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

**PART TWO: MOVE ON UP**

**FINAL TIME-CODED SCRIPT**

*START*

*TRANSITION FROM EPISODE 201 TO SERIES TITLE*

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

*EPISODE TITLE: Episode Two: Move On Up*

**[01:00:31]**

**VO: BY THE EARLY 1970s, THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT HAD UNLEASHED A WAVE OF CHANGE THAT WAS TRANSFORMING THE COUNTRY.**

**THE NUMBER OF AFRICAN AMERICANS GRADUATING FROM COLLEGE HAD NEARLY DOUBLED--OPENING THE DOOR TO A WEALTH OF NEW OPPORTUNITIES…**

**THERE WERE MORE BLACK BUSINESSPEOPLE… MORE TRADESPEOPLE… AND MORE PROFESSIONALS…**

**AND THE POLITICAL RIGHTS WE HAD SECURED WERE FINALLY STARTING TO PAY OFF-- ALLOWING US TO EXERCISE POWER IN PLACES WHERE WE NEVER HAD IT BEFORE.**

**NO ONE TYPIFIED THE MOMENT BETTER THAN MAYNARD JACKSON, JR.**

*ARCHIVAL OF MAYNARD JACKSON CAMPAIGNING*

**[01:01:16]**

**VO: IN 1973, JACKSON WAS ELECTED MAYOR OF ATLANTA, GEORGIA--THE HOMETOWN OF MARTIN LUTHER KING--A PLACE WHERE LESS THAN TWO DECADES EARLIER, BLACK PEOPLE HAD BEEN FORCED TO RIDE IN SEGREGATED STREETCARS...**

*ARCHIVAL: NEWSPAPERS ETC. “FIRST BLACK MAYOR OF ATLANTA”*

*ARCHIVAL: B-ROLL OF CELEBRATIONS IN ATLANTA, BLACK JACKSON SUPPORTERS DANCING IN HOTEL, CELEBRATING JACKSON'S WIN.*

**[01:01:30]**

*MAYNARD JACKSON: “Never, never, never shall I let you down.”*

**[01:01:40]**

**JACKSON WAS THE SCION OF ONE OF ATLANTA’S MOST PROMINENT BLACK FAMILIES… AND HAD DEEP ROOTS IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT…**

**FOR MOVEMENT VETERANS LIKE VERNON JORDAN--WHO GREW UP IN ATLANTA--IT WAS A TRANSCENDENT MOMENT…**

**[01:01:55]**

GATES: What did it mean to you personally, and historically?

**[01:02:00]**

VERNON JORDAN: Maynard and I went to high school together… I went to Atlanta from New York to see Maynard sworn in… because sometimes you really have to see it to believe it.

**[01:02:13]**

GATES: (Laughs.)

**[01:02:15]**

VERNON JORDAN: And as he took the oath, I cried…

**[01:02:21]**

GATES: Hmm.

**[01:02:24]**

VERNON JORDAN: …because it was so beyond our wildest dreams that that would happen.

**[01:02:29]**

*ARCHIVAL: “Congratulations, Mr. Mayor!”*

*ARCHIVAL: ANDREW YOUNG PRESS CONFERENCE*

**[01:02:39]**

*ARCHIVAL ANDREW YOUNG: “And when they introduce Maynard as the mayor of Atlanta, good God almighty, who would have thought it!”*

**[01:02:47]**

**VO: JACKSON PUSHED AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS... TRIED TO REFORM ATLANTA’S POLICE DEPARTMENT... AND ESTABLISHED A MINORITY BUSINESS ENTERPRISE PROGRAM, GREATLY STRENGTHENING THE CITY’S BLACK MIDDLE CLASS...**

**[01:03:00]**

VERNON JORDAN: The most important thing that he did was to say, if you get this city contract that you’ve been getting for all of these years, you have to have a black subcontractor in this deal…

**[01:03:15]**

GATES: (Laughs.) That’s amazing.

**[01:03:17]**

VERNON JORDAN: …And he held out for that…

**[01:03:19]**

GATES: Hmm.

**[01:03:19]**

VERNON JORDAN: …And he said to law firms, you can’t represent this city if you don’t have any black lawyers. Now, keep in mind that neither Maynard, nor I, in our time, could go to the University of Georgia to law school.

**[01:03:37]**

**VO: JACKSON EMBODIED A MAJOR SHIFT IN AMERICAN POLITICS. AND HE WAS PART OF A MUCH LARGER TREND. BY THE MID-1970s AFRICAN AMERICAN MAYORS WERE GETTING ELECTED ALL OVER THE COUNTRY--IN CINCINNATI... LOS ANGELES… DETROIT… AND BEYOND…**

**[01:03:55]**

*ARCHIVAL: BLACK POLITICIANS*

**[01:03:55]**

JELANI COBB:You’re looking at these major American cities, and all of a sudden there’s black leadership at the helm of them, and it’s an intoxicating moment. People were seeing a literally different complexion in American politics.

**[01:04:11]**

HASAN JEFFRIES: It’s a remarkable rise. You hadn’t seen this since Reconstruction in 100 years.

**[01:04:17]**

LESTER SPENCE: There was a sense that, oh my God, we’ve got the city. You’re talking about being able to see people like you and it was like, wow.

**[01:04:27]**

**VO: AS AFRICAN AMERICANS MOVED INTO POSITIONS OF REAL POWER WITHIN THE ESTABLISHMENT, IMPASSIONED CALLS TO “DESTROY THE SYSTEM,” GAVE WAY TO DEMANDS TO “TRANSFORM THE SYSTEM”...**

**THE VERY MEANING OF “BLACK POWER” SEEMED TO BE SHIFTING...**

**[01:04:45]**

*ARCHIVAL: NIXON ON TALK SHOW*

**[01:04:45]** *ARCHIVAL RICHARD NIXON: “Some aspects of black power are very disturbing to us because it means revolution. It means violence. But other aspects of black power are very constructive. Because it means that black people, they want to stand on their own feet. They want to have black banks, , not just go to the white banks. They want to have black businesses, and not just go to the white businesses. And they should have. And they will have.”*

**[01:05:11]**

**VO: EVEN PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON TRIED TO SEIZE ON THE MOOD OF THE TIMES, ESPOUSING A VISION OF BLACK ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT--IN AN EFFORT TO ATTRACT BLACK VOTERS.**

**AFTER WINNING THE SUPPORT OF SAMMY DAVIS, JR., NIXON GOT THE ENDORSEMENT OF THE GODFATHER OF SOUL HIMSELF--JAMES BROWN--A SELF-MADE MAN WHO FIRMLY BELIEVED THAT BLACK PEOPLE COULD LIBERATE THEMSELVES THE AMERICAN WAY: THROUGH THE ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH...**

**[01:05:42]**

*ARCHIVAL: JAMES BROWN AND RICHARD NIXON*

**[01:05:42]**

*ARCHIVAL JAMES BROWN: “I believe in the future of the country lies with uh, uh Mr. Nixon and I felt that uh, that some of the things he's done has been very close to my heart as a minority, as a black man.”*

**[01:05:51]**

*ARCHIVAL: JAMES BROWN PERFORMS “I DON’T WANT NOBODY TO GIVE ME NOTHING”*

**[01:06:00]**

AL SHARPTON: James Brown believed in black capitalism. Nixon preached black capitalism. James Brown said you are all out there marching and you’re all beggin’ the man, we need to own our own, operate our own. I said, Mr. Brown, do you know how long it would take to own our own to give 30 million people a job? And we argued. And we argued the same argument as I had with my kids. He really believed he was right. To the day James Brown died, he believed he was right to go with Nixon because of black capitalism.

**[01:06:31]**

**VO: NIXON WON 18% OF THE BLACK VOTE IN 1972--MORE THAN ANY OTHER REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE SINCE.**

**AND HIS CONCEPT OF “BLACK CAPITALISM” TARGETED THE ASPIRATIONS OF A GROWING NUMBER OF AFRICAN AMERICANS-- REFLECTING THE INCREASING DIVERSITY OF BLACK LIFE.**

*ARCHIVAL: THE JEFFERSONS INTRO THEME*

*JEFFERSONS THEME SONG: “Well, we're movin’ on up to the east side… Movin’ on up…”*

**[01:06:56]**

**VO: THIS DIVERSITY WAS VISIBLE EVERYWHERE…****ESPECIALLY ON TELEVISION.**

**LEADING THE WAY WAS GEORGE JEFFERSON--ONE OF MY ALL-TIME FAVORITE CHARACTERS...**

**A DYNAMO BLACK BUSINESSMAN TRANSPORTED INTO THE BASTIONS OF WHITE PRIVILEGE…**

*ARCHIVAL: ENGAGEMENT PARTY SCENE–ALL IN THE FAMILY*

**[01:07:14]**

*ARCHIVAL GEORGE JEFFERSON: “Let me tell you something about people--”*

**[01:07:17]**

*ARCHIVAL BARTENDER “There you are.”*

**[01:07:18]**

*ARCHIVAL GEORGE JEFFERSON: “Thank you. That bartender is willing to work for me because if you’ve got enough green in your pocket, then black becomes his favorite color.”*

**[01:07:27]**

JAMES BRAXTON PETERSON:What was great about Mr. Jefferson, was that he kept that blackness. You know, owning a business and all those things, moving up to the top floor of the apartment, all those things were acceptable for him because he still had the sort of Black Power, hate whitey kind of thing...

