

NATIONAL PRESS CLUB LUNCHEON WITH KEN BURNS AND HENRY LOUIS GATES, JR.

SUBJECT: RACE IN AMERICA

MODERATOR: THOMAS BURR, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB

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THOMAS BURR: (Sounds gavel.) Welcome to the National Press Club. My name is Thomas Burr. I'm the Washington correspondent for the *Salt Lake Tribune*, and the 109th President of the National Press Club.

Our guests today are documentarian Ken Burns and Harvard Professor Henry Louis Gates, Jr. I would like to welcome our C-SPAN and Public Radio audiences. And I want to remind you, you can follow the action on Twitter using the hashtag NPCLive. That's NPCLive.

Now it's time to introduce our head table guests. I'd ask that each of you stand briefly as your name is announced. Please hold your applause until I have finished introducing the entire table. From your right, Michael Fletcher, senior writer for ESPN's "The Undeclared," and the moderator of today's luncheon. Bruce Johnson, anchor at WUSA, Channel 9; Jeff Ballou, Vice President of the National Press Club and news editor at Al Jazeera English; Sharon Rockefeller, a guest of our speakers and President and CEO of WETA; Elisabeth Bumiller, Washington bureau chief of the *New York Times*.

Skipping over our speaker for a moment. Alison Fitzgerald Kodjak, Chairman of the Press Club's Board of Governors. Skipping over our other speaker for a moment, Lisa Matthews, Vice President at Hager Sharp, and the member of our Speakers Committee who organized today's luncheon. Patricia Harrison, a guest of our speakers and the President and CEO of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting; Amy Henderson, historian emeritus of the National Portrait Gallery; Joe Madison, host of The Urban View

on Sirius XM; Gil Klein, director of the Washington Semester Journalism Program at American University, and a former Press Club president; and finally, John Hurley of Hurley Consulting, a Press Club member. Thank you all. (Applause)

Race continues to be part of the American fabric, and the two men joining us today have opened the door to compelling discussions of how it impacts much of American life and culture. Through their works, filmmaker Ken Burns, and Harvard Professor Henry Louis Gates, Jr., have highlighted how much conceptions of race influence everything, from our politics and policies to our economic future and part. Burns' documentaries have given us insights to fascinating and sometimes troubling parts of the American story; be it jazz, the Civil War, or baseball. I'm particularly fond of Burns' national parks documentaries and am proud to say he is a fellow National Press Club member.

Gates has extended his work beyond the classroom to his PBS series, *Finding Your Roots*, which examines how diverse racial, religious and ethnic background challenge many of our national myths. Late last year, Burns and Gates launched a series of conversations about race, hoping to provide a forum that could encourage participants away from having an either/or response to issues that have racial components. Both men have documentaries coming out soon on PBS. The premier of Burns' "Jackie Robinson" is April 11 and 12. Gates's "Black America Since MLK," and "Still I Rise," will premier in the fall.

Today in a break from our tradition, I have asked Mike Fletcher from ESPN's "The Undefeated" to moderate today's discussion, given his expertise in the field of sports and his coverage of racial issues. "The Undefeated," headed by former *Washington Post* managing editor Kevin Merida, is a digital site that will explore the intersection of race, sports and culture. The new effort will generate stories and content for its own site, as well as other ESPN platforms. It is scheduled to launch this spring. Ladies and gentlemen, please welcome to the National Press Club Ken Burns, Henry Louis Gates, and Michael Fletcher. (Applause)

MR. BURNS: Good afternoon. I, first of all, want to thank the National Press Club for inviting us back and for giving us the opportunity to change their normal format in this way, and I'm very grateful to be back here. I have a lot of thank yous that are necessary. First of all, the film that was referenced, that Thomas referenced on Jackie Robinson was produced and directed by Sarah Burns and David McMann along with myself, and written by Sarah Burns and David McMann. And I wish they could be here to participate in the discussions of this project.

I do not go anywhere without my beloved network as represented by its extraordinary President now ten years in office, Paula Kerger. (Applause) Or my longtime production partners and longtime, even for Ken Burns means 35, 40 years, and that's WETA. Many people here from WETA, but its leader Sharon Percy Rockefeller, who's also a good friend.

We also have enjoyed the funding in almost every film from two organizations, principally the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, and I'm glad the Pat Harrison is here. And also, we had enjoyed the support for 35 years from the National Endowment for the Humanities, and its chairman, Bro Adams, is also here. And I'd like to thank all of those people that I've also forgotten to who make it possible for us to do our films. (Applause)

The events in Charleston of last June disturbed and disrupted Skip's and my equilibrium tremendously. It's not that we're unfamiliar with that level of violence. It's just too much. And we reached out to then-Mayor Joe Riley to talk about what we could do. We were very pleased that the confederate flag had been removed from the Columbia, South Carolina, state grounds. But, you know, and it's true. I'm glad you're applauding. Symbols are important and this is a hateful symbol, not even of people's history, but of their resistance to progress. Most of the presence of the confederate flag arrives in our consciousness after 1954 when Brown v. Board of Education comes. So it's not somebody's history we're taking away, but in fact we're acknowledging that this represents resistance to an American ideal of equality.

But we felt that while it was important that a symbolic change could be made, it was equally important that we just not leave it alone. It was like, "Oh good, now we don't have to talk about race anymore," which is what always happens after that. And Skip and I were looking for ways to figure out how to do that. And Mayor Riley asked us to come down and we began a conversation about race. We've continued it in Pasadena. We just came yesterday from Austin where we were at South by Southwest. We're heading to George Washington University tonight and to the Brooklyn Academy of Music on Wednesday night.

And we sincerely want to do something that has preoccupied all of our lives' work and do it in a way that doesn't exclude people, but includes people and to try to move the discussion a little bit further.

And so my greatest thanks today is to my friend, dear, dear friend and partner in this crime, Professor Henry Louis Gates. (Applause)

PROFESSOR GATES: I have the same angels on my list of thanks, to whom I owe so much. And I have to start with-- and of course, it's Sharon, it's Paula, and Pat. But I have to start with Sharon Rockefeller. I met Sharon Rockefeller in 1967 in the hills of West Virginia because we both are West Virginians. You're a transplant West Virginian. My family's lived in a 30 mile radius of where I was born for 250 years. So you could say either that my family had great stability, or we were incredibly lazy and couldn't move.

