



Distillation of 50+ media pieces on the next "Civil War" in the United States

By Eric Servatius, Listen First Project

Summary of Points

The underlying fears of Republicans and Democrats

Both parties and their supporters have growing concerns regarding the ability of "their side" to win elections if things continue on their current trajectory. These fears underlie much of the existing tension between partisans.

- For Democrats, one major concern is the electoral college biasing presidential election results in favor of Republicans.
 - "According to a University of Virginia [analysis](#) of census projections, by 2040, 30% of the population will control 68% of the Senate." ([The Guardian, Stephen Marche](#))
 - "By 2040, 70 per cent of Americans will live in the 15 largest states, meaning that 70 per cent of the country will be represented by 30 senators, while the other 30 per cent is represented by 70 senators. That is an anti-democratic outcome that cannot stand." ([The Article, Karen and Gregory Treverton](#))
- For Republicans, much of the fear is driven by the theory of the "Great Replacement." In a society with a rapidly changing racial and ethnic demographic, those on the right fear that as racial/ethnic minorities (who tend to vote Democratic) make up an increasingly larger percentage of the electorate, the Republican party will be unable to win and "traditional" American values will be undermined.
 - "A civil war is virtually certain to happen in America at this point. Very soon, half of the voting population will have no political representation. The right-wing in America, very soon, will never be able to win an election ever again. Donald Trump is the last Republican president whether he wins in 2020 or not because 70% of non-white people vote Democrat and the vast majority of immigrant, both legal and illegal, into America are non-whites. So, very soon, not even the electoral college will save the right-wing. It's just a matter of time before the grassroots right figures out they'll never win any more elections. When that happens there is going to be a civil war." ([American Conservative University Podcast \(first few minutes\)](#))
 - "Other things being equal, insurgents were much more likely to come from a county where the white share of the population was in decline. **For every**



one-point drop in a county's percentage of non-Hispanic whites from 2015 to 2019, the likelihood of an insurgent hailing from that county increased by 25 percent. This was a strong link, and it held up in every state." ([The Atlantic, Barton Gellman](#))

- "In the CPOST polls, only one other statement won overwhelming support among the 21 million committed insurrectionists. Almost two-thirds of them agreed that "African American people or Hispanic people in our country will eventually have more rights than whites." Slicing the data another way: **Respondents who believed in the Great Replacement theory, regardless of their views on anything else, were nearly four times as likely as those who did not to support the violent removal of the president.**" ([The Atlantic, Barton Gellman](#))

Signs that a civil war is possible

Numerous high-profile academics, politicians, and other public figures have recently begun declaring that the US is on the precipice of a second civil war. This sentiment appears to be reinforced by recent public opinion polling data.

- "For the first time, the annual Global State of Democracy Report listed America as a "backsliding democracy." A backsliding democracy is defined as one that has experienced significant weakening of checks on governments and civil liberties." ([Tennessee Lookout, Holly McCall](#))
- "[Barbara Walter] says that the United States is firmly within the "danger zone" of a "five-point scale" measuring factionalism and a "21-point scale" measuring a country's "polity index," where a full autocracy gets a -10 and a full democracy gets +10. (We've slid from +10 to +5 in a few years, occupying what Walter and her colleagues call the not-quite-democratic and not-quite-autocratic zone of an "anocracy.")" ([The New York Times, Jennifer Szalai](#))
- "The researchers assessed how consistently respondents answered certain questions that were written differently but belonged to the same category. **What they found was a high degree of stability among answers related to insurrectionist sentiments — equating to well over 10 million people.**" ([UChicago News, Sarah Steimer](#))
- "Last fall, the University of Virginia Center for Politics released a poll finding that a **majority of people who had voted to reelect former President Donald Trump in 2020 now wanted their state to secede from the Union.** The UVA data also showed a **stunning 41% of those who voted for Joe Biden in 2020 also said it might now be "time to split the country."**" ([NPR, Elving](#))
- Meanwhile, the latest Washington Post-University of Maryland poll shows that **the "percentage of Americans who say violent action against the government is justified at times stands at 34%."** (Forty percent of Republicans vs. 23% of Democrats.) That and similar surveys show that between 58% and 71% of Republicans

