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Abstract

The cultural/social text ultimately reflects the political/economic ecology of the moment. Accordingly, this study recontextualizes a small series of singular, easily circumscribed historical events, to elucidate a broader critical understanding of the current moment. Mediated representations foster certain perspectives that cannot be refused, even by those who are abjectly opposed. The relationship between cultural celebration, disruption, and social change has a long, continuous, complex trajectory. Accordingly, direct appeals to a historical record can yield much insight, both into the cultural object and the social text in which it is embedded. Within this context, this piece concludes with a pointed discussion of Larissa FastHorse's The Thanksgiving Play (2019) in light of recent geo-political developments and the global history of suppression.

Keywords: Racism, Indigenous Sovereignty, Genocide, Thanksgiving



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Introduction - Indigenous Sovereignty Denied

This essay is a small opening gesture to a larger interrogation of notions of Sovereignty, Racism, Indigenization, Response, and Representation on a comparative global scale. This study offers a close interrogation of a small series of singular, easily circumscribed events, to elucidate a deeper critical understanding of the trajectory leading to the current geopolitical moment.

Following centuries of bloody wars in Iberia and Crusades, with the fall of Constantinople imminent, papal displeasure with moors or Saracens was well established by 1452. On a global level, Indigenous sovereignty/rights ended in 1452 when the Eurocentric civilizing mission of Christian privilege emerged on 18 June through Pope Nicholas V's *Dum Diversas*, a Papal Bull authorizing King Alfonso V of Portugal powers:

"To invade, search out, capture, vanquish, and subdue all Saracens and pagans whatsoever, and other enemies of Christ wheresoever placed, and the kingdoms, dukedoms, principalities, dominions, possessions, and all movable and immovable goods whatsoever held and possessed by them and to reduce their persons to perpetual slavery, and to apply and appropriate to himself and his successors the kingdoms, dukedoms, counties, principalities, dominions, possessions, and goods, and to convert them to his and their use and profit – by having secured the said faculty, the said King Alfonso, or, by his authority, the aforesaid infante, justly and lawfully has acquired and possessed, and doth possess, these islands, lands, harbors, and seas, and they do of right belong and pertain to the said King Alfonso and his successors." (Pope Nicholas V. 1452)

Pope Nicholas V's subsequent Papal Bull of 8 January 1455, "*Romanus pontifex*," granted Portugal "the right of conquest" to enslave any and all people they encountered south of Cape Bajor, on the coast of Western Africa, the Sahel. About midway through this Papal Bull, the Pope, again, re-asserts the notion that all Sub-Saharan Africans should henceforth be held in "perpetual slavery" (Pope Nicholas V, 1455).

In 1493, within one year of Columbus's encounter with the indigenous peoples of the Bahamas and Hispaniola, Pope Alexander VI issued three Papal Bulls, *Inter Caetera (4 May)*, *Piis Fidelium (26 June)*, and *Dudum siquidem (26 September)*. These three encyclicals divided the Atlantic Ocean between Portugal and Spain, giving Spain the authority to colonize the Americas and its Indigenous peoples as subjects. Further, the decree asserts the rights of Spain and Portugal to colonize, convert, and enslave. It also re-asserts the right of enslavement of Africans.

In 1537, Pope Paul III's *Sublimis Deus* (29 May) declared, "Indians and all other people who may later be discovered by Christians, are by no means to be deprived of their liberty or the possession of their property, even though they be outside the faith of Jesus Christ; and that they may and should, freely and legitimately, enjoy their liberty and the possession of their property; nor should they be in any way enslaved" (Pope Paul III, *Sublimis Deus*).

The Papal Bulls from Popes Alexander IV and Paul III began a pattern of alternative racialization between East and West of the Atlantic. The "perpetual slavery" assigned to those people East of the Atlantic resulted in a different racial status assigned to conquered people on the two sides and thus different treatments of the various nations on either side.

These decrees launched the trajectory of the Doctrine of Discovery, the alleged civilizing Catholic Colonial mission, and the emergence of the commercial Sub-Saharan slave trade. The racialization of peoples of color emerged out of the Christian Colonial understanding that natives of the colonial Spanish West were subjects for conversion, whilst Pagan (Moorish) Sub-Saharan Africans continued as a source for perpetual slavery.