But when Sharon married Jay Rockefeller, I was an undergraduate at-- well, I was finishing high school and then I went off to Yale and I wrote my senior project, the scholar of the house project at Yale about Jay Rockefeller's 1972 gubernatorial campaign. And you remember Teddy White, Theodore H. White, who wrote *The Making*

of a President? Well, I was going to write *The Making of a Governor* by Theodore H. Black. There's only one small problem: Jay lost.

So I had to write *The Unmaking of a Governor*. But they were here in Washington, and Sharon became involved with public television. And from the beginning, we had a very close connection, an unusual connection. And she would say, "You know, you should think about making documentaries." And I was pre-med like every smart little black kid I knew at Yale, like smart kids like-- what's his name, Ben, Ben-- Ben Carson, yeah, I ran into him in labs at Yale every once in a while. And I filed it away.

And then I started watching this guy, Ken Burns, who had this capacity to tell stories. I love great storytelling, and I love great storytelling because my dad, God rest his soul, whom Sharon knew, was a fabulous storyteller. And I thought, well, I could never be a storyteller like my father, but maybe I could find my way in this new medium and maybe through some back door I could become a documentary filmmaker.

And Paula Kerger was in New York and an executive there before she came here and I got to know her. And she was so encouraging. "Why don't you think about making documentary films? And why don't you find your home here in New York?" And as soon as I did that, she welcomed me so warmly that she left and went to Washington. But when she did, she introduced me to not a force of nature, but a force of culture, and a woman who was running the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. And the three of them have been my guardian angels, my advisors, my protectors, giving me sage advice all along my career. And through a miracle--

I don't know about you all, who each of you has a day job. I have a day job, I'm a professor at Harvard. I'm in the English department and the department of African and African American studies. But I moonlight. I have a second job, and I've now made 16 documentary films. And if they were all dedicated appropriately, they would be dedicated to Sharon and Paula and Pat with a little footnote, in homage of my hero, Ken Burns. (Applause)

MR. FLETCHER: I wanted to start with a little conversation about your conversation on race. People have talked about this for decades. I remember covering it myself when I was at the *Washington Post*, Bill Clinton's conversation on race. I'm curious what you two hope to see come from this conversation, A. And B, how do you prevent it from having a kind of preaching to the choir quality? How do you get kind of those other views involved?

MR. BURNS: Well, I think the thing that limits any conversation about race is that we tend to do it dialectically. It's not a black and white issue. It's complicated. And I think what we tried to do in our own work, in his scholarly work and in Skip's documentary films, and I hope in the work that we've done over the last four decades, that there is a kind of nuance. There's undertow, there's complications. That it's possible that something may be true, but they also-- the opposite might also be true at the same

time. And it's very important to understand all of those sorts of nuances so that you can have a discussion that doesn't just add fuel to the flames of our already divided rhetoric.

We are so dialectically preoccupied right now, everything is black or white, young or old, red state or blue state, rich or poor, north or south, the gay or straight, whatever the things we do. And it becomes important to say that we wish to describe a more inclusive thing, and we'll give you an example and let Skip respond, too, which is that when we were in Charleston, South Carolina and having a conversation with 1,800 people in the Gaillard Center, just a couple of blocks away from Mother Emanuel where the tragedy had happened in June of last year, we were in a town which welcomed 48 percent of the Africans who were stolen from their country, their continent, and brought to the United States. It's the Ellis Island of the African narrative, but without a welcoming Statue of Liberty.

And what Mayor Riley, even though he's ex-Mayor Riley, has proposed to do and is in the processing of doing, Skip and I are helping in the best way we can, is to do a museum there on the Gadsden Wharves where all of this took place. It's very ambitious, very important, but it's not trying to say that if you add this story, you are taking away someone else's story. What you're doing is adding to the story, and that's what we need to have. We know that we are in pursuit of happiness, that we are a nation in the process of becoming, and that requires process and that requires inclusion.

When Thomas Jefferson said, "All men are created equal," he meant all white men of property free of debt. Well, we don't mean that anymore and that's been the progress of the United States.

PROFESSOR GATES: Some people mean that.

MR. BURNS: Well, I was just going to say we find ourselves now in a particular retrograde moment where this discussion is more critical than ever before, and a discussion that stays out of the sort of superficiality and conventional wisdom of what passes for the media today and the conversations. And so I think Skip and I are just hoping some way to see if we can join a discussion and warn people as a white man and a black man that this is a conversation we wish to have that brings everybody around. It doesn't make anybody wrong, it tries to include as many as we can.

PROFESSOR GATES: Ken and I, I think, are in pursuit of a more complex narrative about the American past, which is another way of commenting on the American present, of course. Any historian knows that, any journalist knows that. That you're always-- you're writing now, but it's an analogy for something that happened a long time ago. And if you're writing about something that happened a long time ago, it's an analogy for what's happening now. It's inevitable.

And an example for me, and you know this and most of the African-Americans in this room would know this, I have a contrarian nature when it comes to writing about the black experience. I don't believe in being an ethnic cheerleader, I don't think that that

helps anybody in the black community. I want to-- I did two different kinds of documentaries. One set of my documentaries are about African and African American history. The other, of course, is "Finding Your Roots," and we'll talk about that.

And I'll give you an example. There are 42 million African-Americans today. Since 1970, the percentage of African-Americans whose income is over \$100,000 has quadrupled. Since 1970, the percentage of African-Americans whose income is over \$100,000 a year has quadrupled. And the percentage of African Americans whose income is over \$75,000 since 1970 has doubled. We have the largest middle class and upper middle class in our history. It is the best of times economically for the African American community.

At the same time, the percentage of black children living at or beneath the poverty line in 1970 was just over 40 percent. As of the 2010 census, the percentage of black children living at or beneath the poverty line is just over 38 percent. It's the worst of times in the black community.

But both of these realities are true at the same time. There are more African-Americans than all the people in Canada. And that always is a stunner. It is, as Martin Delaney-- as you know, Martin Delaney, the father of black nationalism, 1852 said, "The Negro is a nation within a nation." In 1852. And we are a nation within a nation. So that any rhetoric that attempts to describe a nation within a nation of 42 million people, with one set of descriptors is a dishonest narrative.

We have differences among us. We have major class interests and racial interests and habits and traditions. And they're not all the same. What brings us all together is racism. It's like what unifies the Jewish community? Antisemitism. What brings us all together is the fact of racism, we're all together. When that specter goes away, then we're all fighting again, right?

