.usmarshals.gov/history/wounded-knee/index.html>
56. Numerous legal, historical and journalistic sources exist for this story. See Kimbra Cutlip, "In 1868, Two Nations Made a Treaty, the U.S. Broke It and Plains Indian Tribes are Still Seeking Justice," *Smithsonian Magazine*, November 7, 2018 (see note 30 for link); and Tom LeGro, et al. "Why the Sioux Are Refusing \$1.3 Billion", *PBS News Hour*, August 24, 2011, https://www.pbs.org/newshour/arts/north_america-july-dec11-blackhills_08-23 Accessed May 4, 2021.
57. For more on Layli Long Soldier and *Whereas* (Graywolf, 2017): <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poetrymagazine/poems/91697/from-whereas>; <https://poets.org/book/whereas>; and <https://www.griffinpoetryprize.com/awards-and-poets/shortlists/2018-shortlist/layli-long-soldier/> among others.
58. Texts of S.J. Res. 14 (To acknowledge a long history...): <https://www.congress.gov/bill/111th-congress/senate-joint-resolution/14/text> and Public Law 111-118 (Dept. of Defense Appropriation Act, 2010 / Sec. 8113, p. 45): <https://www.congress.gov/111/plaws/publ118/PLAW-111publ118.pdf> Both accessed May 2, 2021.
59. Dakota Access Pipeline: reported throughout the media. This site carries recent updates:

- <https://earthjustice.org/features/faq-standing-rock-litigation?>
60. Sharing Covid-19 vaccinations:
<https://www.mprnews.org/story/2021/02/19/collaboration-between-white-earth-nation-mahnomen-co-leads-to-high-vaccination-rate-mn> and <https://www.the-journal.com/articles/ute-mountain-ute-tribe-offers-free-covid-vaccinations-today/>
 61. Vine Deloria, Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins*, 170-74.
 62. Ibid., 174-75.
 63. Brown, *BMH*, 293. Brown cites D. W. Robinson. "Editorial Notes on Historical Sketch of North and South Dakota." *South Dakota Historical Collections*, Vol. 1, 1902, 151. For an overview of Chief Gall, see Robert W. Larson, "Sioux Chief Gall," *Historynet*, <https://www.historynet.com/sioux-chief-gall.htm>, Accessed May 7, 2021. My focus here is on the predominantly English colonizers and the founding of the United States, and not on the French, Spanish and Portuguese colonizers of what are now called Canada, various Caribbean islands, and Central and South America. For a harrowing first-person account of the arrival of Europeans on the islands of the Caribbean and in Central and South American, see Bartolomé de las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies* in the bibliography.
 64. Joy Harjo, 23rd Poet Laureate of the United States:
<https://www.joyharjo.com/>; Deb Haaland, 54th United States Secretary of the Interior: <https://www.doi.gov/secretary-deb-haaland>; Lewis Mehl-Madrona, M.D. Ph.D.: <https://www.mehl-madrona.com/>.
 65. Eduardo Duran, "Transgenerational Trauma, Soul Wounding and Effects on Families and Communities: The Impact of History on Present Day Chronic Illnesses," *Advances in Indian Health Conference*, (Indian Health Service: Division of Diabetes Treatment and Prevention, 2010), 2; transcript available at: https://www.ihs.gov/sites/diabetes/themes/responsive2017/display_objects/documents/media/transcripts/Duran_transcript_508c.pdf Accessed October 26, 2021.
 66. Ibid., 6-7.
 67. Ibid., 8-10. The Elder's name, Tarrence, was transcribed as "Clarence" in this source. The correction is from Eduardo Duran, *Healing the Soul Wound: Trauma-Informed Counseling for Indigenous Communities*, 2nd Edition, (Teachers College Press, 2019), xiii.

68. Ibid., 11-12.
69. Eduardo Duran, in conversation with Laura Calderón de la Barca, “An Indigenous Lens on Psychotherapy as a Soul Healing,” *Collective Trauma Summit 2021 / Collective Healing in Action*, (Inner Science, 2021), 3. Recording and transcript are available through summit attendance or purchase.
70. The Thirteen Indigenous Grandmothers from around the world came together for the first time in October 2004 and have gathered regularly since then as “a global alliance of prayer, education and healing” at various locations on the planet for ceremony, teachings and healing.
<https://www.grandmotherswisdom.org/the-grandmothers>
71. Duran, “An Indigenous Lens on Psychotherapy as a Soul Healing,” (2021), 19-22. Details of the Grandmothers’ Montana gathering and the apology are from these pages.
72. Brown, *BMH*, 148.

CHAPTER FIVE – Slavery, Jim Crow, Civil Rights, & “Everything Was Going to Change Now”

1. Inspired by Carse, *Finite and Infinite Games*, 33.
2. Peoples from Senegal, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau and Mali, and west-central Africa, including what is now Angola, Congo, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Gabon were kidnapped and forced into slavery. Also, peoples from Ghana, as well as neighboring parts of the Windward Coast, now Ivory Coast, and others the Bight of Biafra, including parts of present-day eastern Nigeria and Cameroon, were taken. More detail here: <https://www.history.com/news/what-part-of-africa-did-most-slaves-come-from>
3. For a list of countries and the dates they ended slave-trading and (usually subsequently) slave-owning, see:
<https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-slavery/chronology-who-banned-slavery-when-idUSL1561464920070322>
For an overview/timeline of slavery and civil rights in the U.S. see <https://www.ushistory.org/more/timeline.htm>
4. Ferris State University provides examples of literacy tests from Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi. See if you can pass:
Alabama: https://www.ferris.edu/HTMLS/news/jimcrow/pdfs-docs/origins/al_literacy.pdf
Louisiana:
<https://www.ferris.edu/HTMLS/news/jimcrow/question/2012/pdfs->

[docs/literacytest.pdf](#)

Mississippi: <https://www.ferris.edu/HTMLS/news/jimcrow/pdfs-docs/origins/ms-littest55.pdf>

5. Images of these newspaper announcements and posters, as well as photographs of the lynchings themselves are abundant and accessible online. While 21st-century sensibilities suggest that we not exhibit images of mutilated, broken bodies of American crime victims, and while that may be a good thing—especially, but not only for the families of the victims—the sanitization of the consequences of what we do and what we tolerate allows us to remain a safe step away from what's true. That's not a good thing. The images are disturbing and horrific and we should be disturbed and horrified by what they depict.
6. Equal Justice Initiative, *Lynching in America*, 39-47. These pages provide statistics along with some narrative. The volume's 90 pages provide a searing look into its title and is also available online: <https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/report/>
7. Equal Justice Initiative, *Reconstruction in America*, 6-7, 40-55. As with all of EJI's publications, these pages are representative; the volume warrants a full reading. Also online: <https://eji.org/report/reconstruction-in-america/>
8. Equal Justice Initiative, *Lynching in America*, 48.
9. Isabel Wilkerson, "The Great Migration," in Kendi and Blain, eds. *Four Hundred Souls*, 278-82. See Wilkerson, *The Warmth of Other Suns* for the larger story (and smaller stories) of the Great Migration.
10. This synopsis (111-12) from "Emphasizing how far..." through "...United States in 1921"¹⁰ is derived from the following sources:
 History.com Editors, "Tulsa Race Massacre," *History*, <https://www.history.com/topics/roaring-twenties/tulsa-race-massacre>
 Accessed May 24, 2021.
 Tulsa Historical Society and Museum, "1921 Tulsa Race Massacre," <https://www.tulsa-history.org/exhibit/1921-tulsa-race-massacre/>
 Accessed May 24, 2021.
 Daniel Victor, "At 107, 106 and 100, Remaining Tulsa Massacre Survivors Plead for Justice," *New York Times*, May 20, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/20/us/tulsa-massacre-survivors.html>
 Accessed May 24, 2021.
 Matt Craig, Alain Delaquerière, Lazaro Gamio, et. al. "What the Tulsa Massacre Destroyed," *New York Times*, May 24, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2021/05/24/us/tulsa-race-massacre.html?action=click&module=Top%20Stories&pgtype=Home>

page Accessed May 24, 2021.

“Tulsa Race Massacre,” *Wikipedia*,

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tulsa_race_massacre Accessed May 25, 2021.

“Story of Attack on Woman Denied,” *Tulsa World*, June 2, 1921,

https://tulsa-world.com/archive/story-of-attack-on-woman-denied/article_6a43affa-7d3a-5259-a574-18f315849dbc.html

Accessed May 25, 2021.

DeNeen L. Brown, “His arrest sparked the Tulsa Race Massacre. Then Dick Rowland disappeared,” *Washington Post*, May 30, 2021,

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2021/05/30/dick-rowland-tulsa-massacre-sarah-page/> Accessed May 31, 2021.

11. Isabel Wilkerson, *Caste: The Origins of Our Discontents*, (Random House, 2020), 106. Italics in original. Whether or not the reader agrees with the concept of caste here, the disaffection that arises within an alleged superior when a perceived subordinate surpasses them is the larger point. The language of “lower rungs,” “dominant caste,” and “subordinate caste” is Wilkerson’s.
12. *Ibid.*, 183. Wilkerson’s final question becomes decreasingly relevant at later stages of healthy development (when it’s about *all of us*, we celebrate each other’s successes—even amid fleeting moments of envy). Beyond the immediate scope of this chapter, yet relevant to the book, Wilkerson goes on to explore caste in a 21st-century America in which some dominant members of the dominant caste incited folks on the lower rungs of that caste who were suffering physically, emotionally and economically for a variety of reasons (as were an even higher percentage of the subordinate caste, with whom they had more in common than they ever would with those who incited them), to take the country back and make it great again (178-89).
13. Omitted from this list are those lynchings carried out by on-duty law enforcement officers since, theoretically and technically, they work for the government and are not an “outside-the-law” mob, which is one of the characteristics of lynching. That said, as we’ve seen in the case of George Floyd, if kneeling on the neck of a man who is on the ground in handcuffs and repeatedly saying he can’t breathe, while two of your colleagues help hold him down and a third controls the onlookers who are shouting at you to stop is not *outside the law* and an example of 21st lynching, I’m not sure what would be. See note 30.
14. John Lewis with Michael D’Orso, *Walking with the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement*, (Simon & Schuster, 1998), 43-45.