*ARCHIVAL: DINNER SCENE FROM THE JEFFERSONS*

**[01:07:41]**

*ARCHIVAL GEORGE JEFFERSON: “A whitey never changes his spots.”*

**[01:07:44]**

*ARCHIVAL DAUGHTER: “How dare you call my husband whitey!”*

**[01:07:47]**

*ARCHIVAL GEORGE JEFFERSON: “Oh! I beg your pardon. I’m sorry I called you whitey, honky.”*

*ARCHIVAL: GOOD TIMES INTRO AND STILLS*

**[01:07:51]**

**VO: GEORGE JEFFERSON WAS SOMETHING WE HADN’T SEEN BEFORE: A DELIGHTFULLY IRASCIBLE AND BIGOTED BLACK MAN--A REFRESHING DEPARTURE FROM TRADITIONAL STEREOTYPES. AND PART OF A NEW MUCH WIDER RANGE OF BLACK CHARACTERS ON TV WHOSE STORIES REFLECTED OUR RAPIDLY CHANGING REALITY.**

**“THE JEFFERSONS” SHOWED BUT ONE ASPECT OF THAT REALITY.**

*ARCHIVAL: GOOD TIMES THEME SONG AND TITLE*

**[01:08:20]**

**“GOOD TIMES”--A SITCOM SET IN A CHICAGO HOUSING PROJECT--SHOWED ANOTHER....**

*ARCHIVAL: GOOD TIMES*

**[01:08:24]**

*ARCHIVAL FLORIDA: “This is an eviction notice.”*

**[01:08:26]**

*ARCHIVAL KIDS: “It ain’t nothing to worry about mom!”*

**[01:08:27]**

*ARCHIVAL FLORIDA: “What are you talking about? They say they’re going to throw us out today!”*

**[01:08:31]**

JAMES BRAXTON PETERSON: People would talk about the projects but in terms of getting a sense of what its impact could be on the daily lives of black folks, Good Times was trying to show us that. Even though some of it’s stereotypes and some of it’s hyperbole--it was good food for thought.

*ARCHIVAL: GOOD TIMES*

**[01:08:45]**

*ARCHIVAL YOUNG BOY: He’s got this friend named Monty who works in the projects and he told daddy everything’s gonna be OK.*

*ARCHIVAL FLORIDA: That’s the same Monty that said Nixon was gonna be poor folks’ best friend.*

**[01:08:56]**

JELANI COBB:Especially for black people who were moving out to bona fide middle class communities… You still had cousins who were living in the housing projects. You could look at Good Times and say, “Yeah, I recognize that as part of black life,” and you could look at The Jeffersons and say, “Yeah, I recognize that, too,” like both of those things were possible at the same moment.”

*ARCHIVAL: PARLIAMENT “WE WANT THE FUNK”*

**[01:09:22]**

**VO: LOOKING BACK, THE 1970S SEEMED TO BE SHAPED BY THIS SENSE OF “POSSIBILITY.”**

**THE SPECTRUM OF THE BLACK EXPERIENCE WAS EXPANDING…**

**SHOWING THAT THERE WERE AS MANY DIFFERENT WAYS TO BE BLACK AS THERE WERE BLACK PEOPLE.**

*ARCHIVAL: RICHARD PRYOR ON JOHNNY CARSON SHOW*

**[01:09:37]**

*ARCHIVAL JOHNNY CARSON: “Now let me ask the question--and I don’t want to put you on the spot, but you use the term “Nigger,” right?”*

**[01:09:41]**

*ARCHIVAL RICHARD PRYOR: “Yeah.”*

**[01:09:42]**

*ARCHIVAL JOHNNY CARSON: “Does the black community get on you for using that in a show?”*

**[01:09:45]**

*ARCHIVAL RICHARD PRYOR: “Yes! Sure--“*

**[01:09:46]**

*ARCHIVAL JOHNNY CARSON: “How do you answer that? What do you say?”*

**[01:09:47]**

*ARCHIVAL RICHARD PRYOR: “I don’t say nothing. I say: “Nigger get out of my face!”*

**[01:09:54]**

**VO: YOU HAD HEADLINING BLACK COMEDIANS...**

**BLACK MUSICIANS CLIMBING THE POP CHARTS...**

**AND BLACK ATHLETES SEEMING TO DOMINATE JUST ABOUT EVERY SPORT…**

*ARCHIVAL: ALI KNOCKOUT*

**[01:10:07]**

**VO: EVEN THE GREAT WHITE WAY GOT A LITTLE LESS WHITE...**

**WHEN NTOZAKE SHANGE ROCKED BROADWAY WITH A HIT PLAY DRAMATIZING THE LIVES AND CHALLENGES FACED BY YOUNG BLACK WOMEN…**

**[01:10:18]**

*Performer: My Old man came in last week saying \*slap\* shut up, woman. You know I was high? You might as well go on and forget me, pretty mama, because I’m sor-ry.*

*ARCHIVAL: IMAGES OF BLACK FEMINIST GROUPS MARCHING AND PROTESTING*

**[01:10:33]**

**VO: MEANWHILE, WHEREVER YOU LOOKED, BLACK FEMINISTS WERE CHALLENGING EVERY ASPECT OF THE STATUS QUO...**

*ARCHIVAL: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM PRESS CONFERENCE*

**[01:10:39]**

*ARCHIVAL SHIRLEY CHISHOLM: The black woman continues to be labelled a matriarch. And this is indeed preyed upon by the white psychological and sociological interpretations of the black woman’s roles.*

**[01:10:52]**

**VO: AND AMERICAN LITERATURE WAS BEING REDEFINED BY A GROUP OF EXTRAORDINARILY TALENTED NEW BLACK WRITERS...**

**[01:11:00]**

BELL HOOKS: The burgeoning black women writers like Alice Walker, like Toni Morrison, they were the female counterpart to the revolutionary black man. And that’s why those writers were so important to all of us, because they said we have a whole world as black women that we haven’t given voice to.

**[01:11:21]**

OPRAH WINFREY: I remember the very first time I opened the pages of *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*. I think I was about 14 years old. I started to cry then, and it makes me cry even now, because I had never, before 14 years old, read a story about a black girl who was just like me.

**[01:11:50]**

**VO: THIS IMMENSE FEELING OF PROGRESS WAS PARALLELED BY SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN THE LIVES OF EVERYDAY AFRICAN AMERICANS**

**BEGINNING IN THE EARLY 1970s--AND CONTINUING FOR THE NEXT 25 YEARS--SEVEN MILLION BLACK AMERICANS WOULD LEAVE INNER CITIES--TO PURSUE THEIR DREAMS… IN THE SUBURBS.**

*ARCHIVAL: BLACK MIDDLE CLASS NEIGHBORHOODS*

**[01:12:07]**

JELANI COBB:It’s this quintessential American ideal which is to do better for the next generation to be able to own a home, to be able to have equity, to be able to go to a place where there were good schools. It’s a novel kind of development in black America. It looks as if a certain gate has opened--and there’s a wider number of us who are now operating in arenas where we had not previously been admitted.

*GATES AND THOMAS OLIVER DRIVING IN CAR*

**[01:12:34]**

THOMAS OLIVER: In the ‘70s, this was the place to move to, or if you want move up, if you lived in Brooklyn, if you lived in the Bronx, you wanted to live in Queens.

**[01:12:45]**

**VO: THOMAS OLIVER WAS BORN IN VIRGINIA IN 1940. BY THE EARLY 1970s, HE WAS WORKING AS A SUPERVISOR IN A NEW YORK CITY BANK--RENTING AN APARTMENT IN BROOKLYN.**

**HE AND HIS WIFE WANTED A LARGER HOME FOR THEIR GROWING FAMILY--SO THEY CAME HERE… TO LAURELTON, QUEENS.**

**WHAT THEY FOUND ILLUMINATES BOTH THE GREAT PROGRESS MADE--AND PROFOUND CHALLENGES STILL FACED BY BLACK AMERICA...**

*GATES AND THOMAS OLIVER WALK AND TALK*

**[01:13:17]**

GATES: Thomas, what was it that attracted you to this neighborhood?

