
HANDOUT SIX, LESSON THREE

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS



Teacher Note: Jesse Jackson is a very important interview for this lesson. Due to his medical condition, there are portions of Reverend Jackson's interview that are difficult to hear, so remind students to follow along using this transcript.

THE MOSES GENERATION

Jesse Jackson Stages of the Civil Rights Movement 01:21:16:17 - 01:24:07:00

The four stages in our struggle...the first stage is to end legal slavery. The next stage was to end legal Jim Crow. 5,000 Blacks were lynched...Third stage was access to voting. Beyond voting, access to capital, industry, and technology and deal flow. So, in the stage of political empowerment comes these possibilities of people coming out because if you — if you can't use a public toilet, you're not discussing running for mayor. I mean, the day Dr. King gave the speech in Washington, the reason why it resonated in a certain kind of way, from Texas to Florida to Maryland [is] we couldn't use a single public toilet. We had to go behind cans and alleys or behind trees and ask you not to look, basic indignity. And the women going behind trees said, "Don't look." Men said, "Don't look."

I mean it was humiliating. You kind of learned to drive the routes where you didn't stop at small restaurants. You stopped by friend's houses or churches or roadsides. It was that kind of navigating — navigating life. We couldn't use the toilet. Our money was counterfeit. You couldn't buy a room from Howard Johnson's, you couldn't rent a room at Holiday Inn. You couldn't sit at Woolworth's across the South. We couldn't use public toilets in the state Capitol. We lived in abject [humiliation] and I dream of a day when this will not be...So one can never be at that march talking about I want to be the mayor and you don't have the right to vote. You know, I want to be the congressman and don't have the right to vote. So that in the stage of political emancipation emerged a whole generation of young activists who had various levels of aspirations. Fifty years ago it was different — Dr. King never saw a cell phone, he never saw an African American man in Atlanta or New Orleans, not to mention his staff member Andy Young, voted into Congress. He could not imagine 55 Blacks in the Congress today, African Americans since is full of them and a US president, African American. All those things...in the 50-year span an explosion of opportunities, the possibilities in the last 50 years.

Laying the groundwork for Obama 01:15:47:16-1:17:32:18

Our struggle is built upon the landmarks of the time.

I mean with the '54 decision, the legal decision, the one by Thurgood Marshall...and that group...laid the groundwork for Rosa Parks. Rosa Parks was protesting legal segregation, testing the '54 decision, which the boycott was won in '55: We won the legal decision in '56. Dr. King emerged out of that, so in some sense, Dr. King's struggle for the right to vote in '65 had Dick Hatchett and Carl Stokes come out of that and so each generation's contribution lays the groundwork for the next generation and it must be seized. I asked Mrs. Parks, "Mrs. Parks, why didn't you go to the back of the bus? You could've been hurt, you could've been thrown under the bus and brutalized." She said, "I wanted to go back. I thought about Emmitt Till. I couldn't go back." Emmitt Till, August 28th, 1955, lynched. Rosa Parks sits up front December 1st, 1955. August 28th, Dr. King's speech is in Washington, March on Washington. August 28, Barack Obama is declared the candidate in Denver, Colorado. August 28th had a certain ring to me. A sense it just started ringing. And so, I look at the '54 decision, laid the predicate for the '64 Civil Rights Act... the predicate for the Voting Rights Act in '65, predicate for the Fair Housing Act. And so, you can almost follow — we live in our faith, we live under the law. The legal victories accumulated and the result was this brilliant, ingenious politician.

01:15:47:16-1:17:32:18

My son Jessie Jr. was co-chair [2008 Barack Obama Presidential Campaign] and so we immediately endorsed him for president because he was a live option. It was a long shot, an African American running, it was a long shot. He took the long shot and I could never really have benefitted the way I did from '84 and '88...and that's putting him in that lineage of struggle and he had — the time was right, you know. He didn't start the struggle. He benefited from it. He didn't cause it: he is the result of it. Fifty years of public accommodations and the right to vote and fair housing and women's organizations and women's rights, civil rights, gay rights, it's 50 years of that work resulting in '08. Well, Barack lives six houses from where we are right now. He lives right around the corner. We have a meeting — we've been meeting here every Saturday morning since 1966. Barack would come around almost every Saturday and speak. He was blood of my blood, flesh of my flesh, spirit of my spirit. He was ours. He belonged to us. To watch him grow, much to learn to pronounce his name. It was all a part of our growing up together and so to me it was a simple decision to support him.