15. *Shelby v. Holder* (2013):
https://www.lawyerscommittee.org/project/shelby-co-v-holder/?gclid=Cj0KCKQiAnKeCBhDPARIsAFDTLTK6fD3oDcTr5vOXc-CD_8FgR4rMO3Or6LV6RW6u3sxp09tollq3HLAaAm3lEALw_wcB
<https://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/26/us/supreme-court-ruling.html>
16. Jon Meacham, *The Soul of America* (Random House, 2019), 3-4, 277-78. Meacham cites the October 8, 1948 Charlottesville *Daily Progress*. Thurmond served for 48 years as a U.S. Senator from South Carolina. He switched from the Democratic to the Republican Party in 1964 due to his opposition to the Civil Rights Act.
17. *Ibid.*, 212, 340. Meacham cites Marshall Frady's *Wallace* (1968), 14.
18. Edward A. Pollard, *The Lost Cause Regained*, (G.W. Carleton & Co., 1868), Kindle, (HardPress, 2017), Location 2105.
19. This particular comment by David Duke is captured on video here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fULPIGwjJMA>. It, along with other pledges he has made in support of Donald Trump, are available in various print and online media.
20. Meacham, *The Soul of America*, ix, 277. Meacham cites Baldwin's "The White Man's Guilt," *Ebony*, August 1965, 47.
21. Resmaa Menakem, "Resmaa Menakem discusses healing racialized trauma", *Fox 11 Los Angeles*, December 11, 2020, <https://www.foxla.com/video/879820> Accessed May 27, 2021.
22. Saunt, *Unworthy Republic*, 186, 357 n. 21. Saunt cites the origin of the phrase, "slave labor camp," as Peter H. Wood, "Slave Labor Camps in Early America: Overcoming Denial and Discovering the Gulag," in *Inequality in Early America*, ed. Carla Gardina Pestana and Sharon V. Salinger (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1999), 222-39.
23. The reasons for the U.S. Civil War continue to be debated by historians, Pollard's claims of the Lost Cause of white supremacy notwithstanding. Historians generally agree on a short list of causes, but disagree on which were primary. States' rights, including the right to secede, and the expansion vs. the abolition of slavery are two of the more prominent, and inevitably related, debates. Here's one place to explore, among many:
https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/reasons-secession?gclid=Cj0KCKQiA7NKBBhDBARIsAHbXCB7vjGu6JSDGJD5TsH1CYEuZYvmvbBU5xmuoqWXHTkKmwvTA1jXpmQcaAkPoEALw_wcB

24. Petula Dvorak, “America’s missing slave memorials: It’s time to truly acknowledge our bloody past,” Perspective, *Washington Post*, August 28, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/americas-missing-slave-memorials-its-time-to-truly-acknowledge-our-bloody-past/2017/08/28/9beeb6d4-8c1a-11e7-8df5-c2e5cf46c1e2_story.html. Accessed February 28, 2021. The Equal Justice Initiative, cited above and below, is one example of a private organization that has committed to funding such memorials (amid other good, essential work): <https://museumandmemorial.eji.org/>
25. Ibid.
26. Wilkerson, *Caste*, 343. Wilkerson provides an eloquent and disturbing contrast of the American and German responses to their respective atrocities, 333-349. See also: Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe: <https://goo.gl/maps/3mX2SCfGcpX2WTYL7>
Stumbling Stones: <https://www.npr.org/2012/05/31/153943491/stumbling-upon-miniature-memorials-to-nazi-victims>
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/wp/2018/02/06/how-a-small-stone-could-help-america-reckon-with-its-worst-history/>
27. Ibid., 345.
28. Susan Neiman, “There Are No Nostalgic Nazi Memorials,” *Atlantic*, September 14, 2019. <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/09/germany-has-no-nazi-memorials/597937/>. Accessed February 28, 2021.
29. Equal Justice Initiative, *Segregation in America*, 112-15.
30. This reference to videos of unarmed black men being beaten, choked or shot by law enforcement officers raises strong emotion and pushback among most, if not all, of us. That the police shoot unarmed black women and unarmed white and brown men and women as well reinforces the point that some of those we appoint to protect and serve are shooting a variety of unarmed people.
In the context of the history of the United States through slavery, Reconstruction, Jim Crow, and the incessantly necessary and ongoing legislative, executive, and judicial attempts to provide equal protection as promised in the 14th Amendment, we, as a country continue to try, but have not yet succeeded in fully embodying that all lives matter. “Black Lives Matter” carries an

implicit “too” after it, and it doesn’t suggest that *only* black lives matter or that other lives matter *less*. I was born a cisgender, heterosexual “white” male, and expect to die that way. “Black Lives Matter” is not a threat to me (it feels simultaneously awkward, unnecessary and essential to write that). Rather, that it needs to be spoken or written is a source of sadness and shame. *Refuting* “Black Lives Matter” with “All Lives Matter” or “Blue Lives Matter” or “___ Lives Matter” is like refusing to respond to a particular house on fire because “all houses matter.” This example is from Maureen Walker’s *When Getting Along Is Not Enough: Reconstructing Race in Our Lives and Relationships* (2020), 122.

Finally, calls to “defund” or “abolish” the police are a bad idea. Calls to retrain the police and rethink our approach to public safety and policing are essential at this point in our history. This is a topic that warrants deeper attention, is beyond the scope of this book, and begs for a more detailed, honest accounting of our nation’s history.

31. Before the House Appropriations subcommittee in April 1964 Hoover testified that “The [Communist] party is continually searching for new avenues in order to expand its influence among the Negroes.” “In particular, it has sought ways and means to exploit the militant force of the Negro civil rights movement,” and “We do know that Communist influence does exist in the Negro movement and it is this influence which is vitally important.” <https://www.nytimes.com/1964/04/22/archives/hover-says-reds-exploit-negroes-fbi-chief-asserts-party.html?searchResultPosition=1>

This is not to ignore that the FBI played a role in combatting the local violence against and oppression of blacks in the South in the 1960s—it did, and that role is often characterized, especially in those states that overtly prevented blacks from voting, as the federal government’s overstepping its bounds and interfering with state and local politics. The issue was that local politics were in direct violation of the 14th, 15th and 19th Amendments.

32. Danielle Pletka. “I Can’t Stand Trump but Democrats May Force Me to Vote for Him.” *Washington Post*. September 14, 2020. https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/i-cant-stand-trump-but-democrats-may-force-me-to-vote-for-him/2020/09/14/1cf10518-f6c4-11ea-a275-1a2c2d36e1f1_story.html#comments-wrapper

33. Jonathan S. Bass, *He Calls Me by Lightning: The Life of Caliph Washington and the Forgotten Saga of Jim Crow, Southern Justice and the Death Penalty*, (Liveright/Norton, 2017), “Because it was self-defense,” 101. The details in this synopsis of Caliph Washington’s story on pages 125-28 are drawn from Bass’s book, with the exception of “six beautiful children”: Christine Luna is my cousin and that characterization is my firsthand observation.
34. Bryan Stevenson’s story, and the stories of some of the incarcerated people he and EJI have helped, are depicted in his book, *Just Mercy* (2014). The Equal Justice Initiative is located at 122 Commerce Street, Montgomery, AL 36104.
<https://eji.org/>
<https://museumandmemorial.eji.org/museum>
<https://museumandmemorial.eji.org/memorial>
35. Executive Order 9981 ending segregation in the military:
<https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/executive-order-9981> Accessed May 23, 2022.
36. Farrell Evans, “Why Harry Truman Ended Segregation in the US Military in 1948,” *History*, November 5, 2020,
<https://www.history.com/news/harry-truman-executive-order-9981-desegregation-military-1948> Accessed March 31, 2021.
37. Wilkerson, *Caste*, 227-28; and Equal Justice Initiative, *Lynching in America: Targeting Black Veterans*, 40, <https://eji.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/lynching-in-america-targeting-black-veterans-web.pdf> Accessed April 1, 2021.
38. Farrell Evans, *History*, November 5, 2020,
<https://www.history.com/news/harry-truman-executive-order-9981-desegregation-military-1948> Accessed March 31, 2021.
39. Helene Cooper, “Is Austin on Your List?: Biden’s Pentagon Pick Rose Despite Barriers to Diversity,” *New York Times* online, December 9, 2020/updated January 10, 2021,
<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/09/us/politics/biden-lloyd-austin-defense-secretary.html> | Accessed April 2, 2021.
40. General Charles Q. Brown, Jr., “What I’m Thinking About,” online video:
<https://www.pacaf.af.mil/News/Article-Display/Article/2210485/heres-what-im-thinking-about/> includes transcript; also see:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mx0HnOTUkVI> | Accessed April 2, 2021.

41. "Race in the Ranks: Investigating Racial Bias in the U.S. Military," *60 Minutes*, March 21, 2021, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/us-military-racism-60-minutes-2021-03-21/> Accessed March 29, 2021. CBS has changed access to this program to subscription-only. A clip may be available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NRiuKPKEsdo>
42. The Air Force's "Real Talk" conversations take place live on Facebook and are archived on YouTube. They are not sound bites—most are over an hour, and, as the title states, real conversations. The following link got me there; search for "AETC" real talk": https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=aetc+real+talk Most recently accessed February 27, 2022.
43. Ibram X. Kendi, *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America*, (Bold Type/Perseus/Hachette, 2017), 5.
44. Ibram X. Kendi, *How to Be an Antiracist*, (One World/Random House, 2019), "To be antiracist...", 105; "Racist ideas...", 227. The Trump, et. al. example that follows is mine, not Kendi's.
45. *Ibid.*, 219.
46. Wilkerson, see pp. 113-14 in this chapter, and note 12 above.
47. Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*, 3rd edition, (New York UP, 2017), 3.
48. *Ibid.*, 3-4.
49. *Ibid.*, 8-10.
50. Benjamin Wallace-Wells, "How a Conservative Activist Invented the Conflict Over Critical Race Theory," *New Yorker*, June 18, 2021, <https://www.newyorker.com/news/annals-of-inquiry/how-a-conservative-activist-invented-the-conflict-over-critical-race-theory> Accessed August 18, 2021. Unless otherwise noted, further references to Christopher Rufo are from this source.
51. Rod Dreher, "Christopher Rufo Vs. the CRT Goliath," *The American Conservative*, September 9, 2020, <https://www.theamericanconservative.com/dreher/christopher-rufo-vs-critical-race-theory-goliath/> Accessed November 10, 2021.
52. Mike Gonzalez, "The Constitutional Way to Defeat Cancel Culture," *Religion & Liberty*, vol. 30, no. 4, Acton Institute, October 23, 2020, <https://www.acton.org/religion-liberty/volume-30-number-4/constitutional-way-defeat-cancel-culture>; available as a PDF through the Heritage Foundation:

- <https://www9.heritage.org/rs/824-MHT-304/images/CancelCultureHeritage.pdf> Accessed October 26, 2021.
53. Jane Coaston, “The intersectionality wars,” *Vox*, May 28, 2019, <https://www.vox.com/the-highlight/2019/5/20/18542843/intersectionality-conservatism-law-race-gender-discrimination> Accessed November 10, 2021.
54. Kimberlé Crenshaw, “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics,” *University of Chicago Legal Forum*: Vol. 1989: Iss. 1, Article 8, <http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8>
55. The charts on site page provide an example: <https://campusmentalhealth.ca/toolkits/equity-diversity-inclusion/appendix-a/>. Others are available online. For a concise, and in my reading, evenhanded, synthesis of charts like this and how they’re used and misused, see Lukianoff and Haidt, *The Coddling of the American Mind* (2019), 67-71.
56. For the Rufo quote, see note 51. From among many, examples of the “others” include: Mike Pence: “Critical race theory is racism, pure and simple, and it should be rejected by every American of every race.” Ted Cruz: “Critical race theory is bigoted, it is a lie, and it is every bit as racist as the Klansmen in white sheets.” Regarding “their own Goliath,” funding for attacks against critical race theory comes from numerous conservative sources. Here’s a sampling:
<https://www.cnbc.com/2021/11/10/critical-race-theory-executives-rich-gop-donors-funded-attacks-during-elections.html>;
<https://www.thedailybeast.com/right-wing-aristocrats-fund-critical-race-theory-backlash>;
<https://www.npr.org/2021/06/24/1009839021/uncovering-who-is-driving-the-fight-against-critical-race-theory-in-schools>
57. John McWhorter, *Woke Racism: How a New Religion Has Betrayed Black America*, (Portfolio-Penguin, 2021).
58. Kendi, *Stamped from the Beginning*, x-xi.
59. Dan Baum, “Legalize It All: How to win the war on drugs,” *Harper’s Magazine*, April 2016, <https://harpers.org/archive/2016/04/legalize-it-all/>. Ehrlichman’s assertion has been challenged as being an oversimplification of Nixon’s motivations, an attempt by a bitter Ehrlichman to

discredit Nixon after Ehrlichman's Watergate convictions, and a complete fabrication. More relevant to our purpose here, the war on crime and drugs, declared by Nixon and escalated by subsequent administrations, especially Ronald Reagan's, did lead to the beginning of the mass incarceration of black men in the 1980s.