**[01:13:19]**

THOMAS OLIVER: Well one is the beauty of the neighborhood. When I lived in Brooklyn there was not a tree line block, it was a block where they only had concrete.

**[01:13:28]**

GATES: (Laughs.)

**[01:13:25]**

THOMAS OLIVER: I wanted to see some grass and some trees.

**[01:13:30]**

GATES: Were you worried about what the white people might think?

**[01:13:32]**

THOMAS OLIVER: I was in a way, but being from the south I knew what it was like to be discriminated against or being hated, actually. But I believe that if you’re good to your neighbor, in turn they will be good to you.

**[01:13:46]**

**VO: LAURELTON OFFERED EVERYTHING THOMAS WAS LOOKING FOR: GOOD SCHOOLS, LOW CRIME--AND THE PERFECT HOUSE WHERE HE STILL LIVES TODAY…**

**BUT MANY OF HIS WHITE NEIGHBORS HAD NEVER LIVED NEXT DOOR TO A BLACK PERSON.**

**[01:14:05]**

GATES: Were the neighbors welcoming?

**[01:14:07]**

OLIVER: Uh, I would say, uh, sort of. My neighbor next door to me. When we moved in October, just before Halloween, and a lot of children was on the block. They come back, they wanted chocolate, wanted their candy. They ring the doorbell, she say, each time, “Don’t! Black family there, black folks,” I heard her saying… I was shocked.

**[01:14:25]**

GATES: She was warning them not to come?

**[01:14:28]**

OLIVER: Not to come, to take the candy from us. Fortunately, you met my wife, she came out with a big bushel of candy, and they said these, you know, we, they took it.

**[01:14:33]**

GATES: Don’t look black to me, look like Snickers.

**[01:14:35]**

OLIVER: Exactly.

**[01:14:36]**

**VO: THOMAS AND HIS FAMILY WEREN’T EASILY DISCOURAGED.**

**THEY MADE FRIENDS WITH THEIR NEIGHBORS--AND BECAME A VIBRANT PART OF THEIR COMMUNITY...**

*OLIVER FAMILY SCENE*

**[01:14:46]**

MATTY OLIVER: This was back from 1972. These are the children having their little block party, block association.

**[01:14:52]**

GATES: Very integrated.

**[01:14:53]**

MATTY OLIVER: Yep. Very much so.

**[01:14:55]**

GATES: Mm-hmm.

**[01:14:56]**

MATTY OLIVER: Back in 1972 it was... This is Vincent and this is Gisella.

**[01:14:59]**

GATES: Ah, yeah

**[01:15:00]**

MATTY OLIVER: You see how she’s holding him?

**[01:15:02]**

GATES: Oh, yeah. That is so sweet.

**[01:15:03]**

MATTY OLIVER: (Laughs.) And that’s Gisella here, I don’t know where Vincent is, but she kept up with her little brother.

**[01:15:06]**

VINCENT OLIVER: It was fun, you know? You know, guys would play with the girls…

**[01:15:07]**

GISELLA OLIVER: We were kids.

**[01:15:08]**

VINCENT OLIVER: We were kids.

**[01:15:10]**

GISELLA OLIVER: We did kid things. We had lemonade stands during the…yes.

**[01:15:14]**

VINCENT OLIVER: Yeah.

**[01:15:14]**

GISELLA OLIVER: I was part of the Girl Scouts and Girls Scouts were integrated at the time.

**[01:15:19]**

**VO: THOMAS AND HIS FAMILY FELT SO AT HOME IN LAURELTON THAT IT TOOK AWHILE TO NOTICE THAT THEIR COMMUNITY WAS CHANGING…**

**[01:15:27]**

**...PART OF A MUCH LARGER TREND THAT WAS TRANSFORMING THE ENTIRE COUNTRY--WHAT WE NOW CALL “WHITE FLIGHT.”**

**[01:15:36]**

VINCENT OLIVER: My first couple of years here, like we said, it was mixed.

**[01:15:40]**

GATES: Uh-huh.

**[01:15:40]**

VINCENT OLIVER: Within a matter of like, two or three years, like early, mid to late seventies, it changed.

**[01:15:45]**

GATES: Mm-hmm.

**[01:15:45]**

VINCENT OLIVER: It was just more African American people here.

**[01:15:49]**

GISELLA OLIVER: We didn’t even notice it until the neighbors started moving out.

**[01:15:53]**

GATES: Did you come home and say, “Momma and Daddy, why are they moving?”

**[01:15:57]**

GISELLA OLIVER: They said they were moving out to Long Island. Mmm...

**[01:15:59]**

GATES: Did they say it because…

**[01:16:00]**

GISELLA OLIVER: The black—

**[01:16:00]**

GATES: …there were too many black people?

**[01:16:02]**

GISELLA OLIVER: Well they didn’t actually say to me. (Laughs.)

**[01:16:04]**

MULTIPLE SPEAKERS: (Laughs.)

**[01:16:07]**

GATES: What did they say?

**[01:16:09]**

GISELLA OLIVER: The block is changing. I guess they want to live where predominantly white families are moving to.

**[01:16:16]**

**VO: SOON, THOMAS REALIZED THAT REAL ESTATE BROKERS WERE PLAYING A LARGE ROLE IN THE DEPARTURE OF HIS WHITE NEIGHBORS.**

**[01:16:26]**

GATES: You wake up one day, and there’s a flyer under your door.

**[01:16:29]**

OLIVER: Yeah, exactly, the real estate brokers prosper when houses turn over. So, they were putting flyers, sell your house while it still have value. If you can get X dollars today, you won’t get it tomorrow, ‘cause the tides are turning.

**[01:16:45]**

MARY PATTILLO: The rumors and the fear that their property values will go down means that you get one family who’s scared enough to leave. That then sends the signal to other people, people are leaving, maybe my home values are going to go down. I better sell before they go down.

**[01:17:07]**

**VO: LAURELTON REMAINED A SAFE MIDDLE-CLASS NEIGHBORHOOD, BUT ITS RACIAL BALANCE FLIPPED.**

**WHEN THE OLIVERS ARRIVED, IT WAS ALMOST ALL-WHITE. A DECADE LATER, IT WAS NINETY PERCENT BLACK--A PATTERN THAT WAS REPEATED IN COMMUNITIES ACROSS THE COUNTRY.**

**ILLUMINATING PROFOUND ANXIETIES IN THE OVERLAP AMONG CLASS, CULTURE, AND RACE… AND SUGGESTING THAT FOR ALL THE SIGNS OF PROGRESS, AMERICA WAS STILL NOT READY FOR REAL INTEGRATION...**

**[01:17:39]**

LEAH WRIG HT RIGUEUR: One of the reasons why we see white flight is just the idea of not wanting to interact with black families. So something that goes beyond just, say, oh, they're going to make my property values drop or something like that, but actual belief that I don’t want to associate with black people.

**[01:18:01]**

**VO: LOOKING BACK, WHITE FLIGHT WAS THE SIGN OF A MUCH LARGER PROBLEM.**

**SOME WHITE AMERICANS WEREN’T JUST MOVING AWAY FROM THEIR NEW BLACK NEIGHBORS--THEY WERE BECOMING UNEASY ABOUT THE VERY NOTION OF BLACK SUCCESS...**

**ONE INSTANCE STOOD OUT ESPECIALLY FOR ME...**

*ARCHIVAL: HANK AARON HITS A HOMERUN, 1973.*

**[01:18:25]**

**VO: IN SEPTEMBER OF 1973, I WAS FOLLOWING HANK AARON’S PURSUIT OF BASEBALL’S ALL-TIME HOME RUN RECORD...**

**A RECORD HELD BY THE LEGENDARY BABE RUTH.**

**AARON WAS 39 YEARS OLD--HE’D PLAYED IN THE NEGRO LEAGUES IN THE EARLY 1950s--AND NOW HERE HE WAS: ABOUT TO BREAK ONE OF THE MOST CHERISHED RECORDS IN SPORTS…**

**WHEN THE SEASON ENDED, HE WAS JUST TWO HOME RUNS AWAY....**

**BUT THE EXCITEMENT WAS UNDERCUT BY A SENSE OF ALARM --AS AARON’S QUEST UNLEASHED A TORRENT OF VICIOUS RACISM…**

*ARCHIVAL: CU OF HANK AARON’S HATE MAIL*

*ARCHIVAL: HANK AARON READING HIS HATE MAIL*

**[01:19:05]**

*ARCHIVAL HANK AARON: “I would like to read to you this morning, a letter that I received yesterday. Hank, there’s three things you can’t give a nigger. A black eye, a puffed lip or a job…”*

*ARCHIVAL: BABE RUTH HITTING A HOME RUN*

**[01:19:28]**

KAREEM ABDUL-JABBAR: I remember reading some of the letters. It was a horrible thing for him to endure. But because of what I had seen my whole life, it didn’t surprise me.