In the United States of America, the trajectory of this Doctrine of Discovery achieved perfection in the 1823 U.S. Supreme Court case of Johnson v. M'Intosh, when Chief Justice John Marshall used the doctrine to assert that the United States, as the successor of Great Britain, had inherited authority over all lands within our claimed boundaries. This decision allowed the U.S. government to ignore or invalidate any indigenous claims to property rights legally. This new legal position was grandly implemented seven years later by the Indian Removal Act of 1830 (Library of Congress). The earlier Louisiana Purchase (Papers of Alexander Hamilton 1803) provided land in Oklahoma to which the dispossessed Indigenous peoples of the American South could be forced to relocate. To this day, courts continue to cite this doctrine of discovery as a legal precedent for courts to decide property rights cases brought by Indigenous/Native Americans against the U.S. and non-Natives.

In 1794, the Oneida Indian Nation ceded 5,000,000 acres to New York state, retaining only 300,000. By the 20th century, they controlled fewer than 50 acres. Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, in 2005, cited the "Doctrine of Discovery" in the denial of the Oneida Indian Nation's claim of sovereignty over land they repurchased on the open market: "fee title to the lands occupied by Indians when the colonists arrived became vested in the sovereign—first the discovering European nation and later the original States and the United States" (City of Sherrill v. Oneida Indian Nation of New York, 544 U.S. 1974 – 2005).

The 1830 Indian Removal Act provided large tracts of land for the propagation of cotton, which further required continued importation of African slave labor (Library of Congress 1830). White privilege and imperial arrogance facilitated the kind of racist social engineering that served to maintain power, control, and profit. The emerging predatory corporate tendencies for the growing industrial capitalism required access and control of inexpensive mineral resources, cheap labor, overt restraint of competitive development, and securing substantial markets for its goods.

Whilst the earlier Christian colonial project had the pretense of religious conversion of indigenous peoples (Pope Paul III, 1537), the new goals of the 19th century's Imperialist trajectories pursued unrestrained profit. The impact of this new emphasis was immediate and far-ranging. The European and American empires, having agreed that all non-Europeans were less than human, spread out across Africa, Latin America, and Asia to colonize, control, and plunder raw materials to feed new national industrial capitalist engines. In addition, programmed under-development of labor in colonized nations provided convenient free or low-cost workers. Furthermore, in 1823, the USA asserted its authority over all Central and South America through President James Monroe's declaration of his Monroe Doctrine (Monroe 1823).

Social Darwinism, with its scientific notions of natural selection and the survival of the fittest, constructed all non-Europeans as inferior and, therefore, free to be exploited (Nickerson, 2022). In 1877, industrial capitalist Cecil Rhodes said: "I contend that we are the finest race in the world and that the more of the world we inhabit, the better it is for the human race It is our duty to seize every opportunity of acquiring more territory and we

should keep this one idea steadily before our eyes that more territory simply means more of the Anglo-Saxon race more of the best the most human, most honorable race the world possesses" (Rhodes, 1877).

Herbert Spencer, a British philosopher and sociologist, not Darwin, gave us the phrase "survival of the fittest," though Darwin would later also use it in his writing (Spencer, 1864). Now armed with scientific justification, Spencer believed that the strong will flourish as societies evolve, and the weak will eventually die out. He felt that the government should not aid the poor because that would get in the way of this natural evolutionary process. In the late 1800s, Spencer traveled to the U.S. and argued that those in poverty were poor because they were unfit. Moreover, to feed and help people experiencing poverty was wrong because to do so was to oppose the natural order.

Cecil Rhodes continued to exhort the West to act: "We know the size of the world we know the total extent. Africa is still lying ready for us ... it is our duty to take it. It is our duty to seize every opportunity of acquiring more territory" (Cecil Rhodes, 1877). Within this context of what in The United States of America came to be called the Gilded Age, the notion of Indigenous sovereignty/rights did not exist. Indeed, in 1884-85, this Euro-American racist mindset was clearly in place as the Berlin Conference convened to determine how the continent of Africa was to be divided and plundered in the service of industrial capitalism. African peoples were not present at this Berlin meeting. Unwritten agreements notwithstanding, British, Germans, Belgian, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Americans, etc., continued to fight wars over who would own and dominate certain disputed colonial pieces of geography, mineral resources, human resources, labor, etc. (Gathara, 2019).