60. These questions are adapted from Kerry Patterson, Joseph Grenny, et. al., *Crucial Conversations: Tools for Talking When Stakes Are High*, (McGraw-Hill, 2002), 34-35.

CHAPTER SIX – Dominoes, Defoliation, Death, & Democracy

Abbreviations for books frequently cited in this chapter:

BSL Neil Sheehan, *A Bright Shining Lie: John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam*, (New York: Random House, 1988).

PHUS Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States: 1492-Present* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1999/1980).

1. Inspired by Carse, *Finite and Infinite Games*, 61.
2. Doug Anderson, "The Mass Graves at Huế," *Horse Medicine*, (New York: Barrow Street, 2015), 7. ARVN refers to the Army of the Republic of [South] Vietnam. NVA refers to the North Vietnamese Army.
3. "Proclamation of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam" (September 2, 1945); multiple sources online; here's one: <http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/ps/vietnam/independence.pdf>
4. Sheehan, *BSL*, 148-53 and Zinn, *PHUS*, 469-71. Sheehan puts the number of letters and telegrams from Ho Chi Minh to Truman and his Secretary of State at eleven over an 18-month period and notes that Britain, China and the Soviet Union also ignored his requests for help at the time. China and the Soviets would later provide financial and military assistance when the U.S. began financing France's efforts. "We apparently stand quite alone; we shall have to depend on ourselves," *BSL*, 149. Zinn includes an excerpt from one of Ho's letters, *PHUS*, 470-71. The U.S. State Department classified and locked away the correspondence, which would not become public until the publication of the Pentagon Papers, *BSL*, 152-53.
5. "Geneva Agreements, July 20-21, 1954," *Demarcation line and demilitarized zone*: Chapter 1, Article 1. *No military base*: Final

- Declaration, paragraph 5. *National election in 1956*, Final Declaration, paragraph 7.
https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/KH-LA-VN_540720_GenevaAgreements.pdf Accessed June 5, 2021.
6. President Dwight Eisenhower, “The Chance for Peace,” April 16, 1953. Audio:
<https://www.eisenhowerlibrary.gov/eisenhowers/speeches>. Text:
<https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/dwighteisenhowercrossofiron.htm>. Accessed June 5, 2021.
 7. Zinn, *PHUS*, 472-73, cites the Pentagon Papers as his source for South Vietnam’s being “essentially the creation of the United States.” Sheehan, *BSL* develops Diem’s background, arrogance, missteps, impact and demise in detail, 175-84 and 351-71.
 8. Sheehan, *BSL*, 188-89, 197.
 9. Zinn, *PHUS*, 475.
 10. Sheehan, *BSL*, overview of Ap Bac, 204-65; statistics, 262-63; leadership’s dismissing Vann’s, et. al., reports, 272+.
 11. *Ibid.*, 285-87.
 12. *Ibid.*, 287-88. Robert McNamara is kinder to Harkins than is Sheehan, writing that he did not believe that Harkins or “other officers consciously misled” him, choosing instead to lay the blame on “very inaccurate information from the South Vietnamese,” (McNamara, *In Retrospect*, 47-48).
 13. To “frag” refers to attempting to kill a military colleague, usually an officer or NCO, so it looks like an accident. The name comes from the common weapon of choice, which was the fragmentation grenade.
 14. Doug Anderson, “Free Fire Zone,” *The Moon Reflected Fire*, (Cambridge MA: Alice James, 1994),19.
 15. For a concise overview of My Lai, with a first-person account from then 18-year-old door gunner, Spc 4 Larry Colburn, see *Stars and Stripes*, December 21, 2016: <https://www.stripes.com/larry-colburn-the-last-hero-of-my-lai-1.445593>. Accessed January 5, 2021. Additional accounts:
<https://www.military.com/history/hugh-c-thompson-jr.html>
<https://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/07/us/hugh-thompson-62-who-saved-civilians-at-my-lai-dies.html>
<https://www.zinnedproject.org/news/tdih/hugh-thompson-lai-massacre/>
<https://www.sdvfp.org/about/who-was-hugh-thompson/>.
 National Book Award-winning author and Vietnam veteran, Tim

- O'Brien recalls arriving in My Lai with his unit in February 1969, not knowing about the massacre and wondering "why the place was so hostile." D.J.R. Bruckner, "A Storyteller For the War That Won't End," *New York Times*, April 3, 1990, <https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/books/98/09/20/specials/obrien-storyteller.html> Accessed January 5, 2021.
16. Zinn, *PHUS*, 479.
 17. Sheehan, *BSL*, 689-90.
 18. Details of Jonathan Schell's meeting with Robert McNamara and McNamara's growing disillusionment about the war are drawn from Sheehan, *BSL*, 686-89, and Jonathan Schell, "Remembering Robert McNamara," *The Nation*, July 7, 2009, <https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/remembering-robert-mcnamara/> Accessed July 13, 2021. Hal Moore's interview is from Sheehan, *BSL*, 683.
 19. See Neil Sheehan, Hedrick Smith, et al., *The Pentagon Papers*, (New York: Racehorse, 2017). For the complete declassified report, see: <https://www.archives.gov/research/pentagon-papers>.
 20. Max Frankel, "The Lessons of Vietnam", *New York Times*, July 6, 1971: <https://www.nytimes.com/1971/07/06/archives/the-lessons-of-vietnam-pentagons-study-uniquely-portrays-the-greek.html> Accessed May 13, 2021.
 21. Asst. Sec. of Defense, John McNaughton's March 10, 1965 memorandum justifying ground troops in Vietnam: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v02/d193> Accessed May 13, 2021. See also Sheehan, Smith, et al., *The Pentagon Papers*, (Racehorse, 2017), 442.
 22. The details of 1968's election, the peace talks and Nixon's interference therewith, ongoing war, Johnson's decision not to run and then to curtail the bombing, etc. all against the backdrop of the assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert Kennedy, riots throughout the United States, and the "police state" Democratic national convention in Chicago are central to and beyond the scope of this chapter. Nixon's papers continue to be released. Contextual overviews include: John A. Farrell, "When a Candidate Conspired With a Foreign Power to Win an Election", *Politico*, August 6, 2017, <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/08/06/nixon-vietnam-candidate-conspired-with-foreign-power-win-election-215461> Accessed May 17, 2021; Peter Baker, "Nixon Tried to Spoil

- Johnson's Vietnam Peace Talks in '68, Notes Show," *New York Times*, January 2, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/02/us/politics/nixon-tried-to-spoil-johnsons-vietnam-peace-talks-in-68-notes-show.html> Accessed May 17, 2021; and Jason Daley, "Notes Indicate Nixon Interfered With 1968 Peace Talks", *Smithsonian*, January 2, 2017, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/notes-indicate-nixon-interfered-1968-peace-talks-180961627/> Accessed May 17, 2021.
23. Sheehan, *BSL*, 421.
 24. Tim O'Brien, *The Things They Carried*, (New York: Mariner, 2009), 20, 57.
 25. Doug Anderson, *Keep Your Head Down: Vietnam, the Sixties, and a Journey of Self-Discovery*, (New York: Norton, 2009), 248-49.
 26. *The Fog of War*, Errol Morris, director, (Sony, 2003). Regarding McNamara's being better able to empathize with the Soviets than with the Vietnamese, the Soviets were WW II allies and more familiar; the Vietnamese were colonized enemies of the French (our allies) and culturally less familiar to Americans.
 27. David K. Shipler, "Robert McNamara and the Ghosts of Vietnam." *New York Times*, August 10, 1997, <https://www.nytimes.com/1997/08/10/magazine/robert-mcnamara-and-the-ghosts-of-vietnam.html>. Quotes attributed to Trang Quang Co are from this source.
 28. Ibid.
 29. Jonathan Schell, "Remembering Robert McNamara," *The Nation*, July 7, 2009, <https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/remembering-robert-mcnamara/> Accessed July 14, 2021.
 30. Anderson, "Letting Go," *Horse Medicine*, 12. Bào Ninh is a Vietnamese writer who fought in the North Vietnamese Army from 1969-1975. See also: Bao Ninh, "The First Time I Met Americans," *New York Times*, September 5, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/05/opinion/vietnam-war-writers.html>.
 31. ^As with Chapter Two, 28, note 13, and Chapter Seven, 177, notes 7, 8, & 9, I refer you to Rabbi Gellman's words on page 28 of this volume regarding what gets lost when we hear or speak about large numbers of deaths. This site provides one *starting point* for calculating deaths in Vietnam:

- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vietnam_War_casualties#Total_number_of_deaths
32. Harold G. Moore, and Joseph L. Galloway, *We Were Soldiers Once ...and Young*, (New York: Ballantine, 2004), 351.
 33. Ibid., 352.
 34. Anderson, "Mine," *The Moon Reflected Fire*, 12.
 35. Kendi, *Stamped from the Beginning*, x-xi. See Chapter Five, 142-43, and note 58 in this volume.
 36. An extensive, albeit dated, history of the use of herbicides like Agent Orange is the Institute of Medicine's *Veterans and Agent Orange: Health Effects of Herbicides Used in Vietnam*, (National Academies Press, 1994), <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK236356/>; more current information is available at the Veterans Adm. (VA) site: <https://www.va.gov/disability/eligibility/hazardous-materials-exposure/agent-orange/>; and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund site: <https://www.vvmf.org/topics/Agent-Orange/>;
 37. Bessel van der Kolk, *The Body Keeps the Score*, (Penguin, 2014), 17-18.
 38. Ibid., 19.
 39. Eduardo Duran, *Healing the Soul Wound: Trauma-Informed Counseling for Indigenous Communities*, (Teachers College Press, 2019), 112-47.
 40. Crocq, Marc-Antoine, and Louis Crocq, "From shell shock and war neurosis to posttraumatic stress disorder: a history of psycho-traumatology," *Dialogues in Clinical Neuroscience*, March 2000, 2(1): 47-55, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3181586/> Accessed August 3, 2021.
 41. The posttraumatic stress diagnosis has employed the language of "syndrome" (PTSS), and "disorder" (PTSD), and has recently been simplified (and some would say destigmatized) by some practitioners and patients by removing the final word altogether: post-traumatic stress (PTS).
 42. Sheehan, *BSL*, 23-25.
 43. Thich Nhat Hahn: <https://plumvillage.org/about/thich-nhat-hanh/biography/> and <https://thichnhathanhfoundation.org/thich-nhat-hanh> Accessed May 27, 2021. Sometimes written as Thích Nhất Hạnh, I have chosen to use the presentation of his name as it appears in his books and on the above two sites.
 44. O'Brien, *The Things They Carried*, 38.