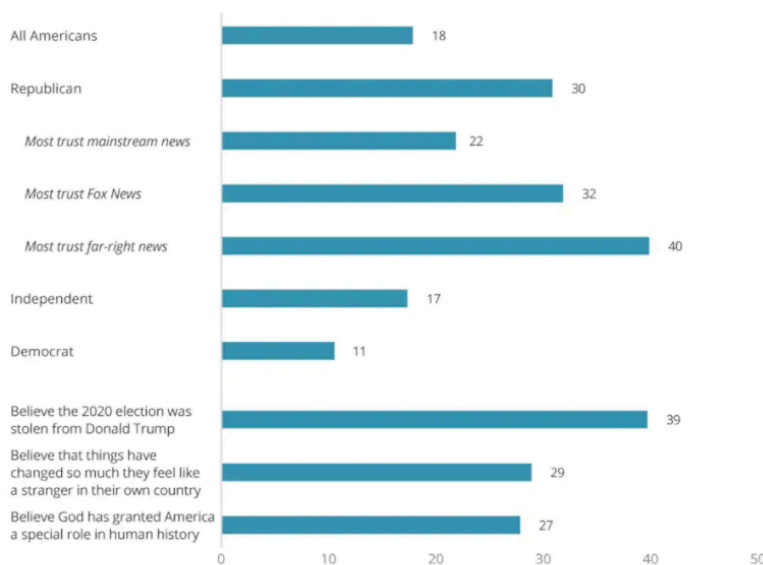


tell pollsters that Trump was the actual winner of an election he lost thunderously, making Joe Biden an illegitimate president. ([Chicago Sun Times, Gene Lyons](#))

- “In the aftermath of former President Donald Trump’s election, Thomas E. Ricks for Foreign Policy asked a group of national security experts to assess the chances of a civil war over the next 10 to 15 years. The consensus stood at 35 percent. A 2019 poll from Georgetown University asked registered voters how close to the “edge of a civil war” the country was, on a scale from 0 to 100. The mean of their answers was 67.23, so almost exactly two-thirds of the way.” ([Foreign Policy, Stephen Marche](#))
- “35% of those polled believe there is at least a 50% chance of a second civil war in their lifetime.” (Harvard Institute of Politics, [CNN](#) 2:30 mark in the video)
- [PRRI: 2021 American Values Survey](#) -

FIGURE 4.2 True American Patriots Might Have to Resort to Violence in Order to Save Our Country, by Party Affiliation and Selected Attitudes

Percent who agree:



Source: PRRI 2021 American Values Survey.

- “The PRRI survey is [merely the latest](#) to reinforce the powder keg that remains in the American electorate — and just how much Republicans, especially, will entertain the idea of justified violence. In PRRI’s May survey, [28 percent of Republicans said violence might be necessary](#) to save the country. (The numbers among Democrats in each poll: 7 percent in May and 11 percent today.) Another survey, in February, soon after Jan. 6, showed an even higher number, with [39 percent of Republicans](#) agreeing that “if elected leaders will not protect America, the people must do it themselves even if it requires taking violent actions.” There [didn’t used to be such a partisan gap](#) on such things.” ([The Washington Post, Aaron Blake](#))



Has the issue been overstated?

While much has been made of the aforementioned data suggesting stunning support for political violence, other researchers argue that these data are skewed and the issue over-stated.

