**BLACK AMERICA SINCE MLK: AND STILL I RISE**

**PART ONE: OUT OF THE SHADOWS**

**FINAL SCRIPT**

START

**[01:00:01]**

**VO: MY GRANDPARENTS WERE COLORED. MY PARENTS WERE NEGROES. AND ME?** **I’M BLACK.**

**OVER MY LIFETIME, I’VE SEEN ASTONISHING PROGRESS.**

**AFRICAN AMERICANS HAVE ACHIEVED SO MUCH... IN SO MANY WAYS… SURPASSING OUR GREATEST HOPES AND OUR WILDEST DREAMS.**

**WE ARE VISIBLE IN VIRTUALLY EVERY FACET OF AMERICAN LIFE…**

**DEFINING ITS FACE AND ITS VOICE TO THE WORLD…**

**YET FAR TOO MANY BLACK LIVES ARE STILL THREATENED BY HARSH INEQUALITIES...**

**WHY DO WE STILL HAVE TO MARCH TO PROTECT OUR RIGHTS?**

**FIFTY YEARS AGO, I THOUGHT THAT, BY NOW, WE WOULD HAVE BEEN LONG PAST ALL THIS…**

*GATES TO CAMERA…*

**[01:01:14]**

**HOW DID WE GET HERE? HOW HAVE WE COME SO FAR, AND YET HAVE SO FAR TO GO?**

*SERIES TITLE: Black America Since MLK: And Still I Rise*

*FUNDER POD*

*SERIES TITLE: Black America Since MLK: And Still I Rise*

*EPISODE TITLE: Episode One: Out of the Shadows*

*ARCHIVAL: AMERICAN BANDSTAND, 1965.*

*HEAD CREDITS*

**[01:01:56]**

**VO: IN 1965, I WAS WATCHING AMERICAN BANDSTAND... SEARCHING AMONG THE DANCERS FOR THE FEW BLACK FACES... TRYING TO LEARN A NEW DANCE CALLED “THE SLIDE.”**

**I WAS FOURTEEN YEARS OLD--GROWING UP IN THE HILLS OF WEST VIRGINIA...**

**THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT SEEMED A LONG WAY AWAY.**

**ALL THAT CHANGED ON MARCH 7, 1965--WHEN PEACEFUL MARCHERS--CALLING FOR VOTING RIGHTS--WERE VICIOUSLY ATTACKED BY THE POLICE IN SELMA, ALABAMA...**

**THE SHOCKING IMAGES WERE BROADCAST THAT NIGHT--IN PRIMETIME...**

**AND THEY GALVANIZED THE COUNTRY.**

**[01:02:46]**

*ARCHIVAL - MARTIN LUTHER KING: “However frustrating the hour. It will not be long. Because truth crushed to earth will rise again. How long? Not long! Because no lie can live forever.”*

**[01:03:03]**

**VO: OUTRAGED, PRESIDENT LYNDON JOHNSON ASTONISHED THE NATION BY INVOKING THE PHRASE THAT HAD BECOME THE MANTRA OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT...**

*ARCHIVAL: JOHNSON SIGNS VOTING RIGHTS ACT*

**[01:03:11]**

*LYNDON B. JOHNSON: “And we shall overcome…”*

**[01:03:17]**

**VO: I WATCHED THAT SPEECH WITH MY PARENTS**

**MY MOTHER BEGAN TO CRY..**

**LESS THAN SIX MONTHS LATER, WITH DR. KING BESIDE HIM, PRESIDENT JOHNSON WOULD SIGN THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT...**

**...BRINGING DOWN ONE OF THE LAST LEGAL PILLARS OF JIM CROW SEGREGATION.**

*GATES TO CAMERA (OFFSCREEN)...*

**[01:03:38]**

**IT WAS A DEFINING MOMENT FOR THE UNITED STATES. FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE RECONSTRUCTION, AFRICAN AMERICANS EVERYWHERE WOULD BE ABLE TO VOTE.**

*GATES TO CAMERA (ON CAMERA)...*

**[01:03:49]**

**IT SEEMED AS IF ALL THE SACRIFICES OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT HAD FINALLY PAID OFF. THE YEARS OF MARCHES, JAILINGS, AND EVEN MURDERS WERE GIVING RISE TO A NEW DAY OF RACIAL HARMONY, INTEGRATION, AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY....**

**BUT THE STORY OF RACE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWENTIETH-CENTURY WOULD TURN OUT TO BE MUCH MORE COMPLICATED THAN WE THOUGHT.**

*MUSIC CHANGE*

*ARCHIVAL OF WATTS RIOTS*

**[01:04:21]**

**VO: FIVE DAYS AFTER THE PASSAGE OF THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA EXPLODED...**

**AN ALTERCATION BETWEEN AN UNARMED BLACK MAN AND THE POLICE SPARKED RIOTS ON THE STREETS OF WATTS, A PREDOMINANTLY BLACK NEIGHBORHOOD...**

**REVEALING THAT AMERICA STILL FACED DEEP RACIAL ISSUES.**

**[01:04:49]**

CORNEL WEST: It’s so easy to think that racism was a Southern problem as opposed to Midwestern, Northern, Western. No, it was a national problem... you had similar conditions. Segregated housing. You had segregated schools. You had massive unemployment, massive underemployment, and police brutality if not downright police terror.

**[01:05:20]**

**VO: WHILE THE NATION HAD BEEN TRANSFIXED BY THE SOUTH, BLACK PEOPLE IN LOS ANGELES HAD BEEN BATTLING RACIAL INJUSTICE ON MANY FRONTS--FOR YEARS.**

**[01:05:29]**

HASAN JEFFRIES: In Watts, and these other places, you always have had African Americans who have been organizing. But they were up against the entirety of not only the political system, but really the economic system. And so it was an expression of their frustration, and they said if you didn’t listen to us before, you sure as heck going to listen to us now.

*ARCHIVAL: SOTS FROM NEWS FOOTAGE*

**[01:05:53]**

*ARCHIVAL BLACK MAN ON STREET INTERVIEW #1: “I’m just tired of being pushed around by you white people, that’s all. You’re stopping us on the street, kicking in the doors, taken down to the police station, they’re kicking your teeth in.”*

**[01:06:01]**

*ARCHIVAL REPORTER: “Well they’re stopping people on the street now, they weren’t stopping people…”*

**[01:06:08]**

*ARCHIVAL BLACK MAN ON STREET INTERVIEW #2: “Oh yeah, but I’m not speaking about now. Oh they been doing it a long time before now. I think it started 400 years ago.”*

**[01:06:11]**

*ARCHIVAL NEWS ANCHOR: “What would make it better? What would make all the rioting stop?”*

**[01:06:15]**

*ARCHIVAL BLACK MAN ON STREET INTERVIEW #3: “I don’t think it’ll ever stop really.”*

**[01:06:18]**

*ARCHIVAL LYNDON JOHNSON: “Pillage, looting, murder and arson have nothing to do with civil rights.”*

**[01:06:25]**

**VO: PRESIDENT JOHNSON WAS SHOCKED BY THE ANGER IN WATTS, BUT WATTS WAS JUST ONE SPARK OF A MUCH LARGER FIRE...**

*ARCHIVAL: NEWARK, DETROIT, OTHER URBAN REBELLIONS OF MID-1960S*

**[01:06:35]**

**VO: IN THE COMING YEARS, URBAN UNREST ROILED CITIES ACROSS AMERICA...**

**I REMEMBER MY FATHER SAYING IT WAS CRAZY FOR PEOPLE TO BURN DOWN THEIR OWN NEIGHBORHOODS.**

**BUT BLACK PEOPLE WERE FED UP WITH SEGREGATION, DEPRIVATION, AND EVERYDAY HUMILIATION--THEY WANTED GENUINE EQUALITY.**

**THEY’D BEEN FIGHTING FOR IT FOR DECADES, AND NOT ENOUGH HAD CHANGED.**

**WHEN MARTIN LUTHER KING VISITED WATTS IN THE WAKE OF THE RIOTS, THE FRUSTRATION WAS RIGHT IN FRONT OF HIM…**

*ARCHIVAL: MLK IN WATTS*

**[01:07:06]**

*ARCHIVAL HECKLER #1: “Nobody here is for riots. Nobody wants to see anybody killed. But who wants to lay down while somebody kick them to death?”*