**[01:19:37]**

MICHAEL ERIC DYSON: Baseball is the quintessential American sport. Now an African American, a dark-skinned black man, challenging the power, the supremacy of baseball and of white men? That’s why the nasty notes, that’s why the hate mail. That’s why the death threats. That’s why the bomb threats. White people are upset because this was driving a stake at the heart of American culture.

*ARCHIVAL: HANK AARON PRESS CONFERENCE*

**[01:20:05]**

*ARCHIVAL REPORTER: “Has all of this made you more aware that you’re a black baseball player?”*

**[01:20:09]**

*ARCHIVAL HANK AARON: “I’ve never forgotten it.”*

**[01:20:11]**

**VO: AARON CONFESSED HE WAS AFRAID HE WOULDN’T LIVE TO BREAK THE RECORD...**

**AND AS THE 1974 BASEBALL SEASON BEGAN, MANY OF US WERE NERVOUS, THAT SOMETHING TERRIBLE MIGHT HAPPEN…**

*ARCHIVAL: HANK AARON HITS HIS RECORD-BREAKING 715th HOME RUN*

***[01:20:25]***

*ARCHIVAL ANNOUNCER #1: “Here’s the pitch by Downing! Swinging! There’s the drive into left-sider’s field! That ball has gotta be outta here! It’s gone! It’s 715!”*

*ARCHIVAL: PEOPLE CELEBRATING, HEADLINES “NEW HOME RUN CHAMPION,” ETC.*

**[01:20:45]**

**VO: AARON’S TRIUMPH WAS ELECTRIFYING, BUT IT LAID BARE A TROUBLING TRUTH: MANY WHITE AMERICANS COULD ACCEPT RACIAL EQUALITY IN THEORY FAR MORE EASILY THAN IN PRACTICE.**

**[01:20:54]**

MICHAEL ERIC DYSON: There was a sense of white moral panic. There was a sense that all the stuff that we had accumulated is no longer safe. There was a sense that black people are coming for our goods. They’re coming for our cities and they’re coming for our records.

**[01:21:10]**

**VO: AS THE 1970s PROGRESSED, FRICTION WAS CLEARLY BUILDING BETWEEN THE IDEALS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND THE REALITY OF RACE RELATIONS IN AMERICA.**

**THIS WAS ESPECIALLY OBVIOUS WHEN IT CAME TO EDUCATION...**

**THE SUPREME COURT HAD OUTLAWED SCHOOL SEGREGATION BACK IN 1954.**

**BUT TWO DECADES LATER, MANY CHILDREN, BLACK AND WHITE, STILL ATTENDED SEGREGATED SCHOOLS-- BECAUSE THEY STILL LIVED IN SEGREGATED NEIGHBORHOODS.**

**AND THE REALITY WAS THAT MOST WHITE NEIGHBORHOODS WERE WEALTHIER.**

**WHICH MEANT BETTER-FUNDED CLASSROOMS…**

**[01:21:49]**

HASAN JEFFRIES:The main thrust behind African-American interest in desegregating white schools was a desire for access to quality education. It wasn’t just a desire to have a black body sitting next to a white body. They understood that dollars and cents followed white children into white schools.

**[01:22:10]**

**VO: BOSTON WAS ONE OF MANY CITIES WHERE WHITE SCHOOLS AND BLACK SCHOOLS WERE NOT ONLY SEPARATE… THEY WERE DEEPLY UNEQUAL.**

**[01:22:19]**

LEAH WRIGHT RIGUEUR:We have these predominantly black schools that are just not on par with white schools. So they don’t have the resources financial or otherwise. Schools are crowded, teachers are leaving, there are lots of children in a room. So it's just not the same experience that white students across the city of Boston are having.

**[01:22:42]**

**VO: FOR YEARS, ACTIVISTS HAD BEEN PUSHING TO MAKE EDUCATION MORE EQUAL FOR ALL OF BOSTON’S CHILDREN.**

*ARCHIVAL: BOSTON PRESS CONFERENCE*

**[01:22:51]**

*ARCHIVAL ACTIVIST #1: “The quality in education, the excellence in courses, the excellence in teachers, the excellence in what the kid has gained after twelve years is missing.”*

**[01:22:58]**

*ARCHIVAL ACTIVIST #2: “A quality education means integration education.”*

*ARCHIVAL: PRE-1974 BOSTON SCHOOLS AND DESEGREGATION ACTIVISTS*

*ARCHIVAL: JUDGE GARRITY*

**[01:23:04]**

**VO: FINALLY, IN 1974, A FEDERAL JUDGE ORDERED A COMPULSORY BUSING PROGRAM TO SEND BLACK STUDENTS TO PREDOMINANTLY WHITE SCHOOLS, AND VICE VERSA…**

**IT SET OFF A FIRESTORM IN THE WORKING-CLASS NEIGHBORHOOD OF SOUTH BOSTON…**

*ARCHIVAL: INTERVIEWS WITH WHITE OPPONENTS OF BUSING*

**[01:23:20]**

*ARCHIVAL REPORTER: “What do you think this means?”*

**[01:23:23]**

*ARCHIVAL WHITE MAN #1: “The blacks will come in and ruin everything.”*

**[01:23:25]**

*ARCHIVAL WHITE WOMAN #1: “I think these children should be left in their own towns as they have for generations.”*

**[01:23:30]**

*ARCHIVAL WHITE WOMAN #2: “It will be more trouble than everyone realizes, because these kids are not going to stand for this. Neither are the parents. Yeah. Give it to the niggers. That’s what they want.”*

**[01:23:41]**

HASAN JEFFRIES:For working class whites who don’t have that much. One of the things that they have been able to benefit from in this world that is very much racialized is being able to send their children to all-white schools and the resources and the privilege that comes along with that. Now they’re being asked to give that up.

*ARCHIVAL: WHITE TEENAGERS IN SOUTH BOSTON*

**[01:24:02]**

*ARCHIVAL YOUNG MAN: “They believe that all of us are bigots, but we really aren’t. It’s just that a lot of people in South Boston are fearful of the black people.”*

**[01:24:08]**

**VO: WHITE PARENTS EVEN CALLED FOR A BOYCOTT TO PROTEST THE JUDGE’S DECISION.**

*ARCHIVAL: WHITE TEENAGERS IN SOUTH BOSTON*

**[01:24:14]**

*ARCHIVAL REPORTER: “Do you believe in the boycott?”*

**[01:24:16]**

*ARCHIVAL BOYS: “We should go right in the school and beat the fucking niggers!”*

**[01:24:22]**

*ARCHIVAL: PHYLLIS ELLISON, RIDING BUS TO SCHOOL IN MORNING*

**[01:24:22]**

*ARCHIVAL PHYLLIS ELLISON: “I would like to go to another school because Roxbury High is right in my district right down the street...”*

**[01:24:30]**

**VO: ON THE MORNING OF SEPTEMBER 12, 1974 PHYLLIS ELLISON RODE THE BUS FROM ROXBURY TO SOUTH BOSTON HIGH FOR HER FIRST DAY OF TENTH GRADE.**

**EVER SINCE KINDERGARTEN, SHE HAD ATTENDED NEARLY ALL-BLACK SCHOOLS.**

**AND SHE HAD NO IDEA WHAT TO EXPECT…**

**[01:24:49]**

*ARCHIVAL: BUSSES APPROACH SCHOOL*

**[01:24:55]**

*TRANSITION TO MODERN DAY WITH GATES TALKING TO PHYLLIS ELLISON IN FRONT OF SCHOOL*

**[01:24:55]**

GATES: Take me back to that day in September 1974. You’re on that bus and you’re driving up that street.

**[01:25:03]**

PHYLLIS ELLISON: You didn’t see the street. All you saw was a sea of people on both sides of the street.

**[01:25:09**]

GATES: All white people?

**[01:25:10]**

PHYLLIS ELLISON: All white people, mhm.

**[01:25:16]**

*ARCHIVAL: VIOLENT PROTESTS OUTSIDE OF SOUTH BOSTON HIGH*

**[01:25:19]**

PHYLLIS ELLISON: They were chanting. They had signs.

*ARCHIVAL: PROTESTERS BECOMING INCREASINGLY VIOLENT*

**[01:25:25]**

PHYLLIS ELLISON: Then I saw the bananas being waved, people were saying, the N-word, go home!