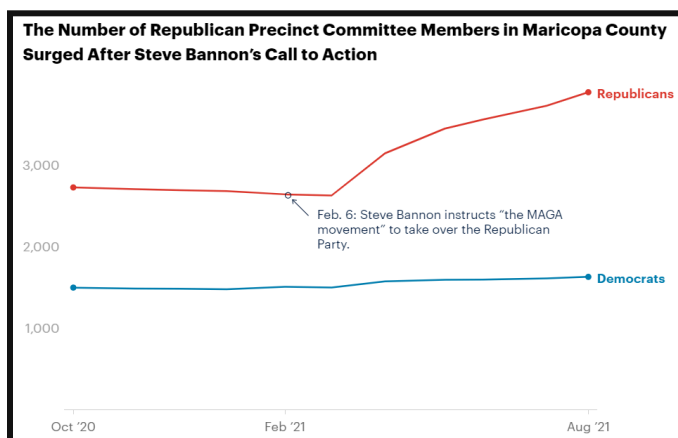
- "While Americans are arguably no more ideologically polarized than in the recent past," they say, "they hold more negative views toward the political opposition and more positive views toward members of their own party." But at the same time, **"evidence suggests that affective polarization is not related to and does not cause increases in support for political violence and is generally unrelated to political outcomes."** So what are we to make of claims that more than a third of Americans believe political violence is justified? "Despite media attention," Westwood et al. note, "political violence is rare, amounting to a little more than 1% of violent hate crimes in the United States." They argue that **"self-reported attitudes on political violence are biased upwards because of disengaged respondents, differing interpretations about questions relating to political violence, and personal dispositions towards violence that are unrelated to politics."** ([Reason, Jacob Sullum](#))
- Westwood et al. estimate that, "depending on how the question is asked, **existing estimates of support for partisan violence are 30-900% too large.**" In their study, "nearly all respondents support[ed] charging suspects who commit acts of political violence with a crime." These findings, they say, "suggest that although recent acts of political violence dominate the news, they do not portend a new era of violent conflict." ([Reason, Jacob Sullum](#))
- It bears mentioning that contrary to the usual 50-50 framing, Republicans represent nowhere close to half of the electorate. One-quarter is more like it. Looking at it that way brings the actual proportion of the sorehead minority down to something like half the headline number saying somebody needs to kick ass to bring back the glorious reign of the old p***y grabber. It doesn't say how many are prepared to drop the remote, clamber out of the recliner and take up arms whenever Tucker Carlson says it's time. Given the advanced age of the Fox News demographic, I'm confident the great majority of would-be warriors — like Trump himself — mean to follow the action on TV." ([Chicago Sun Times, Gene Lyons](#))
- "Contemporary civil wars are in some sense common (Walter says there have been "hundreds" in the last 75 years), and in another sense rare. **In any given year, only 4 percent of the countries that "meet the conditions for war" actually descend into one.** ([The New York Times, Jennifer Szalai](#))



The Republican Threat

Regardless of whether support for partisan violence and the likelihood of civil war have been overstated or not, there is little denying that some Republicans and various forces on the right are preparing to do everything they can to ensure a victory for a Republican in 2024—including undermining our democratic systems.

- “Arizona’s legislature, meanwhile, has passed a law forbidding Katie Hobbs, the Democratic secretary of state, to take part in election lawsuits, as she did at crucial junctures last year. The legislature is also [debating an extraordinary bill](#) asserting its own prerogative, “by majority vote at any time before the presidential inauguration,” to “revoke the secretary of state’s issuance or certification of a presidential elector’s certificate of election.” ([The Atlantic, Barton Gellman](#))
- “Republicans are promoting an “independent state legislature” doctrine, which holds that statehouses have “plenary,” or exclusive, control of the rules for choosing presidential electors. Taken to its logical conclusion, it could provide a legal basis for any state legislature to throw out an election result it dislikes and appoint its preferred electors instead...The independent-state-legislature doctrine has a Federalist Society imprimatur and attorneys from top-tier firms like BakerHostetler. A dark-money voter-suppression group that calls itself the Honest Elections Project has already featured the argument in an amicus brief.” ([The Atlantic, Barton Gellman](#))
- “[A September ProPublica](#) investigation documented the emergence of a “precinct strategy,” beginning with a call to action on Steve Bannon’s radio show, in which Republicans have begun flooding local voting precincts with volunteers who could shape the counting process in the next election cycle. “ProPublica contacted GOP leaders in 65 key counties, and 41 reported an unusual increase in signups since Bannon’s campaign began. At least 8,500 new Republican precinct officers (or equivalent lowest-level officials) joined those county parties,” the outlet explains. “We also looked at equivalent Democratic posts and found no similar surge.” ([Vox, Zack Beauchamp](#)) (Graph from [ProPublica](#))