**[01:07:16]**

*ARCHIVAL MARTIN LUTHER KING: “You all know my philosophy, you all know that I believe firmly in non-violence”*

**[01:07:22]**

*ARCHIVAL HECKLER #2: “Sure, we’d like to be non-violent but we, up here in Los Angeles area, will not turn that other cheek. They are selling us again, and we’re tired of being sold as slaves...”*

**[01:07:34]**

**VO: DR. KING WAS ABSOLUTELY UNDONE BY WHAT HE SAW IN WATTS. IT WAS CLEAR THAT BLACK AMERICA WAS UNDERGOING A SEISMIC SHIFT.**

**[01:07:45]**

*ARCHIVAL NINA SIMONE: “Oh but my country is full of lies, we all gonna die and die like flies, because I don't trust nobody anymore, you keep on saying "Go slow!"*

**[01:07:45]**

*ARCHIVAL MALCOLM X: “We declare our right on this earth to be a man... By any means necessary!”*

**[01:08:06]**

**VO: MORE RADICAL VOICES--SOME OLD, SOME NEW--WERE SPARKING NEW IDEAS AND NEW ATTITUDES.**

**[01:08:13]**

*ARCHIVAL MUHAMMAD ALI: “No man knocks me down and gets away with it, you hear? Be ready because I’m coming to get you.”*

**[01:08:19]**

*ARCHIVAL NINA SIMONE: “Everybody knows about Mississippi Goddam! That’s it.”*

**[01:08:30]**

**VO: THESE NEW IDEAS WERE EVEN TRANSFORMING THE STRUGGLE IN THE SOUTH.**

*ARCHIVAL: LOWNDES COUNTY*

**[01:08:41]**

**VO: IN THE SPRING OF 1965, THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE--KNOWN AS SNCC--SENT TEAMS OF ACTIVISTS INTO RURAL LOWNDES COUNTY, ALABAMA...**

**AMONG THEM WAS A CHARISMATIC TWENTY-THREE-YEAR-OLD NAMED STOKELY CARMICHAEL...**

**[01:08:59]**

*ARCHIVAL STOKELY CARMICHAEL: “A policeman in a black community is a licensed killer. A licensed killer. A black man attacking a policeman is a rioter.”*

**[01:09:10]**

**BORN IN TRINIDAD AND RAISED IN NEW YORK CITY, STOKELY KNEW THAT VOTING ALONE HADN’T BEEN ENOUGH TO SECURE FULL EQUALITY FOR AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THE NORTH.**

**BUT HERE, BLACK PEOPLE MADE UP EIGHTY PERCENT OF THE POPULATION.**

**SO THERE WAS A CHANCE TO TRY SOMETHING NEW.**

**[01:09:29]**

*ARCHIVAL STOKELY CARMICHAEL: “We have to use our vote to get out the cotton fields, and we can’t get out the cotton fields voting for the boss man. We gotta vote for people who been in the cotton fields like ourselves and they’re the ones who are gonna bring us out of the cotton fields.”*

**[01:09:44]**

**VO: AT FIRST, CARMICHAEL HAD TROUBLE CONVINCING BLACK RESIDENTS TO JOIN HIM, BECAUSE SO MANY WERE TERRIFIED OF THE WHITE LANDOWNERS WHO CONTROLLED JUST ABOUT EVERY ASPECT OF THEIR LIVES.**

**THE RIVERS AND ROADSIDES HERE WERE DOTTED WITH THE BODIES OF MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAD DARED TO STAND UP FOR CIVIL RIGHTS.**

**THE COUNTY WAS NICKNAMED “BLOODY LOWNDES”...**

**ANYONE WHO EVEN TALKED ABOUT BLACK PEOPLE VOTING WAS TAKING AN ENORMOUS RISK.**

**[01:10:16]**

HASAN JEFFRIES: African Americans who had lived on white folk’s land literally for multiple generations, if it was found out that they had attempted to register to vote, they were thrown off the land, evicted. Nightriders ride by and fire into the homes of the local leaders. No one wore hoods and masks in Lowndes County, Alabama. Racial terror was unmasked.

*GATES AND JOHN JACKSON IN LOWNDES COUNTY*

**[01:10:45]**

GATES: Help me to understand how people felt when they were approached by SNCC at the beginning?

**[01:10:51]**

JOHN JACKSON: They were afraid, and they thought that they would be killed. They were frightened for their family.

**[01:11:00]**

**VO: JOHN JACKSON GREW UP IN LOWNDES COUNTY. HE WAS SIXTEEN YEARS OLD WHEN STOKELY ARRIVED--AND WAS ONE OF THE FEW TO WELCOME HIM...**

**[01:11:09]**

JOHN JACKSON: I was a student at the time, and I saw the civil rights workers. So I was excited. And they said, well, we looking for a place to stay in the community so we can organize Lowndes County. I said, well my father got a vacant house down there. I said y’all come on down and meet him.

**[01:11:24]**

GATES: ...you volunteered your parents’ house?

**[01:11:26]**

JOHNJACKSON: Yeah, I said, “Come talk to Daddy, he might let y’all stay in the house.”

**[01:11:29]**

GATES: Wow. Did, uh, when you went home to tell your father, he said, “Are you crazy, boy?”

**[01:11:33]**

JOHN JACKSON: No. He didn’t. He said, well let them come on down, fellas and we’ll see what we can do. So they came down and meet him and they hit it right off. And he told ‘em, says “No inside bathroom, this a sub-standard housing. You cats gonna stay in there?” “Yeah, Mr. Jackson, we just need somewhere to stay, because these folks shooting at us.”

**[01:11:51]**

GATES: How did your white neighbors react to Stokely and the SNCC activists?

**[01:11:54]**

JOHN JACKSON: After they found out they was really here they called my daddy and told him you don’t need them down there, but he said to them, well I just want it better for my children, so they gonna continue to stay down there.

**[01:12:08]**

**VO: CARMICHAEL AND HIS FELLOW ACTIVISTS WORKED LOWNDES COUNTY FOR OVER A YEAR--BRAVING CONSTANT DANGER.**

**THEY COULD SEE THAT IF VOTING WAS GOING TO MAKE A REAL DIFFERENCE, PEOPLE NEEDED SOMEONE TO VOTE *FOR*...**

**BUT ALABAMA WAS DOMINATED BY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY--WHICH WAS COMMITTED TO WHITE SUPREMACY.**

*ARCHIVAL: WHITE ELECTED OFFICIALS FROM LOWNDES COUNTY*

**[01:12:29]**

**VO: SO CARMICHAEL AND HIS COMPATRIOTS PROPOSED A RADICAL PLAN:** **BLACK PEOPLE WOULD CREATE THEIR OWN INDEPENDENT POLITICAL PARTY--THE LOWNDES COUNTY FREEDOM ORGANIZATION...**

**[01:12:40]**

*ARCHIVAL STOKELY CARMICHAEL: “I say to the black people. Let us form our own party and we seek power. We don’t seek integration, that’s irrelevant for what we want. We want power and this is the way we get it.”*

**[01:12:50]**

**VO: ALABAMA STATE LAW REQUIRED EVERY POLITICAL PARTY TO HAVE A SYMBOL THAT VOTERS COULD RECOGNIZE ON THE BALLOT, IF THEY COULDN’T READ. THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY’S SYMBOL HAD ALWAYS BEEN THIS WHITE ROOSTER.**

*ARCHIVAL: DEMOCRATIC PARTY LOGO*

**[01:13:05]**

HASAN JEFFRIES: African Americans, local activists turned to one sister, and they say, hey, could you come up with a ballot symbol for us? So she thinks about it for a while. Then comes back and presents to the people of Lowndes County, Alabama a white dove. Beautiful, soaring to the heavens, this white dove. And they look at it, and they’re like, you know, we appreciate the effort, but this doesn't exactly capture the fierceness of the situation and the struggle that we find ourselves in.