01:40:39:05 - 01:42:29:22

It was the moment the movement and the mission all came together. When I looked at him walk on that stage and we were near Johnson Publishing Company where we had been tear-gassed in '68. Dr. King was killed in '68. On that spot where we were dodging canisters of tear gas, we stood in the wide-open air.... Barack Obama. Man, to my mind came the martyrs. I wish Dr. King and Rosa Parks...let me say that again. And I wish Dr. King, Medgar Evers, for a moment just God gave them 15 seconds to look at their work. This is their work: he's the result of our work. And so, I thought about the marchers, those who marched on the bridge in Selma that Sunday who couldn't afford to come to Chicago who may have been injured. After all, our warriors in America fighting for civil rights in America, we're soldiers too. Fighting for freedom in America is risky, it's very dangerous. And those who made it possible were not there. Those were very high prices — I was sitting in a very high-priced section. And so, it was the moment and the movement and it came upon me and I was trying to hide behind someone's head and the tears being...was such a movement of joy. The prayers of the righteous had been fulfilled.

Bobby Rush

Resentment against elites

01:38:32:18 - 01:40:39:09

His civil rights credentials were almost nonexistent. And there was — there's an aristocracy of civil rights political leadership. Was, is, even today, and he didn't come from that aristocracy. He's an outsider. There were a lot of people then, still there that felt as though he was being a tool of others' political aspirations — that they were seeking power through him for themselves and some people resented that. We have this problem in America and we started having it in the African American community but all communities, of how do we deal with elites. And Obama represented the elite rather than the ordinary person. You know, in some sense, you know, political campaigns for higher office, especially in the highest office in the land is always a battle most of all between the elites. And the elites have this capacity to — and it is in their interest to utilize common people in order — as weapons in their fight for which elite is going to control, be it the right or the left, you know? It's always a matter between those two elites.

Carol Moseley Braun

Growing Up in Chicago

01:00:10:15-01:01:53:09

Well, I'm third-generation Chicagoan. So, my family has been here for a long time. And I've lived all over the South Side pretty much. Although never west of State Street, which is kind of interesting. We always lived south and east. So, but it was interesting, and the timing of my life has been such that I was actually a witness to all the history that the Civil Rights Movement made. When I was little — when I was a little girl, I was born into a segregated Chicago. And then as I grew up, things began to change to the point that when I was 16, I want to say 15, but when I was a teenager, I was

able to march with Dr. King — Dr. Martin Luther King when he came here to talk about housing and housing segregation and poverty. And so, you know, I was on the cusp of the Civil Rights Movement, which made it a very, very exciting time to be in Chicago.

Carol Moseley Braun

Meeting MLK

I met him, I was actually as close to him as I am to you right now, maybe I shouldn't say that because you're not here, right? Okay, but anyway, I was very close to him, physically. So, when the bricks and the bottles started being thrown, I was close enough to see him get hit and the blood come down. And he was — it was his calm, frankly, that made me into — made me a believer in the whole idea of nonviolent protest, which was his whole point, as you know. And so, that was what transformed me as a young woman at the time, so, because he was so calm and so above it and just so, beatific is probably not too strong a word, in the face of the hate that was being spewed in his direction.

Harold Washington

01:09:11:19 - 01:10:06:09

Well, the significance of Harold [Washington] generally for the community was huge. For me personally, it was very huge also, because I had just, and I don't know how much of this you got, but I had just sued my Democratic party over gerrymandering. And, and I wound up — I won the case, we created in that case the two, the first Hispanic districts ever for the state of Illinois. We created two new African American districts, in which African Americans could get elected. And so, we did — I thought we did some real good with that lawsuit, but when I won, everybody told me that I had just, you know, pissed off the leadership in such a way, I was dead meat when it came back to going to Springfield. But instead of being, you know, run out of town on a rail, Harold got elected and named me his floor leader. So, I became an assistant majority leader instead of toast. So, it was — it worked out fine.