45. Moore, and Galloway, *We Were Soldiers Once ... and Young*, 373.
46. John Musgrave, “This Is What We Do (July 1967-December 1967)” *The Vietnam War: A Film by Ken Burns and Lynn Novick*, Season 1, Episode 5: 16:10-17:10. The written version is my transcription from the film. John Musgrave’s memoir, *The Education of Corporal John Musgrave*, was published by Knopf in November 2021 (after this chapter was written). For more information: <https://www.johnmusgraveveteran.com/>
47. Anderson, “Same Old,” *Horse Medicine*, 9.

CHAPTER SEVEN – Lessons Not Learned: Afghanistan, Iraq, &...

1. Inspired by Carse, *Finite and Infinite Games*, 61.
2. Reggie Marra, “What Tries to Escape,” *Killing America* (From the Heart Press, 2018) 21. The image from which this poem emerged originally appeared at <http://www.marchforjustice.com/4.8.php>, accessed May 2003 and August 9, 2006, a site that no longer exists. I have been unable to find accurate credit for the image, other than a Reuters copyright. The child, Ali Abbas, was married in 2017 and became the father of a baby boy in 2018: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2203977/Joy-Iraq-war-orphan-lost-arms-bombing-raid-plans-wedding-childhood-friend.html> | Accessed February 21, 2018; see also: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5453719/Iraqi-severely-injured-2003-U-S-airstrike-hails-birth-son.html> Accessed December 30, 2020.
3. Jonathan Schell, “The Importance of Losing,” *The Jonathan Schell Reader*, (Nation-Avalon, 2004) 343-44. Originally published in *The Nation*, September 23, 2003.
4. Scott Ritter: http://www.democracynow.org/2005/10/21/scott_ritter_on_the_untold_story
5. David Kay: <http://www.npr.org/2011/05/29/136765601/david-kay-wmds-that-never-were-a-war-that-ever-was>
6. The quote, and Bush’s entire speech, are available from most news sources: <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/05/20030501-15.html>.

7. [^]<https://www.iraqbodycount.org/>: According to this site, again, depending on what is counted and who's counting, there have been between 186,300 and 209,546 documented civilian deaths due to violence in Iraq between 2003 and July 5, 2022. See note 9 for a more extensive accounting of civilian and military deaths in other post-9/11 U.S. military engagements.

[^]Regarding notes 7, 8 & 9, I refer you again to Rabbi Gellman's words in Chapter Two, page 28, regarding what gets lost when we hear or speak about large numbers of deaths.

8. [^]Stanley McChrystal, Tantum Collins, et al. *Team of Teams: New Rules of Engagement for a Complex World*. (Portfolio-Penguin, 2015), 130.
9. [^]4,586 American military deaths as of December 30, 2020 (4,100 of those from 2004-2020), again, that is *after* President Bush's announcement that we had prevailed.
<https://www.statista.com/statistics/263798/american-soldiers-killed-in-iraq/>. Last accessed June 27, 2022. See also, Neta C. Crawford and Catherine Lutz, "Human Cost of Post 9-11 Wars Direct War Deaths in Major War Zones, Afghanistan and Pakistan (October 2001 - October 2019) Iraq (March 2003 - October 2019); Syria (September 2014 - October 2019); Yemen (October 2002 - October 2019); and Other," *20 Years of War: A Costs of War Research Series*, Watson Institute, Brown University & The Frederick S. Pardee Center, Boston University, November 13, 2019,
<https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2019/Direct%20War%20Deaths%20COW%20Estimate%20November%202013%202019%20FINAL.pdf> Accessed July 4, 2021. This study "tallies direct deaths by war violence. It does not include indirect deaths, namely those caused by loss of access to food, water, and/or infrastructure, war-related disease, etc."
10. Richard A. Clarke, *Against All Enemies*, (Free Press, 2004), 2.
11. *Ibid.*, 30.
12. *Ibid.*, 31
13. *Ibid.*, 32.
14. Project for the New American Century's January 26, 1998 letter to President Bill Clinton,
<https://zfacts.com/zfacts.com/metaPage/lib/98-Rumsfeld-Iraq.pdf>

- Accessed June 27, 2021. The PNAC, and its website, are no longer available online under that name.
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CHAPTER EIGHT – And That's Not All

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 18. SAMSA "National Survey of Substance Abuse Treatment Services (N-SSATS): 2020": https://www.samhsa.gov/data/sites/default/files/reports/rpt35313/2020_NSSATS_FINAL.pdf Accessed September 29, 2021.
 19. National Alliance to End Homelessness, <https://endhomelessness.org/homelessness-in-america/homelessness-statistics/state-of-homelessness-2021/> Accessed January 6, 2022.

20. See Dr. Gabor Maté, *In the Realm of the Hungry Ghosts*, and *When the Body Says No*, <https://drgabormate.com/>; Dr. Bessel van der Kolk, *The Body Keeps the Score*, <https://www.besselvanderkolk.com/>; Johann Hari, *Chasing the Scream* and *Lost Connections*, <https://johannhari.com/>. In Chapter Eleven, we will briefly address some of the ways that the words “soul” and “spirit” are used.
21. Lucy King and Jonah M. Kessel, “We Know the Real Cause of the Crisis in Our Hospitals. It’s Greed.” *New York Times*, January 19, 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/01/19/opinion/covid-nurse-burnout-understaffing.html> Accessed January 19, 2022.
22. “Bailout Tracker,” *ProPublica*, <https://projects.propublica.org/bailout/list>; many corporate recipients do not repay the loans in full; for a brief, humorous synopsis of this not-really-funny issue, see Jon Stewart’s October 2021 clip: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jXZoO-FjJyQ>
23. I apply the qualifier *harmful* here because *discrimination*, as commonly used nowadays, refers to treating an individual or group unfairly based on perceived differences. At its root, to discriminate means to identify differences, to differentiate. It is important to discriminate between the poison and safe mushrooms, between the troll and the authentic narrative, between fact and opinion. Also, labels such as “Asian,” “Latinx,” “Middle Eastern” and “LGBTQ+” fall short of discriminating among the unique cultures and individuals they attempt to capture (as “American” itself is a woefully inadequate, but sometimes useful label). Some of these labels may already be outdated by the time this book is out of my hands, so to speak. I appreciate your generous, healthy *it’s-about-all-that-is* understanding.
24. German Lopez, “The Reagan Administration’s unbelievable response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic,” *Vox*, December 1, 2016, <https://www.vox.com/2015/12/1/9828348/ronald-reagan-hiv-aids> Accessed September 30, 2021. For the definitive history, see Randy Shilts’s *And the Band Played On*.
25. The second half of Ben Vereen’s courageous, satirical performance was seen only by those who attended the 1981 inauguration in-person, since ABC only televised the first half, leaving most who watched on television to believe that the actor had subjugated himself to the predominantly Republican attendees. Vereen paid a price for years. Cy Musiker, “What Viewers Didn’t See Changed

- Everything for Ben Vereen,” *KQED*, February 14, 2018, <https://www.kqed.org/arts/13824539/what-viewers-didnt-see-changed-everything>; Accessed May 30, 2021.
26. Marc Dolan, “How Ronald Reagan Changed Bruce Springsteen’s Politics,” *Politico*, June 4, 2014, <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/06/bruce-springsteen-ronald-reagan-107448/> Accessed May 30, 2021.
 27. Ralph Waldo Emerson, “The American Scholar,” *The American Tradition in Literature*, 4th ed. (Grosset & Dunlap, 1974), 601. The comma and dash, “soul,—the soul” appear in the original.
 28. Jonathan Rauch, *The Constitution of Knowledge* (2021), citing Trump strategist Steve Bannon: “flood the zone...,” 163; Rauch: “degrade the information environment,” 164; citing *The Economist*, April 19, 2018: “cacophony of wild claims,” 165; Rauch: “an inability to know where...,” 166; citing Russian dissident Gary Kasparov: “exhaust your critical thinking,” 166; Rauch: “not to persuade but to confuse...,” 165.
 29. Amanda Cox, “How Birth Year Influences Political Views,” *New York Times*, July 7, 2014, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/07/08/upshot/how-the-year-you-were-born-influences-your-politics.html?searchResultPosition=1> Accessed October 6, 2021. Cox’s piece is based on Yair Ghitza and Andrew Gelman, “The Great Society, Reagan’s Revolution, and Generations of Presidential Voting,” Working Paper, July 7, 2014, https://static01.nyt.com/newsgraphics/2014/07/06/generations2/assets/cohort_voting_20140707.pdf Accessed October 6, 2021.
 30. We’re not picking on iGens here. Every generation has its respective dignities and disasters (and is better able and more willing to see its own dignity and everyone else’s disasters). This chapter’s closing paragraph speaks to the disaster of such unhealthy group-centrism.
 31. 2014-2019: 14,515 gun deaths/year avg. (not suicide) = 40/day avg; 23,094 suicides by gun = 63/day; 37,609 total annual gun deaths = 103/day: <https://www.gunviolencearchive.org/> Accessed September 28, 2021. 2014-2019: 45,835 suicides/year avg. = 126*/day: <https://webappa.cdc.gov/sasweb/ncipc/leadcause.html> Accessed September 28, 2021. Search criteria was: *2014-2019/all causes, races, genders and ages*. *Due to rounding, the suicides per day on the two sites differ by 1. I used the lower, 125, in the text.