**[01:13:35]**

**VO: THEN SOMEONE SUGGESTED AN ANIMAL MORE IN KEEPING WITH THE CHANGING MOOD OF THE TIMES...**

*ARCHIVAL: DRAWING OF LEAPING BLACK PANTHER*

**[01:13:41]**

HASAN JEFFRIES: And they look at it, and they say this is exactly what we need. Black panthers were indigenous to the southeast. So these are rural people. They understood that panthers, as cats, were peaceful animals, but that when backed into a corner, they will come out fighting for life or death.

**[01:14:03]**

**VO: DEFYING WHITE TERROR TACTICS, BLACK PEOPLE REGISTERED TO VOTE IN DROVES…**

**LOOKING BACK AT THESE IMAGES TODAY MAKES ME REALIZE HOW BRAVE THESE PEOPLE WERE.**

**EVERYONE HERE KNEW THAT THEY WERE RISKING THEIR LIVES.**

**IN THE END, THE NEW PARTY LOST THEIR FIRST ELECTION--BUT THEIR POINT HAD BEEN MADE: THEY WERE NO LONGER COWED BY INTIMIDATION.**

**AND IN THE COMING YEARS, AFRICAN AMERICAN CANDIDATES WOULD BEGIN TO WIN.**

**INDEED, THE CALL FOR BLACK POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT WAS JUST BEGINNING.**

**AND SO WAS STOKELY CARMICHAEL...**

**[01:14:52]**

*ARCHIVAL STOKELY CARMICHAEL: The time for running has come to an end. You tell them white folk in Mississippi that all the scared niggers are dead!!!!*

**[01:15:04]**

**VO: IN JUNE OF 1966, STOKELY TRAVELLED TO MISSISSIPPI TO JOIN A MASSIVE MARCH ON THE STATE CAPITOL.**

**HE WALKED SIDE BY SIDE WITH HIS FRIEND--DR. KING--BUT BY NOW, THEIR VIEWS SEEMED TO BE FAR APART...**

**[01:15:20]**

*ARCHIVAL MARTIN LUTHER KING: “Well, let me say first that this march is non-violent. It is a non-violent expression of our determination to be free.”*

**[01:15:30]**

*ARCHIVAL REPORTER: “ Mr. Carmichael, are you as committed to the non-violent approach as Dr. King is?”*

**[01:15:33]**

*ARCHIVAL STOKELY CARMICHAEL: “No, I’m not.”*

**[01:15:34]**

*ARCHIVAL REPORTER: “Why aren’t you?”*

**[01:15:35]**

*ARCHIVAL STOKELY CARMICHAEL: “Well, I just don’t see it as a way of life. I never have. I grew up in the slums of New York and I learnt there that the only way for one to survive is to use his fists. No one in this country is asking the white community in the south to be non-violent. And that, in a sense, is giving them a free license to go ahead and shoot us at will.”*

**[01:15:54]**

**VO: CARMICHAEL WAS LOOKING FOR A NEW WAY TO FRAME THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE.**

**AS IT TURNS OUT, THE SOLUTION WAS RIGHT IN FRONT OF HIM...**

**ONE OF HIS COLLEAGUES--WILLIE RICKS--WAS ROUSING PEOPLE WITH THE PHRASE “BLACK POWER”--AND ON JUNE 16, 1966, STOKELY USED THESE WORDS HIMSELF...**

**THE EFFECT WAS ELECTRIFYING.**

**[01:16:22]**

*ARCHIVAL STOKELY CARMICHAEL: “It’s time we stand up and take over. Don’t be afraid. Don’t be ashamed. We want Black Power. We want Black Power. We want Black Power. Everybody. What do you want?”*

**[01:16:37]**

*ARCHIVAL CROWD: “Black Power!”*

**[01:16:39]**

*ARCHIVAL STOKELY CARMICHAEL: “That’s what we’re going to get.”*

**[01:16:44]**

**VO: ALMOST OVERNIGHT, BLACK POWER GROUPS WERE ORGANIZING ACROSS THE COUNTRY--EACH WITH THEIR OWN IDEA ABOUT WHAT THE PHRASE ACTUALLY MEANT...**

**[01:16:55]**

AL SHARPTON: You had everybody from those that are saying, yes, let’s go for elected office to those that said let’s overthrow the government.

**[01:17:02]**

**VO: BUT NOT EVERYONE WAS ONBOARD WITH THE NEW SLOGAN...**

**[01:17:06]**

*ARCHIVAL CHARLES EVERS: “No, we don’t believe in Black Power. That’s the wrong word. That’s a dirty word.”*

**[01:17:15]**

LEAH WRIGHT-RIGUEUR: There are certain segments of African American communities that just really believe that black power is disruptive, that it’s wrong, that it’s violent, and that that is not the way to get ahead in society. And so there are a lot of African Americans who in fact denounce black power at its peak.

**[01:17:15]**

*ARCHIVAL ROY WILKINS: “No matter how endlessly they try to explain it, the term black power means anti-white power. It shall not now poison our forward march.”*

**[01:17:45]**

HASAN JEFFRIES: There was a real fear that the idea of Black Power--the idea of African Americans challenging white liberals in the Democratic Party--would scare white folk.

**[01:17:58]**

*ARCHIVAL MARTIN LUTHER KING: “The phrase Black Power gives the wrong connotation and there are those who associate it with Black Supremacy, with a call to violence and with a call to Negro Separatism, a feeling that the Negro now feels that he can make it alone.”*

**[01:18:14]**

*ARCHIVAL ADAM CLAYTON POWELL: The day of MLK’s nonviolence has come to an end. And I’ve got three witnesses right here in this audience who were there when he said “My day’s finished”*

**[01:18:31]**

**VO: AT FIRST, DR. KING AND MANY OF HIS ALLIES SAW BLACK POWER AS A CHALLENGE--BOTH TO NON-VIOLENCE AND THE GOAL OF INTEGRATION.**

**THEY FEARED THAT IT WOULD SPEED THE UNRAVELING OF THE ALWAYS FRAGILE INTERRACIAL CIVIL RIGHTS COALITION.**

**AND THEY WERE RIGHT.**

**[01:18:49]**

*ARCHIVAL WILLIE RICKS: “As far as I’m concerned this meeting is over. This meeting is over.”*

**[01:18:55]**

*ARCHIVAL STOKELY CARMICHAEL: “This country has never cared about black people. They don’t give two damns about us. And all of always turn around worrying about what’s good for America. Later for America. What’s good for black people.”*

**[01:19:12]**

*ARCHIVAL SLY STONE: “Don’t call me nigger, whitey…”*

**[01:19:16]**

*ARCHIVAL CROWD CHEERING: “We want black power! We want black power!”*

**[01:19:23]**

**VO: LOOKING BACK,“BLACK POWER” MARKED A STARTLING SHIFT IN BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS.**

***BLACK*--THE WORD WE ONCE DREADED BEING CALLED... THE WORD WE EVEN SOMETIMES USED TO INSULT ONE ANOTHER... SUDDENLY HAD BECOME BOTH A BATTLE-CRY--AND *A WEAPON.***

**IT WAS THE MOST EXCITING THING I’D EVER HEARD...**

**[01:19:46]**

*ARCHIVAL MAN: “And we are not white. We’re black!”*

**[01:19:50]**

**VO: BUT JUST AS DR. KING HAD FEARED, BLACK POWER HELPED ACCELERATE A WHITE EXODUS FROM THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.**

**[01:19:59]**

VINCE BROWN: I think there were a lot of well-meaning white people who were involved in the Civil Rights Movement actively and for all the right reasons that felt alienated from the Black Power Movement, kind of upset. I think that what a lot of them didn’t understand is the Civil Rights Movement was part of something much larger than just a struggle for legal rights and legal citizenship in the United States. It was also the struggle against the indignities that had built up over centuries. The Black Power Movement was about raising consciousness, about changing selves, changing the meaning of blackness. I’m not sure that’s something white people were quite as onboard for.

