

1 01:00:17:02 01:00:19:23 1972 TO THE YEAR 2000.  
2 01:00:19:25 01:00:21:07 28 EVENT-PACKED YEARS.  
3 01:00:21:09 01:00:23:24 WE STRUGGLE  
TO MAKE SENSE OF THIS PERIOD.  
4 01:00:24:28 01:00:26:10 WE'RE HISTORIANS.  
5 01:00:26:12 01:00:29:14 WE'RE PAST-HAUNTED CREATURES,  
YOU KNOW?  
6 01:00:29:16 01:00:32:12 AND WE KEEP LOOKING BACK.  
7 01:00:32:14 01:00:35:06 DO WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY  
TO IMMEDIATELY ASSESS  
8 01:00:35:08 01:00:38:20 ALMOST LIKE A REPORTER DOES,  
THE SWIRLING EVENTS OF OUR TIME?  
9 01:00:38:22 01:00:41:04 THEY SAY JOURNALISTS WRITE  
THE FIRST DRAFT OF HISTORY  
10 01:00:41:06 01:00:42:19 WHICH THERE'S SOME TRUTH TO THAT  
11 01:00:42:21 01:00:44:03 MEANING THE NEWSPAPER REPORTS.  
12 01:00:44:05 01:00:46:08 I THINK HISTORIANS--  
CONTEMPORARY HISTORIANS--  
13 01:00:46:10 01:00:47:08 DO THE NEXT DRAFT.  
14 01:00:49:12 01:00:51:20 ALTHOUGH I WRITE SOMETIMES  
ON CONTEMPORARY ISSUES  
15 01:00:51:22 01:00:53:05 THAT HAVE A HISTORICAL  
DIMENSION  
16 01:00:53:07 01:00:54:13 I DON'T FIND WHAT  
IS CALLED  
17 01:00:54:15 01:00:56:09 "CONTEMPORARY HISTORY"  
VERY INTERESTING.  
18 01:00:56:11 01:00:59:04 THE MOST INTERESTING KIND  
OF HISTORY IS THE HISTORY  
19 01:00:59:06 01:01:02:11 THAT DOES GET AT THE PAIN  
AND VALUE OF HUMAN EXPERIENCE.  
20 01:01:02:13 01:01:04:09 AND EXPLAINS  
NOT JUST WHAT HAPPENED  
21 01:01:04:11 01:01:06:10 BUT WHAT PEOPLE DO  
WITH WHAT HAPPENS.  
22 01:01:06:12 01:01:08:10 THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE IN HISTORY  
23 01:01:08:12 01:01:11:24 IS TO PROVIDE HISTORICAL  
PERSPECTIVE, TO PROVIDE CONTEXT  
24 01:01:11:26 01:01:13:22 TO PROVIDE A CERTAIN  
KIND OF UNDERSTANDING.  
25 01:01:15:15 01:01:18:06 HISTORIANS LOOK AT THE LAST  
QUARTER OF THE 20th CENTURY.  
26 01:01:18:08 01:01:20:21 TODAY ON  
A BIOGRAPHY OF AMERICA.  
27 01:01:25:05 01:01:29:02 [Captioning sponsored  
by ANNENBERG/CPB]  
28 01:01:51:19 01:01:55:12 Miller:  
ON JULY 4, 1976, AMERICA  
COMMEMORATED ITS BICENTENNIAL.  
29 01:01:57:18 01:01:59:13 IT WAS AN AUSPICIOUS  
ANNIVERSARY.  
30 01:01:59:15 01:02:01:21 ALTHOUGH FEW PEOPLE  
KNEW IT AT THE TIME  
31 01:02:01:23 01:02:04:11 THE VERY CHARACTER  
OF THE COUNTRY WAS CHANGING.  
32 01:02:07:09 01:02:09:05 GERALD FORD WAS PRESIDENT.

33 01:02:09:07 01:02:10:26 HE HAD TAKEN OFFICE  
THREE YEARS EARLIER  
34 01:02:10:28 01:02:12:20 WHEN A DISCREDITED  
PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON  
35 01:02:12:22 01:02:14:10 RESIGNED RATHER THAN  
FACE IMPEACHMENT.  
36 01:02:14:12 01:02:16:01 Nixon:  
I SHALL RESIGN THE PRESIDENCY...  
37 01:02:16:03 01:02:18:01 Miller:  
AT THE TIME  
OF THIS POLITICAL CRISIS  
38 01:02:18:03 01:02:20:11 AMERICA WAS ALSO IN THE GRIP  
OF THE ENERGY CRISIS.  
39 01:02:20:13 01:02:24:21 IN 1972, YOU COULD BUY GAS  
FOR 40 CENTS A GALLON.  
40 01:02:24:23 01:02:27:19 A YEAR LATER,  
YOU'D BE PAYING DOUBLE THAT.  
41 01:02:27:21 01:02:31:01 AND THE ENERGY CRISIS  
TRIGGERED A LONG-TERM RECESSION.  
42 01:02:31:03 01:02:33:16 SOME OF THE COUNTRY'S  
BIGGEST INDUSTRIES  
43 01:02:33:18 01:02:36:08 LIKE THE AUTO INDUSTRY AND  
STEEL INDUSTRY, WERE HIT HARD.  
44 01:02:36:10 01:02:39:19 PLANTS LAID OFF HUNDREDS  
OF THOUSANDS OF WORKERS.  
45 01:02:39:21 01:02:42:04 AND ONCE-PROSPEROUS  
INDUSTRIAL CITIES  
46 01:02:42:06 01:02:44:04 LIKE PITTSBURGH AND DETROIT  
47 01:02:44:06 01:02:45:18 WERE IN TERRIBLE TROUBLE.  
48 01:02:47:05 01:02:48:16 THE COLD WAR PERSISTED  
49 01:02:48:18 01:02:51:00 WITH TENSIONS AND DEFENSE  
BUDGETS RUNNING HIGH.  
50 01:02:53:02 01:02:56:19 THIS IS WHERE  
AMERICA WAS IN 1980.  
51 01:02:58:28 01:03:01:22 IF WE FAST-FORWARD THE PICTURE  
TO THE LATE 1990s  
52 01:03:01:24 01:03:04:11 IT COULD NOT  
HAVE BEEN MORE DIFFERENT.  
53 01:03:04:13 01:03:06:06 THE ECONOMY IS BOOMING.  
54 01:03:06:08 01:03:07:25 THE COLD WAR IS OVER.  
55 01:03:07:27 01:03:11:08 AMERICA'S RIDING HIGH AS  
THE LEADER OF A GLOBAL ECONOMY  
56 01:03:11:10 01:03:13:07 AND A GLOBAL CULTURE.  
57 01:03:14:23 01:03:15:28 THESE CHANGES OCCURRED  
58 01:03:16:00 01:03:18:03 WITH DRAMATIC,  
HEAD-TURNING SUDDENNESS.  
59 01:03:18:05 01:03:20:02 AND IT'S HARD  
TO MAKE SENSE OF THEM  
60 01:03:20:04 01:03:22:09 TO PUT THEM  
INTO HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.  
61 01:03:22:11 01:03:24:02 WE'RE TOO CLOSE  
TO WHAT HAPPENED.  
62 01:03:24:04 01:03:26:15 YET, WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY  
AS HISTORIANS  
63 01:03:26:17 01:03:28:15 TO MAKE SENSE OF THE HISTORY  
OF OUR OWN TIMES.

64 01:03:28:17 01:03:31:00 LET'S LOOK AT SOME OF THIS  
HISTORY THROUGH THE HEADLINES

65 01:03:31:02 01:03:34:11 FROM THE YEARS 1972  
TO THE YEAR 2000.

66 01:03:35:28 01:03:38:09 NEITHER GERALD FORD,  
NOR JIMMY CARTER--

67 01:03:38:11 01:03:40:20 WHO TOOK OFFICE AS PRESIDENT  
IN 1977--

68 01:03:40:22 01:03:44:14 COULD REVERSE AMERICA'S  
ECONOMIC DECLINE.