32. Neil MacFarquhar, “Murders Spiked in 2020 in Cities Across the United States,” *New York Times*, September 27, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/27/us/fbi-murders-2020-cities.html> Accessed September 27, 2021.
33. Reis Thebault and Danielle Rindler, “Shootings never stopped during the pandemic: 2020 was the deadliest gun violence year in decades,” *Washington Post*, March 23, 2021, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2021/03/23/2020-shootings/> Accessed September 28, 2021. Gun violence ties directly to the unhealthy masculine: Mike McIntire, Glenn Thrush and Eric Lipton, “Gun Sellers’ Message to Americans: Man Up,” *New York Times*, June 18, 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/06/18/us/firearm-gun-sales.html> Accessed June 18, 2022.
34. Representative Eric Cantor (VA-R) on September 14, 2001. From Netflix, *Turning Point: 9/11 and the War on Terror*, Episode 2, “A Place of Danger.” Not to pick on Mr. Cantor—many similar statements were made by members of both parties.
35. Vine Deloria, Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins*, (U of Oklahoma P, 1988/1969), 255-56.
36. Leading up to what’s cited in the text, Dr. King said, “...as I have walked among the desperate, rejected, and angry young men, I have told them that Molotov cocktails and rifles would not solve their problems. I have tried to offer them my deepest compassion while maintaining my conviction that social change comes most meaningfully through nonviolent action. But they asked...” <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/beyond-vietnam>; recording: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SQR_e_P-nBA
37. Bacevich, *The Limits of Power*, 163.
38. Anderson, “Same Old,” *Horse Medicine*, 9.
39. This unfortunate episode is relevant here because of the light it shines on our collective Shadow. The disconnect between the reaction to a celebrity slap (not to minimize its impact on those immediately involved) and the “normalized” everyday violence and death in America is stark. In the larger picture of American violence and Shadow, this moment and the reaction to it were at once superficial and indicative of our collective denial. I respect the work of both Chris Rock and Will Smith, each of whom I experience as exceptional at what he does. (I’m sure they’d both be relieved to know this).

40. Jason E. Goldstick, Ph.D., Rebecca M. Cunningham, M.D., and Patrick M. Carter, M.D., "Current Causes of Death in Children and Adolescents in the United States," *New England Journal of Medicine*, May 19, 2022,
<https://www.nejm.org/doi/full/10.1056/NEJMc2201761>
41. F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby*, (Scribner, 1925 / Scribner Paperback, 1995), 187-88.

CHAPTER NINE – Bullied, Woke & Canceled in the Polarized State(s) of America

1. Inspired by Carse, *Finite and Infinite Games*, 31.
2. Regarding schoolyard and online bullying: From the U. S. federal government:
<https://www.stopbullying.gov/bullying/what-is-bullying>;
From the American Psychological Association:
<https://www.apa.org/topics/bullying>
3. Greg Lukianoff and Jonathan Haidt, in *The Coddling of the American Mind*, provide case-study and researched-based insights into perceived safety and threats, along with suggestions for how to more accurately discern threats that are really out there and threats that are creations of our minds. While they're not specifically addressing Shadow, their insights are relevant to the larger American narrative(s). Also, as noted in Chapter Two, a *disproportionate* emotional response is often an indication of the presence of Shadow.
4. As used here, "white supremacy" refers primarily to the explicit beliefs, articulated, for instance, in Edward Alfred Pollard's *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates* (1866) and *The Lost Cause Regained* (1868), that "the supremacy of the white race" was the true cause of the war and the hope of the South*—beliefs that are currently still held and acted on by various groups throughout the United States.^
Secondarily, it refers to the implicit beliefs, explicitly manifested first in the founding of the country by white men who, in their choices and behavior indicated their belief that the English (whites) were superior to others, especially but not only, the indigenous peoples of the Americas and Africa, and later (i.e. today) in biases held by many individuals, often unconsciously, and implicitly built into many institutions. Paradoxically and fortunately, these same men also gave us documents and structures

that invite and allow us to move away from mistaken ideas of supremacy—albeit slowly and imperfectly. Explicit white supremacist beliefs remain extant and available. Several excerpts from *The Lost Cause Regained* (1868), disturbing and informative, follow. Locations cited here are from the Kindle edition. Page numbers are approximations:

From Part III “The Negro Question,” 112-128: “The value of the fact of the Negro’s inferiority is very great.” (Location 1469); “The permanent, natural inferiority of the Negro was the true and *only* defence [sic] of Slavery.” (Location 1500); “In Man we find the Negro as the base of the generic [sic] column; and ascending, in order, the different races above him—the Esquimaux, the Aboriginal American, the Malay or Oceanic, the Mongolian—we at last reach in the Caucasian or the *historic* race the perfection of the highest form of the human creation.” (Location 1576).

From Part IV “The True Hope of the South,” 129-184: “Slavery has improved and civilized the Negro to a certain extent, and has now left him the subject of a new experiment. We would make that experiment kindly and tenderly, although we think it vain, as we believe the Negro obtains his highest development in the convenient position, of a subordinate where he copies and imitates.” (Location 1891-1900); “What is the true hope of the South?—The new cause or the ‘lost cause’ revived.... What is that hope to which we have referred? It is the hope of a new political conflict, in which the South will stand stronger than she ever did before.... She may have to endure much before she reaches the threshold and fruition of this new controversy; but the conclusion is sure to her. This new cause—or rather the true question of the war revived—is the supremacy of the white race and along with it and strengthening it, the reassertion of our political traditions, and the protection of our ancient fabrics of government.” (Location 2098-2105).

*Meacham, *The Soul of America*, 58-59, 299.

^Southern Poverty Law Center: <https://www.splcenter.org/hate-map> and <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch>. Not all groups listed are white supremacist.

5. Respectively, Ephesians 6:5+ (regarding slaves and masters), 5:22+ (regarding wives and husbands); and Colossians 3:22+ (slaves and masters), 3:18+ (wives and husbands) in the *NIV Study Bible*, (Zondervan, 1973, 1995). See Chapter Five, 108-09 and note 3, for a link to the years in which the slave trade, and slavery itself were

abolished in different countries. For more on what was shifting and had shifted, consider the dignities and disasters of the Enlightenment: Several places to start:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Age_of_Enlightenment

<https://www.history.com/topics/british-history/enlightenment>

<https://www.britannica.com/event/Enlightenment-European-history> & <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/enlightenment/> With

regard to the 21st Century, especially but not only amid the reign of the 45th president, we see evidence of tens of millions of Americans who really do seem to believe in equality for all, and evidence of tens of millions who seem not to so believe—or are undecided. Note again, Ibram Kendi's dual and dueling histories of racial and racist progress, Chapter Five, 142-43.

6. For an exploration of some recent manifestations of intolerant, fundamentalist liberal words and behavior, see Lukianoff and Haidt, especially, but not only, pages 53-117. Fundamentalist conversative words and behavior are more commonly noted publicly, as with SPLC's hate map and hate watch (note 4[^]).
7. See Chapter One, note 7 for commentary on what the word "woke" actually connotes in the context of waking up, growing up, cleaning up, and showing up. It is possible for development from one worldview to another to take place in an unhealthy or incomplete way. Wielding the new perspective as a weapon may result. The modern-to-postmodern "woke" move mentioned in the text is just one example. For further exploration, Ken Wilber's work provides a synthesis of various researchers (among much else), including Robert Kegan, who is arguably the "founder" of adult development research. Bill Plotkin's work provides a rather extraordinary and eloquent "soulcentric" model of development. A one-page diagram of Plotkin's model is available here: <https://animas.org/wp-content/uploads/Eight-Stages-diagram-3-3-hi-res.png>. The first chapter of his *Nature and the Human Soul* is available here: <https://animas.org/books/nature-and-the-human-soul/nature-and-the-human-soul-chapter-one/>
Note that these researchers study diverse aspects of human beings but that the basic movements (from partial and simple to increasingly inclusive and complex) are consistent. Ongoing adult development is itself complex. Knowing about it does not make problems disappear, but it does help clarify patterns and differentiate perspectives. Not knowing about it doesn't mean it doesn't exist. Here's a brief sampling of some of the language, moving left

to right from earlier to later development: Archaic > Magic > Mythic > Rational > Pluralistic > Integral (Jean Gebser re worldviews); Undifferentiated > Magical > Mythic-literal > Conventional > Individuative-reflective > Conjunctive > Universalizing (James Fowler re stages of faith); Socialized Mind > Self-authoring Mind > Self-transforming Mind (Kegan re adult mental capacity); some sources for further reading: Wilber, *The Religion of Tomorrow: A Vision for the Future of the Great Traditions*, 180-250, charts 190-95, (Shambhala, 2017); Kegan, *In Over Our Heads: The Mental Demands of Modern Life*, (Harvard UP, 1994); Kegan and Lisa Laskow Lahey, *Immunity to Change How to Overcome It and Unlock the Potential in Yourself and Your Organization*, 11-30, (Harvard UP, 2009); Bill Torbert, et al., *Action Inquiry: The Secret of Timely and Transforming Leadership*, especially 65-117, (Berrett-Koehler, 2004); Plotkin, *Nature and the Human Soul: Cultivating Wholeness and Community in a Fragmented World*, (New World Library, 2008); Fowler, *Stages of Faith: The Psychology of Human Development and the Quest for Meaning*, (HarperSanFrancisco, 1981).

8. John Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 496.
9. *Ibid.*, 486.
10. *Moritz v. Commissioner of Internal Revenue* (among multiple sources):
[https://law.justia.com/cases/federal/appellate-courts/F2/469/466/79852/;](https://law.justia.com/cases/federal/appellate-courts/F2/469/466/79852/)
https://scholar.google.com/scholar_case?case=11568697307639967604&q=Charles+E.+Moritz%252C+Petitioner-appellant%252C+v.+Commissioner+of+Internal+Revenue%252C+Respondent-appellee&hl=en&as_sdt=2006
11. Mark Landler, “Harry and Meghan’s Hard Exit,” *New York Times*, January 19, updated January 21, 2020,
<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/19/world/europe/harry-meghan-royal.html?searchResultPosition=1> Accessed September 5, 2021. Emily Yahr, “Meghan tells Oprah Winfrey she had suicidal thoughts as part of the royal family: ‘I just didn’t want to be alive anymore,’” *Washington Post*, March 7, 2021,
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/arts-entertainment/2021/03/07/meghan-harry-oprah-interview-royals/> Accessed March 7, 2021.

12. Nat Hentoff, *Free Speech for Me—but Not for Thee: How the American Left and Right Relentlessly Censor Each Other* (Harper-Collins, 1992), 141.
13. Saunt, *Unworthy Republic*, 97. Saunt cites *The Papers of Andrew Jackson Digital Edition*, ed. Daniel Feller (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press: 2015). See also Chapter Four, note 9. This critique of Jackson is not an example of unskillful means applied by a later (mine) against an earlier (Jackson's) developmental view. By the 1830s plenty of Americans (albeit not enough in positions of power) disagreed with Jackson's and others' views and policies regarding Indian removal and slavery.
14. Ten Republican representatives who voted to impeach, 2021: <https://www.npr.org/2021/01/14/956621191/these-are-the-10-republicans-who-voted-to-impeach-trump>; seven Republican senators who voted to convict, 2021: <https://www.npr.org/sections/trump-impeachment-trial-live-updates/2021/02/15/967878039/7-gop-senators-voted-to-convict-trump-only-1-faces-voters-next-year>
15. Lukianoff and Haidt, *The Coddling of the American Mind*, 81-121; and Rauch, *The Constitution of Knowledge*, 189-231. In both volumes, case studies and explorations of causes and consequences extend beyond the pages cited. Here's one, among many examples: <https://www.thefire.org/cases/protesters-at-yale-threaten-free-speech-demand-apologies-and-resignations-from-faculty-members-over-halloween-email/>
16. Nicholas A. Christakis, *Blueprint: The Evolutionary Origins of a Good Society*, (Little, Brown Spark, 2019), 13-14+; and Brian Hare and Vanessa Woods, *Survival of the Friendliest*, (Random House, 2021), 110-11, 143.
17. Don Beck shared this quote in a Spiral Dynamics training in 2004. For more on Richard Barrett: <https://www.barrettacademy.com/about-2020/richard-barrett>
18. Hare and Woods, *Survival of the Friendliest*, 170. See 102-149 for their larger treatment of in-group bias and dehumanization. The authors cite N. Kteily, G. Hodson, E. Bruneau, "They See Us as Less Than Human: Metadehumanization Predicts Intergroup Conflict via Reciprocal Dehumanization," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 110, 343 (2016).
19. Kendi, *How to Be an Antiracist*, (One World, 2019), 131.