*ARCHIVAL: YOUNG GIRL SITTING ON BUS*

**[01:25:33]**

PHYLLIS ELLISON: So each bus stopped here and students were told by the aide that was on the bus, don’t stop, don’t look at the crowd, hurry into the building.

**[01:25:46]**

GATES: You had to be terrified.

**[01:25:48]**

PHYLLIS ELLISON: It was scary, it was scary to be going in because there was a possibility that if the mob broke out that we would really be injured.

**[01:25:57]**

**VO: ONCE INSIDE THE SCHOOL, THE BLACK STUDENTS WENT TO THEIR CLASSES.**

**BUT THE MOB REFUSED TO DISPERSE.**

**AND THE CHAOS OUTSIDE CONTINUED ALL DAY LONG...**

*ARCHIVAL: PROTESTERS OUTSIDE OF SOUTH BOSTON HIGH*

**[01:26:09]**

GATES: What were you thinking? I mean you go home, you’re talking to your family. You’re talking to your friends...

**[01:26:16]**

PHYLLIS ELLISON: My mother was really kind of leery. She’s like, “I don’t think I want you to go back there.” So I said, “I have a right to be there.” How dare you tell me that I cannot attend this high school just because I’m black.

**[01:26:30]**

**VO: PHYLLIS WENT BACK TO SOUTH BOSTON HIGH THE NEXT DAY--AND THE NEXT, AND THE NEXT...**

**WALKING HALLWAYS LINED WITH POLICE OFFICERS…**

**AND CONSTANTLY CONFRONTING THE FACT THAT HER NEW CLASSMATES DID NOT WANT HER THERE...**

**[01:26:46]**

PHYLLIS ELLISON: White students sat on one side of the classroom, black students sat on the other. They said it was being integrated, but as far as inside of the classroom it was not. And once you got outside the classrooms because there was a lot of students in the hallways, that’s where a lot of the fights would start.

**[01:27:01]**

GATES: So the black kids were not embracing the theory of Dr. King, with nonviolence and turn the other cheek?

**[01:27:06]**

PHYLLIS ELLISON: We didn’t turn the other cheek. We were not those type of students. There would be fights in the ladies’ room and the boys’ room. There’d be fights in the hallway. You’d bump a black student, white student would bump you and there would be an altercation.

**[01:27:21]**

GATES: Did you ever, ever want to give up and say this is too hard?

**[01:27:25]**

PHYLLIS ELLISON: No. because, again, I felt that this was my right. I just said how am I going to deal with them today? If I have to physically fight them I will.

**[01:27:33]**

GATES: You’re crazy. (Laughs.)

*ARCHIVAL: STILLS OF ANGRY PROTESTERS*

**[01:27:38]**

**VO: PHYLLIS GRADUATED IN 1977 AFTER THREE LONG YEARS IN SOUTH BOSTON HIGH.**

**BUT THE ABUSE DROVE SOME OF HER CLASSMATES TO DROP OUT.**

**AND AS VIOLENT PROTESTS CONTINUED THROUGHOUT THE YEARS, MANY WHO HAD FOUGHT FOR INTEGRATION TURNED AGAINST BUSING AS WELL.**

**[01:27:57]**

*ARCHIVAL BLACK MAN: “If they build new schools here there wouldn't have to be no busing.. We don't want to go out there to go to school. We want to go to school right here. But these schools are inadequate so therefore we have to do this here. There’s the buses now; we got to do that.”*

**[01:28:11]**

*ARCHIVAL BLACK FEMALE STUDENT: “You know like I don't think really that those kids are very prejudiced. Their mothers are telling them things about black people to make them that way. If they would just shut up, mind their business, and send their kids to school, you know they would be ok. But now that they got that idea in their heads, I don't know how it’s going to get better.”*

*ARCHIVAL: KIDS ON PLAYGROUND*

**[01:28:31]**

LEAH WRIGHT RIGUEUR:I think what it teaches us is that the Civil Rights Movement leaves a lot of things untouched. "You can legislate what's in a man's behavior, but you can't legislate what's in his heart." You can say, "You can't behave this way," but kind of pushing people to believe that and to actually act on it, is incredibly hard to do. Much harder than we ever could have imagined.

*ARCHIVAL: HEADLINES ETC. ABOUT SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AROUND THE COUNTRY*

**[01:28:58]**

**VO: ALL OVER THE COUNTRY, EVEN AS SCHOOL DESEGREGATION EFFORTS WERE PROCEEDING, MANY WHITE PARENTS SIMPLY OPTED OUT--ENROLLING THEIR CHILDREN IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS, OR MOVING TO ALL-WHITE COMMUNITIES…**

**...AND ACCELERATING WHITE FLIGHT.**

*ARCHIVE: ANTI-BUSING RALLY*

***[01:29:15]***

*ARCHIVAL WHITE MAN: “Nobody will force you to do something that you don’t have to do in this country!”*

**[01:29:22]**

**VO: CLEARLY, SOME WHITE AMERICANS FELT THAT BLACK PROGRESS WAS COMING AT THEIR OWN EXPENSE.**

**AND THEY FOCUSED THEIR ATTENTION ON THE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS PUT IN PLACE JUST A FEW YEARS EARLIER…**

**[01:29:36]**

KIMBERLE CRENSHAW: There was never a honeymoon period for affirmative action. A lot of times people think, well, we had it for a couple of decades, and then there was enough. There’s never been a period where any effort to integrate African Americans into American society was not immediately denounced as preferential treatment.

**[01:29:55]**

*ARCHIVAL WHITE MAN #1: “I’m sorry that people had to go to the back of the bus. Yet I was not here when it happened. I don’t feel that I owe a black a thing for what happened in the past. I’m not going to accept being eliminated from the job market or pushed back to pay somebody back.”*

**[01:30:10]**

*ARCHIVAL WHITE WOMAN #1: “They’re taking all our jobs and everything; we got nothing. Since they came in, we got nothing. The whites got nothing. They took over the whole place.”*

**[01:30:20]**

*ARCHIVAL WHITE MAN #2: “Why should I be discriminated against because I’m white?”*

**[01:30:27]**

**VO: THESE RESENTMENTS CAME TO A HEAD WHEN A WHITE STUDENT NAMED ALLAN BAKKE--WHO HAD TWICE BEEN DENIED ADMISSION TO A UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA MEDICAL SCHOOL--CLAIMED HE WAS BEING VICTIMIZED BY AFFIRMATIVE ACTION.**

**BAKKE’S CASE MADE IT ALL THE WAY TO THE U.S. SUPREME COURT.**

*ARCHIVAL: COLLEGE STUDENTS IN CLASS AND ON CAMPUS*

**[01:30:43]**

KIMBERLE CRENSHAW: What Allan Bakke complained about was the fact that there was a set-aside for 16 students of color to gain admission. He’s arguing about the diminishment of the expectation that white people would get all of the seats.

*ARCHIVAL: NEWSPAPERS ON NEWSSTANDS--HEADLINES ABOUT BAKKE VERDICT*

**[01:30:59]**

**VO: LESS THAN A DECADE AFTER AFFIRMATIVE ACTION ENABLED MY ENROLLMENT AT YALE, THE SUPREME COURT RULED THAT IT HAD VIOLATED ALLAN BAKKE’S CIVIL RIGHTS…**

**THE RULING STRUCK DOWN THE USE OF RACIAL QUOTAS DESIGNED TO COMPENSATE FOR PAST INJUSTICE, CHALLENGING ONE OF THE MAJOR VICTORIES OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT...**

**THOUGH MANY CRIED OUT IN PROTEST**, **A BACKLASH AGAINST AFFIRMATIVE ACTION WAS NOW IN FULL SWING--DRIVEN BY A GROWING SENSE THAT OUR NATION HAD DONE ENOUGH TO REDRESS CENTURIES OF RACISM...**

**[01:31:36]**

JELANI COBB:In the 1970s, we start hearing about the rhetoric of reverse racism -- that somehow or another black people are being given things that other people haven’t been given. And so as opposed to talking about racism, you’ll now hear things like: “The residue of racism,” as if it’s ended, but there’s just still a whiff of it floating around in the atmosphere, but it has no real form and substance in a way that impacts people’s actual lives.

**[01:32:00]**

**VO: THE REALITY, OF COURSE, IS THAT RACISM WAS STILL A FACTOR IN AMERICAN LIFE--AND THAT DESPITE ALL THE PROGRESS, MANY AFRICAN AMERICANS WERE STILL STRUGGLING... TRAPPED IN CITIES WHERE POVERTY WAS GROWING MORE ENTRENCHED--AND MORE CONCENTRATED.**

**THE REASONS WERE COMPLEX, BUT THE CONSEQUENCES WERE CLEAR...**

**[01:32:28]**

JAMES BRAXTON PETERSON: The ghettos didn’t happen by accident. There’s policy that denied black people access to white suburban housing developments. There’s policies that said that people had to move into communities and live in communities based on race. Government housing had racial restrictions on it. So the ghettos didn’t just come out of nowhere. And once you created ghettos you’re creating concentrated poverty. So poverty is one thing. But concentrated poverty, there is no home ownership in concentrated poverty. There is more hunger in concentrated poverty. And obviously, because of that, there is more crime.