69 01:03:44:16 01:03:46:17 CARTER WARNED  
THAT THERE WERE LIMITS TO GROWTH

70 01:03:46:19 01:03:49:27 THAT AMERICANS HAD  
TO REDUCE THEIR EXPECTATIONS.

71 01:03:49:29 01:03:52:20 TONIGHT I WANT TO HAVE  
AN UNPLEASANT TALK WITH YOU

72 01:03:52:22 01:03:55:17 ABOUT A PROBLEM THAT'S  
UNPRECEDENTED IN OUR HISTORY.

73 01:03:55:19 01:03:56:29 Miller:  
IT WAS A SOBER TIME.

74 01:03:57:01 01:04:00:05 IN 1979, A NUCLEAR ACCIDENT

75 01:04:00:07 01:04:01:27 AT THREE MILE ISLAND  
IN PENNSYLVANIA

76 01:04:01:29 01:04:06:08 THREATENED A MELTDOWN  
OF THE PLANT AND RAISED FEARS

77 01:04:06:10 01:04:08:18 ABOUT THE CATASTROPHIC POTENTIAL  
OF ALL NUCLEAR POWER.

78 01:04:10:26 01:04:12:18 AT THE END  
OF THE JIMMY CARTER PRESIDENCY

79 01:04:12:20 01:04:14:04 52 AMERICANS  
HAD BEEN TAKEN HOSTAGE

80 01:04:14:06 01:04:15:17 BY IRANIAN TERRORISTS.

81 01:04:15:19 01:04:17:10 Carter:  
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

82 01:04:17:12 01:04:20:16 WILL NOT YIELD  
TO INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM.

83 01:04:20:18 01:04:23:04 Miller:  
THEY WERE RELEASED IN 1981

84 01:04:23:06 01:04:25:04 THE DAY RONALD REAGAN  
TOOK OFFICE.

85 01:04:25:06 01:04:27:04 BY THE TIME REAGAN BECAME  
PRESIDENT

86 01:04:27:06 01:04:30:16 THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS  
SEEMED TO BE ENTRENCHED.

87 01:04:30:18 01:04:32:24 THE INTEREST  
ON THE PUBLIC DEBT THIS YEAR

88 01:04:32:26 01:04:34:11 WE KNOW WILL BE OVER 90 BILLION.

89 01:04:34:13 01:04:36:15 Miller:  
REAGAN

90 01:04:36:17 01:04:38:12 AND THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESS  
MOVED QUICKLY

91 01:04:38:14 01:04:39:29 TO INSTITUTE TAX CUTS  
AND CUT GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS.

92 01:04:40:01 01:04:43:05 STILL,  
ECONOMIC RECESSION CONTINUED.

93 01:04:43:07 01:04:44:26 UNEMPLOYMENT REACHED TEN PERCENT

IN 1982.  
 94 01:04:44:28 01:04:46:06 Man:  
 WE HAVEN'T SEEN THE BOTTOM.  
 95 01:04:46:08 01:04:48:02 IT HASN'T BOTTOMED OUT YET.  
 96 01:04:48:04 01:04:51:18 Miller:  
 PRESIDENT REAGAN INCREASED  
 THE DEFENSE BUDGET DRAMATICALLY  
 97 01:04:51:20 01:04:55:08 ATTACKING THE SOVIET UNION  
 AS THE "EVIL EMPIRE."  
 98 01:04:55:10 01:04:56:21 TO IGNORE THE FACTS OF HISTORY  
 99 01:04:56:23 01:04:58:11 AND THE AGGRESSIVE IMPULSES  
 OF AN EVIL EMPIRE...  
 100 01:04:58:13 01:05:00:19 Miller:  
 REAGAN CALLED FOR  
 A SUPERCHARGED AMERICAN EFFORT  
 101 01:05:00:21 01:05:01:19 TO DEFEAT THE ENEMY.  
 102 01:05:01:21 01:05:03:04 THE SOVIET UNION, HOWEVER  
 103 01:05:03:06 01:05:05:10 WAS BEGINNING  
 ITS OWN TRANSFORMATION  
 104 01:05:05:12 01:05:06:23 UNDER MIKHAIL GORBACHEV  
 105 01:05:06:25 01:05:10:14 A PRESIDENT COMMITTED  
 TO DEMOCRATIC REFORMS.  
 106 01:05:10:16 01:05:12:25 IN 1989, THE BERLIN WALL  
 107 01:05:12:27 01:05:16:27 LONG THE SYMBOL OF THE COLD WAR,  
 COLLAPSED.  
 108 01:05:16:29 01:05:20:12 ALONG WITH IT, WITHIN  
 SEVERAL YEARS, THE SOVIET UNION.  
 109 01:05:20:14 01:05:24:07 THE FIRST CASES OF AIDS  
 APPEARED IN AMERICA IN 1981.  
 110 01:05:24:09 01:05:27:17 BY 1988, THE DISEASE THREATENED  
 TO BECOME AN EPIDEMIC.  
 111 01:05:27:19 01:05:31:09 THE AIDS QUILT EXPRESSED THE  
 GRIEF OF THOUSANDS OF AMERICANS  
 112 01:05:31:11 01:05:33:01 FOR THE EPIDEMIC'S VICTIMS.  
 113 01:05:34:16 01:05:37:03 IN THE 1980s, CONCERN  
 ABOUT THE ENVIRONMENT GREW  
 114 01:05:37:05 01:05:40:02 ESPECIALLY IN RESPONSE  
 TO THE EXXON VALDEZ OIL SPILL  
 115 01:05:40:04 01:05:42:00 IN ALASKA'S  
 PRINCE WILLIAM SOUND.  
 116 01:05:42:02 01:05:44:01 MORE THAN  
 TEN MILLION BARRELS OF OIL  
 117 01:05:44:03 01:05:47:04 CONTAMINATED  
 HUNDREDS OF MILES OF SHORELINE  
 118 01:05:47:06 01:05:49:18 AND SHATTERED  
 THE LOCAL ECOSYSTEM.  
 119 01:05:51:08 01:05:55:08 IN 1983, SALLY RIDE BECAME THE  
 FIRST AMERICAN WOMAN IN SPACE  
 120 01:05:55:10 01:05:57:02 SPENDING SIX DAYS IN ORBIT.  
 121 01:05:57:04 01:05:59:01 SHE WAS AMONG THE MANY WOMEN  
 122 01:05:59:03 01:06:02:07 WHOSE PLACE IN SOCIETY  
 HAD CHANGED DRAMATICALLY  
 123 01:06:02:09 01:06:04:28 IN THE LAST QUARTER  
 OF THE 20th CENTURY.  
 124 01:06:06:16 01:06:10:05 THIS WAS A PERIOD OF FABULOUS  
 TECHNOLOGICAL ACHIEVEMENT.