**[01:20:34]**

**VO: MANY IN WHITE AMERICA MAY HAVE SEEN BLACK POWER AS A THREAT, BUT FOR BLACK ACTIVISTS, IT HERALDED A NEW DIRECTION... AND THE VIRTUAL REINCARNATION OF ONE OF THEIR GREATEST LEADERS: MALCOLM X...**

**[01:20:48]**

*ARCHIVAL MALCOLM X: “There’s no such thing as freedom in this country for a black man. There’s no such thing as justice in this country for a black man. And there’s no such thing as equality in this country for a black man. This is a white man’s country.”*

**[01:21:03]**

KAREEM ABDUL-JABBAR: Malcolm X gave us the notion that it’s okay to think outside of the box, especially the box that has imprisoned us. He said that’s okay to think outside of that box.

**[01:21:03]**

ARMSTRONG WILLIAMS: When you looked at the kinds of things that were going on at the time, dogs being sicced on people, people were disappearing. Malcolm X realized that while Martin Luther King was preaching nonviolence and peace you had to send a message. He was a warrior, he was a general and they feared him. Fear sometimes is a very good thing.

**[01:21:35]**

*ARCHIVAL MALCOLM X: “The negroes themselves should be taking whatever steps necessary to defend themselves.* *The negro will be serving notice that no longer does he believe in turning the other cheek.”*

**[01:21:45]**

**VO: BY THE TIME BLACK POWER BEGAN TO RISE, MALCOLM HAD BEEN TRAGICALLY SILENCED.**

*ARCHIVAL: HEADLINES DESCRIBE MALCOLM X’S ASSASSINATION.*

**[01:21:51]**

**VO: BUT NOW HIS WORDS WERE ON THE LIPS OF A NEW GENERATION...**

**TELLING BLACK PEOPLE TO TAKE CONTROL OF THEIR OWN DESTINY, NOT JUST ASK FOR CONCESSIONS....**

**AND TO TAKE FIERCE PRIDE IN THEIR BLACKNESS.**

**[01:22:06]**

*ARCHIVAL BLACK PANTHERS SINGING: “Black is Beautiful! Free Huey! Set our warrior free! Free Huey!”*

**[01:22:13]**

**VO: MOST FAMOUSLY, IN OCTOBER 1966, A GROUP OF ACTIVISTS IN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA TOOK UP MALCOLM’S RHETORIC…**

**ADOPTED THE SYMBOL OF THE LOWNDES COUNTY FREEDOM ORGANIZATION...**

**AND CALLED THEMSELVES THE “BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE.”**

*ARCHIVAL: BLACK PANTHER PARTY IMAGERY (SHOWING LOGO RESEMBLING LOWNDES COUNTY FREEDOM ORGANIZATION)*

**[01:22:32]**

**VO: THEIR GOAL WAS TO PROTECT THEIR COMMUNITY FROM RACISM AND VIOLENCE.**

**WHICH MEANT PROTECTING IT FROM THE POLICE.**

**[01:22:41]**

HASAN JEFFRIES: More people were dying at the hands of the police in any given year in the United States in metropolitan areas outside of the south than were dying at the hands of the Klan in the entire south. And so one of the things that the Panthers do, they decide that they’re going to do as a way to introduce themselves to the community, as a way to also stop police brutality, say we’re going to police the police.

**[01:23:07]**

*ARCHIVAL BOBBY SEALE: “We advocate that the entire black community arm itself for self defense against the racist Gestapo violence of the pigs.”*

*ARCHIVAL: BLACK PANTHERS TRAINING*

**[01:23:20]**

**VO: THE PANTHERS ORGANIZED COMMUNITY PATROLS--BOLDLY FOLLOWING THE POLICE, ARMED--AND--UNAFRAID...**

**THEIR AUDACITY WAS BREATHTAKING.**

**BLACK MEN WITH GUNS? BLACK LEATHER JACKETS AND BLACK BERETS?**

**WHO HAD EVER EVEN *IMAGINED* THIS KIND OF THING BEFORE?**

**IT WAS LIKE AN ALTERNATIVE UNIVERSE--IN WHICH CENTURIES OF WHITE-ON-BLACK VIOLENCE WERE ABOUT TO BE REPAID.**

**[01:23:47]**

*ARCHIVAL H. RAP BROWN: “I say violence is necessary. Violence is a part of America’s culture. It is as American as cherry pie. Americans taught the black people to be violent. We will use that violence to rid ourselves of oppression if necessary. We will be free, by any means necessary.”*

**[01:24:06]**

*ARCHIVAL CLASSROOM OF CHILDREN SINGING: “So come on people, oh yeah! Join in the struggle, oh yeah! Fight for liberation, oh yeah! I said guns, pick up the guns, pick up the guns and put the pigs on the run, pick up the guns.”*

**[01:24:24]**

**VO: THE PANTHERS SCARED THE HELL OUT OF JUST ABOUT EVERYBODY… ESPECIALLY THE POLICE.**

**I WAS PRETTY TERRIFIED OF THEM MYSELF.**

**BUT AT THE SAME TIME, I FOUND THEM THRILLING. AND I WASN’T THE ONLY ONE.**

**THE PANTHERS SENT SHOCKWAVES THROUGH AMERICA--ATTRACTING AN ARRAY OF YOUNG RECRUITS…**

*GATES AND KATHLEEN CLEAVER AT OAKLAND BAKERY*

**[01:24:43]**

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: This was the place when they first brought me to the Panther office down on Gerard, it was here.

**[01:24:48]**

GATES: Wow, look at this.

**[01:24:51]**

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: This is the first issue of the paper I worked on.

**[01:24:55]**

GATES: Racists Ethnic Groups Battle for Pig Power…

**[01:24:57]**

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: That’s the truth. That’s what was happening in America.

**[01:25:03]**

**VO: KATHLEEN NEAL WAS TWENTY-TWO YEARS OLD WHEN SHE MOVED TO CALIFORNIA AND JOINED THE PANTHERS’ INNER CIRCLE...**

**SHE MARRIED THE PARTY’S MINISTER OF INFORMATION--ELDRIDGE CLEAVER--AND BECAME ITS COMMUNICATIONS SECRETARY.**

**[01:25:19]**

*ARCHIVAL KATHLEEN CLEAVER: “They want the Panthers in Syracuse; they have the Panthers in New York. Everywhere they go they want the Black Panther party.”*

*GATES AND KATHLEEN CLEAVER IN PARK*

**[01:25:24]**

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: More and more people joined. We were building cadres, building up a consciousness, and really bringing about change in the people in Oakland, and they could see themselves in a different way, and they wanted to function in a different way, and that was…the Panther Party gave that opportunity.

**[01:25:41]**

**VO: KATHLEEN WITNESSED FIRST-HAND THE PARTY REFINING ITS TACTICS AND EXPANDING ITS REACH. CHAPTERS OPENED ACROSS THE COUNTRY, SPREADING THE PANTHERS’ RADICAL MESSAGE...**

**[01:25:54]**

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: We were not for integration. We were for self-determination. We wanted to have the right to determine ourselves what we wanted. It meant economic opportunity... decent education... we wanted access to the full complement of privileges and benefits and responsibilities of any American.