Between Spencer and Rhodes, the intent behind the Berlin Conference becomes clear. The West must take and plunder the resources of Africa, enslave, or otherwise maltreat the unfit indigenous peoples and let nature take its course on their way to extinction. Through the trajectory of political, military, labor-related, and economic exploitation, the imperialist Euro-American mindset justified the absolute plunder and cultural domination of the colonized. Africa was identified as a source of slave labor. Following the Berlin conference, Africa's natural resources were exploited to fuel the industrial capitalist enterprise of the West. Western nations still plundered its rich mineral resources, land, oil, gold, diamonds, iron ore, timber, and, in more modern times, platinum, aluminum, uranium, and cobalt (Gross, 2023).

Whilst their lands were colonized and plundered, all to support the Western industrial genius in power, Indigenous and non-western populations who resisted colonial orders were persecuted, attacked, plundered, murdered, and manipulated into states of perpetual impoverishment and under-development: all on the path to expected extinction. This fraught imperialist process contributed to the destruction and deaths exceeding hundreds of millions through various genocidal practices: "British colonialism killed 100 million Indians in 40 years. Between 1880 and 1920, British colonial policies in India claimed more lives than all famines in the Soviet Union, Maoist China, and North Korea combined" (Sullivan & Hickel, 2022). It is estimated that today, the indigenous population of the United States of America would number more than 100 million, if not for the success of that country's genocidal practices. Belgium King Leopold killed over 10 million Africans in his control of the Congo Free State (1885-1908). "Whippings, torture, rape, and casual murder were also widely documented" (Alyson, 2021). Kept politically corrupt, divided, confused, and disorganized, exquisite mechanisms are implemented to maintain Africa as an economically impoverished continent forever while its workers are stripped of cultural and social identity.

Through time, the extreme measures taken to guarantee the subservient relationship between victims and their colonizers established a powerful culture of fear in which the oppressed learned to acquiesce and be thankful for what they were allowed to have: anything to avoid further torture, punishment, sanction, or death. Those survivors that did not suffer these punishments worked doubly hard to avoid them.

The atrocities of what in the USA came to be called the Gilded Age produced immense wealth and abundance for those leaders of industrial capitalism (Maryville University, 2019). However, sharing that abundance was never considered. Again, the upper classes argued that the poor were poor because they were ... unfit (Nickolson, 2022). Furthermore, to feed or help the poor was wrong because to do so was to oppose the natural order. Industry leaders of the era, then, treated human labor as just another commodity for exploitation to be used and discarded once they were no longer usable. In this manner, Chinese workers imported into the USA were used to construct the transcontinental railroad and discarded. Some subsequently emerged as objects of derision or curiosity in public displays (Moy, 1993).

Indigenous Sovereignty Denied, Again

On 30 March 2023, the 15th and 16th century Papal Bulls were renounced by Pope Francis: "The Vatican on Thursday responded to Indigenous demands and formally repudiated the "Doctrine of Discovery," the theories backed by 15th-century "Papal Bulls" that legitimized the colonial-era seizure of Native lands and form the basis of some property laws today. A Vatican statement said the Papal Bulls, or decrees, "did not adequately reflect the equal dignity and rights of Indigenous peoples" and have never been considered expressions of the Catholic faith" (Winfield, 2023). The Vatican further noted that: "the documents had been "manipulated" for political purposes by colonial powers "to justify immoral acts against Indigenous peoples that were carried out, at times, without opposition from ecclesial authorities" (Winfield, 2023). In 2007, the UN issued the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Also, in response to a 2007 settlement regarding the Indian Residential Schools, the Canadian government launched a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which in 2015 released a six -volume report containing ninety-four "calls to action" for further reconciliation between Canadians and Indigenous Nations. Unfortunately, these acknowledgements came far too late, the damage was already done.