So what I'm trying to do in my films is to show the complexity of the black experience. To show on the one hand how there is no American history without African American history. How we don't need, to me, black history month. I love black history month, I celebrate it. Ken and I were joking, it's the coldest, shortest and darkest month of the year. (Laughter) The one that was left over was the one that we got, right?

But my goal, with my day job and my evening job, is to make every month, every day in the school system black history month. But you can only do it by creating a complex narrative, a complex narrative about the human beings who were of color and who interacted with white people and North American people and then later Hispanic people, to create this great patchwork that we call the American republic.

And you can't do it by taking short cuts, you can't do it by being an ethnic cheerleader. You can't do it by pretending that all the black people who walked the stage of history were angels and had no bad sides. And I think that that makes for a more compelling case. And in my "Finding Your Roots," the whole point of finding your roots

is to show that no matter what the law says, in any society at any point in American history, or any other history, no matter what the law said about who you could or could not sleep with, when the lights came down, everybody was sleeping with everybody else. (Laughter)

MR. FLETCHER: Ken, talk to us a little bit about drew you to Jackie Robinson as a subject for your latest documentary?

MR. BURNS: I had covered Jackie Robinson in my 1994 18 ½ hour series on the history of baseball. In fact, I think there's only one episode in which some part of his narrative didn't obtain. And yet, at the same time, you had a sense, too, that we were repeating some of the more familiar tropes about him. So his widow, Rachel, who's now 93, had been pressing me all through the '00s to do a stand alone on Jackie. And at some point, Sarah Burns and David McMann and I had the bandwidth to be able to do it after we finished a film that we were here speaking about on the Central Park Five.

And we dove into it. And over many, many years we began to realize that in some ways, Jackie has been burdened, has been kind of smothered by the barnacles of sentimentality and nostalgia. He's been made into a two-dimensional figure, almost Christ-like figure, but it doesn't reflect the whole person. And what we found it would be possible to do was to liberate him in much the way that Skip was talking about a complex narrative. If you take away some of the tropes that have become familiar to us, that Pee Wee Reece put his arm around him in a gesture of solidarity, didn't happen. That somehow Branch Rickey, like God, reached down from heaven and in Michelangelo's touched his son Jackie who would rise up and turn the other cheek in a Christ-like gesture.

You know, Branch Rickey had important economic motivations, which we made clear in our earlier film and they're here in this new film. He also had very deeply held religious and moral opinions that were right about bringing Jackie. But he intended to bring several African-Americans up. He was not the only voice, the lone voice in the wilderness. There was an active African American press for decades that was pushing for this. There was a left wing American press, a communist press, *The Daily Worker* that was arguing for that. We don't like to talk about that.

There was a left leaning Republican, I have not lost my mind, left leaning Republican mayor of New York City, Fiorello La Guardia, who was pushing for this. There was lots of agency for this progress, particularly in the pent-up emotions after the Second World War. So we felt it was possible to tell a story about Jackie Robinson, to be able to do a multigenerational, complex story of an African American family, to talk about a love story. This is an amazing story and we validate that love story in some respects by having the President and First Lady there, who also go through their own kind of version. They're different couples and different spaces in time, but they do inter-react with the same dynamic and so they both can comment on each other in very interesting ways.

And it was possible for us to scrape away some of those barnacles. And the truth is not a revisionist-- we assume in revisionism that the pendulum swings the other way. Oh, Thomas Jefferson, man of the millennium. Oh, he owned slaves, the worst in the millennium. In fact, it's neither and both, and you have to do that. In the case of Jackie Robinson, making him more complex made him more interesting. Much more interesting and permits us not just to focus safely in the narrow year of '47 when he came up, but to do his birth in 1919 in Jim Crow Georgia, and his death in 1972 as a 53 year old man feeling that he didn't have it made, that he still didn't have it made. He was a black man in a white country.

So what happens to him before baseball? How did he get there? What happens during baseball when he no longer has to turn the other cheek? What happens after baseball as a Republican, an African American Republican? All of these things disrupt the familiar, convening soporific story that we want to have.

PROFESSOR GATES: But this is a story that you would have heard, that I heard. Now remember, I was born in 1950, so every two weeks, what, I'd go to the barber shop, right, and listen to the men as we call it. Listened to the men. No such thing as an appointment in a black barbershop. You went on Saturdays and you just stayed all day, you took a lunch. And you heard the men talking trash all day long.

And they would say two things. Jackie Robinson was not the greatest black baseball player who was alive, and nor should he have been the first one. They liked Jackie and most black people in my town were Dodger's fans. Not my daddy, who liked Willie Mays and liked the Giants.

But they would also say that he was being destroyed by the rage inside of him. And Jackie Robinson was, to me, killed by the pressures of being black and playing the pioneering role that he did. And more, especially as Ken points out, by the fact that Richard Nixon refused-- he implored Richard Nixon to use his good offices when he was candidate Richard Nixon for the presidency of the United States, to get Martin Luther King out of jail. And at the same time black Democrats were imploring JFK. And JFK did it, and Richard Nixon didn't. And Jackie was very embarrassed before the black community that he didn't have the juice to persuade Nixon to do that.

And I don't think he ever recovered. That is just my barbershop version. But I think that that was a big problem for him.

MR. BURNS: Skip is absolutely right. Branch Rickey had intended to bring up a lot of different people. Names under consideration are people, probably, you'd never know. Sam Jethro, Marvin Williams, probably you've heard of Don Newcomb, Roy Campanella, some of the folks that came later. But Jackie happened almost accidentally as a result of several forces, which you can see in our film, and I won't belabor them.

I disagree with Skip about that. You know, Rachel is very adamant that he died of congestive heart failure and the complications of diabetes, which ran in the family. That

he got up every day to help the lives of others and he was in defatigable in that pursuit. But in his eulogy, Jesse Jackson said that he had carried this weight for everybody. And if you think about when he arrived, April 15th, 1947, Martin Luther King was a junior at Morehouse College. Harry S. Truman had not integrated the military. There was no Brown v. Board of Education, no organized sit-ins, no-- Rosa Parks was a decade away from refusing to give up her seat, though Jackie had done that and as a kid had refused to give up his seat in a lunch counter until he was served. So you have in him--

PROFESSOR GATES: And was court-martialed.