- “Even if Republican voters suddenly decide to start punishing extremists in their party, so many other parts of the political process — interest groups, right-wing media, donors — encourage and reinforce the extremism that we expect it would have little effect. In fact, Republican leaders would very likely simply stop listening to Republican voters or ignore elections altogether. Indeed, this is already happening.” ([The New York Times, Thomas Edsall](#))
- “Our two-party system has been grounded in a structural decentralization of political authority. Yet the emergence of hyper-partisanship means that the check on authoritarian developments in the presidency that the Madisonian system relies on most, Congress, may not work. Instead, G.O.P. members of Congress in particular face multiple incentives to bandwagon rather than resist. Among those incentives are the intense preferences of the party’s interest groups, the heavily “red” and negatively partisan electoral bases of these politicians, and the likelihood that influential partisan media will exact a very high price for defection. ([The New York Times, Thomas Edsall](#))
- “More than two-thirds of Republicans (68%), compared to 26% of independents and 6% of Democrats, believe that the election was stolen from Trump. These shares are even greater among Republicans who most trust Fox News (82%) and essentially universal among those who most trust far-right news (97%). Less than half of Republicans who most trust mainstream news agree (44%).” ([PRII: 2021 American Values Survey](#))

The need for bridging divides

After calls for institutional changes to defend against what are perceived as Republican threats, the next most commonly expressed tactic for bringing the nation back from the precipice has been for Americans to work together to bridge divides by connecting with their neighbors on a more human level.

- **"The most important thing that we can do as individuals is to recognize the intrinsic value of all other people** -- even people we don't like, people we don't agree with, people we fight with, maybe people that we get so angry we insult." ([CNN Politics, John Kasich](#))
- “Believing the threat comes solely from the right leads many Democrats to put their faith in a legislative solution to the danger of civil unrest — usually through the reform of election laws. But in truth there is no such legislative solution, Millman claims, because **"the deepest problem threatening American democracy" is "the profound lack of trust in the legitimacy of the opposition."** We saw Democrats reject this legitimacy in 2000 and to some extent again in 2016, while the GOP went even further in 2020. The suspicion is mutual, and, as long as it stays that way, we run the risk of a buckling system and the outbreak of violence in response.” ([The Week, Damon Linker](#))
- “We must resist the polarization that is reshaping our identities around politics. **We must focus on a few core truths: that we are all human, we are all Americans and we have common hopes for our communities and our country to thrive.** We must find



ways to re-engage across the divide, respectfully and constructively, by holding civil conversations with family, friends and co-workers and standing up collectively to the forces dividing us.” ([The New York Times, Jimmy Carter](#))

- “The transcendent issue of this time — no matter the specific raw material of any given news cycle — is the belief that one half of the country suspects the other half is contemptuous of them, and responds with contempt in turn.” ([Politico, John F. Harris](#))
- “Without work within each party and sustained engagement across party lines, polarization will probably make it difficult or impossible to collaborate nationally to resist anti-democratic elements.” ([The Washington Post, Julie Novkov](#))

A Final Warning

Discussions of this nature are undoubtedly important. Refusing to acknowledge the possibility of mass violence and a movement set on undermining America’s democratic norms would be foolish. It is important, however, to keep in mind the possibility of creating our own self-fulfilling prophecy when it comes to civil war.

1. “However, the belief that there was going to be a civil war in Ireland made everything worse. Once that idea takes hold, it has a force of its own. The demagogues warn that the other side is mobilizing. They are coming for us. Not only do we have to defend ourselves, but we have to deny them the advantage of making the first move. The logic of the preemptive strike sets in: Do it to them before they do it to you. The other side, of course, is thinking the same thing.” ([The Atlantic, Fintan O’toole](#))