**[01:26:22]**

**VO: THE PANTHERS PUT THEIR REVOLUTIONARY RHETORIC INTO ACTION.**

 **THEY DEVELOPED COMMUNITY PROGRAMS--OFFERING CARE AND CLOTHING TO THE NEEDY---AND FREE BREAKFASTS FOR CHILDREN.**

**[01:26:37]**

*ARCHIVAL REPORTER: “Did you have breakfast here this morning?”*

**[01:26:38]**

*ARCHIVAL BLACK CHILD: “Yes.”*

**[01:26:39]**

*ARCHIVAL REPORTER: “How long’s it been since you had a hot breakfast?”*

**[01:26:42]**

*ARCHIVAL BLACK CHILD: “A long time.”*

**[01:26:44]**

HASAN JEFFRIES: Did the Panthers embrace a willingness to use arms to defend themselves? Absolutely. Unfortunately, that’s usually the only part of the story that we get. Even more energy was expended on the part of the Panthers in social programs.

**[01:27:01]**

**VO: THE TROUBLE WAS: THE PANTHERS COULD FEED ALL THE CHILDREN THEY WANTED TO, BUT AMERICA WASN’T GOING TO TOLERATE BLACK PEOPLE STANDING UP TO THE POLICE.**

**BY 1968, THE FBI HAD LAUNCHED A MASSIVE OPERATION AIMED AT BRINGING DOWN THE ENTIRE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT...**

**[01:27:24]**

KATHLEEN CLEAVER: I remember when I would come to New York, the FBI would be trailing me. They weren’t hiding the fact that they were trailing. We thought that they were going to set us up and kill us or make somebody else kill us. What we had no idea is they basically wanted to confuse us, and make us think that people who were our enemies were our friends, and people who were our friends were our enemies, and mislead us.

**[01:27:56]**

**VO: BUT WHILE THE GOVERNMENT COULD ARREST, CONFOUND--AND EVEN KILL--THE BLACK POWER LEADERSHIP, IT COULDN’T STOP THE SPREAD OF THEIR IDEAS.**

**BLACK POWER TOOK ROOT AND SPROUTED MANY BRANCHES…**

**ENCOURAGING BLACK PEOPLE TO PERCEIVE THEMSELVES DIFFERENTLY...**

**TO SEE THEIR AFRICAN ORIGINS AS A POINT OF PRIDE...**

**AND BLACKNESS AS A SIGN OF BEAUTY...**

**[01:28:22]**

AL SHARPTON: The whole culture changed. There became a very strong move toward black identity. People started wearing natural hair, African garb. And it was to the point where when I got to secondary school or junior high school everybody was in dashikis and Afros. You couldn’t talk to a girl if you didn’t have a big Afro and a dashiki and it was just where everybody was.

**[01:28:48]**

*ARCHIVAL SINGER: “Black is beautiful... Don’t you see…”*

*ARCHIVAL: IMAGES SHOWING THE “BLACK IS BEAUTIFUL” AESTHETIC – FASHION SPREADS, ADVERTISING,*

*ARCHIVAL: ESSENCE PHOTO SHOOT*

**[01:28:58]**

OPRAH WINFREY: Essence, looking at the first cover of Essence magazine was like looking at yourself. I grew up thinking that only if you were white or light skinned were you actually beautiful. It changed the way I saw myself in the world.

**[01:29:22]**

VINCE BROWN: You have to think about how long blackness had been associated with negative stereotypes, and ugliness, and stupidity, and low social status. Just to be able to claim,”No, this thing that we are, the way we look, this is positive and powerful and beautiful,” – that was huge.

*ARCHIVAL: IMAGES OF JAMES BROWN WITH PROCESSED ‘DO.’*

**[01:29:39]**

**VO: EVEN SOUL BROTHER NUMBER ONE--THE HUGELY POPULAR JAMES BROWN--ABANDONED HIS SIGNATURE PATENT-LEATHER “PROCESSED” HAIR STYLE FOR A “NATURAL” KINKY-HEADED “AFRO”...**

*ARCHIVAL: JAMES BROWN ON “BLACK DIGNITY.”*

**[01:29:52]**

*ARCHIVAL SHOW HOST: “Hello this is Don Warden on Black Dignity.”*

**[01:29:54]**

*ARCHIVAL GUEST PHONE CALL: “Hey, what’s happening, James? I just wanted to ask you one question. I’d like to know why you got your process cut?”*

**[01:30:01]**

*ARCHIVAL JAMES BROWN: “Well this is a Black move and regardless of what you were thinking, we all gotta think one way and if we look alike we can think alike.”*

**[01:30:08]**

*ARCHIVAL GUEST PHONE CALL: “You know the way I see it, it’s really what’s in your mind that counts.”*

**[01:30:11]**

*ARCHIVAL JAMES BROWN: “Well, the mind counts, but, see, we all don't have a good image. And the image is like black because we've never thought together. You know, in Africa a man can do what he wanna do because he knows who he is, but over here you don’t know. So first we gotta get an image and identity.”*

 *ARCHIVAL: JAMES BROWN SHOWING OFF HIS NEW ‘NATURAL’ HAIRDO*

**[01:30:28]**

**VO: AND BROWN DIDN’T JUST CHANGE HIS LOOK. HE ALSO RECORDED A SONG THAT WOULD BECOME A BLACK POWER ANTHEM…**

*ARCHIVAL: JAMES BROWN SINGING “I’M BLACK AND I’M PROUD”*

**[01:30:48]**

BELL HOOKS: When we think about “Say it loud, I’m black and I’m proud,” we’ve got to remember what, what a thinker Brown was about how to deal in segregated, racist, apartheid America. James Brown understood, from the experience he had as a child: dark-skinned black people are especially hated in this culture. They are seen as the true black people worth hating

**[01:31:19]**

JAMES PETERSON: James Brown’s impact on the cultural life of people my age is profound. There’s a way in which the music that he makes--I don’t know if unmitigated blackness is the right way to frame it but he’s just black. You know what I’m saying? Like unashamed, direct, forthright, powerful, in your face blackness.

**[01:31:42]**

**VO: JAMES BROWN’S TRANSFORMATION WAS PART OF SOMETHING LARGER: AN UNPRECEDENTED BLACK CULTURAL AWAKENING THAT SWEPT THROUGH AMERICA IN THE 1960s...**

**[01:31:52]**

*ARCHIVAL DIANA RAMOS: “I am the daughter of 400 years of Black tears. Be careful!”*

**[01:32:01]**

**VO: IT TOOK MANY FORMS, FROM NEW BLACK MAGAZINES... TO NEW COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS LIKE AFRO SHEEN...**

**TO A CREATIVE EXPLOSION KNOWN AS “THE BLACK ARTS MOVEMENT” THAT WAS LIKE THE HARLEM RENAISSANCE ON STEROIDS...**

*ARCHIVAL: SONIA SANCHEZ*

**[01:32:15]**

*ARCHIVAL SONIA SANCHEZ: “Black lovers must liiiive. Push against the devils of this wooooorld. Against the creeping whiteness of they own miiiiinds.”*

**[01:32:25]**

SONIA SANCHEZ: Black Arts said to people America really does think you’re still a slave and it can continue to enslave you. We’re here to say it can’t. Right. America wants you really to hate yourselves. We’re here to say stop hating yourselves. Love yourselves. Look in the mirror black woman, black man. You are important to this world.

**[01:32:43]**

*ARCHIVAL: THE LEROI JONES YOUNG SPIRIT HOUSE MOVERS: “What has America done for me?”*

*ARCHIVAL ALL: “Nothing but made me a zombie!”*

**[01:32:48]**

BELL HOOKS: You know, it was just at that wonderful moment--whatever you did as a painter, whatever you did as a writer, the black arts movement was a bunch of black artists getting together, finally saying, “We want to be heard.”