01:14:51:10 -01:16:50:00

Harold's being elected mayor paved the way for a Black president on a lot of different levels. The first was that he showed that, again, think about it. It's a societal thing. He's up against a whole bunch of racist tropes that had been with the country for 100 years at that point. And so, the idea that a Black person could run a two-car funeral, much less the city like the size of Chicago and complexity of Chicago was really alien and foreign to a lot of people. So, Harold rose to the occasion and showed that not only could it be done, but it could be done well. And he did a good job running this city. He brought the city together. He showed people that coalitions based on common interests were not only possible, but were desirable. And I think that's one of the things that everybody responded to and still does — still do, because he brought us together as a community. He showed that by working together we could provide everybody with more of whatever their community wanted or needed. And, and that, and that all the kind of — the

kind of games that the machine had played were not necessary. One of Harold's famous speeches was about patronage, which as you know was a mainstay of the way that the machine worked here in Chicago. By then, the Shakman decision had happened, and so you couldn't use political affiliation to hire people. You couldn't use political affiliation to fire people anymore. And Harold came in just at the time that that decision had been made. And he gave a famous speech where he said, "I've said to patronage. I said, 'Patronage, are you dead?' I walked around the grave a few times and patronage did not answer me." He did a better job of it, obviously. But he gave this great speech about the death of patronage that was really enlightening and illuminating for people. And encouraging. He gave people hope.

Jesse Jackson's significance in electoral politics 01:19:49:11- 01:24:44:13

A lot of Project Vote came out of Jesse Jackson's presidential efforts, because he made the point, and I think at this point, the Democratic party has pretty much embraced the notion that if you register voters, those voters will probably be your voters. Again, back to the easy, the easy play. And so, what Jesse did, particularly since there was such a tradition in this country of Black people not voting, not being able to vote. I mean, there was a time when, you know, if you tried to vote in Alabama, you'd get hung. Or Mississippi or Georgia. But not so much Illinois. But the fact is, people come particularly with the great migration, there was a tradition of lack people not getting involved in electoral politics for a variety of reasons, and primarily it's safety.

And so, Project Vote said we're going to take the message out to these people in the communities and explain to them why not only is it their right and their obligation, but that they can do this without expecting to get lynched. That it's safe to do. And so, it was a matter of registering voters and they were very successful doing it. And a lot of grassroots people were active in getting people signed up to vote. I'll tell you something. Because Jesse Jackson came, he ran against the machine, let's start with that. When he — particularly the first time he ran, it was not with no support from the Democratic party here locally or even the Democratic party nationally. And he shook things up. He gave people who had no reasons to expect that a Black person could get elected president a reason to hope that it was possible. He got out there and of course, particularly, he's so brilliant, and he was able to hold his own in the debates and what not and he made people proud. He made people proud that he could do as well and hold his own in these venues as a candidate for president. And he was a credible candidate for president. He changed the Democratic party rules, as you're well aware, to open it up and make it more inclusive. To begin the conversation about how do you treat the people who vote for you almost automatically, 89% or 90% of the time? How are you treating the Black community? And so he was really at the vanguard of a lot of the civil rights — he represented the Civil Rights Movement coming together with electoral politics for

the first time. And that had not really happened before.

Jesse Jackson's Operation Breadbasket

When Jesse Jackson came to Chicago for the first time, he had something called "Operation Breadbasket." And it was out of a theater on Halsted. And so, and Operation Breadbasket was about teaching people A, they could vote without fear — without fear of their own personal safety. And B, that there was something to be said to participate — participation in the electoral process.... That's what he called it, a coalition of people from all walks of life who had the same, shared values in terms of making sure that this country worked for everybody and not just for the privileged few. And so, you know, I think it's major kudos for having done that for the country and he paved the way for Barack. There would not have been a Barack Obama had it not been for Jesse Jackson. That's just that simple.

Shirley Chisholm and Black Women

You know, the thing is, and she's my personal heroine because the fact that she, as a woman, she brought together both the challenge of race and gender. And frankly, that's a little more difficult because you've got two different sets of competing values, competing issues and stereotypes. So, assuming for a moment you've got the stereotypes associated with being a Black person on the one hand, when you're talking about a Black woman you've got the stereotypes associated with being a woman on the other. And they come together in unique and bizarre ways sometimes. They fight each other sometimes; they complement each other other times. But the fact is, it's a different ballgame for a woman candidate, I think. And again, Shirley Chisholm opened the doors for women across the board. Her challenge was less race based than it was about gender and opening up our democracy and making it work for everybody. And so, you know, just as Jesse came at it from the civil rights or from the racial perspective, Shirley Chisholm came at it from gender, and — but they both had the same message, which is: this democracy has got to work for everybody.