20. Hare and Woods, *Survival of the Friendliest*, 165-66, citing P. M. Oliner, *Saving the Forsaken: Religious Culture and the Rescue of Jews in Nazi Europe* (Yale University Press, 2008).
21. *Ibid.*, 249, note 70, citing T. F. Pettigrew, "Intergroup Contact Theory," *Annual Review of Psychology* 49, 65-85 (1998).
22. Ezra Klein, *Why We Are Polarized*, (Avid Reader-Simon & Schuster, 2020), 147-49, citing Douglas J. Ahler and Gaurav Sood, "The Parties in Our Head: Misperceptions About Party Composition and Their Consequences," *Journal of Politics* 80, no. 3 (July 2018): 964-81, doi.org/10.1086/697253.
23. *Ibid.*, See Klein's Chapter Six, "The Media Divide Beyond Left-Right," 139-70. I specify "contact" that is "close, personal, ongoing." Some research that concludes contact not only *does not moderate* opposite-group bias, but *deepens* it, is online, social-media based, and doesn't take developmental perspective into account: in a 2017 study all 1,220 survey respondents used Twitter regularly and self-identified as either Democrat or Republican—while it's possible that folks with a *me-centric* or *all-of-us* centric perspective might indicate a *preference* for one of the parties, to *self-identify* as Democrat or Republican is more typical of an *us-centric* developmental perspective. After agreeing to be exposed to tweets from the other side, "Republicans...became substantially more conservative," and "Democrats exhibited slight increases in liberal attitudes..." 160. Developmental perspective does not answer every question; it does add an essential variable to the mix; and it's missing from most of the current conversation(s) about opposition and polarization (not just from this one). It might shed light on why Republicans deepened their conservative attitudes *substantially* and Democrats deepened their liberal attitudes *slightly*. Developmental perspectives aside, Klein's treatment of polarization is insightful and clear. The study he cites is Christopher A. Bail et al., "Exposure to Opposing Views on Social Media Can Increase Political Polarization," *PNAS*, 115, no. 37 (Sept. 2018): 9216-21, doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1804840115.
24. Kendi, *How to Be an Antiracist*, (One World, 2019), 129.
25. We'll look more closely at Trump's behavior and briefly explore the varied perspectives of his supporters in the next chapter.
26. Attributed to George Sheehan, from my notes. I regularly read Dr. Sheehan's *Runner's World* column, read his *Running and Being* (1978), *Personal Best* (1989), and *George Sheehan on Running to Win* (1992) when they were published, and finished behind him

in various races despite being 36 years his junior. I have been unable to find the specific source for this quote, but it's his.

CHAPTER TEN – The Gift: One Guy's Shadow as an Unconscious Invitation to a Nation to Heal

1. Inspired by Carse, *Finite and Infinite Games*, 31.
2. Jonathan Rauch, *The Constitution of Knowledge: A Defense of Truth* (Brookings Institution, 2021), 7-8. See also "The Constitution of Knowledge," *National Affairs*, Fall 2018, <https://www.nationalaffairs.com/publications/detail/the-constitution-of-knowledge> Accessed November 29, 2020.
3. Robin Lindley, "Trump and his 3,500 suits: Prosecutor and author reveals in interview his portrait of 'Plaintiff in Chief,'" *ABA Journal*, April 20, 2020, <https://www.abajournal.com/web/article/attorney-and-author-on-his-portrait-of-donald-trump-through-more-than-3500-lawsuits> Accessed July 12, 2021. Cf. note 5.
4. Glenn Kessler, Salvador Rizzo, and Meg Kelly, *Donald Trump and His Assault on Truth: The President's Falsehoods, Misleading Claims and Flat-Out Lies*, New York: Scribner, 2020, pp. 261-62. The book predates Putin's 2022 invasion of Ukraine (ongoing as I type this) by two years. For more on Trump's attempt to shake down Ukraine's President Zelensky, see pages 219-48 in Kessler, et. al. and the following: Jeremy Venook and Talia Dessel, "Trump's Extortion of Ukraine: A Complete Government Shake-down," *Center for American Progress*, October 2, 2019, <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/trumps-extortion-ukraine-complete-government-shakedown/> Accessed April 3, 2022; and Amber Phillips, "Who is Alexander Vindman and why does his public testimony matter?" *Washington Post*, November 19, 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/11/18/who-is-alexander-vindman-why-does-his-public-testimony-matter/> Accessed April 3, 2022.
5. Nick Penzenstadler, and Susan Page, "Trump's 3,500 lawsuits unprecedented for a presidential nominee," *USA Today*, June 1, 2016 / updated October 23, 2017, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/elections/2016/06/01/donald-trump-lawsuits-legal-battles/84995854/> Accessed July

- 12, 2021. See also James Zirin's *Plaintiff in Chief: A Portrait of Donald Trump in 3,500 Lawsuits* (All Points/St. Martin's, 2019).
6. Katerina Ang, "Trump sues New York Times and niece Mary Trump over tax records story," *Washington Post*, September 22, 2021, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/09/21/trump-taxes-mary-times-lawsuit/> Accessed September 22, 2021.
 7. Jane Mayer, "Donald Trump's Ghostwriter Tells All," *New Yorker*, July 18, 2016. <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/07/25/donald-trumps-ghostwriter-tells-all> Accessed January 31, 2021. See also: Linda Qiu, "Is Donald Trump's 'Art of the Deal' the best-selling business book of all time?" *Politifact*, July 6, 2015, <https://www.politifact.com/factchecks/2015/jul/06/donald-trump/donald-trumps-art-deal-best-selling-business-book/> Accessed March 16, 2022.
 8. Tony Schwartz, *What Really Matters: Searching for Wisdom in America* (Bantam, 1995), p. 3.
 9. Examples of Trump's statements are abundant and ongoing. This report correlates his language with his early loss of support from Republican leaders during his candidacy and presidency: Karen Yourish, Larry Buchanan and Alicia Parlapiano, "More Than 160 Republican Leaders Don't Support Donald Trump. Here's When They Reached Their Breaking Point." *New York Times*, August 29, 2016, updated October 9, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/08/29/us/politics/at-least-110-republican-leaders-wont-vote-for-donald-trump-heres-when-they-reached-their-breaking-point.html> Accessed August 29, 2016. A sampling of the statements follows:
 "They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists."
 - *June 16, 2015, on undocumented Mexican immigrants.* "He's not a war hero. He's a war hero because he was captured. I like people that weren't captured."
 - *July 18, 2015, on AZ Republican Senator John McCain, former pilot and POW in Vietnam.* "I know more about ISIS than the generals do. Believe me."
 - *November 12, 2015.* "Donald J. Trump is calling for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States."
 - *December 7, 2015.* "I don't know anything about David Duke. O.K.? I don't know anything about what you're even talking about with white supremacy or white supremacists."
 - *March 3, 2016 after former Ku Klux Klan leader Duke endorsed aspects of Trump's message.* "I've been

treated very unfairly by this judge. Now, this judge is of Mexican heritage. I'm building a wall, O.K.? I'm building a wall." - *June 6, 2016 on Judge Gonzalo P. Curiel, a federal judge overseeing a suit against the defunct Trump University.* "If she gets to pick her judges, nothing you can do, folks. Although the Second Amendment people — maybe there is, I don't know." - *August 9, 2016 implying a connection between the right to own guns and stopping Hillary Clinton's ability to nominate judges should she win the election.*

10. Maggie Haberman and Peter Baker, "Trump Taunts Christine Blasey Ford at Rally," *New York Times*, October 2, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/02/us/politics/trump-me-too.html?action=click&module=Top%20Stories&pgtype=Homepage> (widely reported throughout the media). The issue, beyond whether the court nominee did what he was accused of or if his accuser was telling the truth (both of which are important), is that the president of the United States saw fit to put the weight of his office, via social media, behind one side of the testimony in a Congressional hearing.
11. David Nakamura, "People actually laughed at a president': At U.N. speech, Trump suffers the fate he always feared," *Washington Post*, September 25, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/people-actually-laughed-at-a-president-at-un-speech-trump-suffers-the-fate-he-always-feared/2018/09/25/990b1d52-c0eb-11e8-90c9-23f963eea204_story.html?utm_term=.841979b322c8 Accessed September 25, 2018.
12. Russ Buettner, Susanne Craig and Mike McIntire, "Long-Concealed Records Show Trump's Chronic Losses and Years of Tax Avoidance," *New York Times*, September 27, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/09/27/us/donald-trump-taxes.html?action=click&module=Spotlight&pgtype=Homepage> Accessed Sept 27, 2020. An earlier stage of the investigation was released in 2018: David Barstow, Susanne Craig and Russ Buettner, "Trump Engaged in Suspect Tax Schemes as He Reaped Riches From His Father," *New York Times*, October 2, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/10/02/us/politics/donald-trump-tax-schemes-fred-trump.html?action=click&module=Top%20Stories&pgtype=Homepage> Accessed October 2, 2018.