Media Pieces Reviewed

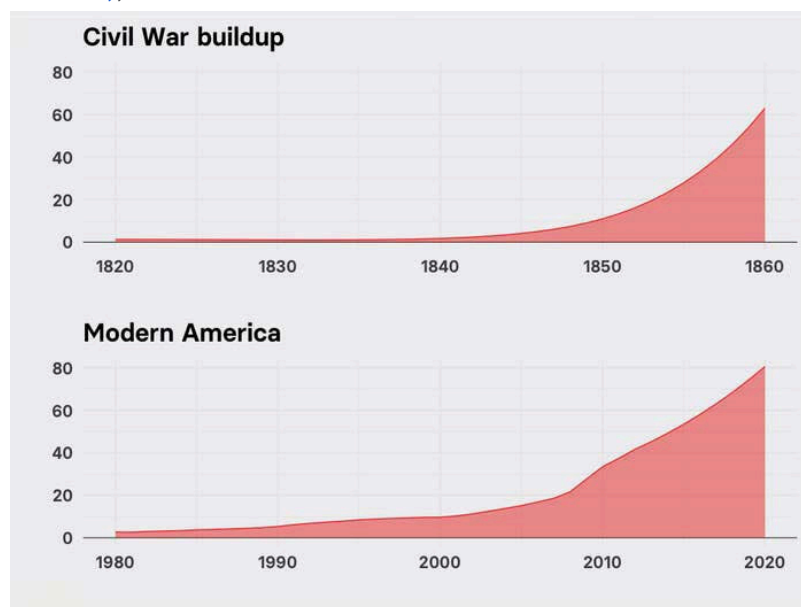
1. [The Washington Post, Robert Kagan: Opinion: Our constitutional crisis is already here](#)
 - Covers the enigma of Donald Trump and argues that he and his supporters pose a unique threat to American democracy.
2. [The Atlantic, Barton Gellman: Trump’s next coup has already begun](#)
 - Extensive look at January 6 and the steps being taken by Republicans and various groups on the far-right to ensure a 2024 election victory.
3. Bill Maher
 - [The Cold Civil War](#)
 - [Skip the Civil War](#)
 - [New Rule: Stop Hating Each Other](#)
 - i. All basically argue that separating or succeeding from one another is impossible and foolish. We just need to make it work and learn to get along.



4. Andrew Yang email “Civil War in 2024?”

- “Here is the argument – Trump has spent months undermining people’s confidence in election results. 55% of Republicans think that the election was stolen. Numerous red states have been passing laws putting the authority of certifying the vote in the hands of the state legislators as opposed to state officials. A number of state officials who certified Biden’s victory have resigned. Kevin McCarthy will likely be the House Majority leader. In 2024, Trump will either get enough votes to win, or it will be close enough where Republicans will simply certify the win, leading to protests and widespread political violence. Is this realistic? Well, the backdrop is certainly there. Political stress is presently at Civil War levels according to Peter Turchin”

- i. The following chart illustrates the rising levels of what Turchin calls the “Political Stress Indicator.” PSI “incorporates measures of wage stagnation, national debt, competition between elites, distrust in government, urbanization, and the age structure of the population.” ([Buzzfeed, Peter Aldhous](#))



ii.

- 5. [Washington Post, Philip Bump: What we’re talking about when we talk about civil war](#)
 - Provides background on the academic debate currently raging regarding whether or not talk of potential/impending civil war is worthwhile or accurate. Concludes that both sides have legitimate points and it is necessary to continue to have a conversation on the topic.
- 6. [The Guardian, Stephen Marche: The next US civil war is already here – we just refuse to see it](#)



- Argues that the main issue is the breakdown of our political systems and the complete lack of trust in government. The far right, Marche claims, is preparing by infiltrating institutions like the police and stockpiling guns, while the left largely destroys itself via internal conflict over trivial issues.
- 7. [CNN Politics, Zachary B. Wolf: What the average citizen can do about the demise of US democracy](#)
 - Provides opinions from a variety of contributors on actionable things the average person can do to help “save democracy.”
- 8. [The New York Times, Jimmy Carter: Jimmy Carter: I Fear for Our Democracy](#)
 - Blames the Republican party for weakening faith in our democracy through the perpetuation of the Big Lie. Calls for us to come together across differences and enact substantive reforms that protect our democracy.
- 9. [The Washington Post, Paul D. Eaton, Antonio M. Taguba and Steven M. Anderson: Opinion: 3 retired generals: The military must prepare now for a 2024 insurrection](#)
 - Discusses the possibilities of the military chain-of-command breaking down under a contested election.
- 10. [The Washington Post, Aaron Blake: Nearly 4 in 10 who say election was stolen from Trump say violence might be needed to save America](#)
 - Discusses recent data showing a growing openness to the use of political means among the US public.
- 11. [The Washington Post, Risa Brooks and Erica De Bruin: 18 Steps to a Democratic Breakdown](#)
 - “We have identified 18 steps to democratic breakdown and assigned a score of one to three alarm bells for each step, which indicates how big a threat we believe it poses to our democracy now.”
- 12. [UChicago News, Sarah Steimer: Insurrectionist movement in U.S. is larger and more dangerous than expected, research finds](#)
 - A surprising number of people have pro-insurrectionist sentiments, according to a new study.
- 13. [The Atlantic, Antonia Hitchens: Modern America's Most Successful Secessionist Movement](#)
 - About the successionist movement in Oregon to make the eastern portion of the state officially part of Idaho.
- 14. [The Atlantic, George Packer: Are We Doomed?](#)
 - Argues that civil war and secession won't happen, but provides two bad alternatives (mass violence and mass cynicism) and one good alternative (a mass movement for renewing democracy).
- 15. [The Guardian, Jason Stanley: America is now in fascism's legal phase](#)
 - Gives some history on the development of fascist movements and draws parallels with the modern American far-right movement.