Jeremiah Wright **Growing Up Under Segregation** 01:01:18:15-01:06:53:07

Philadelphia had YMCA for White people and a YMCA for Colored. The YMCA for Whites had a pool. We could not use that pool as Coloreds but one day a week, after which they emptied the pool to get all that Colored water out. I didn't understand. Is this the Young Men's Christian Association? This is how Christianity works? Added to that was the fact that both [of my] parents as I said finished Virginia Union, their mother and their father lived in Virginia so I spent half my life in Virginia and that always meant packing a lunch. I couldn't — did not understand why we couldn't stop at a restaurant. We went to restaurants in Philly. My father refused to go to a segregated restaurant, so we packed a lunch so we would have something to eat on the way down to Virginia. And he always [would] go to the washroom

before we crossed the Mason-Dixon line. Now, I'm trying to understand how this fits in with Christianity and it didn't fit in at all. Then the other blessing and curse for me growing up as a [inaudible] was Daddy had rules. Be in the house when the streetlights come on. One hour of television only when we got a television. But then you had to read. Well, if the teacher said read to page 62, I would read to page 62. My sister would go on to read the next two or three chapters. Not me. But I had to read something, so I would go in my father's study to read, and that impacted me in an awesome way.

My father was a student of Carter Woodson, the father of African American history. So I was reading Carter Woodson's books but I was also reading his books. My daddy had a master of divinity, a bachelor of arts, a bachelor of divinity, and he had a master in sacred theology. And I was reading books way above my pay grade with no teacher, causing me to question a whole lot of things that were going on in church and a whole lot of things I would hear preachers and Christians say, put in contradiction to the reality of being Black in Philly and Black in Virginia. So asking him gave me some answers but many times it raised more questions in my mind than giving me answers.

Attending College During the Civil Rights Movement

I got to Virginia Union in January of '59 and the sit-ins started in '60. I was a part of the sit-ins. I was also part of — Virginia Union is a Baptist-related Christian university and we had joint Christian activities with what was then RPI, Richmond Polytechnic Institute, which is now a big college. I was trying to think of it. Virginia — it's a huge White school, state school. And the Christians, we worshipped together, sang together, studied the Bible together, Black and White. But at the sit-ins I saw these same kids who were in Christian organizations, calling us names, dragging our girls, our women across the street by the heels, spitting on us. That impacted me in a very negative way in terms of, is this what the faith is all about?

These are my brothers and sisters in Christ and calling me a n_____? Well, the sit-ins only made it worse because as militant as the kids were at Virginia Union, Virginia State, Norfolk State, all the schools with which we had any kind of affiliation, North Carolina A&T, North Carolina College — summertime I go to Philadelphia. Woolworth's is a national chain. Woolworth's has segregated seating. I believe that's where the students from Greensboro started it. We go to Woolworth's; we're meeting the students of Virginia Union, Virginia State down south. We're gonna picket Woolworth's and the members of my father's church who were all gonna cross the picket line telling us that it's our problem in the South, it was not their problem.

Now that was very disappointing, disheartening and confusing for them to not see that the struggle was about equality and human rights for everybody, every place, not just in the south. And because Woolworth's in Philadelphia was not segregated, it was OK? That made it worse.

John Lewis The First Black U.S. President 01:00:13:23 - 01:02:23:19

I never thought that I would live to see a Black man or a Black woman as president of the United States of America. Growing up the way I grew up in rural Alabama 50 miles from Montgomery was very hard and very difficult for people of color to even register to vote. My own mother, my own father, my own grandparents didn't become registered voters until after the Voting Rights Act was passed and signed into law on August 6th, 1965. People had to stand in unmovable lines, people were asked to count the number of bubbles in a bar of soap, the number of jelly beans in a jar; and to live to see Barack Obama become president of the United States of America was almost too much. As a matter of fact, when he was declared the winner of the election, he was speaking in Ebenezer Baptist Church, Dr. King's old church, not the same building, and I jumped up so high I didn't think my feet were gonna touch the floor, and I started crying. Someone asked me, "Why are you crying so much?" I said, "It's more than tears of happiness and joy, I'm crying for those people who didn't live to see a person of color elected president." And I remember some reporters asking me over and over again "Why, why, what are you going to do during the inauguration?" I said, "If I have any tears left, I'm gonna cry some more." And that's exactly what I did. The election of Barack Obama gave us all hope, a greater sense of hope that said Barack Obama can do it, maybe other men and women of color can follow.

Obama and Brown Chapel 01:06:42:04 - 01:08:03:04

I wanted him to come and walk across the bridge [Edmund Pettus Bridge.] I thought it was important. Other people had gone and walked across that bridge. And he was there, Hillary was there, and I think President Clinton came. But it was — it was coming together in a very strange way. I wanted President Obama before he became president to see and walk that path that other people have walked, to come and sit in that church and feel the spirit of what happened in Selma. To be there with the local indigenous people, and I think they have changed him and inspired him.