125 01:06:10:07 01:06:12:07 BY THE MID-1980s  
126 01:06:12:09 01:06:14:11 THE LAUNCH OF A SPACE SHUTTLE  
WAS A REGULAR EVENT  
127 01:06:14:13 01:06:18:09 UNTIL THE TRAGIC EXPLOSION  
OF THE *CHALLENGER* IN 1986.  
128 01:06:21:17 01:06:24:02 IN THE BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES,  
RECOMBINANT DNA TECHNOLOGY  
129 01:06:24:04 01:06:27:15 A FIRST STEP IN CLONING,  
WAS DEVELOPED.  
130 01:06:28:24 01:06:30:05 IN THE EARLY 1980s  
131 01:06:30:07 01:06:32:12 THE FIRST PERSONAL COMPUTER  
HIT THE MARKET  
132 01:06:32:14 01:06:35:22 AND THE FIRST CLUMSY CONNECTIONS  
ON THE INTERNET  
133 01:06:35:24 01:06:37:00 WERE MADE IN 1982.  
134 01:06:39:11 01:06:42:13 RONALD REAGAN RESTORED  
THE CONFIDENCE OF AMERICA.  
135 01:06:42:15 01:06:44:19 AND HIS ECONOMIC POLICIES,  
"TRICKLE-DOWN" ECONOMICS  
136 01:06:44:21 01:06:47:05 CREATED A WHOLE NEW  
CLASS OF MILLIONAIRES.  
137 01:06:47:07 01:06:50:11 THOSE WHO HAD MONEY SPENT IT,  
AND SPENT IT LAVISHLY.  
138 01:06:50:13 01:06:55:00 THE 1980s CAME TO BE SEEN AS THE  
"ME DECADE," A DECADE OF EXCESS.  
139 01:06:55:02 01:06:57:09 Man:  
ONE OF THE GREAT THINGS  
ABOUT THIS NATION IS  
140 01:06:57:11 01:06:59:23 THAT WE CAN SEEK PROFIT.  
141 01:06:59:25 01:07:01:08 AND I'M PROUD OF THAT.  
142 01:07:01:10 01:07:03:07 AND IF YOU CAN GAIN PROFIT,  
THAT'S EVEN BETTER.  
143 01:07:03:09 01:07:05:26 Miller:  
BUT THE GAP BETWEEN  
RICH AND POOR  
144 01:07:05:28 01:07:07:18 WHITES AND PEOPLE OF COLOR  
145 01:07:07:20 01:07:09:27 CITY AND SUBURBS,  
CONTINUED TO GROW.  
146 01:07:09:29 01:07:11:16 AND SO DID CONSERVATISM;  
147 01:07:11:18 01:07:14:09 IN POLITICS AND IN CULTURE.  
148 01:07:14:11 01:07:16:22 GEORGE BUSH WAS ELECTED  
PRESIDENT IN 1988  
149 01:07:16:24 01:07:19:25 INHERITING BOTH THE OPTIMISM  
OF THE REAGAN YEARS  
150 01:07:19:27 01:07:21:26 AND THE PROBLEMS  
IN THE AMERICAN ECONOMY.  
151 01:07:23:19 01:07:27:06 BY 1992, THE FEDERAL DEFICIT  
WAS FOUR TRILLION DOLLARS.  
152 01:07:27:08 01:07:28:22 WE NEED JOBS.  
153 01:07:28:24 01:07:30:25 THIS IS NOT GOING TO WORK.  
154 01:07:30:27 01:07:33:29 Miller:  
THE LONG SIEGE OF ECONOMIC  
TROUBLES HAD DEEP ROOTS.  
155 01:07:34:01 01:07:35:12 FUELED BY RACISM  
156 01:07:35:14 01:07:37:13 THEY IGNITED  
THE LOS ANGELES RIOTS.

157 01:07:40:13 01:07:44:23 IN EARLY 1991, AN AROUSED NATION  
 UNITED BEHIND PRESIDENT BUSH  
 158 01:07:44:25 01:07:48:14 WHEN HE ATTACKED THE IRAQI  
 DICTATOR, SADDAM HUSSEIN  
 159 01:07:48:16 01:07:50:01 AFTER HUSSEIN INVADED KUWAIT.  
 160 01:07:50:03 01:07:52:22 THE PERSIAN GULF WAR WAS  
 AN OVERWHELMING DEMONSTRATION  
 161 01:07:52:24 01:07:55:10 OF AMERICAN TECHNOLOGICAL MIGHT.  
 162 01:07:57:26 01:07:59:12 IN NOVEMBER 1992  
 163 01:07:59:14 01:08:02:03 WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON  
 WAS ELECTED PRESIDENT  
 164 01:08:02:05 01:08:04:01 DESPITE RUMORS  
 OF PERSONAL SCANDAL  
 165 01:08:04:03 01:08:05:26 THAT WOULD PLAGUE HIS PRESIDENCY  
 166 01:08:05:28 01:08:09:02 AND CULMINATE IN HIS IMPEACHMENT  
 IN DECEMBER 1998.  
 167 01:08:09:04 01:08:11:17 YET DURING HIS EIGHT YEARS  
 AS PRESIDENT  
 168 01:08:11:19 01:08:14:22 THE COUNTRY EXPERIENCED  
 AN UNRIVALED ECONOMIC BOOM.  
 169 01:08:14:24 01:08:16:28 THE STOCK MARKET CLIMBED  
 TO AN ALL-TIME HIGH  
 170 01:08:17:00 01:08:19:12 AND WAS STILL CLIMBING  
 AT THE END OF THE CENTURY.  
 171 01:08:21:02 01:08:23:05 AMERICA HAD BECOME  
 A SERVICE ECONOMY  
 172 01:08:23:07 01:08:24:19 WITH ITS BIGGEST EXPORTS:  
 173 01:08:24:21 01:08:26:04 ENTERTAINMENT...  
 174 01:08:26:06 01:08:27:29 INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES...  
 175 01:08:28:01 01:08:29:25 AND ITS OWN CULTURE.  
 176 01:08:29:27 01:08:31:17 BY THE YEAR 1998  
 177 01:08:31:19 01:08:34:27 OVER 40 MILLION HOUSEHOLDS HAD  
 THEIR OWN PERSONAL COMPUTERS.  
 178 01:08:34:29 01:08:37:15 MORE THAN 11 MILLION  
 HAD MORE THAN THREE TELEVISIONS.  
 179 01:08:37:17 01:08:40:20 AND 44 MILLION AMERICANS  
 HAD GUNS.  
 180 01:08:40:22 01:08:45:18 THE COMPLEXION OF THE COUNTRY  
 CONTINUED TO CHANGE.  
 181 01:08:45:20 01:08:49:15 BY 1998,  
 72% OF THE POPULATION WAS WHITE  
 182 01:08:49:17 01:08:54:10 12% AFRICAN AMERICAN, 11%  
 HISPANIC AND FOUR PERCENT ASIAN.  
 183 01:08:54:12 01:08:58:18 NEW TECHNOLOGIES TRANSFORMED  
 VIRTUALLY EVERY ASPECT OF LIFE  
 184 01:08:58:20 01:09:00:21 EVEN OUR OWN GENETIC MAKEUP.  
 185 01:09:00:23 01:09:03:13 BY THE YEAR 2000,  
 THE HUMAN GENOME PROJECT  
 186 01:09:03:15 01:09:07:03 WAS NEARING COMPLETION OF THE  
 MAP OF THE ENTIRE HUMAN DNA CODE  
 187 01:09:07:05 01:09:09:01 OFFERING STAGGERING  
 POSSIBILITIES  
 188 01:09:09:03 01:09:11:09 FOR ALTERING  
 THE DESIGN OF LIFE ITSELF.  
 189 01:09:13:05 01:09:15:27 IN THE YEAR 2000, AMERICA STOOD  
 POISED TO TAKE ON THE CHALLENGES