In 1937, Winston Churchill said of the Palestinians: "I do not agree that the dog in a manger has the final right to the manger even though he may have lain there for a very long time. I do not admit that right. I do not admit for instance, that a great wrong has been done to the Red Indians of America or the black people of Australia. I do not admit that a wrong has been done to these people by the fact that a stronger race, a higher-grade race, a more worldly wise race to put it that way, has come in and taken their place" (Arundhati Roy, 2002). And, Churchill, speaking of his Indian Famine of 1943, which killed 3 million, was quoted as blaming the famine on the fact that Indians were "breeding like rabbits" and asking how, if the shortages were so dire, Mahatma Gandhi was still alive (Safi). Indeed, in 2018, Benjamin Netanyahu, Prime Minister of occupied Palestine, clarified Churchill's observation: "The weak crumble, are slaughtered and are erased from history while the strong ... survive. The strong are respected, and alliances are made with the strong, and in the end peace is made with the strong (Netanyahu 2018). In that same year, during a White House discussion of Immigration policy regarding Haiti, El Salvador, and African countries, "President Trump asked why America would want immigrants from "all these 'shithole' countries" and that the U.S. should have more people coming in from places like Norway (Kirby 2018). Such statements from powerful political figures suggest a desire to reinscribe the nineteenth century notion that poverty ridden "unfit" peoples of colour should be hurried on their path to extinction so the west can continue its plunder of their resources. This was certainly the intent behind the US genocide of the indigenous peoples of America, and the current genocide of Palestinians in Gaza. Clearly, racism arising out of the predatory pursuit of profit remains to this day a prominent feature of life for all those under the thumb of Western Europe and the USA.

By the 1970s, forty African colonial countries had finally achieved free "liberated" status through rebellion, war, diplomacy, protest, and negotiation. However, Western capitalism was moving on, and had already devised subtle means to maintain neo-colonial coercion and control. That said, the centuries-old western racist mindset remained in place to inform emerging debt-based economic decisions. The collective west transitioned from industrial capitalism into a predatory rentier economy driven by the US Petro-Dollar with its SWIFT (Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunications, 1973) system in place, This made the USA the world's banker with the ability to print money at will. Moreover, the USA's ability to surveil the details of all international financial transactions inspired much abusive behavior, both locally in the USA and internationally.

Rentier sanctions have become the preferred mode of dominance and control. "If you control the food, you control a nation. If you control the energy, you control a region. If you control the money, you control the world." Indeed, Henry Kissinger may have never uttered this often-used quotation attributed to him (Reuters, 2023). Still, it articulates the desired trajectory of thought that goes back one hundred years. Whilst significantly transformed, it is still in play today. Indeed, the three control statements provide a roadmap of how the West set about controlling the non-western countries of the world. Colonies were always forced to give up their subsistence crops to produce export crops at the behest of their masters, Central American banana republics, Africa's forced shift to cash crops for export, and King Leopold's gruesome punishment for substandard performance of rubber tree harvest duties for automobile tires (Alyson, 2021).

The United States witnessed the enforced migration of all indigenous peoples thousands of miles into the vacant interior of the country leaving behind rich farmlands along the eastern seaboard for white America to cultivate cotton which necessitated the further importation of slaves to do the work. Once relocated into the interior of the country, indigenous peoples were kept dependent upon the government for food to guarantee perpetual impoverishment. Natural food sources were destroyed as vast American buffalo herds were slaughtered.

The American Century

David Rockefeller, in an address to the Trilateral Commission, noted, "It would have been impossible for us to develop our plan for the world if we had been subject to the bright lights of public scrutiny during those years." But "the world is now more sophisticated and fully prepared to march towards our one-world-government. The supranational sovereignty of our intellectual elites and world bankers is surely preferable to the globe as a whole." (Rockefeller, 2002) Indeed, as early as 1950, James Paul Warburg inveighed against those who disagreed, before the U.S. Senate: "We shall have World Government, whether or not we like it. The only question is whether World Government will be achieved by conquest or consent" (Warburg, 1950).

The US rentier economy achieved the full force of a singular or unipolar global government with the collapse of the Soviet Union on 25 December 1991 (Sanghera and Satybaldieva, 2020). The Russian state that survived, its flag now shorn of its Communist hammer and sickle, was deemed too weak to be a competitor to the USA and Western Europe. The Western European states came to view themselves as the de facto rulers of their now monopolar world: world hegemony achieved with the USA as a leader. The West believed that a global government had been launched and that the USA and its Western allies would set the rules for its global governance. To this end whole nations could be financially punished for daring to disagree with the desires of the collective west. US now had the ability to deploy crippling economic sanctions against nations and individuals who disobeyed the American rules-based aims. Thus, was established their American Century.