MR. BURNS: And was court-martialed when he didn't give up his seat and was acquitted. But what you have in Jackie Robinson, as Dr. King himself said, was a sit-inner before sit-ins and a freedom rider before freedom riders. So we have a lot of people who are active in the 20th century on behalf of civil rights. But Jackie represents the beginning of the modern civil rights era because he takes our national pastime, walks through that door and carries it single-handedly.

MR. FLETCHER: Can you mention some of the myths that were exploded in this documentary? And one that-- and I thought I knew something about Jackie Robinson. I went to high school in Brooklyn, I thought I knew this stuff-- and the Pee Wee Reece thing sort of struck me. Why has that myth come to be so endearing?

MR. BURNS: So I'll tell you why. And I have to be honest, we perpetrated it, we passed it along the way myths are often passed along. They're simpler, they're easier, they don't represent the complicated narrative, as Skip says.

MR. FLETCHER: Isn't there a statue?

MR. BURNS: And there's a statue right now outside the great American ball park. So the story is that in 1974, when the Dodger's went to Cincinnati, the racist stuff that attended every place he played, except for Brooklyn, and sometimes even there, was just horrific and that Pee Wee Reece supposedly went and put his arm around Jackie Robinson in a sort of symbol of solidarity between the white man and the black man.

PROFESSOR GATES: Iconic moment.

MR. BURNS: It's an iconic moment in children's books. There's that statue and Rachel says in our film, his widow says in our film, "You know, we asked them not to do that," because she had a better picture of them coming off the field, their hands touching momentarily. And we know from Roger Kahn, the historian, that Pee Wee Reece had never shaken the hand of a black man until he met Jackie and was from Kentucky and that was where it came about. And Red Barber promoted this, so did many other people. There's no mention in Jackie's autobiography, there's no mention in the white press. More importantly, there's no mention in the black press, which would have done 20 related stories if that had happened.

PROFESSOR GATES: True.

MR. BURNS: And baseball etiquette suggests that you don't do that. That first year, Jackie's at first base, Pee Wee's at shortstop. You don't walk across the diamond to do that for any reason. I think what happened is that white people, seeing the nobility of this story, wanted to have, no pun intended, some skin in the game. And they wanted to show that they were supporting this. And they put themselves forward in this way, and I believe what happened was several years later, when Jackie was playing second base that they made a good play together, or told each other a joke or whatever, and they ended up with their arms around each other and that migrated, as Skip will tell you, stuff in history migrates all the time.

So this migrated back in time to that to become a symbol of white solidarity with this lone action of Jackie Robinson. You can understand why it is, but it's really important that we don't perpetuate it. I mean, baseball Hall of Fame is in Cooperstown because we think Abner Doubleday, who we don't even have any record he ever saw a professional game, invented baseball. That the real story in Hoboken at the Elysian Fields, isn't good enough and so we perpetuate this myth. And so we're sort of happy to reassure ourselves with this pastoral myth about the creation of baseball when it's not.

So, too, with Jackie Robinson. There's so many things in which the sort of conventional wisdom, the superficial conventional wisdom obtains no matter what. And we hope that we could say look, it's so much more interesting this way.

PROFESSOR GATES: But we as a society needed that myth, though, at that time. You know, society's produced myths that reconcile irreconcilable things on the ground. That's the destruction of myth.

MR. BURNS: Well, that myth didn't develop until decades later. And so if you go and look for it, you don't find it in the mythology of Jackie, you find another kind of mythology that may be itself frozen. But later on, it sort of gravitates as books get written and stories get handed down and Red Barber, the now-deceased broadcaster, told us this story that worked its way into our film. But we'd read it in a few other places.

And it comes, as you know, it's hard to turn around a ship that's got some momentum. And that I think what the constant requirement of historians, both professional and amateur, is to try to figure out how to, as we learn new information, say about Thomas Jefferson and DNA and Sally Hemings, how you turn that ship around and say, "You know what guys, the father of our country, the author of our catechism, 'We hold these truths to be self evident,' actually is the father of Sally Hemings' descendents."

PROFESSOR GATES: But the way that we turn it around is by eschewing political correctness and saying, "This is the truth of the story." Now, you might not like it, but this is the way it happened. And we're not going to be myth makers. I mean, we're

not going to elide the messy bits of African American history or interracial history of America, or indeed of Americans.

MR. FLETCHER: Skip, you talk about some of the contrasting views within the black community. You know, it's not a single narrative they can capture, the complexity is--

PROFESSOR GATES: Right, which every black person knows.

MR. FLETCHER: Exactly. And actually, doesn't Jackie Robinson symbolize that? And he supported Nixon in '60.

PROFESSOR GATES: Yeah.

MR. FLETCHER: He spoke out against Paul Robeson before--

PROFESSOR GATES: He denounced Paul Robeson as a communist.

MR. FLETCHER: He denounced him, exactly right. And how much did he suffer for that?

PROFESSOR GATES: Well, let's deal with the first point and then the suffering. I teach a course-- when I was in undergraduate at Yale, it was '69 to '73, okay? So that was the height of the black arts movement, black power. Everybody remembers-- he's smiling. You have to cut back to 1969, you seen my class picture? I had a two-foot high afro. You know, Cornell West afro, Cornell, my main man, Cornell's afro looked like a crew cut next to my afro. (Laughter)

MR. BURNS: Where is it now, Skip?

PROFESSOR GATES: It could come back, if I wanted it to. I had a closet full of dashikis. You know, we would have-- remember the secret soul handshake?

MR. FLETCHER: Oh, sure.

PROFESSOR GATES: And we would change it every month like changing computer code. Make sure you were still black. Right on, right on, brother. (Laughter) But there were people on campus because, where was I in 1970? I was in New Haven, Connecticut, in Calhoun College a block away from the courthouse where Bobby Seale was being tried. So it was full of Black Panthers. And there was Liggett's Drug Store on the way to the Yale coop. That's where we'd go get the books, right? And Liggett's Drug Store. So we would call it running the gamut. The first person you had to get by was the Black Muslim, the guy with the white shirt and a bow tie.

MR. FLETCHER: I remember that.

PROFESSOR GATES: Trying to sell you *Muhammad Speaks*. “Come on, my brother, did you--“ I said, “I got it, I got a subscription.”

MR. FLETCHER: I got it clipped out on my desk.