190 01:09:15:29 01:09:17:28 OF THE THIRD MILLENNIUM.  
 191 01:09:18:00 01:09:21:12 Clinton:  
 THE TORCH IS PASSED...  
 192 01:09:21:14 01:09:26:11 TO A NEW CENTURY  
 OF YOUNG AMERICANS.  
 193 01:09:28:03 01:09:29:18 THESE ARE THE HEADLINES.  
 194 01:09:29:20 01:09:30:26 THEY'RE RAW DATA.  
 195 01:09:30:28 01:09:33:19 AND IT'S AN INCOMPLETE SET  
 OF DATA AT THAT.  
 196 01:09:33:21 01:09:35:27 I ASKED OUR TEAM  
 OF HISTORIANS TO INTERPRET  
 197 01:09:35:29 01:09:37:20 TO SHED SOME LIGHT  
 ON THESE EVENTS.  
 198 01:09:37:22 01:09:38:29 AT FIRST, THEY RESISTED.  
 199 01:09:40:14 01:09:43:00 HOW DO YOU WRITE ABOUT A PERIOD  
 THROUGH WHICH YOU LIVED?  
 200 01:09:43:02 01:09:44:19 BECAUSE THAT SHAPES  
 OUR PERSPECTIVE  
 201 01:09:44:21 01:09:46:24 AS TO WHAT IS IMPORTANT,  
 WHAT ISN'T IMPORTANT--  
 202 01:09:46:26 01:09:48:06 OUR OWN EXPERIENCES.  
 203 01:09:48:08 01:09:49:28 AND THE RECENT PAST  
 ISN'T JUST WRITING  
 204 01:09:50:00 01:09:51:18 ABOUT THE 1990s  
 OR THE 1980s.  
 205 01:09:51:20 01:09:53:15 SOME OF US HAVE  
 MEMORIES  
 206 01:09:53:17 01:09:55:10 OF THE '70s, THE '60s  
 AND THE '50s.  
 207 01:09:55:12 01:09:57:17 WELL, THAT'S HALF A CENTURY  
 OF HISTORY  
 208 01:09:57:19 01:09:59:24 ABOUT WHICH  
 WE HAVE PERSONAL MEMORIES.  
 209 01:09:59:26 01:10:02:22 OUR OWN IDENTITIES  
 WERE SHAPED BY THESE MEMORIES.  
 210 01:10:02:24 01:10:04:21 WELL, WHEN WE GO TO CHOOSE  
 WHAT'S IMPORTANT  
 211 01:10:04:23 01:10:06:05 HOW MUCH ARE WE DRAWN TO THOSE  
 212 01:10:06:07 01:10:09:25 NOT BECAUSE OF OUR DETACHED ROLE  
 AS HISTORIANS  
 213 01:10:09:27 01:10:11:01 BUT BECAUSE WE'RE ENGAGED--  
 214 01:10:11:03 01:10:12:23 WE'RE ENGAGED PERSONALLY  
 WITH THE PAST.  
 215 01:10:12:25 01:10:14:24 IT RAISES QUESTIONS  
 ABOUT THE TENSION  
 216 01:10:14:26 01:10:16:14 BETWEEN THE ROLE  
 AS HISTORIAN  
 217 01:10:16:16 01:10:18:00 AND THE ROLE  
 AS PARTICIPANT.  
 218 01:10:18:02 01:10:19:29 OH, HISTORIANS  
 HAVE ALWAYS HAD AGENDAS  
 219 01:10:20:01 01:10:22:22 THEY'VE ALWAYS HAD EMOTIONAL  
 AND IDEOLOGICAL AGENDAS.  
 220 01:10:22:24 01:10:25:12 I'M NOT TALKING ABOUT IT AS  
 AN AGENDA IN A NEGATIVE SENSE.  
 221 01:10:25:14 01:10:28:03 I'M TALKING ABOUT IT AS A SET

OF ISSUES THAT BECOMES RAISED  
 222 01:10:28:05 01:10:29:17 THAT COMES TO THE VERY QUESTION  
 223 01:10:29:19 01:10:31:27 OF A TENDENCY TO IDENTIFY THINGS  
 AS BEING IMPORTANT  
 224 01:10:31:29 01:10:34:09 NOT AS A PREDICTIVE VALUE,  
 BUT WHICH LATER DOWN THE LINE  
 225 01:10:34:11 01:10:35:29 YOU'RE NOT  
 GOING TO FEEL ARE IMPORTANT.  
 226 01:10:36:01 01:10:37:11 WHY ARE YOU  
 GOING TO PREDICT THEM  
 227 01:10:37:13 01:10:38:28 OR PRETEND  
 THAT THEY'RE IMPORTANT?  
 228 01:10:39:00 01:10:41:13 BECAUSE YOU LIVED THROUGH THEM,  
 YOU EXPERIENCED THEM, RIGHT?  
 229 01:10:41:15 01:10:43:10 WE ALL WOULD HAVE THOUGHT  
 THAT NEWT GINGRICH  
 230 01:10:43:12 01:10:44:18 AND THE REPUBLICAN ASCENDANCY  
 231 01:10:44:20 01:10:46:03 WOULD HAVE BEEN  
 THIS MOMENTOUS MOMENT  
 232 01:10:46:05 01:10:47:11 AND LOOK HOW QUICKLY IT PASSED.  
 233 01:10:47:13 01:10:48:23 AT THE MOMENT,  
 LIVING THROUGH IT  
 234 01:10:48:25 01:10:50:15 WE WOULD HAVE OFFERED  
 ONE INTERPRETATION.  
 235 01:10:50:17 01:10:52:16 TWO YEARS LATER,  
 WE WOULD HAVE  
 OFFERED ANOTHER.  
 236 01:10:52:18 01:10:54:24 Maier:  
 AND THE OTHER  
 THING IS THAT  
 237 01:10:54:26 01:10:56:22 WHEN YOU WORK  
 FROM NEWSPAPERS  
 238 01:10:56:24 01:10:58:18 THE PERIOD YOU  
 LIVE THROUGH  
 239 01:10:58:20 01:11:00:27 EVERY DAY HAS AN  
 EQUAL HEADLINE.  
 240 01:11:00:29 01:11:01:27 WHEN YOU'RE  
 A HISTORIAN  
 241 01:11:01:29 01:11:03:05 YOU SHUFFLE THOSE  
 IN SOME WAY.  
 242 01:11:03:07 01:11:04:13 YOU RANK THEM.  
 243 01:11:04:15 01:11:07:00 SOME YOU FORGET,  
 SOME YOU EMPHASIZE.  
 244 01:11:07:02 01:11:10:01 THAT'S DIFFICULT TO DO  
 UNTIL YOU STUDY A PERIOD  
 245 01:11:10:03 01:11:12:17 THAT HAS NOT ONLY A PAST,  
 BUT A FUTURE.  
 246 01:11:14:06 01:11:16:27 A PERIOD THAT NOT ONLY  
 HAS A PAST, BUT A FUTURE.  
 247 01:11:16:29 01:11:19:01 IT'S AN INTERESTING IDEA.  
 248 01:11:19:03 01:11:20:20 WE CAN'T YET SEE THE FUTURE  
 249 01:11:20:22 01:11:22:25 OF THE LAST 25 YEARS  
 OF THE CENTURY.  
 250 01:11:22:27 01:11:26:06 BUT WE DO HAVE SOME PERSPECTIVE  
 ON THE FIRST 75 YEARS.  
 251 01:11:26:08 01:11:29:16 I ASKED OUR HISTORIANS TO LOOK



252 01:11:29:18 AT THE HISTORY OF RECENT TIMES  
 01:11:31:16 IN LIGHT OF THE 20th CENTURY  
 AS A WHOLE.  
 253 01:11:32:22 01:11:33:24 AMERICA IN 1900  
 254 01:11:33:26 01:11:36:23 WAS SEEN AS A...  
 A CONFIDENT PLACE.  
 255 01:11:36:25 01:11:41:14 IT WAS A PLACE WHERE CRISIS  
 WAS SEEN AS AN OPPORTUNITY.  
 256 01:11:41:16 01:11:44:10 AND IT WAS A NATION-- WE WERE  
 NATION KNOWN FOR MAKING THINGS.  
 257 01:11:44:12 01:11:48:05 WE WERE A NATION KNOWN FOR  
 OUR CEASELESS CHANGE;  
 258 01:11:48:07 01:11:49:25 THE MATERIAL CHANGE;  
 259 01:11:49:27 01:11:51:06 THE CHANGE IN  
 NATIONALITIES;  
 260 01:11:51:08 01:11:53:01 IT'S A COUNTRY IN  
 CONSTANT TURMOIL.  
 261 01:11:53:03 01:11:54:17 BUT WE SEEMED TO  
 HAVE THIS...  
 262 01:11:54:19 01:11:57:04 CONFIDENCE THAT WE COULD  
 SOLVE THESE KINDS OF--  
 263 01:11:57:06 01:11:58:26 ANY PROBLEM THAT  
 PRESENTED ITSELF.  
 264 01:11:58:28 01:12:00:16 WHAT KIND OF COUNTRY ARE WE NOW?  
 265 01:12:00:18 01:12:02:00 HOW HAVE WE CHANGED?  
 266 01:12:02:02 01:12:04:14 THIS HAS BEEN A RAUCOUS CENTURY,  
 AN UNBELIEVABLE CENTURY.  
 267 01:12:04:16 01:12:06:22 I THINK PEOPLE WOULD  
 FIND THAT DEMOCRACY  
 268 01:12:06:24 01:12:08:12 HAS PREVAILED  
 IN THIS CENTURY  
 269 01:12:08:14 01:12:10:07 IN VERY MANY FUNDAMENTAL WAYS.  
 270 01:12:10:09 01:12:11:25 IT'S BEEN A BLOODY CENTURY.  
 271 01:12:11:27 01:12:13:18 I MEAN,  
 WE'VE HAD TO FIGHT THE KAISER;  
 272 01:12:13:20 01:12:17:13 WE'VE HAD TO FIGHT NAZISM,  
 TOTALITARIANISM, COMMUNISM  
 273 01:12:17:15 01:12:19:15 AND AT THE END OF THE CENTURY,  
 DEMOCRACY--  
 274 01:12:19:17 01:12:21:09 OR AMERICAN-STYLE DEMOCRACY--  
 275 01:12:21:11 01:12:24:12 SEEMS TO BE STRONGER  
 AND MORE VIGOROUS THAN EVER.  
 276 01:12:24:14 01:12:26:28 AT THE SAME TIME, IT'S BEEN  
 THE CENTURY OF A STRUGGLE  
 277 01:12:27:00 01:12:29:08 TO BRING MORE PEOPLE  
 INTO THAT DEMOCRACY.  
 278 01:12:29:10 01:12:31:08 I THINK  
 THE WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT  
 279 01:12:31:10 01:12:34:15 THE RIGHT TO VOTE IN 1920,  
 AND ON AND ON FOR EQUAL RIGHTS  
 280 01:12:34:17 01:12:37:19 EQUAL PAY, HAS BEEN PRONOUNCED  
 AND SOMETHING POSITIVE.  
 281 01:12:37:21 01:12:38:28 AND I THINK  
 IN CIVIL RIGHTS  
 282 01:12:39:00 01:12:40:28 THERE HAVE BEEN  
 EXTRAORDINARY