Election Night 01:08:06:07 - 01:09:31:00

The night that President Barack Obama won, I was standing in the pulpit of Ebenezer Baptist Church speaking in downtown Atlanta, the church that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and his father had been the co-pastor. And when he was declared the winner, I just started crying. I jumped up like I had been touched by the spirit, maybe the Holy Spirit or maybe the spirit of Dr. King and I just cried. The day — the day when he was inaugurated, I walked up to him and asked him to sign something. He wrote on this piece of paper, "It's all because of you, John." I said, "Why thank you, Mr. President." He gave me a hug. I hugged him and we both teared up. Then the second inauguration, he walked up to me and said, "It's still because of you, John." That touched me deeply. So he remembered exactly what he had said four years earlier.

THE JOSHUA GENERATION

Michael Eric Dyson

01:33:13:00 - 01:37:06:23

It was comparable to King standing at the sunlit summit of expectation in 1963 at the March on Washington where he identifies a golden thread of the American dream and weaves it into a tapestry of American democratic possibility. Now, I'm not saying that the 2004 speech measured up to the "I Have a Dream" speech. In terms of rhetorical eloquence, though, it was eloquent, or the devices, oratorically, that were deployed. King is a master orator of the 20th century, but it did have an electrifying effect in that same way and kind of coming out of nowhere.... His real coming out to the nation was in '63 with that speech when the globe was able to consume what he was saying.... It was clear to see to anybody else that he was a Black man, but he was a different kind of Black man, and this was the announcement that this is not, though they are enormously important, Jesse Jackson, Reverend Al Sharpton, stalwarts of the Civil Rights Movement, but those who were perceived to be, necessarily so, as people who could channel Black anger to express Black grievance to realize Black progress. With Barack Obama, there's a different moment here. Barack Obama's not a Black leader, he's a leader who's Black, right? Jesse Jackson is an African American leader. Al Sharpton is an African American leader. Barack Obama is an American leader who happens to be Black. So, there was a tremendous difference that was evident that day in that speech that here's a Black guy, an American leader who happens to be Black, who can use the resonance of that tradition to really ally it with our own goals and aspirations in America, and that was a tremendous coming-out party for Barack Obama.

Ta-Nehisi Coates

01:33:18:08 - 01:34:59:13

I think about Shirley Sherrod. I think that was a really, really telling incident. Here you have a Black woman, who — civil rights activist, part of SNCC. Actually, when SNCC has its schism, when it goes, some folks want to go, the Black power separatist route, other folks still believe in the integrationist route. This Black woman who went the integrationist route, believed in it, like the last candidate in the world for — and is that, but in her family is this history of lynching and brutality, just the worst kind of racism that you ever want to see. And the notion that the Obama administration bought that this woman was perpetrating some sort of vengeful scheme against White people.

It was sad that you would part with Shirley Sherrod, who in some really, profound way as I've written, made it possible for a Black president to exist, in pursuit of people who don't like you, who will never like you. Who will never believe you, who will never support you, who have never accepted you. It was incredibly, incredibly sad. The belief in the goodness of White America did not allow you to see that this could actually get really bad, that this could get really, really, really, really bad.

I know he'll have a different version of that, and he would disagree with that, but I think to me that was the tragedy of it.

Jelani Cobb

01:28:33:22 - 01:31:58:08

So from the outset, Barack Obama's relationship with the civil rights establishment is a little bit weird. It was this arms-length hug that they were trying to give him. And you know, he had gained a lot of attention among regular Black folk but the leadership class of Black people seemed to be very ambivalent about him and one of the most vivid expressions of that is when Jesse Jackson famously said he wanted to castrate Barack Obama. And he said it kind of off-handedly in a studio. In no circumstance is that a good statement. But for Black people in particular, that was a horrific thing for him to say because it hearkened back to lynching. That this is something that actually used to happen to Black men, especially Black men who were politically and socially prominent. To say that it was impolitic would be putting it mildly, that kind of comment.