The Play and Place of Thanksgiving

To begin, the notion of the *cornucopia*, a traditional horn of plenty which disgorges an impossibly plentiful quantity of food, fruit, consumables, and even gold coin, is a dominant visual feature of the Thanksgiving feast holiday. Usually graphically co-presented together with a stuffed turkey, these have become the iconic central images of the American Thanksgiving holiday. This festive feast launches the "Black Friday" shopping frenzy which marks the run up to the Xmas holiday celebrating the birth of Jesus in the Christian calendar. The festive event allegedly recalls a feast by the Pilgrims in 1621 to celebrate a year of survival in their "new world." The original event supposedly included 90 members of the local Wampanoag native tribe and some 53 survivors of the Mayflower. It is not clear how much of that plentitude was truly shared in 1621, especially considering the subsequent genocide of the native peoples. Still, the Wampanoag welcomed the English settlers to their "new world" much as the Palestinians welcomed the persecuted Jews to their beloved Palestine in 1948.

MacArthur Genius Awardee Larissa FastHorse, a citizen of the Sicangu Lakota nation, is celebrated as the first Native American woman to have a play on Broadway. Unable to secure production for her plays featuring indigenous content and characters because producers complained about the lack of native talent available to perform in such plays, FastHorse decided to write a play about Indigenous America, but featuring white actors. Her satirical play *The Thanksgiving Play* (FastHorse, 2018) is described by Chicago's Steppenwolf Theatre Company: "Four (very) well-intentioned theatre people walk into an elementary school. The work at hand: a Thanksgiving pageant that won't ruffle any feathers. What could possibly go wrong? In MacArthur Genius Larissa FastHorse's skewering and satirical comedy, well, just about everything. Rambunctious, thorny and not altogether politically correct, *The Thanksgiving Play* serves up the hypocrisies of woke America on a big, family-style, platter. Come get ya some" (Steppenwolf Theatre, 2024).

As the play begins, Logan, the teacher who leads and directs the devised theatre project notes that several grants have been secured for the production, including one to hire an authentic representative Native American performer. The evolution of this devised piece features several issues that can arise despite the play's innocuous good intention. Before it is discovered that she is not a native American actress, Alicia talks about a campy family tradition in Iowa in which frozen butterball turkeys are rolled around in a sort of driveway bowling game (FastHorse, 25). Her fellow actors take this as an authentic expression of indigenous appropriation, a refiguring of a mid-western Anglo-American feast activity Shortly thereafter her fellow actors come to understand that her only indigenous experience is

in racial impersonations of the type she has portrayed for Disney amusement park entertainments. The actors then conclude that their performance can no longer speak for people of color, of indigenous America:

LOGAN: Right, So, we just speak for white people?

JAXTON: I think so. We see color but we don't speak for it.

LOGAN: Which means Alicia can't play Native American, for sure?

JAXTON: Definitely not." (FastHorse, 31)

Caden, the high school history teacher, authenticates and devises a scene recalling a 17th century British attack on a Pequot village that "... killed four hundred Native men, women, and children. Major Mason and his men came home to give thanks and celebrate their victory" (FastHorse, 49). For this re-enactment, Caden and Jaxton devised a celebration where the decapitated heads of natives are thrown about and kicked around as in a soccer match. This prompted the following exchange:

- LOGAN: STOP!! (*They stop*). Have you lost your minds? How is killing off hundreds of Indigenous people, then kicking their heads, a proper celebration of Native American Heritage Month?
- CADEN: It's true, and gets a Native American presence into our play." (FastHorse, 49-50)

Throughout the awkward story-line of the play, four cute, musical interludes or animated video clips provide pauses. These interruptions to the overall narrative of the piece provide space for laughter at the silliness of the activities on stage. Eventually, the four white actors confront the notion that they are in fact devising a bogus play about Native American participation in a celebration that today's Indigenous community prefers to disown. Ultimately, then, they choose to portray nothing: "This piece, the nothing. It's taught me that we need to do more of that Not the play. We need to be less. Do less. That's the lesson. By doing nothing, we become part of the solution. But it has to start here, with us" (FastHorse, 68).