283 01:12:41:00 BREAKTHROUGHS  
 01:12:42:20 BEGINNING IN 1950s,  
 284 01:12:42:22 01:12:44:20 WITH THE SIGNING OF  
 THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACTS  
 285 01:12:44:22 01:12:47:20 WITH LYNDON JOHNSON,  
 THAT PEOPLE COULD  
 START SEEING  
 286 01:12:47:22 01:12:50:10 OUR DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENT  
 IS MOVING FORWARD  
 287 01:12:50:12 01:12:52:24 THAT MORE PEOPLE  
 ARE TAKING PART OF IT.  
 288 01:12:52:26 01:12:55:22 I THINK THERE'S THIS  
 EXTRAORDINARY MOMENTUM  
 IN THE '50s  
 289 01:12:55:24 01:12:57:27 AND THE '60s WHERE  
 THROUGH CIVIL RIGHTS  
 290 01:12:57:29 01:13:00:13 AND THROUGH A WHOLE RANGE  
 OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS  
 291 01:13:00:15 01:13:03:05 PEOPLE FELT THEY  
 COULD TAKE CONTROL  
 OVER THEIR LIVES  
 292 01:13:03:07 01:13:05:28 AND THAT THEY  
 COULD FORM MOVEMENTS  
 AND MAKE CHANGE.  
 293 01:13:06:00 01:13:07:16 AND I THINK A LOT  
 OF IT GOES TO  
 294 01:13:07:18 01:13:09:16 WHERE DO YOU THINK  
 YOU CAN MAKE CHANGE?  
 295 01:13:09:18 01:13:10:28 IF CHANGE NEEDS TO BE MADE  
 296 01:13:11:00 01:13:12:21 CAN IT BE MADE  
 IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM?  
 297 01:13:12:23 01:13:14:00 I THINK A LOT OF PEOPLE FEEL  
 298 01:13:14:02 01:13:15:21 THAT THE POLITICAL SYSTEM  
 IS CORRUPT;  
 299 01:13:15:23 01:13:17:14 IT GOES TO WHOEVER  
 HAS THE MOST MONEY.  
 300 01:13:17:16 01:13:20:05 AND IT STRIKES ME THAT  
 THAT IS VERY IMPORTANT.  
 301 01:13:20:07 01:13:22:26 YOU KNOW, WHERE IN  
 THEIR OWN LIVES  
 PEOPLE THINK  
 302 01:13:22:28 01:13:24:19 THEY CAN MAKE  
 A DIFFERENCE.  
 303 01:13:24:21 01:13:27:09 I THINK WALDO'S POINT  
 ABOUT PEOPLE TRYING  
 304 01:13:27:11 01:13:29:18 TO MAKE CHANGE IN  
 THE '50s AND '60s  
 305 01:13:29:20 01:13:32:13 THE PACE OF SOCIAL LIFE  
 HAS SPED UP SO MUCH  
 306 01:13:32:15 01:13:35:04 AS A CONSEQUENCE  
 OF INFORMATION  
 REVOLUTION  
 307 01:13:35:06 01:13:37:10 AS A CONSEQUENCE  
 OF TRANSFORMATION  
 308 01:13:37:12 01:13:40:03 OF THE WORKING

AND FAMILY LIVES  
 OF EVERYONE  
 309 01:13:40:05 01:13:43:21 THAT PEOPLE NOW,  
 I THINK, ARE, ARE  
 MAKING THOSE CHANGES  
 310 01:13:43:23 01:13:45:27 WHILE COPING WITH  
 ENORMOUS CHANGE.  
 311 01:13:45:29 01:13:46:29 SINCE THE 1970s  
 312 01:13:47:01 01:13:49:01 WE'VE HAD AN  
 INCREDIBLE  
 REVOLUTION  
 313 01:13:49:03 01:13:51:03 IN FAMILY LIFE  
 IN THIS COUNTRY.  
 314 01:13:51:05 01:13:53:11 MOST CHILDREN UNDER  
 THE AGE OF FIVE  
 315 01:13:53:13 01:13:56:03 IN THE UNITED STATES  
 HAVE MOTHERS WHO WORK  
 316 01:13:56:05 01:13:58:08 AND IN 1970,  
 THAT WASN'T TRUE.  
 317 01:13:58:10 01:14:00:09 THAT WAS AN ENORMOUS  
 REVOLUTION  
 318 01:14:00:11 01:14:03:06 IN TERMS OF WHO'S  
 AVAILABLE IN THE  
 WORK FORCE  
 319 01:14:03:08 01:14:05:27 IN TERMS OF WHAT THE  
 LANDSCAPE LOOKS LIKE.  
 320 01:14:05:29 01:14:07:09 IT CHANGES EVERYTHING.  
 321 01:14:07:11 01:14:08:28 IT CHANGED SO DRAMATICALLY  
 322 01:14:09:00 01:14:12:04 I SUSPECT IT'S VERY DIFFICULT  
 TO IMAGINE, FOR YOUNG PEOPLE  
 323 01:14:12:06 01:14:13:23 HOW MUCH IT WAS ASSUMED  
 324 01:14:13:25 01:14:16:27 THAT A WOMAN WOULD STAY AT HOME  
 WITH HER CHILDREN, IN THE '50s  
 325 01:14:16:29 01:14:18:23 AND EVEN THE '60s.  
 326 01:14:18:25 01:14:21:01 PEOPLE WHO WERE GOING  
 THE OTHER DIRECTION  
 327 01:14:21:03 01:14:22:27 WERE SWIMMING  
 AGAINST THE STREAM.  
 328 01:14:22:29 01:14:24:06 Miller:  
 IT'S A HUGE CHANGE.  
 329 01:14:24:08 01:14:25:12 WHEN YOU THINK, IN 1900  
 330 01:14:25:14 01:14:27:05 IN THE GARMENT INDUSTRY  
 IN NEW YORK  
 331 01:14:27:07 01:14:28:18 WOMEN WORKED  
 332 01:14:28:20 01:14:31:19 BUT ITALIAN WOMEN  
 THAT WORKED  
 IN THAT INDUSTRY  
 333 01:14:31:21 01:14:33:19 WERE SINGLE  
 ITALIAN WOMEN.  
 334 01:14:33:21 01:14:35:01 THE MINUTE  
 THEY MARRIED  
 335 01:14:35:03 01:14:37:29 AS MUCH AS THEY  
 NEEDED THE MONEY,  
 THEY WENT HOME.  
 336 01:14:38:01 01:14:39:14 AND THINK OF  
 HOW DIFFICULT

337 01:14:39:16 01:14:41:03 IT WAS FOR  
SCHOOL TEACHERS.