**[01:33:04]**

NIKOLE HANNAH-JONES: Reams of social science shows that having those levels of concentrated poverty is just devastating on a community. One, those communities get ignored. They have really no political clout whatsoever and you find that everyone from banks to supermarkets begin to have predatory practices because these are vulnerable people who don’t have a lot of choice.

**[01:33:26]**

**VO: THE SITUATION WAS COMPOUNDED BY LARGER ECONOMIC FORCES...**

**[01:33:32]**

*ARCHIVAL NEWS ANCHOR #1: “The country got a double barrel dose of bad economic news today...”*

**[01:33:35]**

*ARCHIVAL NEWS ANCHOR #2: “Living costs have spurted ahead by the greatest rate in a year...”*

**[01:33:39]**

*ARCHIVAL NEWS ANCHOR #3: “Unemployment already has cut across almost the full spectrum of American labor...”*

**[01:33:45]**

**VO: BY THE MID-1970s, AMERICA WAS IN THE MIDST OF A DEEP RECESSION--AND THE LABOR MARKET WAS CHANGING RADICALLY.**

**[01:33:51]**

**FACTORY JOBS--ONCE A SURE ROUTE TO THE MIDDLE CLASS--WERE DRYING UP, AS AUTOMATION AND GLOBALIZATION TRANSFORMED INDUSTRY...**

**[01:34:01]**

*ARCHIVAL NEWS ANCHOR #4: “Labor day weekend begins with some bad news for workers… especially black workers.”*

**[01:34:06]**

**ALL OF THIS HAD A DEVASTATING IMPACT ON THE AFRICAN AMERICANS WHO REMAINED IN AMERICA’S CITIES, MANY OF WHOM HAD LOW SKILLS AND LITTLE EDUCATION.**

**[01:34:16]**

**IN SOME COMMUNITIES, UNEMPLOYMENT REACHED LEVELS NOT SEEN SINCE THE DEPRESSION...**

*ARCHIVAL*

**[01:34:25]**

*ARCHIVAL DR. VIVIAN HENDERSON, ECONOMIST: “What I see setting into motion is the possibility of a permanent underclass in America, mostly black.”*

**[01:34:31]**

**VO: HIDDEN BENEATH THE DATA WAS A FRIGHTENING FACT: AS THE BLACK MIDDLE CLASS FOLLOWED WHITE AMERICANS IN MOVING OUT OF INNER CITIES, THE POOREST AFRICAN AMERICANS WERE BECOMING INCREASINGLY ISOLATED--SOCIALLY... GEOGRAPHICALLY... AND ECONOMICALLY.**

**[01:34:50]**

**IN ESSENCE: CLASS DIFFERENCES WERE FRACTURING BLACK AMERICA…**

**[01:34:57]**

HASAN JEFFRIES:For the first time really in American history you will begin to see the classes of African Americans living in different places. Because prior to that the options were so few and limited, no matter how much you made for the most part you were going to be buying, shopping, going to school and working and living within the confines of a black community.

**[01:35:20]**

ROBERT JOHNSON:Integration had its downside… It removed the role models. It removed some of the stabilizing personalities and characters, and involved businesspeople, and doctors and lawyers. It moved them out of the community.

**[01:35:39]**

CORNEL WEST: In the 1950s Black communities were the most civilized communities in America. There was ties of empathy and bonds of sympathy, unbelievable embrace of others who came in. Out of the 70s, we don’t have neighborhoods as much as we got hoods.

*ARCHIVAL: WILLIAM JULIUS WILSON AND HIS WORK*

**[01:35:59]**

**VO: AS BLACK AMERICA TRANSFORMED, A SOCIOLOGIST WILLIAM JULIUS WILSON BEGAN MAPPING THE GROWING CLASS DIVIDE… LOOKING AT HOW THE POOREST AFRICAN AMERICANS WERE BEING LEFT BEHIND…**

**AT THE TIME, HIS WORK WAS CONTROVERSIAL...**

*WILLIAM JULIUS WILSON AND GATES WALKING AT HARVARD* **[01:36:15]**

WILLIAM JULIUS WILSON: The economy was undergoing change….

**[01:36:21]**

**VO: TODAY, IT SEEMS CLEAR HE WAS RIGHT...**

**[01:36:21]**

WILLIAM JULIUS WILSON: There has been some talk about what happens…

**[01:36:25]**

**WILSON IS MY FRIEND AND COLLEAGUE--AND HE REMAINS A CRUCIAL WITNESS TO OUR SHARED HISTORY...**

**[01:36:28]**

GATES: When we were coming on in the 60s watching Dr. King and the Civil Rights Movement, there was an expectation that once we dismantled de jure segregation we would all...

**[01:36:39]**

WILLIAM JULIUS WILSON: Move ahead--

**[01:36:41]**

GATES: That somehow, magically, this would have a positive economic impact.

**[01:36:46]**

WILLIAM JULIUS WILSON: It did for a certain segment of the black population. It did for middle class blacks, very definitely. That said, the Civil Rights victories really did not have much of an impact, a positive impact on the black poor. So whereas one segment of the black population is indeed enjoying some success, another segment is in danger of becoming permanent economic proletarians.

**[01:37:15]**

GATES: Best of times, worst of times.

**[01:37:17]**

WILLIAM JULIUS WILSON: Yeah. Absolutely.

**[01:37:18]**

GATES: In a way that we have not seen historically in the history of the African American people.

**[01:37:23]**

WILLIAM JULIUS WILSON: Precisely. I remember one scholar saying that it’s as if racism, having put blacks in their economic place, stepped aside to watch changes in the economy and the technological revolution destroy that place.

**[01:37:45]**

**VO: AS AMERICA’S ECONOMIC WOES DEEPENED, THE POOREST AFRICAN AMERICANS BECAME EVER MORE VULNERABLE.**

**AND WITH THE ENTIRE NATION STRUGGLING, THEY SOON FOUND THEMSELVES SCAPEGOATS IN A CHANGING POLITICAL LANDSCAPE...**

*ARCHIVAL: REAGAN 1976*

**[01:38:01]**

*ARCHIVAL RONALD REAGAN: “And in Chicago they’re sending checks to a woman who’s been on welfare under 80 names, 30 addresses and 15 telephone numbers…”*

**[01:38:12]**

**VO: IN 1976, WHEN RONALD REAGAN PURSUED THE REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION, HE REPEATEDLY TOLD THE STORY OF AN AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMAN NAMED LINDA TAYLOR...**

**[01:38:22]**

**VO: CLAIMING SHE WAS EARNING MORE THAN $150,000 A YEAR BY CHEATING SOCIAL SERVICES… HOLDING HER UP AS AN EXAMPLE OF LIBERAL POLICIES GONE WRONG.**

**[01:38:34]**

*ARCHIVAL LINDA TAYLOR: “Well compared to some of you white people I think I’ve done pretty damn good to be black.”*

**[01:38:40]**

**THE STORY GRABBED ATTENTION**, **BUT HAD LITTLE BASIS IN REALITY.**

**TAYLOR WAS A CON ARTIST--AND NOT AT ALL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE TYPICAL WELFARE RECIPIENT.**

**[01:38:36]**

BRITTNEY COOPER: The welfare queen image is a manufacture of Ronald Reagan and the Republican Party using one, one, only one story from Chicago in the 1970s of one woman who scammed something from the system--and it’s not entirely clear all that she scammed.

**[01:39:04]**

DONNA BRAZILE:So there’s this notion that 99 percent of the welfare money in this society’s going to black and Hispanics. It’s wrong. It’s bogus, because the majority of people on welfare are white. The majority of people on food stamps are white.

**[01:39:30]**

**VO: REAGAN’S ATTACK ON WELFARE MARKED A SIGNIFICANT CHANGE…**

*ARCHIVAL: DEPRESSION AND WAR ON POVERTY-ERA IMAGES OF POOR WHITE PEOPLE, INCLUDING MAGAZINE ARTICLES, NEWS CLIPS ETC.*

**[01:39:35]**

**VO: SINCE THE GREAT DEPRESSION, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAD OFFERED AID TO POOR PEOPLE--THE MAJORITY OF WHOM WERE WHITE.**

**NOW, IN FINANCIALLY INSECURE TIMES, REAGAN HINTED THAT THOSE PROGRAMS--PAID FOR BY TAX DOLLARS--WERE ONLY AIDING BLACK PEOPLE.**

**AND HE PROMISED THAT CUTTING THEM WOULD HELP FIX THE ECONOMY.**

**[01:39:58]**

JELANI COBB: This is a turning point not only in the history of black people… it’s a turning point in the ways in which people can talk about poverty. Because we’ve moved from this idea of the deserving poor to the undeserving poor, and there’s very much a kind of emphasis upon morality, and moralism, and all these kinds of things that are much more invested in the idea of individual failure than asking, “How did we wind up with this population of impoverished people in the first place?”