Despite the initial good intentions, the displacing comic structure of the play provides an almost Brechtian alienation scheme that creates a space where, as one reviewer put it, "white guilt gives way to wild comedy" (Merrill, 2023). Merrill continues: ".... It's a little disconcerting to hear so much laughter from the very theatregoers FastHorse caricatures — people who are not just the punchline, but also the problem — but FastHorse takes that laughter all the way to the bank. *The Thanksgiving Play* has had a vibrant regional theatre life, becoming one of the most produced plays in the country in the 2019-20 season, and returns with a script revised to reference the murder of George Floyd" (Merrill, 2023).

Adam Feldman of *TimeOut* says the play "delivers solid laughs at the expense of targets that are admittedly, at this point, not unfamiliar: clueless liberals so busy holding space that they don't get around to filling it with anything. What the play doesn't do is provide much sense of a better solution to the questions that its hapless theater folks are stultified by. This absence leaves you with a question, at the end, that is double-edged: Where the representation

of identity and history are concerned, is nothing good enough?" (Feldman, 2023). Merrill concludes: "... The damage is real, both on stages across the nation and off, but FastHorse's exploration of it is for everyone's benefit, striking the balance between educational and entertaining without hammering home the reminder" (Merrill, 2023). Chris Jones's *Broadway Review* reminds us that "America's annual November feast, with all of its attendant pageants and pro-Pilgrim culture, is in essence a celebration of a genocide. And, therefore, whatever attempts are made to fiddle with the edges of the experience, to make things less offensive or more politically correct ... are problematic at best" (Chris Jones, 2023).

Whilst *The Thanksgiving Play* is successful in presenting that entertaining "balance between educational and entertaining without hammering home the reminder," it stands as a striking acquiescence to western privilege, of Euro-American Hegemony and Racism. Within this balanced space of aporia, then, American trauma porn is rendered laughable as it is displaced into situations, where we can "see color, but we don't speak for it" (Merrill, 2023; Feng, 2020).

Joshua Arce, president and CEO of Partnership With Native Americans (PWNA), still participates in Thanksgiving, but views the holiday to gather with family and celebrate Indigenous culture. He is a member of the Prairie Band Potawatomi Nation, a federally-recognized tribe in Kansas. Acre calls "Thanksgiving 'a day of mourning' that creates multigenerational and intergenerational trauma. He associates it with Eurocentric terms that came to dominate Native Peoples, like 'colonization,' 'discovery' and 'manifest destiny'" (Feng, April 24, 2020).

Conclusion

Around the Thanksgiving Feast table, guests are invited to testify, to say what they must be thankful for from the past year. Here, the displacing structure of the festival's falsified, forgotten histories mirror, and reinforce broader mechanisms of social control, repeated to us, endlessly. These, then, are the subtle mediated mechanism of control that have replaced the torture, murder, and military control. And, to whom should thanks be given? Should people of colour simply acquiesce, learn, to forget their shorn limbs, and declare earlier suppressions a sunk cost, and be thankful for merely surviving? Thus, King Léopold's severed hand atrocities have been replaced by the commercialization of the Belgium chocolate industry's successful marketing of Chocolate Hands.

Despite the current geopolitical moment in which change in the global status of indigenous peoples seems imminent, especially in Palestine and the African Sahel sovereignties, the narrative of change remains distributed through the mainstream media, both government-controlled propaganda and social media platforms. Within this context state run media and America's rentier economy insists that thanksgiving be a non-offensive holiday, a positive reinforcement of American values. Through decades of manipulation and propagandizing, this feast holiday serves as little more than the launch point for the forthcoming coming xmas holiday shopping season. Absent discussions of the torture and horrors of the genocide of native peoples, this holiday feast is rendered harmless, and serves as little more than an afternoon for watching the Macy's Thanksgiving Day parade on television, an evening of football also on television, and hearty consumption with laughs throughout. Given the intense history of racism, plunder, and death, one might ask: is laughter appropriate?

The popularity of the play suggests the author has successfully redirected audience attention around the dark moments into the light and laughter. Put another way, given the expectations of the rentier theatre market, the author has elected to not cross the red-line of audience expectation. Be happy. Still, this reminds all that a great deal needs to be done if one wishes to learn the truth and achieve real understanding to correct the historical record and agree pathways for the future social text.

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