PROFESSOR GATES: Then there’d be a big brother with a beret on and leather coat and the Panther speaks. “Where you going be when the revolution comes?” You know, “Off the pigs,” and all. And you go, “I got that one, too.” (Laughter) But there were so many people who would come to the Black Student-- I was secretary of the BSA, the Black Student Alliance at Yale. And there so many of these guys who would come and try to tell us how to be black. And unless you were black their way, then you weren't black.

And I saw a lot of damage in the black community. I saw a guy who was in love with this girl who was in love with this white girl, she was at Albertus Magnus College up the street. He loved this girl to death, they should have gotten married. And he wouldn't marry her because it would un-black him, and it broke his heart. I mean, he never got over-- so, I decided that if I ever were in a position of power, I was going to-- if I ever became professor, which as I said earlier, I didn't even know I'd be a professor because my mama, who raised two boys to be doctors. You know, my mother's in heaven and there's the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost and right between the Holy Ghost and the Father is a medical doctor. (Laughter) It's true.

And so by hook or crook, I end up becoming a professor. I teach a very large and, thank God, popular course at Harvard. And it's got a simple name, Introduction to African American Studies. I teach it with a-- I did teach it with Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, the historian, Leon's widow. And now I teach it with Larry Bobo, who's a sociologist. And the whole course is about how black people have been arguing with each other since the 18th century about what it means to be black.

And the reason I do that, the last line of my final lecture is, I say, that if you take away one thing in this class, just one, that Professor Bobo and I have said, I want it to be this. There are 42 million African-Americans in this country, which means there are 42 million ways to be black. Never let a bully tell you how to be black. (Applause)

MR. FLETCHER: Let me ask you, where do you think the Black Lives Matter's movement fits into kind of this larger narrative that you just described?

PROFESSOR GATES: Well, I just wrote an article about it in the *Times* a couple of weeks ago. And I tried to put it in historical context. I just got all my friends at *The New Yorker*, I occasionally write for *The New Yorker*, too. Jelani Cobb did a piece on Black Lives Matter. But it's all about how Duray and Alicia hate each other and who created-- and I wrote to-- I can't say which editor-- and I go, “This is like the battle royale scene in ‘Invisible Man.’ Put the black people here. Why don't you talk about its intellectual roots? Why don't they want to achieve intellectually?” And I don't think that piece has been done. Sure would be nice if the *New York Times* did that. (Laughter)

MR. FLETCHER: Just saying’.

PROFESSOR GATES: But I believe, and the editor, brilliant editor of the *Times*, called me and said, “My editor said we can't find this assertion anywhere. Where's the footnote?” And I said, “I'm the footnote, you know? I'm the footnote.” She goes, “Okay, we're going to run it.” And this is what I said. Precisely because of the class divide within the African American community, there is a tremendous amount of guilt. There is a tremendous amount of guilt on college campuses about these kids are very successful and they're going to be successful. And the guilt is about all the people in the ‘hood who were left behind. And unless there is something drastic-- something drastic changes, both structurally and behaviorally, then those group of people are going to be exactly where their parents were socioeconomically.

What is the most likely predictor of your economic outcome? Your parents’ economic status, right? So if you're born in a household that is deeply deprived, chances are, unless there are government intervention, philanthropic intervention and behavioral modification, that's not going to change. So my theory is Black Lives Matter erupted precisely because of this class divide.

And I think you have to be in the race to see that and to think about it and to know-- and I said that they were carrying out Dubois’s charge to the talented--

MR. FLETCHER: Yeah, that's right.

PROFESSOR GATES: And Dubois’s charge is that we're not free until we're all free. Not one of us is free until we're all free.

MR. BURNS: And that's Jackie Robinson’s line.

MR. FLETCHER: Absolutely.

PROFESSOR GATES: You're absolutely right.

MR. BURNS: He says, “You say you, Jackie Robinson, of all people, you have it made.” And he says, “I don’t have it made until every person in St. Augustine, Florida has it made.”

PROFESSOR GATES: Right.

MR. FLETCHER: Now, do you guys think the rise of Donald Trump says anything about race relations in this country today, or does it say more about the state of economic lives in America?

MR. BURNS: Yes. We are in a retrograde moment right now in which the dog whistles of race that have been with us-- we can't pretend now that a phenomenon of the

kind of racial innuendo that's happening right now is somehow new and we're shocked, shocked that this is happening. This has been going on for a long time. Ronald Reagan, for example, opened his 1980 campaign in Philadelphia, Mississippi. He was saying wink, wink, to a whole group of people--

PROFESSOR GATES: And for those of you who don't remember, that's where Goodwin, Cheney and Warner were murdered.

MR. FLETCHER: Yes.

MR. BURNS: So it was important for Ronald Reagan to go there and talk about states' rights and he swore to that, which was a wink. But that's been going on since Richard Nixon thought it was grandstanding to intervene on behalf of Dr. King, who was about to be sent to a chain gang and it was Barry Goldwater saying, "We're going to go hunting where the ducks are," meaning not in the African American community, the party of Lincoln, which was formed and brought forth as first-- in 1856 whose principle idea was to introduce the limitation and the abolition of slavery. That's an important thing to remember, that's been advocated.

So when you have a presidential candidate who takes a day to remember that he had already once repudiated David Duke, and it took him a day to remember that he was going to do it now, that is the wink, wink, dog whistle that signals to our unreconstructed brethren. Because we'd like to believe in the better angels of our nature. We'd like to believe that we're making progress. We'd like to believe that we would all be that slave ship owner who, you know, gives it up and writes "Amazing Grace." We'd like to believe in our better selves. But in point of fact, we, a lot of us, aren't that. And that the old guilts, as Robert Penn Warren talked about, that we've inherited from slavery our original sin, don't often transform into goodness, but metastasize into darkness. And our politicians have spent a long time exploiting them.

PROFESSOR GATES: I agree, I agree. I am alone in my little coterie at Harvard when people were mocking Donald Trump. I turned to my friends and said, "You know, you got to watch this guy. This guy is not going to go away, as he famously said. And he is speaking to a need and a deep set of fears within a large segment of the American community." And where Elisabeth and I were talking briefly at lunch, we've all been frightened. You know, you can't mock the people who are frightened. When you're frightened, if somebody mocks you and calls you scaredy-cat. Remember that? That make you feel better? Bet it made you feel worse, right?