16. [Los Angeles Times, LZ Granderson: Column: This, future historians, is how it all unravels](#)
 - Argues that the growing normalization of political violence, conspiracy theories, etc., will be the demise of the country if not pushed back against.
17. [Vox, Zack Beauchamp: American democracy is tottering. It's not clear Americans care.](#)
 - Points out that, while Republican voters are organizing at the local level to influence elections, Democratic voters are more focused on COVID and traditional political organizing.
18. [ProPublica, Arnsdorf et al.: Heeding Steve Bannon's Call, Election Deniers Organize to Seize Control of the GOP — and Reshape America's Elections](#)
 - All about the plan, pushed by Steve Bannon, for conservatives to take over low-level precinct positions in order to influence election results.
19. [The Hill, Juan Williams: American democracy is in peril](#)
 - All about election '24 and blaming GOP.
20. [The New York Times, Jennifer Szalai: 'How Civil Wars Start,' a Warning About the State of the Union](#)
 - Review of Barbara Walter's book 'How Civil Wars Start.' Mostly favorable, but points out a few weaknesses.
21. [The Washington Post, Jennifer Rubin: Opinion: Polling on Jan. 6 shows the vast majority of Americans aren't crazy](#)
 - Reviews recent data showing that the majority of Americans (some 60%) are in agreement in condemning January 6th and the claim that the election was stolen.
22. [The Washington Post, Julie Novkov: Some say the U.S. is headed toward civil war. History suggests something else.](#)
 - Argues that we are more likely to face a post-reconstruction type of scenario than a full-on civil war.
23. [The New York Times, Thomas Friedman: How to Stop Trump and Prevent Another Jan. 6](#)
 - Calls for the Business Roundtable to put pressure on the far left and far right in an attempt to bring things back to equilibrium.
24. [USA Today, Susan Page and Sarah Elbeshbishi: A year after Jan. 6, Americans say democracy is in peril but disagree on why: USA TODAY/Suffolk poll](#)
 - Discusses how divided the nation is on January 6 and related issues.
25. [The New York Times, Thomas Edsall: How to Tell When Your Country Is Past the Point of No Return](#)
 - Cites a variety of recent academic research on the underlying forces that make it difficult to draw back from hyper-partisanship.
26. [NPR, Ron Elving: Imagine another American Civil War, but this time in every state](#)
 - Points out the absurdity of the idea that in a new civil war, certain states could/would succeed. Given the urban/rural divide in partisan affiliation, big cities in every state are democratic, while the rest of the state is usually Republican.