**[01:33:01]**

*ARCHIVAL LAST POETS: “Niggas watch dying on T.V...
They love it...
Niggas watch other Niggas die...
They love it...
DIE NIGGA...
NIGGAS WATCHED MEDGAR EVERS DIE...*

*NIGGAS WATCH EMMETT TILL DIE...
NIGGAS...*

*NIGGAS...*

*DIE...*

*DIE, NIGGAS...
SO BLACK FOLK CAN TAKE OVER.”*

**[01:33:27]**

**VO: THE BLACK ARTS MOVEMENT WOULD GO ON TO INFLUENCE EVERYTHING FROM THE RISE OF BLACK FEMINISM TO THE ROOTS OF HIP HOP TO THE WAY BLACK HISTORY AND BLACK CULTURE WERE TAUGHT IN SCHOOLS...**

**[01:33:39]**

*ARCHIVAL TEACHER: “What is freedom?”*

**[01:33:40]**

*ARCHIVAL CHILD: “Black power.”*

**[01:33:42]**

*ARCHIVAL TEACHER: “Black power?”*

**[01:33:43]**

*ARCHIVAL TEACHER: “What is your nationality?”*

**[01:33:45]**

*ARCHIVAL CHILDREN: (In unison): “Afro-American!”*

**[01:33:47]**

*TEACHER: “Aren’t you colored children?”*

**[01:33:48]**

*CHILDREN: (In unison): “No!”*

**[01:33:50]**

*TEACHER: “Aren’t you Negro boys and girls?”*

**[01:33:52]**

*CHILDREN: (In unison): “No!”*

**[01:33:54]**

**VO: BUT EVEN AS BLACK AMERICA RE-DEFINED ITSELF, THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE WAS FAR FROM OVER.**

**AND WHILE ITS MOST PROMINENT LEADER WAS STILL FIGHTING FIERCELY, HIS STYLE SEEMED OUT OF STEP WITH THE TIMES...**

**[01:34:09]**

*ARCHIVAL MARTIN LUTHER KING: “I would like for us all to believe in non-violence, but I’m here to say tonight, that if every negro in the United States turns against non-violence, I’m going to stand up as a lone voice and say, This is the wrong way.”*

**[01:34:25]**

AL SHARPTON: Dr. King in his last couple years would come to New York and be heckled by blacks. They threw eggs at him in Harlem. I remember that last visit he made to New York, on the same day Adam Clayton Powell returned to Harlem. And Adam said, in that church is the biggest Uncle Tom in America. But that was the kind of friction that was going on in the movement. Adam Clayton Powell who was huge used to call him Martin Loser King...it was not popular to grow up in New York and be a follower of Martin Luther King.

**[01:35:11]**

**VO: IT’S HARD TO BELIEVE TODAY, BUT AS THE 1960S WORE ON, MARTIN LUTHER KING--STILL ONLY IN HIS THIRTIES--STARTED TO SEEM LIKE AN OLD MAN.**

**MANY YOUNG BLACK ACTIVISTS SAW HIM--THROUGH THE DARK GLASSES OF BLACK POWER--AS SOMEONE WHO DIDN’T PASS THE LITMUS TEST OF BLACKNESS.**

**AND ASKED IF MAYBE IT WAS EVEN TIME FOR HIM TO STEP OUT OF THE WAY…**

**BUT DR. KING HAD SET HIS SIGHTS ON A VAST BATTLE FRONT.**

**[01:35:39]**

*ARCHIVAL MARTIN LUTHER KING: “I do plan to stir up trouble in some of the big cities in our country this summer. But my stirring up trouble will be righteous trouble. Trouble to bring about non-violent solutions.”*

**[01:35:56]**

**VO: IN 1966, KING TRAVELED TO CHICAGO TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON RACISM IN THE URBAN NORTH...**

**[01:36:04]**

*ARCHIVAL MARTIN LUTHER KING: “After touring this city, I must report that Chicago is far from being the Promised Land.”*

**[01:36:15]**

**VO: CHICAGO WAS HOME TO A LARGER AFRICAN AMERICAN POPULATION THAN THE ENTIRE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI.**

**YET MOST OF THAT POPULATION WAS CROWDED INTO VIRTUALLY ALL-BLACK NEIGHBORHOODS--WITH MORE THAN A THIRD LIVING IN POVERTY.**

**THE ROOT OF THE PROBLEM, AS DR. KING SAW IT, WAS SEGREGATED HOUSING: BLACK PEOPLE WERE CAUGHT IN A VICIOUS CYCLE, WHERE OPPORTUNITIES FOR JOBS AND EDUCATION WERE DETERMINED BY WHERE THEY LIVED...**

**AND WHERE THEY LIVED WAS NO ACCIDENT.**

**[01:36:49]**

HASAN JEFFRIES: Policymakers were deciding which neighborhoods would be black. School districts were deciding which neighborhood schools would be white. I mean, so you have, at the highest levels of municipal and state government, people who were making very clear policy decisions that would impact African Americans that were based on race.

**[01:37:10]**

NIKOLE HANNAH-JONES: You didn’t have to segregate schools because you sent people to their neighborhood schools and if you lived in a segregated neighborhood your schools were all white or all black. You didn’t have to segregate your movie theaters or your swimming pools. Housing accomplished in the North everything that Jim Crow accomplished in the South.

**[01:37:26]**

**VO: KING ANNOUNCED THAT HE WAS LAUNCHING A CAMPAIGN TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR BLACK PEOPLE TO LIVE ANYWHERE THEY COULD AFFORD TO LIVE.**

**BUT CHICAGO’S MAYOR DALEY--AND MANY OF THE CITY’S WHITE RESIDENTS--WERE NOT INTERESTED.**

**THEY HAD NO DESIRE TO SEE THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THEIR OWN BACKYARD.**

**[01:37:49]**

HASAN JEFFRIES: White people aren’t happy to see King. That’s the last thing they want to see is Dr. King showing up on their steps and especially when he starts talking about open housing. What are you talking about? You know, that’s a southern issue. That’s a southern problem. As long as black folk stay in their neighborhoods in Chicago and we stay in our neighborhoods outside of Chicago, what’s the problem?

*ARCHIVAL*

**[01:38:13]**

*ARCHIVAL WOMAN IN PINK VEST: “I’ve known so many colored people that are so nice but like I say, I think they have to learn to live the way we do and take care of things.”*

**[01:38:22]**

*ARCHIVAL WOMAN IN BLUE BLOUSE: I’ve moved out of a neighborhood that was colored. I had to move because everybody that lives with the colored has to move.”*

**[01:38:27]**

*ARCHIVAL REPORTER: “Why?”*

**[01:38:27]**

*ARCHIVAL WOMAN IN BLUE BLOUSE: “Because you’re not safe walking the streets at night. You cannot leave the house.”*

**[01:38:31]**

*ARCHIVAL CICERO WHITE MEETING MEMBER: “The Negro that would move into your community, the first one would possibly be good. The second one in would be less. The problem is not the Negro but how some of the Negro community lives. The VD rate, the crime rate, the corruption, the dope.*

**[01:38:57]**

**VO: UNDETERRED, KING MOVED HIS FAMILY INTO A RUN-DOWN APARTMENT BUILDING ON CHICAGO’S WEST SIDE--AND STARTED TO STRATEGIZE…**

**HE DECIDED TO MARCH INTO SEGREGATED WHITE NEIGHBORHOODS THAT EFFECTIVELY BARRED AFRICAN AMERICANS.**

*ARCHIVAL: MARQUETTE PARK PROTEST*

*GATES AND NESBITT WALKING IN MARQUETTE PARK*

**[01:39:15]**

ROZELL “PREXY” NESBITT: This park was a division between a changing north side of the park and a solidly white south side of the park. And if you go further south, another ten, twelve blocks south here, oh that’s just hard core white.

**[01:39:33]**

**VO: PREXY NESBITT WAS TWENTY-TWO YEARS OLD WHEN KING ARRIVED IN CHICAGO.**

**HE’D PLAYED FOOTBALL IN HIGH SCHOOL--AND VOLUNTEERED TO BE KING’S BODYGUARD ON THE DAY OF THE MARCH... BUT HE WAS UNPREPARED FOR WHAT CAME NEXT...**

**[01:39:52]**

*ARCHIVAL OF THE MARCH AND CROWD--WHITE PEOPLE HECKLING KING, THE “WHITE POWER SIGN” AND THE “ZOO WANTS YOU” SIGN, WHITE MEN WITH GUNS, ACTING AGGRESSIVELY, A SHOT OF A WHITE MAN HOLDING UP A SIGN MOCKING AN AFRICAN WOMAN....*

**[01:40:09]**

ROZELL “PREXY” NESBITT: I was scared to death. By the time we reached this park, the whites in this neighborhood, and whites from other neighborhoods had become so agitated. They would spit and throw stuff full of just utter hate for us as a group. I’d never seen so much hate.And you just resist that because the absolute dictate was no fighting back. You could not fight back. I wanted to so bad but you could not do that.