It's not an exact analogy, but I think if I were advisor to Hillary Clinton, whom I support and is a very good friend, I would say you have to study what the needs are. Why are these people terrified? Why are they so prone to anti-black feelings and anti-Muslim-- Islamophobia, and why do they want the wall up, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera. And then what policies can be formulated that speak to their fears, but from the opposite end of the ideology spectrum that Donald Trump is doing? Rather than exacerbate their fears, how

do we assuage their fears and teach them how to reach across ethnic and racial and class lines, create new coalitions and form bridges rather than to erect barriers?

We cannot-- I told an audience in Texas, I grew up in the hills of West Virginia. I'm as West Virginian as I am black. And in many ways, I'm more West Virginian than I am black. We all have multiple identities. And if you ask me how I got to this stage, I would say growing up, the independent, rugged-- in the hills of eastern West Virginia on the Potomac River, did as much to shape the person that I became, get me here as being black. That's just true.

And I grew up with an overwhelming percentage of white kids. Many of those people are supporting Donald Trump and I'm still close to them and they would use the N word, and I told Sharon they would say-- I wrote what people would say. "Well, Skippy, if all niggers was like you, we wouldn't have any problems." And I say, "Well, Willie, if all crackers were like you, we wouldn't have any--"

MR. FLETCHER: Yeah, right, just give it back.

PROFESSOR GATES: And I say, "You want a Rolling Rock?" "Yeah, I'll take a Rolling Rock." (Laughter) These are my people. And I don't think that calling people trailer trash-- I think calling people trailer trash, white trash, is just as offensive as using the N word. And I think we can't just flush a whole segment of frightened people, terrified people, down the sewer pipes of western history. We have to figure out how to bring them up, how to give them hope, how to create programs like Bill Clinton did.

Hillary said last night at the TV One town hall that look at the way race relations were much better when we had the lowest unemployment that we've had since the Great Depression under Bill Clinton's economic policies. People start to look for scapegoats when there's not enough lasagna to feed. That's when they look for scapegoats. And what we have to do is figure out how to convince people that there is enough to eat at the table and that these black people and these women and these gay people and these Jewish people are not eating their share of lunch.

MR. FLETCHER: And you mention that we're kind of in a particularly dark moment in race relations. Does it dissipate if Trump loses and--

MR. BURNS: No, no. I think it's already there. I mean, I have spent my professional life dealing in American history. And of the 30 films I've made, maybe three don't deal with race in some way or another. Doesn't mean I'm going to look for it, it's just always there. As we're saying, we put black history as if it's some politically correct addendum. In February, it's every day. And so this is part of the American narrative.

When Thomas Jefferson said all men are created equal, setting us in motion, he didn't mean the 100 people that he owned and so that insured we'd have a civil war, both symbolically and literally. And everything that lead up to the civil war-- everything

before it lead up to it and everything since has been a consequence. So you run into race all the time.

And I've spent my life sort of deflecting criticism, not only from the haters, we would say on the internet, but people writing letters and even friends and colleagues. We're saying, "Would you let go of this thing? We're done with this. And now that Obama's been elected, will you now shut up, basically?" And I said, "Wait, wait. You watch." Because remember the Onion headline when he was inaugurated, "Black man given worst job in world." That was a sort of preview of what was actually going to happen.

So that is going to disturb the molecules in a lot of people. So I think that it's never going to go away until we begin to move and advance the conversation. And Skip is absolutely right. If you can reach out to the people who are now so frightened, and I believe a counter narrative has been drummed into their head for decades and decades. And to be able to look up and see a black guy flying off in Air Force One and to look at what supposed hoards of people coming over the no wall in-- when there is, in fact, a net loss of Mexicans. More Mexicans are leaving than are coming over and those that do come over are about one-third less likely to commit a crime. If you can educate people by having a conversation that does it, that you don't call them trailer trash, you don't refer to Donald Trump supporters as ignorant and whatever, and you say you are supporting someone who actually does not have your self interest in mind. That, in fact, you have more self interest in a lot of the folks, as Skip was saying, that you feel are perhaps eating your lasagna.

That is not the case. In fact, you can break bread with-- you have common cause with poor blacks and those blacks stuck below the poverty line, as Skip pointed out in his initial stuff. You have common cause with recent immigrants. Nobody's eating your dinner. In fact, there are other people who are so self interested, they've been eating your dinner for a long time and they have been convincing you to vote against your self interests for decades and decades and decades and maybe we can help, through a little bit of counter narrative, remind you that what's really happening-- I mean, this is after 72 straight months of job growth. This is after an auto industry that is now making a profit. This is after the end of capitalism didn't happen. This is after 20 million more people with health insurance, whether it's flawed or not means that it's human. We've actually-- it's not as bad.

PROFESSOR GATES: Because make no mistake, if ever working class white people and working class black people ever realized their common-- that the greatest thing that could happen to them would be to embrace their common economic interests, there would be a major social transformation.

MR. FLETCHER: Evolution.

PROFESSOR GATES: It'd be a whole new place. (Applause)

MR. FLETCHER: Do you guys see any of this kind of deterioration in race relations as kind of a direct backlash to the fact that we have our first African American President?

PROFESSOR GATES: Oh, no. No, no!

MR. FLETCHER: You don't?

PROFESSOR GATES: You lie!

MR. FLETCHER: Right. I mean, is it--

PROFESSOR GATES: It drove some people crazy. And the first thing that happened was that some people on the left started cranking out books. I mean, one of my friends wrote, "The End of Black Literature," because Barack Obama-- I'm like, what? I called him and said, "Are you crazy? Like somehow racism all disappears? This is the promise land? Rockin' Michelle. You know, and like are here and everything is good." It was--

MR. BURNS: The opposite.

PROFESSOR GATES: When the man yelled-- what was the congressman's name that you-- I almost fell off, I was--

MR. FLETCHER: Oh, Joe Wilson.

PROFESSOR GATES: And then I thought, "What would Lyndon Johnson had done to that brother?" Man, he would have been disappeared, you know?

MR. FLETCHER: He would have just had a heart attack.

MR. BURNS: His district would have been gerrymandered out of existence.

PROFESSOR GATES: And Johnson'd say, "Hated to do it," you know?

MR. FLETCHER: But it had to happen. (Laughter)

PROFESSOR GATES: And the other thing, when the press conference, the Republicans said, "We are going to do everything we can to defeat this man."

MR. BURNS: From day one. The day he was elected.

PROFESSOR GATES: Unprecedented.

MR. FLETCHER: Right, right.