**[01:40:27]**

**VO: IN 1980, REAGAN RETURNED FOR A NEW PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN…**

**HE WAS STILL CALLING FOR WELFARE REFORM--BUT NOW HE WAS DOING SO AS PART OF A MUCH BROADER MESSAGE…**

**HE TALKED OF STATES’ RIGHTS--AND OF RETURNING AMERICA TO A BETTER, BYGONE ERA.**

**WHILE HIS WORDS HAD A POWERFUL APPEAL, TO MANY AFRICAN AMERICANS--THEY SEEMED LIKE A THINLY-VEILED ATTACK ON THE PROGRESS MADE SINCE THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT...**

**[01:40:57]**

*ARCHIVAL: 1980 REAGAN BUTTON “Let’s Make America Great Again”*

**[01:40:59]**

LESTER SPENCE: He runs on this campaign that’s like, listen, we’re going to actually make America great again… and then implicitly in that is the idea that making America great means we basically have to put black people in their place.

**[01:41:13]**

CORNEL WEST: “We are taking our country back. We’re making it great again.” Reagan was setting that tone and Black folk were saying anytime Whitey leaves talking about taking their country back, you know what they mean. They’re coming at us with intensity…

**[01:41:30]**

**VO: REAGAN MADE GOOD ON HIS CAMPAIGN PROMISES BY ROLLING BACK SOCIAL PROGRAMS AND MAKING SIGNIFICANT SPENDING CUTS.**

**HIS POLICIES HAD IMMENSE CONSEQUENCES FOR AMERICA’S ALREADY-STRUGGLING INNER CITIES--AS THE LACK OF FEDERAL SUPPORT MADE THE JOBS OF BLACK CIVIC LEADERS ALL BUT IMPOSSIBLE....**

**[01:41:55]**

*ARCHIVAL HOSEA WILLIAMS: “Many of the cities where blacks are mayor are nothing but garbage cans. Hell, who wants to be the mayor anyway of a garbage can?”*

**[01:42:09]**

*ARCHIVAL JOHN E. JACOBS, PRESIDENT OF THE URBAN LEAGUE: “A great deal of the misery that black America is confronted with today has been exacerbated during the past couple of years with the cuts in basic survival programs that poor people and disadvantaged people have come to depend upon.”*

**[01:42:18]**

*ARCHIVAL: REAGAN IN SOUTH BRONX*

**[01:42:21]**

MICHAEL ERIC DYSON: Ronald Reagan was bad news for black America. Ronald Reagan was a symbol of the repudiation of all of the progress that we had made. And not only the economic and political progress, but the kind of spiritual and symbolic progress made…

**[01:42:43]**

*ARCHIVAL: SOUTH BRONX 1970s, 1980s*

**[01:42:50]**

*ARCHIVAL ANNOUNCER VO: “The South Bronx in New York City ugly, neglected, drug ridden and corrupt.”*

*ARCHIVAL: NEIGHBORHOODS RAZED FOR HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION, EMPTY BUILDINGS, SOUTH BRONX*

**[01:43:00]**

**VO: AMONG THE MANY NEIGHBORHOODS HIT HARD BY REAGANOMICS WAS NEW YORK CITY’S CRUMBLING SOUTH BRONX…**

**BY THE TIME REAGAN TOOK OFFICE, PROPERTY VALUES HERE HAD DROPPED SO LOW THAT SOME DESPERATE LANDLORDS TORCHED THEIR OWN EMPTY BUILDINGS FOR THE INSURANCE MONEY...**

**[01:43:20]**

JOAN MORGAN:It literally was burning**.** Things were on fire all the time. There were a lot of tenement buildings that would be there one day and then kind of be burnt out the next… mattresses thrown into lots that had a lot of rubble… and we played in those. Growing up at that time required a great deal of street smarts. Like being a ten, 11-year-old girl having to get up to the 17th floor in a project building where the lights are all out in the stairways, you know what I mean?

*MUSIC: GOOD TIMES BY CHIC*

*ARCHIVAL: URBAN DECAY TRANSITIONING TO HIP HOP KIDS*

**[01:43:54]**

**VO: YET BENEATH THE DECAY--VISIBLE ALMOST EVERYWHERE--WERE THE STIRRINGS OF SOMETHING RADICALLY NEW.**

**FOR YEARS, YOUNG PEOPLE HERE HAD BEEN EXPERIMENTING--WITH ART, DANCE, FASHION AND MUSIC.**

**THEY CALLED IT HIP HOP.**

*HIP HOP CLIP*

**[01:44:19]**

**VO: IT WOULD COME TO ENERGIZE BLACK AMERICA IN WAYS THAT PEOPLE OF MY GENERATION NEVER SAW COMING, NEVER EVEN IMAGINED POSSIBLE.**

*ARCHIVAL: KIDS RAPPING WITH BOOMBOXES, EARLY STUFF*

**[01:44:33]**

JOAN MORGAN:In the schoolyard during, like, recess someone would have a boom box. And then someone would start rhyming…

**[01:44:38]**

NAS: Everyone was doing it. You know, give me five, I know it ain’t no jive, hit me or slap me on the black hand side. You know, it was always a rhyming rhythm, rhythm thing with black people anyway, just in the conversation… it was just an instant thing that hit you.

**[01:44:53]**

**VO: HIP HOP WAS AN ENTIRE CULTURE SEEMINGLY CREATED OUT OF FRAGMENTS... ELECTRICITY STOLEN FROM STREET LIGHTS... SOUND SYSTEMS MADE OUT OF SPARE PARTS... PARTIES STAGED IN ABANDONED LOTS... AND A DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM THAT WAS 100% IMPROVISATION...**

**[01:45:13]**

*ARCHIVAL DJ: “One, two, party people... with all that little routine stuff we’re going to do right here, just do me a favor: clap your hands everybody!”*

**[01:45:19]**

JELANI COBB:You couldn’t purchase albums or records, and you couldn’t hear hip hop on the radio. And the only way that you could participate in the culture musically was through these cassette tapes, which would circulate all throughout the city. People were just dubbing and redubbing, and redubbing until the audio quality was so terrible you could barely make it out. But this was how the music circulated, in these kind of underground networks.

**[01:45:50]**

**VO: AS ITS INFLUENCE SPREAD, THE MUSIC MOVED OUT OF THE UNDERGROUND. AND AWAY FROM HOME-MADE CASSETTES.**

**IN 1979, A GROUP FROM SUBURBAN NEW JERSEY RELEASED ONE OF THE FIRST HIP HOP RECORDS: “RAPPER’S DELIGHT”...**

**[01:45:42]**

*ARCHIVAL: SUGAR HILL GANG MUSIC VIDEO*

*ARCHIVAL: KIDS DANCING TO SUGAR HILL GANG*

**[01:46:11]**

JOAN MORGAN:That was the first time that I heard hip hop on the radio and I remember the next day we’re all talking about it, like “Yo, did you hear...” There was a sort of pride of like, wow, other people are listening to something that comes from the hood, which, ironically, those guys are from Jersey. It’s not like they were hood deep or anything like that, but it felt like that.

**[01:46:32]**

**VO: “RAPPER’S DELIGHT” WAS A SENSATION. IT BROKE INTO THE TOP 40 AND BECAME THE BIGGEST-SELLING TWELVE-INCH SINGLE EVER...**

**[01:46:41]**

JAMES BRAXTON PETERSON: Older folks are really poo-pooing on hip hop. It’s not really music. It’s just based on everybody else’s stuff. They’re not singing. They’re just talking on records… But when I hear those guys spitting through the radio on Rappers Delight, that’s when I’m like, “That’s me.” It’s the first time I’m hearing *me* on the radio.

**[01:46:59]**

*ARCHIVAL: HIP HOP CULTURE--TAGGED TRAINS, BREAK DANCING, ETC.*

*ARCHIVAL: KIDS BREAK DANCING IN THEIR BACKYARD*

**[01:46:59]**

**VO: “RAPPER’S DELIGHT” WAS ONLY THE BEGINNING.**

**SOON, HIP HOP WAS NO LONGER JUST PARTY MUSIC.**

**IT WAS CONNECTING YOUNG BLACK PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE COUNTRY....**

**[01:47:12]**

NAS:Our generation of young people, um, we had to find new ways to communicate, you know? By just getting on the records and speaking about the truth. We were saying, “Here we are, I’m over here, I’m in Long Beach. This is what’s going on over here. Where y’all at?” “Yeah, well, I’m over in Queensbridge, and this is what it is over here.” So we’re all hearing about these different places.