**[01:40:47]**

*ARCHIVAL WHITE CROWD: “We want King! We want King!”*

**[01:40:56]**

ROZELL “PREXY” NESBITT: I was supposed to make sure King didn’t get hurt because I was an ex football player. What we did was all nonviolent. Anything thrown you were supposed to catch well, I missed this one brick and it hit King in his head and King went down. And I’ll just never forget, I’m feeling horrible and he looks up at me and says, “Prexy, I thought you were a good football player, man?” So he always joked about that later but really it was just scary.

**[01:41:29]**

GATES: Was Dr. King expecting this kind of reaction?

**[01:41:32]**

ROZELL “PREXY” NESBITT: I think King and his leadership knew there was going to be a reaction. I don’t think they knew the scale of that reaction.

*ARCHIVAL: KING AFTER MARQUETTE PARK.*

**[01:41:40]**

*ARCHIVAL MARTIN LUTHER KING: “I think it’s one of the most tragic pictures of man’s inhumanity to man that I’ve ever seen and I’ve been in Mississippi and Alabama, but I can assure you that the hatred and the hostility here, are really deeper than what I’ve seen in Alabama and Mississippi.”*

*GATES AND NESBITT IN PARK*

**[01:41:59]**

GATES: I remember this incident. I was fifteen years old and it was astonishing because this was the north.

**[01:42:05]**

ROZELL “PREXY” NESBITT: That’s right.

**[01:42:08]**

GATES: And at that time we had a binary opposition between the north and the south, between good and evil, and evil was southern, white descendants of the Confederates.

**[01:42:17]**

ROZELL “PREXY” NESBITT: It was Mississippi.

**[01:42:18]**

GATES: But to be in Chicago which was a democratic city, thought to be liberal...

**[01:42:24]**

GATES: Why do you think the white people were so angry?

**[01:42:27]**

ROZELL “PREXY” NESBITT: Black people were moving beyond their boundaries.

*ARCHIVAL: KING IN AIRPLANE.*

**[01:42:36]**

*ARCHIVAL MARTIN LUTHER KING: “Every minute almost, somebody’s nose would get broken and you get that every way you turn. And we went through this narrow street with all these trees. And the policemen, they were hollering up, “Come out of these trees,” because they leave these trees and they’ll shoot at anything. I wouldn’t say I was so afraid as I had yielded to the real possibility of the inevitability of death.”*

**[01:43:06]**

**VO: A WEAKER MAN MIGHT HAVE GIVEN UP, BUT NOT MARTIN LUTHER KING.**

**HE PUSHED ON--HARDER THAN EVER.**

**THE VIOLENCE AND POVERTY HE HAD SEEN IN CHICAGO REINFORCED HIS BELIEF THAT INTEGRATION ALONE WASN’T ENOUGH.**

*ARCHIVAL: MLK AT PODIUM*

**[01:43:22]**

*ARCHIVAL MARTIN LUTHER KING: “Now we are in a new phase and that is a phase where we are seeking genuine equality. Where we are dealing with hard economic and social issues. And it means that the job is much more difficult. It’s much easier to integrate a lunch counter than it is to guarantee an annual income.”*

**[01:43:46]**

**VO: DR. KING HAD COME TO BELIEVE THAT RACISM WAS DEEPLY ENTANGLED WITH CLASS DISCRIMINATION.**

**THE BIGGEST BARRIER TO EQUALITY, HE NOW FELT, WAS ECONOMIC INJUSTICE.**

**THIS IDEA WAS ENORMOUSLY UNPOPULAR.**

**IT WAS ONE THING TO INTEGRATE A SOCIAL SYSTEM--IT WAS SOMETHING ELSE TO TALK ABOUT REORDERING THE ECONOMICS OF THAT SYSTEM.**

**BUT THAT BECAME THE FOCUS OF DR. KING’S LIFE.**

**AND THAT’S WHY HE WAS IN MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE ON APRIL 4TH, 1968, SUPPORTING SANITATION WORKERS CALLING FOR HIGHER WAGES.**

*GATES AND JESSE JACKSON*

**[01:44:30]**

JESSE JACKSON: We were supposed to go around 5 o’clock. I remember coming across the courtyard. Dr. King said, “Jesse, we’re going out to dinner. You don’t even have on a tie.” He said, “You’re crazy… “ We laugh, and about that time (smacks hands) the bullet hit him… It was so fast. And there’s a picture of us pointing. And the reason we were pointing is the police were coming towards us with drawn guns. We said the bullets came from that way. It couldn't have come...it came from that way. He was thirty-nine...

**[01:45:12]**

JESSE JACKSON: A lotta people rejoiced.

**[01:45:14]**

GATES: I know.

**[01:45:15]**

JESSE JACKSON: He was about 55 percent in the negative among blacks at that time. Seventy-two percent in the negative among whites at that time. He died a very hated man. He was very hated that day. He had gone away from Civil Rights talking about the war in Vietnam and all that, they say.

**[01:45:34]**

GATES: White man business.

**[01:45:36]**

JESSE JACKSON: Yeah. But the next morning afterwards, he was everybody’s hero. From that day on, he...he’s been etched in the stone of time.

*ARCHIVAL: CORETTA AND OTHER KING RELATIVES AT FUNERAL. FAMILY WALKS BEHIND CASKET. THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WALK BEHIND CASKET.*

*ARCHIVAL: MLK IN CASKET, MORE PEOPLE WALKING BY.*

**[01:45:53]**

AL SHARPTON: When King got killed, I’ll never forget it, I was home with my mother. My mother started crying hysterically, like it was an immediate member of our family. And I said, “Ma you alright? Ma you alright?” She said, “You were born and raised here in Brooklyn and in Queens.” She said, “I was born in Alabama. You never sat in the back of the bus. You never had to go to a water fountain thirsty and they say you have to use the colored one. You never wanted to stay in a motel and they denied you. You’d have had to live through that to understand who Dr. King was. To you, he was a famous guy that came to the church. But to me, he changed my life.”

*GATES AND JESSE JACKSON*

**[01:46:38]**

GATES: Surely to goodness, you must’ve at some point thought, “Where are the Panthers? Give me a gun. I wanna go out and shoot somebody.”

**[01:46:45]**

JESSE JACKSON: I didn't.

**[01:46:46]**

GATES: Never once?

**[01:46:47]**

JESSE JACKSON: No, because that was a practical matter. How you gonna take on the most powerful military nation in the world with a shotgun? That’s impractical.

**[01:46:56]**

GATES: That is a factor. (Laughs.)

**[01:46:57]**

JESSE JACKSON: Yes, it is. It’s impractical, and violence has no redemption in it, and we’ve been taught to appreciate the power of redemption, that honor and suffering is redemptive.

*ARCHIVAL: RIOTING AFTER KING’S DEATH.*

**[01:47:13]**

**VO: IN THE WAKE OF DR. KING’S MURDER, RIOTING ERUPTED IN MORE THAN A HUNDRED CITIES ACROSS THE UNITED STATES...**

**IT LOOKED LIKE WATTS ALL OVER AGAIN... BUT THE ANGER FELT DEEPER.**

**I WAS SEVENTEEN YEARS OLD.**

**AS MY FRIENDS AND I WATCHED THE FUNERAL PROCESSION, I REMEMBER THINKING THAT ALL DR. KING HAD DONE, ALL HE HAD SACRIFICED, HAD MADE NO DIFFERENCE...**

**BUT I WAS WRONG.**

*MUSIC AND PICTURE TRANSITION.*

**[01:47:51]**

**PROGRESS *WAS* TAKING PLACE--IN WAYS THAT I COULD GLIMPSE, BUT NOT YET FULLY UNDERSTAND...**

**[01:47:58]**

JAMES PETERSON: I think it’s important to point out that the actual policies that were enacted in response to the Civil Rights Movement are actually creating more open spaces. So black folks are more a part of society, like literally are coming out of the shadows, are voting, can move around in public spaces in different ways.