PROFESSOR GATES: Unprecedented.

MR. FLETCHER: But many people on the other side would argue that this is just hard ball politics, right? I'm a Republican, I don't want to see this democratic president have a second term.

MR. BURNS: Yeah, so I asked Shelby Foote why the civil war came. And he said, "Americans like to think of themselves as uncompromising people, but we're not. Our genius is compromise. And when it broke down, we murdered each other; 750,000 people died in the greatest thing-- we are now in a political environment in which we celebrate the no compromise, in which since the passage of the Affordable Care Act there has been almost party by party vote on every single thing, lockstep.

And that is the greatest threat to the United States, is our unwillingness to bend. And a lot of it has to do with basic, as you say, hard ball politics, it's always been around. But those hard ball politics, when Johnson passed the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act, he had huge Republican support and he was able to make that happen, even though Republicans as a party had essentially abandoned in a southern strategy reaching out to African-Americans. But he could individually say, "This is what's right."

One of the great floor leaders in that is Everett Dirksen, who's a Republican. Those things happened because people were willing to compromise. And we don't do that anymore. So it is, of course, a political dynamic. But I think what has made it easier for people to do it, just as it's easy in a mob to say fire or get him, it takes the calmer voices, it takes the more complicated narrative, a long time to gear up to the simple one in which you say the N word or you say you lie or you say I am not going to compromise because that's against my principles, are genius, is compromise.

PROFESSOR GATES: But there was one other difference, too. Lyndon Johnson wasn't just having tea parties at the White House and inviting them to participate, Lyndon Johnson was like knocking heads. And so it's a hard thing to talk about. I've noticed that many of my friends in the press are very reluctant to criticize Barack Obama because Barack Obama's taken so much criticism from, and undue criticism, right? But I think that there is room for a critique of how the President has or hasn't used the hallmarks and tools and perks of office to effect compromise. I think that he's worked very hard, but I think that not-- he's not a Lyndon Johnson. I mean, you can't ask him to be that. But maybe he could have done more. What do you think?

MR. BURNS: Well, you and I have talked about this before, and I respectfully disagree because I think you gave it when on the very first day-- nobody said it when Ronald Reagan-- no democratic when Ronald Reagan was elected said, "My one job here is to make sure he's a failure." Which means your one job is to make sure the United States is a failure.

And let me also point out, not to keep beating to death the Affordable Care Act, but this was something that Teddy Roosevelt wanted, that Woodrow Wilson wanted, that

Franklin Roosevelt wanted, that Harry Truman wanted, that Lyndon Johnson wanted, that Bill Clinton wanted, and he got it done. (Applause) So I would say that is he stylistically not a garrulous southern person who knows how to get votes in pocket and taken to have a drink? No, he is not. But I won't say that he's without failure, but I think it's very important to put this in perspective.

If you start off from not even day one, you're negative three months one, that is to say the day you're elected, you're not inaugurated yet and you got an entire party that says, "Nope."

MR. FLETCHER: How much is he constrained, do you think, by race? The idea that a black president could cajole, knock heads if need be? Is that-- I know politics have changed since the '60s, but is that something that's harder for a black president to do?

MR. BURNS: Of course it is, of course it is, because he has to come in there having to represent all of the people-- or try to represent all of the people who didn't vote for him. And a lot of those votes were people that didn't vote for him based on the color of his skin. And so he's had to be incredibly circumspect. I mean, I think that I would have an easier time talking about it, and do have an easier time talking about it. At a few instances, he's been able to do that effectively. I thought it was very moving when Trayvon Martin was killed that it said, "He looked he could have been my son if I had a son." And that was a very moving moment.

PROFESSOR GATES: And he took enormous flak for that.

MR. BURNS: And he took an enormous-- and remember, he went on a date in New York City with his wife? Now, if anybody else had done that, it would have been this wonderful, ah moment. You know, the PBS posted on Entertainment Weekly a little bite in the film where the President and First Lady are speaking about how they needed each other in times of trouble, just like Jackie and Rachel needed each other. And it's a wonderful, very moving bite. I would urge you to go to that link and look it up. It won't ruin the film for you. It's one of the best moments in the film.

But then scroll down and look at the comments about it. They are beyond the pale in terms of vitriol. This is one of those beautiful moments between a husband and a wife, and anyone, white, black, yellow, purple, green, would recognize this of how couples talk to each other. It's both funny and embarrassing and kind of loving all at the same time. And you realize that there's a relationship between Jackie and Rachel, no Rachel, no Jackie and maybe no Michelle, no President Obama. But, the vitriol just for the fact that there is a black man who's President talking about marriage, is so instructive.

I mean, you cannot believe it. I mean, we all know, we've all been singed by-- we all are aware of the unfettered internet, which allows this sort of ungovernable id to constantly be out there saying the worst possible things--

PROFESSOR GATES: Anonymously.

MR. BURNS: Anonymously. And so what it has done is it helps to show you what lies beneath the mob. So if you are at all surprised at what happens within our political process now, if you have been dedicated to know compromise, you can see this in the way-- it's called trolling, it takes place. This is beyond the pale. You couldn't imagine if we had looked ahead-- if we were five years ago and looked ahead at the kind of stuff that's going on. This sounds like stuff you read in the 1880s about why so and so was lynched, right? This is not a modern, progressive republic that is the leader of the free world.

PROFESSOR GATES: There is at Ferris State University in Michigan, there's a Jim Crow museum. And I filmed it for our documentary, "Many Rivers Cross." And that was two years ago, I guess, when we went up there to film that. And already there was not a wait, but this is the Jim Crow museum. These are all the negative Sambo images, they already had a huge collection of the most demeaning-- I mean, sexually demeaning, even, images of Barack Obama. So you're absolutely right.

But, you know Ken, when I was growing up there were no excuses. We expected white people to be racists. I think that Barack Obama was shocked, just like you were, nothing like I was, at the degree of racism. I think that a little bit, maybe he let his guard down, you know? I think maybe he believed the narrative, that a new racial-- a day of racial harmony had come. And I think that they were caught off guard. I don't think that they-- I don't think that they had anticipated the depth of American racism and how much had not changed because a black man had been elected President of the United States.

MR. FLETCHER: Let me ask you this, Skip. The incident at--

PROFESSOR GATES: That the barbershop talking.

MR. FLETCHER: When the President got the question about your arrest in Cambridge--

PROFESSOR GATES: My arrest? Was I arrested?