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47. For a clear articulation of why tolerance alone is not sufficient for the healing the country needs, see Maureen Walker's *When Getting Along Is Not Enough: Reconstructing Race in Our Lives and Relationships*. Teachers College Press, 2020.
48. See the Southern Poverty Law Center's database for more on the individuals and groups who have publicly supported Trump's messages: <https://www.splcenter.org/resources?keyword=Trump>. Again, the use of "Christian" to refer to these groups is misleading, as is the use of "Muslim" to refer to individuals or groups who claim to kill in the name of Islam. In both cases, Christian and Muslim, these groups bastardize the religion they reference—whether in ignorance of the religion or in an intentional attempt to legitimize their bigotry/hatred/violence.
49. Pollard, *The Lost Cause Regained*, Kindle edition (Location 2098-2105). See Chapter Nine, note 4.
50. See Chapter Eight, note 31 for gunshot/suicide sources.
51. "axis of evil" was used by President George W. Bush in his January 29, 2002 State of the Union address to refer to Iran, Iraq, and North Korea: <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/print/20020129-11.html>; "evil empire" was used by President Ronald Reagan to refer to the Soviet Union: <http://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/reagan-evil-empire-speech-text/>. He later recanted his use of the phrase. President George W. Bush repeated several iterations of "you're either with us, or you're with the enemy": <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-23kmhc3P8U> The fallacy of his simplistic *either-or*, *us vs. them*, and *no in-between* stance played itself out in real time as many nations who "were with us" and joined the alliance to find those responsible for the September

- 11 attacks, were neither “with us” nor “with the enemy” when the United States chose to attack Iraq in March 2003.
52. From Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on April 4, 1967 at New York City’s Riverside Church: This site now requires registration for access:
<https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/beyond-vietnam>. See Chapter Eight, 238-39, and note 36.
53. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. *The Gulag Archipelago*. Accessed via <https://www.goodreads.com/quotes/13750-if-only-it-were-all-so-simple-if-only-there>
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55. President Lincoln’s final paragraph reads: “I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.”
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57. Rebecca Tan, Samantha Schmidt, Derek Hawkins, et. al., “Before Trump vows to end ‘lawlessness,’ federal officers confront protestors outside White House,” *The Washington Post*, June 2, 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/washington-dc-protest-white-house-george-floyd/2020/06/01/6b193d1c-a3c9-11ea-bb20-ebf0921f3bbd_story.html Accessed June 3, 2020.
58. John Lewis, and Michael D’Orso, *Walking with the Wind*, (Simon & Schuster, 1998), 337.
59. *Ibid.*, 340.

CHAPTER ELEVEN – So, Now What?

1. Inspired by Carse, *Finite and Infinite Games*, 6-7.
2. To further engage (or to try to disprove) that everything is a story, see David Loy's *The World Is Made of Stories*, (Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2010).
3. Mary Oliver, "The Summer Day," *New and Selected Poems*, (Beacon, 1992), 94. Bill Plotkin, *Nature and the Human Soul: Cultivating Wholeness and Community in a Fragmented World*, (New World Library, 2008), 316. Howard Thurman attribution: <https://quoteinvestigator.com/2021/07/09/come-alive/>. Frederick Buechner, *Wishful Thinking: A Seeker's ABC*, (HarperOne, 1993), 118-19. Harvey Swift Deer, in Plotkin, *Nature...*, 258. William Blake, *The Complete Poetry & Prose of William Blake*, David V. Erdman, ed., (U of California P, 1981), 724.
4. Plotkin, *Nature and the Human Soul*, 258.
5. David Whyte, "All the True Vows," *The House of Belonging*, (Many Rivers, 1997), 24.
6. Plotkin, "ultimate place" in *Nature and the Human Soul*, 35-38; "unique ecological niche" in *The Journey of Soul Initiation: A Field Guide for Visionaries, Evolutionaries, and Revolutionaries*, (New World Library, 2021), 6-17. A 52-minute interview with Bill is available here (there are more available): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uOTaKXHMabM>
7. Plotkin, *The Journey of Soul Initiation*, 18.
8. This paragraph is meant to be descriptive, not instructive. My encounter with self-inquiry began with the writings of David Frawley and Ken Wilber, which led me to Ramana Maharshi's work. Here's a link to Frawley's writing from 1998: https://www.vedanta.gr/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/Frawley_SelfInquiry_ENA5.pdf. Online references to self-inquiry are abundant and unequal. Inquirer beware.
9. Ram Dass, "The Art Form of Dying," *Conscious Aging: On the Nature of Change and Facing Death*, CD, (Sounds True, 1992), Disc 2, 2:50-6:25.
10. See Jonathan Rauch's *The Constitution of Knowledge: A Defense of Truth* (Brookings Institution, 2021) for an expansive and passionate exploration of his book's title and the "community of truth."

11. Mary Catherine Bateson, “Composing a Life” *Sacred Stories: A Celebration of the Power of Stories to Transform and Heal*. Eds. Charles & Anne Simpkinson, (HarperSanFrancisco, 1993), 42-43.
12. M.S. Handler, “Malcolm Rejects Racist Doctrine,” *New York Times*, October 4, 1964, <https://www.nytimes.com/1964/10/04/archives/malcolm-rejects-racist-doctrine-also-denounces-elijah-as-a.html>; Alex Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X: As Told to Alex Haley*, (New York: Ballantine, 1992).
13. Aaron Antonovsky, “Studying Health vs. Studying Disease,” Lecture at the Congress for Clinical Psychology and Psychotherapy, (Berlin, February 19, 1990), “how some ... move toward health” (4); “sense of coherence” (7-8), <https://www.angelfire.com/ok/soc/aberlim.html>.
14. Stephen Levine, *A Year to Live: How to Live This Year as if It Were Your Last*, (Bell Tower-Harmony, 1997), 19-20.
15. James Pennebaker has led the way in decades of research that back this up. See his *Expressive Writing: Words that Heal*, co-authored with John Evans, (2014); and *Opening Up: The Healing Power of Emotions* (1990), among others. See also John Fox’s *Poetic Medicine: The Healing Art of Poem-Making*, (1997). There are many more resources available.
16. See Marra, *Enough with the Talking Points*, (2020), 79-82 for more on truly embodying another’s story. For a deeper dive into telling another’s story as if it were our own, see the work of *Narrative 4*, which uses “story exchange” to help young (and old) people develop empathy. (Some meeting “icebreaker” exercises skim the surface of this experience: two strangers briefly share who they are and then introduce each other to a group—speaking in first-person, as if they *are* the person they’re introducing. *Narrative 4* goes deeper): <https://narrative4.com/>.
17. John Tarrant, *Bring Me the Rhinoceros*, (Shambhala, 2008/2004), 113.
18. Neal Postman, “Staying Sane in a Technological Society: Six Questions in Search of an Answer,” *Lapis*, (New York Open Center, Issue 7, 1998), 53-57. Regarding the SST example, the Concorde was a joint venture of Great Britain and France. The U.S. government ceased its funding of Boeing’s SST project in 1971 after four years and a billion dollars.
19. “team of rivals” is from Doris Kearns Goodwin’s 2005 book on Lincoln; “I alone can fix it” is from Trump’s speech at the 2016

- Republican convention (later a 2021 book by Carol Leonnig and Philip Rucker). See also the David Souter quote that precedes the table of contents in this volume.
20. For more detailed 3-2-1 Shadow instructions and examples, see Ken Wilber, Terry Patten, et. al., *Integral Life Practice*, (Integral-Shambhala, 2008), 41-66.
 21. See notes 2, 3 & 6 in Chapter Two, especially Plotkin's *Wild Mind*, (2013), 207-34 and *Soulcraft*, (2003), 267-80; and Zweig and Abrams, eds. *Meeting the Shadow* (1991).
 22. For a practical, fun, and concise introduction to engaging Voice Dialogue on your own, see Bridgit Dengel Gaspard's *The Final 8th*, (New World Library, 2020).
<https://www.bridgit-dengel-gaspard.com/>. See also Voice Dialogue founders, Hal and Sidra Stone's *Embracing Ourselves: The Voice Dialogue Manual*, (Nataraj-New World Library, 1989).
https://www.voicedialogueinternational.com/articles/Voice_Dialogue.pdf provides an introduction from the founders.
 23. Ta-Nehisi Coates, *Between the World and Me*, (One World-Random House, 2015), 62.
 24. See Marra, *And Now, Still: Grave & Goofy Poems*, (From the Heart Press, 2016) for my exploration of these three deaths, among other grave and goofy considerations.
 25. See Marra, *Killing America*, (From the Heart Press, 2018) and Appendix II in this volume for my exploration of these and other violent deaths in the U. S.
 26. Joan Halifax, *Being with Dying. Cultivating Compassion and Fearlessness in the Presence of Death* (Shambhala, 2008), 55.
 27. *Ibid.*, 55-60.
 28. Jeffrey M. Jones, "How Many Americans Have a Will?" *Gallup*, June 23, 2021, <https://news.gallup.com/poll/351500/how-many-americans-have-will.aspx> Accessed December 3, 2021.
 29. Sherwin B. Nuland, *How We Die*, (Knopf, 1993), "all too frequently..." xvii; "The greatest dignity..." 242; "insofar as circumstances..." xvii.
 30. These titles scratch the surface of what's available and are among those that continue to serve me and to which I pay sustained attention.
 31. This sentence transposes one of the questions posed in Wayne Muller's, *How, Then, Shall We Live? Four Simple Questions That Reveal the Beauty and Meaning of Our Lives*, (Bantam, 1996).

32. M. Scott Peck, *The Road Less Traveled: A New Psychology of Love, Traditional Values, and Spiritual Growth*, (Touchstone-Simon & Schuster, 1978), 17-18.
33. Peck develops each of these in detail, 16-78.
34. Resmaa Menakem, *My Grandmother's Hands: Racialized Trauma and the Pathway to Mending Our Hearts and Bodies*, (Central Recovery Press, 2017), 19-20. Menakem credits Dr. David Schnarch and Dr. Steven Hayer with popularizing the terms, *clean pain* and *dirty pain*.
35. Palmer, *The Courage to Teach*, 104. See Chapter One, 17-18, and note 14.
36. Again, “joyful acceptance...” is from Br. David Steindl-Rast; “the will to extend...” is from M. Scott Peck; *absence of fear* is based on Marianne Williamson’s *A Return to Love* and the Foundation for Inner Peace’s *A Course in Miracles*. See Chapter One, 18, and note 15. We’ll say more about love in Chapter Twelve.
37. Fear is an experience that protects us in many cases of actual, imminent threat. Evolution over millennia has conditioned our bodies and minds to respond to real danger (flee, fight, freeze).
38. For a brief overview of language associated with trauma, see “Behind the Term: Trauma,” *SAMHSA’s National Registry of Evidence-based Programs and Practices*, (2016), https://calswec.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/4-3_behind_the_term_trauma.pdf.
39. Bessel van der Kolk, *The Body Keeps the Score*, (Penguin, 2014), 1.
40. Elissa Melaragno, “Trauma in the Body: An Interview with Dr. Bessel van der Kolk,” *Anchor Magazine*, No. 4, Fall/Winter 2015, https://www.dropbox.com/s/h9m8efox1k4jcbu/Anchor_Issue%2004_Online.pdf?dl=0. Archived, and syndicated to: *Daily Good*, April 21, 2018, <http://m.dailygood.org/story/1901/trauma-in-the-body-an-interview-with-dr-bessel-van-der-kolk-elissa-melaragno/> Accessed December 9, 2021.
41. For an overview of what can go wrong at different levels of development, see Ken Wilber, *The Religion of Tomorrow*, (Shambhala, 2017), 186-96, 273-351. These pages focus on eight developmental levels (which are the more detailed foundations of the *me*, *us*, *all-of-us*, and *all-that-is* shorthand used in this book).
42. “master trauma specialist,” and “to make sure.... never recover” in Elissa Melaragno, “Trauma in the Body...” (2015), 68; “participants to pendulate...happened to them,” in Bessel van der Kolk, *The Body Keeps the Score*, (2014), 335. (See notes 40 and 39).