338 01:14:41:05 01:14:43:05 YOU COULD TEACH  
WHEN YOU  
WERE SINGLE

339 01:14:43:07 01:14:45:27 BUT AS SOON AS  
YOU MARRIED,  
YOU LOST YOUR JOB.

340 01:14:45:29 01:14:48:08 Scharff:  
A LOT OF THOSE SCHOOL  
TEACHERS DIDN'T TELL.

341 01:14:48:10 01:14:50:11 THEY DIDN'T TELL,  
THEY KEPT THEIR  
MARRIAGES SECRET

342 01:14:50:13 01:14:51:16 THROUGH  
THE DEPRESSION

343 01:14:51:18 01:14:53:07 BECAUSE THEY WERE  
THE FIRST ONES FIRED.

344 01:14:53:09 01:14:55:29 YOU WOULDN'T THINK THAT A WOMAN  
WOULD HAVE TO QUIT HER JOB

345 01:14:56:01 01:14:57:14 WHEN SHE'S MARRIED

346 01:14:57:16 01:14:59:18 AND IN FACT MOSTLY YOU WANT  
TO KEEP YOUR JOB

347 01:14:59:20 01:15:02:17 SO THAT IF YOU CAN HAVE THAT  
KIND OF IDEAL TWO-INCOME FAMILY

348 01:15:02:19 01:15:04:25 THAT WILL BRING THE BENEFITS

349 01:15:04:27 01:15:06:16 OF THE MUSHROOMING  
CONSUMER ECONOMY

350 01:15:06:18 01:15:07:25 HOME TO YOUR  
ENTIRE FAMILY.

351 01:15:07:27 01:15:09:16 IF YOU LOOK AT  
THE FACT THAT

352 01:15:09:18 01:15:12:20 THE FASTEST-GROWING  
FAMILY TYPE IN  
THE UNITED STATES

353 01:15:12:22 01:15:14:14 BY THE END OF  
THE 20th CENTURY

354 01:15:14:16 01:15:16:20 WAS A SINGLE WOMAN  
AND HER CHILDREN

355 01:15:16:22 01:15:18:11 AND THAT THOSE  
WERE FAMILIES

356 01:15:18:13 01:15:20:26 DISPROPORTIONATELY  
BELOW THE POVERTY LINE

357 01:15:20:28 01:15:25:21 THEN YOU HAVE A PROBLEM  
THAT MAYBE THE GOVERNMENT  
OUGHT TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT.

358 01:15:25:23 01:15:27:03 BUT THIS IS ALSO  
ONE OF THE THEMES

359 01:15:27:05 01:15:28:05 I THINK, OF  
THIS CENTURY

360 01:15:28:07 01:15:29:07 IF YOU TAKE  
THE LONG LOOK

361 01:15:29:09 01:15:30:13 THAT'S CHANGED  
DRAMATICALLY.

362 01:15:30:15 01:15:31:24 I MEAN, AMERICANS  
HAVE ALWAYS HAD

363 01:15:31:26 01:15:33:09 AN ON AGAIN,  
OFF AGAIN  
RELATIONSHIP

364 01:15:33:11 01:15:35:02 WITH RESPECT TO THE  
ROLE THAT THEY THINK

365 01:15:35:04 01:15:36:21 GOVERNMENT SHOULD  
PLAY IN THEIR LIVES.

366 01:15:36:23 01:15:39:03 AND WHEN YOU THINK ABOUT  
THE STRIKING TRANSFORMATION

367 01:15:39:05 01:15:40:22 IN THE LAST QUARTER  
OF THIS CENTURY

368 01:15:40:24 01:15:43:07 WHERE THIS ARGUMENT HAS BEEN  
THAT GOVERNMENT IS TOO BIG

369 01:15:43:09 01:15:45:11 LET'S GET GOVERNMENT OFF  
OF THE BACKS OF PEOPLE

370 01:15:45:13 01:15:47:02 LET'S RETURN POWER  
BACK TO THE STATES

371 01:15:47:04 01:15:48:14 THE KIND OF NEW STATES' RIGHTS

372 01:15:48:16 01:15:50:08 THE NEW FEDERALISM  
THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE

373 01:15:50:10 01:15:52:18 MARKS A TREMENDOUS SHIFT  
AT THE END OF THE CENTURY

374 01:15:52:20 01:15:53:29 FROM EARLIER IN THE CENTURY

375 01:15:54:01 01:15:55:25 WHEN, OF COURSE, DURING  
THE GREAT DEPRESSION

376 01:15:55:27 01:15:57:08 DURING OTHER PERIODS

377 01:15:57:10 01:15:59:16 THE WHOLE IDEA WAS THAT  
THAT WAS THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT.

378 01:15:59:18 01:16:01:10 IT WAS THE RESPONSIBILITY  
OF GOVERNMENT

379 01:16:01:12 01:16:03:08 TO PLAY AN INTEGRAL ROLE  
IN PEOPLE'S LIVES.

380 01:16:03:10 01:16:06:00 I THINK THIS IS A CRUCIAL THEME  
FOR THE SWEEP OF THE CENTURY.

381 01:16:06:02 01:16:09:03 I THINK THAT ONE  
OF THE FUNCTIONS  
OF GOVERNMENT

382 01:16:09:05 01:16:12:05 IS TO MAKE LIFE  
FOR THOSE AT  
THE BOTTOM BETTER.

383 01:16:12:07 01:16:16:02 AND I DON'T THINK  
YOU CAN THINK ABOUT  
A FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

384 01:16:16:04 01:16:18:03 JUST SORT OF,  
LIKE, MAKING SURE

385 01:16:18:05 01:16:20:06 THAT THE POT  
DOESN'T BOIL OVER.

386 01:16:20:08 01:16:23:12 I THINK THE GOVERNMENT HAS  
TO HAVE SOME SORT OF A WAY

387 01:16:23:14 01:16:25:03 TO DEAL AND TO SUSTAIN

388 01:16:25:05 01:16:28:12 TO SUPPORT, AND TO MAKE LIFE  
BETTER FOR THOSE AT THE BOTTOM.