**[01:48:15]**

DONNA BRAZILE: Because of that movement, so much has happened. Because of that movement, people have a seat at the table. Because of that movement and the heroes and the she-roes of that movement, America has changed for the better.

**[01:48:26]**

**VO: IN ESSENCE, THE VICTORIES OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT MEANT THAT AFRICAN AMERICANS WERE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW.**

**AND--FINALLY GIVEN THE CHANCE--WE WERE MAKING SIGNIFICANT GAINS.**

**SOME WERE ECONOMIC...**

**BY THE LATE 1960s, THE PERCENTAGE OF BLACK FAMILIES LIVING IN POVERTY WAS DROPPING... UNEMPLOYMENT WAS DECREASING... AND BLACK INCOMES WERE RISING AT THE FASTEST RATE IN HISTORY.**

**[01:48:52]**

*ARCHIVAL: ARETHA FRANKLIN’S “RESPECT”*

**[01:49:00]**

**VO: BUT MANY OF THE MOST VISIBLE GAINS WERE CULTURAL...**

*ARCHIVAL: JIMI HENDRIX*

**[01:49:05]**

**BLACK CULTURE WAS PERMEATING MAINSTREAM AMERICAN CULTURE LIKE NEVER BEFORE.**

**[01:49:14]**

**YOU COULD HEAR IT IN MUSIC... SEE IT IN ADVERTISING... AND EVEN WATCH IT ON TELEVISION...**

*ARCHIVAL: 1960s TV FOOTAGE*

**[01:49:23]**

**VO: WHEN I WAS A KID, IT WAS EXTREMELY RARE TO SEE ANY BLACK PEOPLE ON TV. I REMEMBER HOW EXCITED MY WHOLE NEIGHBORHOOD GOT ANY TIME AN AFRICAN AMERICAN APPEARED--EVEN IN A MINOR PART...**

**WHEN BILL COSBY GOT A STARRING ROLE ON I-SPY BACK IN 1965, WE WERE ECSTATIC.**

**AND BY THE LATE 1960s, WE STARTED TO SEE MORE SHOWS WITH BLACK STARS AND BLACK CO-STARS…**

**THEN, IN 1971, THERE WAS A SHOW MADE JUST FOR US...**

*ARCHIVAL: SOUL TRAIN FOOTAGE*

**[01:49:57]**

*ANNOUNCER: “Soul Train! Sixty nonstop minutes across the tracks of your mind into the exciting world of soul!”*

**[01:50:04]**

*DON CORNELIUS: “Welcome aboard to another super hip ride on the soul train.”*

**[01:50:09]**

**VO: CREATED AND HOSTED BY VISIONARY ENTREPRENEUR DON CORNELIUS, “SOUL TRAIN” BROUGHT BLACK MUSIC, DANCING, AND FASHION INTO HOMES ALL ACROSS AMERICA...**

**[01:50:20]**

DONNA BRAZILE:Look, back then, when I finally got my Afro at 16… “Soul Train,” (hums), I know all of the dances. Mmm hmm. Don Cornelius, he had the presence, to show us how to live our best lives.

**[01:50:36]**

*DON CORNELIUS: “We wish you love, peace and soul!***~~”~~**

**[01:50:41]**

**BLACK CULTURE ALLOWED US TO DEFINE OURSELVES TO THE WORLD--AND TO CHANGE AMERICA IN WAYS BOTH SUBTLE AND PROFOUND.**

**MEANWHILE, OTHER AVENUES OF CHANGE WERE OPENING TO US AS WELL...**

*ARCHIVAL: YALE EXTERIORS*

**[01:51:05]**

**IN SEPTEMBER OF 1969, I CAME HERE--TO YALE UNIVERSITY....**

**I WAS PART OF THE LARGEST GROUP OF BLACK STUDENTS YALE HAD EVER ADMITTED.**

**AND WE ARRIVED ALONGSIDE YALE’S *VERY* FIRST UNDERGRADUATE WOMEN... LIKE MY LIFELONG FRIEND, SHEILA JACKSON.**

**WHOM I MET AT A BLACK PARTY OUR FIRST WEEKEND ON CAMPUS...**

**[01:51:28]**

GATES (W&T): I’d go up to you all and I’d say, “Can I have a date?” and you’d say, “Check back with me in two years!” (laughs)

**[01:51:33]**

**VO: SHEILA AND I GO WAY BACK--AND WE SHARE A UNIQUE EXPERIENCE...**

**WE WERE AMONG THE FIRST BENEFICIARIES OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION.**

**AND COUNT OURSELVES AS ITS PROUDEST RECIPIENTS.**

**[01:51:45]**

GATES (W&T): What was it like? What did you feel?

SHEILA JACKSON LEE (W&T): I think the fright did not come until the thrill wore off. (Laughs.)

**[01:51:54]**

**VO: WE BOTH CAME FROM WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES. GROWING UP, AN IVY LEAGUE EDUCATION WAS A DISTANT DREAM…**

*ARCHIVAL: GATES AND SHEILA JACKSON LEE PERSONAL PHOTOS*

**[01:52:02]**

**VO: TODAY, I AM A PROFESSOR AT HARVARD, AND SHEILA IS AN 11-TERM CONGRESSWOMAN FROM TEXAS.**

**AND WE ARE STILL GRATEFUL FOR THE CHANCE WE WERE GIVEN ALMOST FIVE DECADES AGO...**

**[01:52:16]**

SHEILA JACKSON LEE: I knew that I had a privilege to get here. I, I knew that, um, Yale was obviously making a point twice. One, they purposely were looking for, uh, women. I fit that, and then African-American. I was truly an early Affirmative Action baby…

**[01:52:33]**

GATES: Affirmative Action brought us to the party.

**[01:52:35]**

SHEILA JACKSON LEE: It brought us to the party. It did not graduate me.

**[01:52:38]**

GATES: That’s true.

**[01:52:38]**

SHEILA JACKSON LEE: But I would’ve never had the opportunity, nor you, nor others, if there had not been that concerted effort to say, “Is there somebody out there that’s different from us, uh, that would make Yale better?”

**[01:52:51]**

GATES: And America better.

**[01:52:52]**

SHEILA JACKSON LEE: And America better.

**[01:52:54]**

**VO: SHEILA AND I CAME TO YALE AT THE HEIGHT OF THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT--AND WE SAW OURSELVES AS PART OF IT.**

**WE JOINED THE BLACK STUDENT ALLIANCE...**

**AND DEMANDED THAT YALE OFFER MORE CLASSES IN AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES...**

**[01:53:10]**

GATES: Our generation manifested Black Power by integrating the American upper-middle class, and historically white institutions of power

**[01:53:18]**

SHEILA JACKSON LEE: Absolutely.

**[01:53:19]**

GATES: Our black professors told us, that’s what we were here to do. My white professors said the same thing.

**[01:53:24]**

SHEILA JACKSON LEE: Yes.

**[01:53:25]**

GATES: You know, defeating stereotypes, trying to show that you weren’t the image that people visited upon you when you walked in the door.

**[01:53:33]**

SHEILA JACKSON LEE: You know, when I used to tell my kids I was in the revolution, they would look askance.

**[01:53:38]**

GATES: They say, “American Revolution, Grandma?”

**[01:53:39]**

SHEILA JACKSON LEE: (Laughs.) I really felt that we were in the revolution. I just, I just felt that this, this is the change. My whole DNA changed. I became a soul of the movement, the song “We Shall Overcome”, I sort of lived the aftermath of Dr. King’s life. I just felt that this, this is the change.

*END OF PART 1*