43. Thomas Hübl, *Healing Collective Trauma: A Process for Integrating Our Intergenerational and Cultural Wounds*, (Sounds True, 2020), 45. <https://thomashuebl.com/>
44. Peter Levine, *In an Unspoken Voice: How the Body Releases Trauma and Restores Goodness*, (North Atlantic Books, 2010), 15-18.
45. Individual trauma can result from a one-time event or from exposure to repeated events (complex trauma) like ongoing childhood abuse or neglect. Collective trauma impacts groups of people (war, slavery, genocide, natural disasters, etc.). Intergenerational (aka historical or transgenerational) trauma is carried forward through generations, biologically, experientially, and psychologically. These are not mutually exclusive categories. I am indebted to the work of Bessel van der Kolk, Peter Levine, Eduardo Duran, Judith Herman, Resmaa Menakem, Gabor Maté and Thomas Hübl for this chapter's overview of trauma.
46. The concepts in this paragraph are based on Ken Wilber's quadrant model. See Chapter One, 16-17, and note 11.
47. M. Scott Peck, *The Different Drum: Community-Making and Peace*, (Touchstone-Simon & Schuster, 1987), 86-135. FCE is no longer operational, but its site remains: https://www.fce-community.org/stages_of_cb. Dr. Peck passed in 2005.
48. Ibid., 95-98. For more on barriers to communication, see also, Marra, *Enough with the Talking Points*, (2020).
49. Ibid., 102-03.
50. Otto Scharmer, *Theory U: The Social Technology of Presencing*, (Berrett-Koehler, 2009), 163. An executive summary of the book is available at: <https://www.presencing.org/assets/images/theory-u/Theory U Exec Summary.pdf>.
51. Ibid., 38-39.
52. Ibid., 20.
53. Hübl, *Healing Collective Trauma*, 119-42.
54. After his death in 2005, M. Scott Peck's work with community-making is primarily available through his book, *The Different Drum*, (1987). For information on Otto Scharmer's offerings, visit <https://www.presencing.org/>. For information on Thomas Hübl's offerings, visit: <https://thomashuebl.com/>.
55. Nicholas Christakis, *Blueprint*, 13-14. See also Chapter Nine, 254-55 and note 16.

56. Brian Hare and Vanessa Woods, *Survival of the Friendliest*, (Random House, 2021), xxv-xxvi, 109-21, 180-81.
57. Ibid., xvi-xvii: "...terrible survival strategy" is the authors' own language; "...for a lifetime of stress" is attributed to R. M. Saplosky, "The Influence of Social Hierarchy on Primate Health," *Science* 308, 648-52 (2005); "nasty, brutish and short" is from Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathon* (London: A & C Black, 2006).
58. Wilber, *The Religion of Tomorrow*, 709, note 12.
59. Robert Kegan, and Lisa Laskow Lahey, *Immunity to Change*, (Harvard Business Press, 2009). The process is "nuanced," detailed, and specific and unfolds most accurately and effectively through numerous conversations and drafts (i.e. rushing through it is not a skillful approach). Their chapter 9, "Diagnosing Your Own Immunity to Change" is available here:
<https://mindsatwork.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Chapter9.pdf>
60. Ibid., 250.
61. Trebbe Johnson, *Radical Joy for Hard Times: Finding Meaning and Making Beauty in Earth's Broken Places*, (North Atlantic, 2018), 83-85, 90. Find out more: <https://radicaljoy.org/>. Johnson's source for Sugawara's story is Paula Hancocks, "Defiant Japanese boat captain rode out tsunami," *CNN*, April 3, 2011, <http://edition.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/asiapcf/04/03/japan.tsunami.captain/index.html>
62. Pema Chödrön, *Start Where You Are: A Guide to Compassionate Living*, (Shambhala, 2001/1994), 33.
63. Ibid., 34.

CHAPTER TWELVE – Expanding & Integrating the View from Here

1. Inspired by Carse, *Finite and Infinite Games*, 62. This question plays with the question at the beginning of Chapter One.
2. Aunt Ann and Uncle Al ushered my cousins Mary Ann, Christine, Paul, Rita, and Tom into the world. Christine is the dedicatee of this book. (A deep bow to all the Lunas and Washingtons).
3. Paul, Bruce, and I remain friends to this day. For a glimpse into how their dad navigated our friendship, check out Paul's 2016 "Heat" (aka "Mr. Wizard") story at the Houston Moth StorySLAM: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wG5CHzqJ-xs>
4. Ta-Nehisi Coates, *Between the World and Me*, (One World, 2015), 28, 34.

5. In the PBS program, *Finding Your Roots*, Season 4, episode 4, "The Vanguard" (2017), Henry Louis Gates, Jr. presented records that trace Ta-Nehisi Coates's lineage back through a fourth great-grandparent; thus, at least seven generations.
6. Coates, *Between the World and Me*, 34. My son is a first-generation Dominican-American (*technically*, my stepson), who is now thirty-three years old.
7. I'm projecting this agreement here onto Coates, whom I've never met. I "know" him only through his writing and several recorded interviews I've encountered.
8. The poem appears, with Br. Jerome's comment intact, on the final page of *And Now, Still* (From the Heart Press, 2016). His comment invited me to believe I might "be a writer" or even a "poet." The jury is still out.
9. Kris Kristofferson, "Loving Her Was Easier (Than Anything I'll Ever Do Again)," *The Silver Tongued Devil and I*, LP, (Monument, 1971). Here's a 1972 performance:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HCgnbRWVvU8>
10. The details of my getting cut and becoming a coach are summarized in Chapter One of *The Quality of Effort* (From the Heart Press, 2013/1991).
11. Thanks to everyone involved with the Connecticut HOT Schools program, the national Poetry Out Loud program, the Mattatuck Museum's work with poetry in the schools, the Wednesday Night Poetry Series in Newtown, Goddard College's Transformative Language Arts Network and Power of Words Conference, the National Association for Poetry Therapy, and the many schools and districts that have welcomed me.
12. I explore these dyings and deaths in some detail in *And Now, Still: Grave & Goofy Poems*, (2016). The hip replacements were due to damage I did with weights while attempting to increase my standing vertical leap in order to dunk a basketball in high school and college (I increased it from 25" to 32"—enough to touch the rim, but not to dunk. Oops.). I miss the tops of my femurs.
13. See Chapter Eleven, 316.
14. Audre Lorde, "The Transformation of Silence into Language and Action," *The Cancer Journals*, (Penguin, 2020/1980), 13, and back cover; and *Sister Outsider*, (Crossing/Ten-Speed, 1984), 41. The essay appears in both volumes.
15. Tony Hoagland, "The Cure for Racism Is Cancer," *The Sun*, Issue 513, September 2018, 13-15. Available online:

- <https://www.thesunmagazine.org/issues/513/the-cure-for-racism-is-cancer>
16. Thich Nhat Hanh, *Teachings on Love*. (Parallax, 1998), 21.
 17. bell hooks, *Outlaw Culture: Resisting Representations*, (Routledge Classics, 2006/Routledge 1994), 243-44. In making her case for love, hooks also cites Peck's "the will to extend one's self..." view and King's "I have decided to love," 247.
 18. Eknath Easwaran, trans., *The Dhammapada*, (Nilgiri Press, 1985), 78.
 19. John 13:34, *NIV Study Bible*, (Zondervan, 1973, 1995).
 20. John Lewis, with Brenda Jones, *Across That Bridge: A Vision for Change and the Future of America*, (Hachette, 2012), 183.
 21. Jason Reynolds, "Imagination and Fortitude," *On Being with Krista Tippett*, June 25, 2020, <https://onbeing.org/programs/jason-reynolds-imagination-and-fortitude/>
 22. Solzhenitsyn, see Chapter Ten, 288, and note 53.
 23. Thich Nhat Hanh, "Please Call Me by My True Names," *Call Me by My True Names: The Collected Poems of Thich Nhat Hanh*, (Parallax, 2001); the poem is available online at: <https://plumvillage.org/articles/please-call-me-by-my-true-names-song-poem/>; see also Chapter Two, note 17.
 24. Isabel Wilkerson, *Caste: The Origins of Our Discontents*, (Random House, 2020), 371-75.
 25. *Go behind...just like you: Ram Dass*, Chapter Eleven, 300. *You remind me...than not: Jason Reynolds*, this chapter, 349-50.
 26. Jack Kornfield, *After the Ecstasy, the Laundry: How the Heart Grows Wise on the Spiritual Path*, (Bantam, 2000), ix-xi.
 27. Eduardo Duran, in conversation with Laura Calderón de la Barca, "An Indigenous Lens on Psychotherapy as a Soul Healing," *Collective Trauma Summit 2021 / Collective Healing in Action*, (Inner Science, 2021), 9-10. For more information and an excerpt from a case study regarding alcohol, see Eduardo Duran's *Healing the Soul Wound*, 61-79.

APPENDIX I

1. President Dwight Eisenhower, "The Chance for Peace," April 16, 1953. See also, Chapter 6, note 6. Audio: <https://www.eisenhowerlibrary.gov/eisenhowers/speeches>. Text: <https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/dwighteisnowercrossofiron.htm>. Accessed June 5, 2021.

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2. Robert S. McNamara, *In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam*, (Vintage, 1996), 321-23.
3. *The Fog of War*, Errol Morris, director, (Sony, 2003). As captured in this volume, the eleven lessons are from my notes while viewing the documentary. They appear in a variety of online sources as well.
4. John F. Sopko, et. al., *What We Need to Learn: Lessons from Twenty Years of Afghanistan Reconstruction*, (Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction, August 2021) vii-xi, <https://www.sigar.mil/pdf/lessonslearned/SIGAR-21-46-LL.pdf>

APPENDIX II

1. Poems are from Reggie Marra, *Killing America: Our United States of Ignorance, Fear, Bigotry, Violence, and Greed*, (From the Heart, 2018): "Found Poem: March 16, 2018," 2; "Going Home," 23; "Supposed to Be Safe," 11; "Sunny December New England Morning," 8; "Ambush," 13; "1941," 15; "Early Autumn Southwest Evening," 19; "This Day Our Daily Dead," 102; letter to the president, (final unnumbered page in the book).

APPENDIX III

1. Reggie Marra, *Enough with the...Talking Points: Doing More Good than Harm in Conversation*, (From the Heart, 2020). The full conversation review is available online at: <https://reggiemarra.com/2020/09/12/an-example-of-a-conversation-that-does-more-harm-than-good/>.

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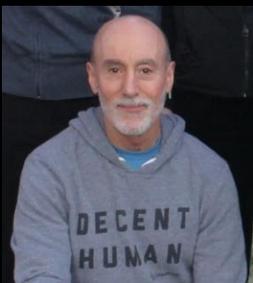
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Reggie Marra is an educator, poet, and coach, and a co-founder, with Kent Frazier, of the Fully Human at Work initiative.

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