389 01:16:28:14 01:16:31:23 IT STRIKES ME THAT  
IF YOU DON'T DEAL

390 01:16:31:25 01:16:33:29 WITH THE KINDS  
OF ISSUES

391 01:16:34:01 01:16:35:29 THAT INEQUALITY PRODUCES  
392 01:16:36:01 01:16:39:14 THEN THIS SOCIETY  
WON'T CONTINUE TO EXIST.  
393 01:16:39:16 01:16:43:05 I DON'T THINK THAT JUST  
BECAUSE WE'RE WEALTHY  
394 01:16:43:07 01:16:44:24 AND WE ARE DOMINANT  
395 01:16:44:26 01:16:46:16 THAT WE WILL  
ALWAYS BE.  
396 01:16:46:18 01:16:48:11 WHAT DO YOU MEAN,  
"CONTINUE TO EXIST?"  
397 01:16:48:13 01:16:49:26 WE'RE GOING TO DISAPPEAR?  
398 01:16:49:28 01:16:52:29 CONTINUE TO EXIST  
AS SORT OF THE  
DOMINANT POWER  
399 01:16:53:01 01:16:55:10 THAT WILL ALWAYS  
CONTROL EVERYTHING.  
400 01:16:55:12 01:16:57:10 YOU KNOW, EMPIRES RISE AND FALL  
401 01:16:57:12 01:17:01:00 AND I DON'T SEE ANY REASON  
TO THINK THAT THE UNITED STATES  
402 01:17:01:02 01:17:02:18 WILL ALWAYS BE DOMINANT.  
403 01:17:02:20 01:17:05:17 AND IT STRIKES ME  
THAT WHAT YOU HAVE  
TO DEAL WITH  
404 01:17:05:19 01:17:08:10 ARE THE CORE ISSUES  
UNDERMINING  
THE DEMOCRACY.  
405 01:17:08:12 01:17:10:24 BUT THERE ARE FOREIGN  
POLICY ISSUES  
406 01:17:10:26 01:17:13:25 AND I THINK THAT WHAT  
YOU'RE SAYING'S TRUE.  
407 01:17:13:27 01:17:16:00 BUT FROM 1945 TO, REALLY, 2000  
408 01:17:16:02 01:17:18:25 THE KEY WAS DEALING  
WITH THE EXTERNAL WORLD  
409 01:17:18:27 01:17:20:03 DEALING WITH  
THE SOVIET UNION.  
410 01:17:20:05 01:17:21:09 WE'RE IN THE MIDDLE  
OF A COLD WAR.  
411 01:17:21:11 01:17:22:19 ALL THAT MONEY  
YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT  
412 01:17:22:21 01:17:25:01 WHO SHOULD GET IT  
FROM THE FEDERAL  
GOVERNMENT  
413 01:17:25:03 01:17:27:25 THREE-QUARTERS OF IT  
WAS GOING TO FIGHT  
THE COLD WAR.  
414 01:17:27:27 01:17:30:29 BUT THIS IS PART OF THE PROBLEM  
THAT WALDO IS TALKING ABOUT...  
415 01:17:31:01 01:17:33:21 WHEN WE HAVE ON THE ONE HAND  
THIS IDEAL OF DEMOCRACY  
416 01:17:33:23 01:17:35:19 AND ON THE OTHER HAND  
THIS DISSONANCE  
417 01:17:35:21 01:17:38:14 THIS TENSION WITH THE REALITIES  
OF GROWING INEQUALITY.  
418 01:17:38:16 01:17:41:03 I MEAN, THE STATISTICS  
ABOUT INEQUALITY IN AMERICA  
419 01:17:41:05 01:17:43:16 AT THE END OF THE 20th CENTURY

420 01:17:43:18 ARE STAGGERING.  
 01:17:46:03 I MEAN, IT'S JUST GROWING  
 AND GROWING AND GROWING.  
 421 01:17:46:05 01:17:48:01 YOU TALK ABOUT PEOPLE  
 BEING ALIENATED  
 422 01:17:48:03 01:17:50:05 AND DISAFFECTED FROM  
 THE POLITICAL SYSTEM  
 423 01:17:50:07 01:17:51:20 WELL, WHEN YOU'RE POOR  
 424 01:17:51:22 01:17:53:28 AND YOU HAVE A SYSTEM  
 THAT NO LONGER IS PROVIDING  
 425 01:17:54:00 01:17:55:21 OR AN IDEOLOGY  
 THAT NO LONGER SAYS  
 426 01:17:55:23 01:17:58:09 IT'S THE RESPONSIBILITY  
 OF GOVERNMENT TO HELP YOU  
 427 01:17:58:11 01:18:00:06 WE'RE BACK TO THAT  
 OLD INDIVIDUALISM--  
 428 01:18:00:08 01:18:01:24 DO YOU HAVE TO HELP YOURSELF?  
 429 01:18:01:26 01:18:04:14 AND BY WHAT MEANS  
 CAN YOU HELP YOURSELF?  
 430 01:18:04:16 01:18:08:05 WELL, MY FRIENDS, SELF-HELP  
 IS THE CAPITALISM OF FOOLS.  
 431 01:18:08:07 01:18:10:11 IF YOU DON'T HAVE  
 THE WHEREWITHAL  
 432 01:18:10:13 01:18:13:27 TO HELP YOURSELF, HOW ARE  
 YOU GOING TO HELP YOURSELF?  
 433 01:18:13:29 01:18:15:25 Miller:  
 I THINK WITH HISTORY  
 434 01:18:15:27 01:18:17:09 YOU GET A PERSPECTIVE  
 ON THINGS  
 435 01:18:17:11 01:18:18:23 THAT CAN AFFECT  
 PUBLIC POLICY.  
 436 01:18:18:25 01:18:21:04 FOR EXAMPLE, POVERTY IS  
 DIFFERENT TODAY  
 437 01:18:21:06 01:18:22:18 THAN IT WAS IN 1900.  
 438 01:18:22:20 01:18:25:18 THERE WERE MORE OPPORTUNITIES  
 FOR UNSKILLED PEOPLE  
 439 01:18:25:20 01:18:28:19 AND THERE WAS A TRANSPORTATION  
 SYSTEM IN THE CITY  
 440 01:18:28:21 01:18:31:18 TO TAKE UNSKILLED PEOPLE  
 FROM GHETTO TO FACTORY.  
 441 01:18:31:20 01:18:33:17 AND TODAY YOU TAKE  
 A LARGE CITY...  
 442 01:18:33:19 01:18:35:21 THERE'S A TREMENDOUS  
 CONCENTRATION  
 443 01:18:35:23 01:18:37:23 OF MINORITIES  
 IN THAT LARGE CITY.  
 444 01:18:37:25 01:18:39:28 THE JOBS HAVE MOVED  
 TO THE SUBURBS.  
 445 01:18:40:00 01:18:41:27 AND A TYPICAL CITY LIKE DETROIT  
 446 01:18:41:29 01:18:45:20 A THIRD OF THE BLACK HOUSEHOLDS  
 IN DETROIT DO NOT HAVE CARS.  
 447 01:18:45:22 01:18:47:25 THERE'S NO WAY  
 TO GET TO  
 THOSE JOBS.  
 448 01:18:47:27 01:18:50:02 Martin:  
 BUT I THINK

449 01:18:50:04 THE QUESTION  
 01:18:53:00 WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT  
 ALL THESE URBAN...  
 WHO'S IN THESE CITIES  
 450 01:18:53:02 01:18:56:10 IT STRIKES ME THAT ANY  
 OF THE MAJOR CITIES, L.A.  
 451 01:18:56:12 01:18:57:20 PLACES LIKE THAT  
 452 01:18:57:22 01:19:00:19 THESE ARE FUNDAMENTALLY  
 THIRD-WORLD CITIES.  
 453 01:19:00:21 01:19:04:00 YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT CITIES  
 WHERE THE POPULATION  
 454 01:19:04:02 01:19:06:12 AS WE GO FORWARD,  
 ARE SORT OF LIKE  
 455 01:19:06:14 01:19:09:24 RINGED BY WHITE AND  
 INCREASINGLY DIVERSE SUBURBS  
 456 01:19:09:26 01:19:13:04 BUT THEY'RE FUNCTIONALLY  
 THIRD-WORLD COUNTRIES.  
 457 01:19:13:06 01:19:15:20 Brinkley:  
 LOS ANGELES IS NOT  
 A THIRD-WORLD CITY.  
 458 01:19:15:22 01:19:17:05 I THINK IT FUNCTIONALLY IS.  
 459 01:19:17:07 01:19:18:14 I DON'T THINK SO.  
 460 01:19:18:16 01:19:20:19 I THINK IT'S ONE  
 OF THE CAPITALS OF THE WORLD.  
 461 01:19:20:21 01:19:23:10 BUT WHEN YOU TALK  
 ABOUT THE PEOPLE...  
 462 01:19:23:12 01:19:24:18 WHAT IS POWERING L.A.  
 463 01:19:24:20 01:19:26:22 IN THE DIRECTION  
 THAT YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT?  
 464 01:19:26:24 01:19:28:26 YOU'VE GOT  
 TO UNDERSTAND  
 WHAT CAUSED IT  
 465 01:19:28:28 01:19:30:20 TO BECOME WHAT IT IS  
 466 01:19:30:22 01:19:34:09 IF YOU'RE GOING  
 TO CONTINUE IT OR STOP IT.  
 467 01:19:34:11 01:19:37:10 WE'RE TALKING ABOUT PATTERNS  
 OF IMMIGRATION.  
 468 01:19:37:12 01:19:40:03 AND SINCE 1965,  
 YOU'VE HAD ENORMOUS SHIFTS  
 469 01:19:40:05 01:19:42:10 IN TERMS OF COMMUNITIES  
 OF COLORS  
 470 01:19:42:12 01:19:44:16 AND POPULATION STREAMS OF COLOR  
 471 01:19:44:18 01:19:48:10 ASIANS, LATIN AMERICANS,  
 AFRICANS COMING TO THIS COUNTRY  
 472 01:19:48:12 01:19:51:20 REALLY TRANSFORMING A LOT  
 OF POPULATION CENTERS.  
 473 01:19:51:22 01:19:54:13 WHAT DOES THIS HAVE  
 TO DO WITH THE  
 HISTORY THING?  
 474 01:19:54:15 01:19:56:02 IT HAS EVERYTHING TO DO WITH IT  
 475 01:19:56:04 01:19:58:22 BECAUSE I THINK ONE  
 OF THE PROBLEMS THAT WE CONFRONT  
 476 01:19:58:24 01:20:01:09 AS WE GO TOWARD WHEREVER  
 WE'RE GOING, IS WHO WE ARE  
 477 01:20:01:11 01:20:04:16 AND IT STRIKES ME THAT WE ARE NO  
 LONGER WHO WE THOUGHT WE WERE.