MR. FLETCHER: Did you know immediately when he answered that question that this was going to be a big deal? Because the [00:54:39] in the room that it was kind of a very obvious point they made. But did you see it immediately?

PROFESSOR GATES: Well, my phone started ringing off the hook. I don't guess you can even use that metaphor anymore, right? Did you phone ring off the hook? What did it--

MR. BURNS: It buzzed out of your pocket. It vibrated out of your pocket.

PROFESSOR GATES: People said it was stupid you were arrested. I go, “Yeah, no kidding.” You know? Like, why would anybody arrest me. But, immediately he was attacked for doing it. So I knew that he was going to have to pull back. So I didn't know what he was going to do. So, the idea of having a beer came up, and he asked me my opinion about that. And he had talked to the policeman before he talked to me. And I said, “I think it's a great idea.”

At that point, all I wanted was for-- here's what happened. We were making “Finding Your Roots.” And my girlfriend and I flew out to L. A. on a Friday. And we were at this hotel for the weekend. And, you know, people-- we're sitting around the swimming pool, because it was very traumatic to be arrested, right? So, it kind of flipped me out.

But I had to-- I was filming Eva Longoria on Sunday at her house. And so I noticed that there was a little bit of tension around the swimming pool, just a little bit. The people kind of do a double take, but then I'd say maybe I'm just being-- I'm black, I'm paranoid, right? It comes with the-- comes with our DNA.

So Sunday, we went up and we filmed Eva Longoria's fabulous interview and she was very moved. And then she said, “I want to take you to dinner at my restaurant.” So I said, “Okay.” So we went to her restaurant and we had this great meal and like right there, that's the door. And I said, “Okay, I'm going up to Quincy Jones's house.” So left to go to Quincy's. Open that door, man, like 10,000 photographers. And light bulbs going off and I had never experienced that before.

So we had to jump in the car, run away. We had to find escape routes in the hotel and all that. And that continued until the day after the beer. So, all I wanted was for all of that to go away and for my life to be returned to normal. Death threats, hate mail, my secretary, she's retired now, she's Italian married to an Irish high school sweetheart. I call that a Roman Catholic interracial marriage, right? (Laughter) And she loves me. I mean, she's like my mother and sister all rolled into one.

And she said she had no idea, even being my secretary, in-- and I'm the chair of black studies at Harvard-- she said, “I never knew the depth of anti-black race in this country.” Because she was taking the phone calls and she was opening the mail. So, I was surprised at how organized hate could be. Because I'd never experienced it before. You don't just get anonymous letters. These are all cranked out of machines and calling campaigns.

And I don't know where they move to, I don't know who generates them, but it's a coordinated, terrible, terrible, nasty thing. Bill Clinton called me, and as I said, I have a much closer relationship with the Clintons than with the Obamas. And he said, “Why don't you have a beer with--“ this is really funny-- he said, “Why don't you have a beer with the cop?” I said, “Well, Mr. President, the other President just said, “Why don't you have a beer with the cop?” (Laughter) I was like, “Didn't you get the message or are you watching CNN?”

And he said, “No, no, no, not that.” He said, “Call the guy and meet in your favorite pub.” And I thought, “Wow.” And we did that. We met at the River Gods Cafe and what he told me moved me so much. He said, “All I want--“ he calls me Professor. And he said, “Professor, all I wanted was to go home to my wife at the end of the day.” And he thought there was another guy, black, upstairs, and we were in the kitchen, and that guy was going to come down and blow him away. And when he told me that, it brought tears to my eyes because I understand fear. And after that, we've been really good friends. I see him all the time. (Applause)

MR. BURR: Great. Thank you, gentlemen. I think this has been the best discussed-- best discussion of race in 54 years since Martin Luther King held this stage. Before Michael asks the last question, we'll try to get one more in if we can, I have a few announcements.

One, a reminder. The National Press Club is the world's leading professional organization for journalists and we fight for a free press worldwide. For more information about the club, please go to www.Press.org. I'd also like to remind you about some upcoming programs. Tonight, the National Press Club will be honored to welcome home Jason Rezaian, the *Washington Post* journalist imprisoned unjustly-- (Applause) The *Washington Post* journalist imprisoned unjustly in Iran as a political hostage for 545 days.

Tomorrow, Alan Gross, former Cuban political prisoner, will discuss his detainment and the need for Cubans to more freely access information. Tomorrow night, as part of the focus on sunshine week, the Press Club will host the 5th annual D.C. Open Government Summit. March 18, we will host NAACP national President Cornell Brooks to discuss criminal justice reform and the 2016 presidential election.

Finally, on March 24, IRS commissioner Josh Koskinen, will be here to remind you to file your tax returns. (Laughter) Thank you. I'd like to present our guests with, of course, the National Press Club mugs. (Applause)

PROFESSOR GATES: Oh, great.

MR. BURNS: Thank you.

PROFESSOR GATES: This is good.

MR. BURR: And Michael, I'll hand it to you for the last question.

MR. FLETCHER: Okay. Are we on the cusp of a new civil rights movement in this country?

PROFESSOR GATES: Oh, absolutely.

MR. BURNS: I think so, too. You know, something that George Will said in our Roosevelt series, he said that FDR was armed with a Christian face, that history is a rising road and American catechism that things are going to get better. And I sort of believe that it was all right. However, even potentially naïve as it may be for the President to assume that, because the only way you're going to actually create the world is to dream it and to move into it.

And I think that it is possible for these retrograde tendencies that are happening to be quelled, that they're borne, as Skip correctly says, of fear and anxiety that someone's eating off your plate. That I think that if we can sort of turn down the rhetoric, if we can stop fanning the flames, then we have the opportunity to move forward and not what it seems to be right now, backwards.

So I think history makes you always optimistic. It can't possibly be the opposite.

PROFESSOR GATES: I agree. I think that we are on the verge of a major transformation in this country when-- and it will be a movement-- when what has been historically perceived as race will come to be understood as having been all along a metaphor for class and economic difference. And when that happens, it's going to be like turning a light switch on. And that will be the most fundamental transformation in terms of the history of the civil rights protests in the United States of America. That's what I think.

MR. BURR: Ladies and gentlemen, another round of applause for our speakers and our moderator Michael Fletcher. Thank you very much, gentlemen. Thank you, and we are adjourned. (Sounds gavel.)

END