**[01:47:31]**

**VO: AS HIP HOP EVOLVED, IT BECAME A NATIONAL PHENOMENON--A PASSION SHARED BY MILLIONS OF YOUNG AFRICAN AMERICANS...**

**WHO USED IT TO ARTICULATE THEIR IDENTITY.... CELEBRATE THEIR LIVES... AND OFFER UP A POWERFUL CRITIQUE OF MAINSTREAM AMERICA…**

**REACHING A HEAD WITH A GROUP THAT SEEMED TO SYNTHESIZE ALMOST TWO DECADES OF THE BLACK EXPERIENCE INTO ONE FURIOUS SOUND…**

**PUBLIC ENEMY.**

*ARCHIVAL: FIGHT THE POWER*

**[01:47:58]**

*ARCHIVAL CHUCK D: “Check this out man; we rolling this way. That march in 1963, that’s a bit of nonsense… we ain’t rolling like that no more.”*

**[01:48:09]**

JAMES BRAXTON PETERSON:Public Enemy takes a lot of the politics and energy from the Black Power Movement, few James Brown samples, some rock stuff in there as well… and really just punches everybody in the face.

**[01:48:22]**

AVA DUVERNAY: I think it was Chuck D who said, you know, “It’s the CNN of the black community.” It’s actually reporting on all of these things that we experienced--in poetry form, in musical form, and the music was just so good.

**[01:48:33]**

*ARCHIVAL: PUBLIC ENEMY “FIGHT THE POWER”*

**[01:48:46]**

AVA DUVERNAY: I remember thinking, “There’s no song, better than this, ever going to be made,” you know what I mean, “than Fight the Power,” like this is actually the end. Like hip hop could end right now because Public Enemy’s Fight the Power is pretty much it.

**[01:49:01]**

**VO: HIP HOP OFFERED ONE FORM OF OPPOSITION TO REAGAN’S AMERICA...**

**[01:49:04]**

*ARCHIVAL: JESSE JACKSON WITH AUDIENCE YELLING “RUN, JESSE, RUN”*

**[01:49:08]**

**AT THE SAME TIME, A CIVIL RIGHTS VETERAN WAS OFFERING ANOTHER…**

**[01:49:12]**

*ARCHIVAL JESSE JACKSON: “We need more than a new president… we need a new direction! We need a new direction!”*

*ARCHIVAL: STILLS/FOOTAGE OF JACKSON AT DIFFERENT POINTS IN THE PAST*

**[01:49:21]**

**IN 1984, THE REVEREND JESSE JACKSON, FORMER PROTÉGÉ OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, MADE THE AUDACIOUS DECISION TO RUN FOR PRESIDENT...**

**CHALLENGING THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY TO CAST ASIDE THEIR PRESUMPTIVE CANDIDATE--WALTER MONDALE--AND LET A BLACK MAN SQUARE OFF AGAINST REAGAN…**

**[01:49:39]**

*ARCHIVAL JESSE JACKSON: “We can do without the Democratic or the Republican party. They cannot do without us! We are necessary. We must assert ourselves. Our time has come.”*

**[01:49:51]**

*GATES AND JESSE JACKSON CONVERSATION ON BENCH*

**[01:49:51]**

GATES: I was caught up in the electricity of both of your campaigns and I was rooting for you, brother. How did your campaign change things?

**[01:50:00]**

JESSE JACKSON: I think we raised the ambition level… And... as we went along, people who were asleep came awake. So the churches began to fill up. And the auditoriums began to fill up and we brought in a whole generation of young people.

**[01:50:18]**

GATES: Chain reaction.

**[01:50:20]**

JESSE JACKSON: And then we raised people’s dream level.

**[01:50:24]**

*ARCHIVAL* *JESSE JACKSON: We the people can win. This is our land. We the people can win. It is our democracy. We the people can win! (CHEERING.)*

*ARCHIVAL: DONNA BRAZILE PERSONAL PHOTOS FROM WHEN SHE WAS WORKING ON JACKSON CAMPAIGN*

**[01:50:33]**

DONNA BRAZILE:It was one of those rare moments where every day of your life, there was a purpose, and the purpose was to register as many voters and to get them out the old style way, where you knocked on doors and you dragged people out and said, “This is the day to vote for Reverend Jackson.”

**[01:50:50]**

**VO: YOUNG PEOPLE ACROSS THE COUNTRY LEAPT AT THE CHANCE TO WORK ON JACKSON’S CAMPAIGN, REACHING OUT TO VOTERS BEYOND THE BLACK COMMUNITY.**

**[01:51:02]**

DONNA BRAZILE:This was going to be a game-changer. Reverend Jackson brought the white farmers. He brought in all of the peaceniks, the white feminists, pro-ERA. He said, “Come and take a seat at this table. I have enough room for everybody.”

**[01:51:15]**

*ARCHIVAL: JESSE JACKSON PRESS CONFERENCE*

**[01:51:15]**

*ARCHIVAL JESSE JACKSON: “Women, Hispanics, workers, Indians, Chinese, Filipinos… we must come together and form the rainbow coalition. We need each other.”*

**[01:51:28]**

**VO: JACKSON SOUGHT TO ALLY AFRICAN AMERICANS WITH OTHERS OF EVERY COLOR WHO SHARED THEIR SENSE OF DISPOSSESSION.**

**YET NOT ALL BLACK LEADERS WERE EAGER TO JOIN...**

**[01:51:42]**

*ARCHIVAL CONGRESSMAN CHARLIE RANGEL: I would think that I would have a moral obligation, as well as it making political sense, to stick with Walter Mondale.*

**[01:51:49]**

*ARCHIVAL DETROIT MAYOR COLEMAN YOUNG: I don't believe that this country is going to elect a Black man as President.*

**[01:51:57]**

*ARCHIVAL ANDREW YOUNG: I don’t see how a Jesse Jackson candidacy can defeat Ronald Reagan.*

**[01:52:06]**

AL SHARPTON:Most of the black leadership was against him running. They had their own arrangements with the Democratic Party and establishment. They didn’t think it could work. But he ran and he did very well, better than they all thought.

**[01:52:22]**

**VO: IN HIS FIRST CAMPAIGN, JACKSON CAPTURED THREE AND A HALF MILLION VOTES--AND HE DOUBLED THAT NUMBER WHEN HE RAN AGAIN FOUR YEARS LATER.**

**HE NEVER SECURED THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION, BUT JACKSON WON VICTORIES THAT -- IN MY VIEW-- WERE JUST AS IMPORTANT: HE SUCCEEDED IN REVIVING THE SPIRIT OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT… IN REAWAKENING OUR HOPES…**

**AND FOR THE FIRST TIME, MANY AMERICANS CLEARLY SAW THAT A BLACK MAN COULD ACTUALLY BE PRESIDENT.**

**[01:52:53]**

*ARCHIVAL: JESSE JACKSON 1988 DNC SPEECH*

**[01:52:53]**

*ARCHIVAL JESSE JACKSON: “It gets dark sometimes, but the morning comes. Don’t you surrender. Suffering breeds character, character breeds faith. In the end, faith will not disappoint. You must not surrender. You may or may not get there, but just know that you are qualified. And you hold on and hold out. We must never surrender. America will get better and better. Keep hope alive! Keep hope alive!*

**[01:53:30]**

*GATES AT MLK MEMORIAL*

**[01:53:32]**

**VO: FROM SELMA, ALABAMA TO JESSE’S PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS, AFRICAN AMERICANS HAD MADE HUGE STRIDES IN VIRTUALLY EVERY ARENA…**

**AND YET, THE DREAM HAD NOT BEEN FULFILLED.**

**THE DOORS OF OPPORTUNITY HAD CRACKED OPEN, BUT WE WANTED THEM OPENED WIDE.**

*GATES ON CAMERA*

**[01:53:53]**

**PTC: DR. KING ONCE SAID, “WHAT GOOD DOES IT DO TO BE ABLE TO EAT AT A LUNCH COUNTER IF YOU CAN’T BUY A HAMBURGER?”**

**TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AFTER SELMA, FAR TOO MANY OF US WERE STILL ASKING THAT QUESTION.**

**THE JOURNEY FORWARD WAS GOING TO TAKE MUCH LONGER THAN ANY OF US HAD EVER IMAGINED.**

*END OF PART 2*