27. [The New York Times, Michelle Goldberg: Are We Really Facing a Second Civil War?](#)
 - Overview of Barbara Walter's and Stephen Marche's recent books on the possibility of a second civil war.
28. [Politico, John F. Harris: We Are In a New Civil War ... About What Exactly?](#)
 - Makes the argument that the major debate in this country is about nothing. The national divide isn't over something like slavery, it's about disliking other people.
29. [The Washington Post, Carlos Lozada: A new book imagines a looming civil war over the very meaning of America](#)
 - Review of Stephen Marche's new book "The Next Civil War: dispatches from the American Future."
30. [The Guardian, David Smith: Is the US really heading for a second civil war?](#)
 - Overview of many of the major talking points and opinions regarding the possibility of a second American civil war.
31. [New York Post, Steven F. Hayward: Sorry, Democrats: Civil War isn't likely — even if you're trying to provoke one](#)
 - Argues that Democrats and "the left" are overemphasizing the threat of facism and the danger posed by January 6th to cover for their own totalitarian disposition.
32. [The New Yorker, David Remnick: Is a Civil War Ahead?](#)
 - Review of Barbara Walter's new book "How Civil Wars Start"
33. [Chicago Sun Times, Gene Lyons: Civil war over Trump? Not likely](#)
 - Argues that the idea of a civil war is laughable and overstated.
34. [El Paso Inc: Is America heading to civil war or secession?](#)
 - Interview with author who claims the US will not look the same in 50 years. There will either be new states or separate countries.
35. [The Atlantic, Fintan O'toole: Beware Prophecies of Civil War](#)
 - Warns that talk of imminent civil war often makes matters worse and can be a self-fulfilling prophecy.
36. [Foreign Policy, Stephen Marche: Why the U.S. Military Isn't Ready for Civil War](#)
 - "The country possesses no effective way for processing or mollifying or even slowing political violence."
37. [The Week, Damon Linker: How close is America to a new civil war?](#)
 - Short overview of growing literature on the possibility of a second civil war.
38. [Tablet Magazine, Michael Lind: America's Asymmetric Civil War](#)
 - Breaks down the demographic composition of each party and points to the fact that the "civil war" is not between states or regions, but within states between the urban core and periphery.
39. [Tennessee Lookout, Holly McCall: Commentary: A backsliding democracy and a civil war in the making.](#)
 - Reviews some of the recent literature on the possibility of a second civil war and points the finger at Trump and the GOP.



40. [CNN, John Avalon: How dangerous talk of a 'second civil war' is different today](#)
 - Compares modern events with historical events of insurrection and uprising in the US.
41. [The Washington Post, Stephen Marche: Secession might seem like the lesser of two evils. It's also the less likely.](#)
 - Argues that secession, while preferable to civil war in many ways, is a near impossibility in the US.
42. [Reason, Jacob Sullum: Was the Capitol Riot Really the Opening Battle of a Civil War?](#)
 - Argues that claims of growing support for partisan violence are overstated.
43. [The Article, Karen and Gregory Treverton: Civil War is Coming](#)
 - Primarily blames Republicans, but also makes some interesting points about the inherent tension that arises from our political system. For example, they write, "By 2040, 70 per cent of Americans will live in the 15 largest states, meaning that 70 per cent of the country will be represented by 30 senators, while the other 30 per cent is represented by 70 senators. That is an anti-democratic outcome that cannot stand."
44. [ABC News: 'We are closer to civil war than any of us would like to believe': Political scientist](#)
 - Mostly blames Republicans. Suggests that regulating social media and reforming democratic institutions are two methods to take down the heat.
45. [Austin American-Statesman, Charles M. Blow: Blow: We're edging closer to civil war](#)
 - Argues that the dividing line is between those who support "white, racist patriarchy" and those who oppose it.
46. [Washington Post, Dana Milbank: Opinion: 'We are closer to civil war than any of us would like to believe,' new study says](#)
 - Primarily cites Barbara Walters' claims that the US is on the verge of a civil war and has already undergone the "pre-insurgency" and "incipient conflict" phases usually preceding open insurgency. Points the blame at Trump and Republicans.
47. [Bloomberg, Noah Feldman: Will U.S. Democracy Survive? Here's How to Figure That Out.](#)
 - The formal institutions of this country have remained strong despite many attacks and opportunities to falter. In the leadup to the civil war in 1895, these same institutions crumbled.
48. [The Press Democrat, Michael Smolens: Smolens: The risk to US democracy and threat of civil war](#)
 - Centers on new Associated Press reporting that definitely proves the 2020 election was not rigged. Argue that Trump's false claim of election fraud is at the center of all present civil war hysteria.
49. [Bangor Daily News, Emanuel Pariser: Letter: Choose kindness during America's '2nd civil war'](#)
 - Calls for us to treat one another with dignity and respect in these difficult times.



50. [Colombia Missourian: Talk of civil war moves beyond theoretical as distrust of elections grows](#)
 - Blames the far-right and Republican party for no longer recognizing democracy as the most legitimate form of government, leading to the current state of things.
51. [Tehran Times: More disturbing research on U.S. gun sales amid civil war fears](#)
 - About increased firearm sales in the U.S. amid talk of impending civil war.
52. [The Final Call, Anisah Muhammad: U.S. closer to civil war 'than we want to believe'](#)
 - Focused primarily on January 6. Cites several other op-eds and studies of military personnel and academics saying they're worried about civil war.