But it also reflected a kind of deeper — I don't know, it was a deeper, more complicated connection between Jackson and Obama and one of the problems in 2008 was that people were enamored of the idea of this Black person possibly becoming president and they didn't seem to recognize just how indebted Barack Obama's 2008 candidacy was to Jesse Jackson's 1988 candidacy. Everything from the proportional division of delegates in those primaries that really, really redounded to Obama's favor, to the strategy of creating these grassroots voter registration drives that were simultaneously creating an electorate at the same time as you were tapping into it. That was another thing that came straight from Jesse Jackson's playbook. You know, the populist movement of connecting with you know, Black and Brown folk and White people — the portion of White people who'd be willing to vote for a Black candidate, just going on through the list, you can check off all the kind of genetic similarities between Jesse's '88 campaign and Obama's 2008 campaign. And unfortunately it fell to Jesse Jackson to point that out, which he never should do — he should never have had to do that, by the way. And in the context of that, it's not hard to see how Jesse Jackson felt some kind of way about being discarded or being forgotten. It seemed as if Jesse Jackson's campaign had become a pejorative in some ways. You remember when Barack Obama won the South Carolina primary, Democratic primary, Bill Clinton kind of disparagingly said, "Well, Jesse Jackson won South Carolina, too." As if to say, Jesse Jackson was a political footnote. So, yeah, there were a lot of layers in that.

01:37:27:02 - 01:40:29:10

I can tell you specifically the first time I saw a Barack Obama t-shirt, and that was the night of the Iowa caucuses. And I was living in Atlanta and there was a watch party, that all of the — like big Democrats in the city were at. I believe Andy Young was there; a number of luminaries from the civil rights era were there, Joseph

Lowery was there. And you know, everyone's watching this and I don't think very many people really, really thought that he was going to win Iowa, and then all of a sudden he won Iowa. And I remember leaving and there was a White guy wearing a t-shirt that said, "He's Black, I'm proud." Which I thought was a kind of interesting, amusing embrace of him.

And then right after that, I saw a t-shirt that had Martin Luther King and Barack Obama next to each other on the shirt, and then I saw that t-shirt everywhere in the days that followed. And I think that mantle of King was certainly a blessing in the sense that people understood that — it was another way of reinforcing the idea that Martin Luther King did not die in vain, that this does not happen without him putting his life on the line time and time again, not just in Memphis but in the years that preceded that. And at the same time, King had a fundamentally different stance towards politics than a president could have. And so even — you saw that tension when Barack Obama won the Nobel Peace Prize and then turned around and gave a speech about the necessity of using force sometimes, which was a really kind of awkward thing.

Martin Luther King had really no other constituency — constituency that he had to think about. 'Cause if you read that speech, the speech that King gave in '64, and that speech that Obama gave when he won the peace prize, they're diametrically opposite. King is talking about the philosophical implications of a movement based in love and non-violence, and Obama is talking about the fact that the force of arms, particularly in the Atlantic Alliance is what saved the world from fascism. He's giving that statement to — in Oslo, to accept the Nobel Peace Prize. And so there's always this difficult juxtaposition between those two positions. I think Obama's strongest critics on the Left and his strongest critics within Black America were very intent upon pointing out the ways in which his legacy as a political person was not in keeping with what Martin Luther King's legacy was as a civil rights activist.

Elizabeth Alexander
01:03:02:18-01:05:16:04

I think we're actually kind of an interesting generation because I think those heroes of the Civil Rights Movement and those heroic acts of the Civil Rights Movement, by which I mean not just the headlines of the Civil Rights Movement. I mean the long Civil Rights Movement, I mean the on-the-ground Civil Rights Movement. I mean the Civil Rights Movement as it manifested itself in arts and culture. So I'm really talking very, very, very broadly. And the Civil Rights Movement in the context of other kinds of social movements. I know that for myself and I think this is something that we shared. We looked to those big brothers and sisters and aunties, you know, that generation and saw their courage and saw them acting on their courage. We've never talked about this but both of us in our college years were very, very engaged with anti-Apartheid work. And so I think that you know, South Africa and the wrongs of Apartheid gave those of us with certain sensibilities a way to enact our politics even though that wasn't something that was happening in the United States. So what did we then do when we had trained and — and found our way? That's what was the interesting question. With my own family and with my parents, yes, my parents you know, the iconic story was that they took me to the March on Washington when I was a baby in the carriage. And there was a way in which you know, change — my father worked for President Johnson on the Voting Rights Act, on the Civil Rights Act. You know, was a liaison to the civil rights community with the White House was the first head of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. He is a justice warrior who comes out of that movement in a way people don't always see, so I always knew that but I still couldn't own it. I didn't do it. I had to figure out OK, all of this road has been cleared for you, so you better figure out something that moves it forward. And I think that that is kind of where generationally President Obama and I met. We are very deeply schooled in the philosophy of you know, the I that doesn't exist without the we and that you know, we weren't just invented with our talents out of nothing and that you actually can't get anything done by yourself even if you do have certain individual talents.