478 01:20:04:18 01:20:06:07 WE ARE A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY.  
 479 01:20:06:09 01:20:08:28 IF WE HAVEN'T MELTED INTO  
 THE MELTING POT METAPHOR.  
 480 01:20:09:00 01:20:11:12 WE'RE CERTAINLY INTERACTING  
 IN DIFFERENT WAYS.  
 481 01:20:11:14 01:20:14:12 THE INFLUX OF ASIAN IMMIGRANTS  
 AND HISPANIC IMMIGRANTS  
 482 01:20:14:14 01:20:18:10 TO THE POINT THAT  
 IN THE 21<sup>st</sup> CENTURY  
 483 01:20:18:12 01:20:22:08 YOU'RE GOING TO HAVE AN AMERICA  
 THAT'S CLOSE TO 50% NON-WHITE  
 484 01:20:22:10 01:20:24:00 WHICH IS, I THINK, SOMETHING  
 485 01:20:24:02 01:20:26:06 THAT'S QUITE  
 EXTRAORDINARY.  
 486 01:20:26:08 01:20:28:26 IN THE '50s, YOU COULD  
 REPRESENT THIS NATION  
 487 01:20:28:28 01:20:31:17 AS WHITE, ANGLO-SAXON,  
 PROTESTANT AND MALE  
 488 01:20:31:19 01:20:34:29 AND WE CAN NO  
 LONGER THINK ABOUT  
 OURSELVES LIKE THAT.  
 489 01:20:35:01 01:20:38:20 WHAT WE ARE HAS BEEN CREATED ON  
 THE BACK OF A LOT OF OPPRESSION  
 490 01:20:38:22 01:20:41:22 A LOT OF DIFFICULT TIMES  
 FOR A LOT OF WORKING PEOPLE  
 491 01:20:41:24 01:20:44:09 POOR PEOPLE, AND PEOPLE  
 OF COLOR, AND WOMEN  
 492 01:20:44:11 01:20:45:27 AND WHAT I THINK  
 WE NEED TO DO IS  
 493 01:20:45:29 01:20:47:08 FOCUS ON  
 THE STRUGGLE  
 494 01:20:47:10 01:20:49:22 AT LEAST AS PART  
 OF A DUAL NARRATIVE.  
 495 01:20:49:24 01:20:53:07 IT STRIKES ME THAT YOU CAN'T  
 JUST HAVE AMERICA TRIUMPHANT;  
 496 01:20:53:09 01:20:55:19 THAT YOU ALSO HAVE TO HAVE  
 SORT OF, LIKE...  
 497 01:20:55:21 01:20:57:04 WHAT HAS INFORMED THAT TRIUMPH.  
 498 01:20:58:21 01:21:01:12 AS WE TALKED, I COULD SEE  
 MY COLLEAGUES STRUGGLING  
 499 01:21:01:14 01:21:03:18 WITH THEIR OWN  
 PASSIONATELY HELD PERSPECTIVES.  
 500 01:21:03:20 01:21:06:05 EACH OF US HAS TO COME  
 TO TERMS WITH THE PAST  
 501 01:21:06:07 01:21:07:16 BOTH AS HISTORIANS  
 502 01:21:07:18 01:21:09:17 AND AS THE MEMORY-HAUNTED  
 CREATURES WE ARE.  
 503 01:21:11:07 01:21:13:13 Maier:  
 DON, LIKE YOU,  
 I CAME TO HISTORY  
 504 01:21:13:15 01:21:14:18 THROUGH NEWSPAPERS.  
 505 01:21:14:20 01:21:16:18 BUT I HAVE TO SAY,  
 AS A HISTORIAN  
 506 01:21:16:20 01:21:19:14 ALTHOUGH I WRITE  
 SOMETIMES ON  
 CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

507 01:21:19:16 01:21:21:11 THAT HAVE A  
HISTORICAL DIMENSION

508 01:21:21:13 01:21:23:00 I DON'T FIND  
WHAT IS CALLED

509 01:21:23:02 01:21:25:12 "CONTEMPORARY HISTORY"  
VERY INTERESTING.

510 01:21:25:14 01:21:28:08 IT DOESN'T HAVE  
THE COMPLEXITY OF  
AN EARLIER PERIOD.

511 01:21:28:10 01:21:29:28 BUT MORE THAN THAT

512 01:21:30:00 01:21:32:28 I'VE ALWAYS THOUGHT  
OF HISTORY AS HAVING  
A HUMANISTIC DIMENSION.

513 01:21:33:00 01:21:35:29 IT WAS TO UNDERSTAND WHAT  
IT IS TO BE SOMEBODY ELSE

514 01:21:36:01 01:21:38:26 AND IT ISN'T AT ALL  
CHALLENGING TO KNOW  
WHAT IT IS

515 01:21:38:28 01:21:42:01 TO BE SOMEBODY I AM,  
OR WHERE I'VE KNOWN  
OTHER PEOPLE.

516 01:21:42:03 01:21:46:04 IT'S LESS OF  
A CHALLENGE.

517 01:21:46:06 01:21:47:28 YOU KNOW, PAULINE,  
I WANT TO STAND UP

518 01:21:48:00 01:21:50:29 FOR THE CONTEMPORARY  
HISTORIANS AMONG US  
HERE FOR A MINUTE

519 01:21:51:01 01:21:52:11 BECAUSE I DON'T  
FEEL LIKE

520 01:21:52:13 01:21:54:27 WHEN I WRITE ABOUT  
THE UNITED STATES  
AT THIS POINT

521 01:21:54:29 01:21:56:09 I'M WRITING  
ABOUT WHO I AM.

522 01:21:56:11 01:21:57:16 I FEEL LIKE I'M WRITING

523 01:21:57:18 01:21:59:22 ABOUT THE KIND OF DIVERSE  
ARRAY OF PEOPLE

524 01:21:59:24 01:22:01:16 THAT WALDO IS TALKING  
ABOUT HERE

525 01:22:01:18 01:22:04:06 AND TRYING TO  
TAKE ACCOUNT OF  
THOSE EXPERIENCES.

526 01:22:04:08 01:22:06:15 AND THE KIND OF RAPID  
CHANGE THAT WE HAVE

527 01:22:06:17 01:22:08:16 IT SEEMS TO ME,  
BESPEAKS A  
COMPLEXITY

528 01:22:08:18 01:22:10:07 THAT'S EVERY BIT  
AS COMPELLING

529 01:22:10:09 01:22:13:02 AND EVERY BIT  
AS DIFFICULT TO  
GET YOUR HEAD AROUND

530 01:22:13:04 01:22:16:27 AS THE KIND OF  
COMPLEXITY THAT  
COMES INTO PLAY

531 01:22:16:29 01:22:18:26 WHEN YOU TRY  
TO MAKE A COUNTRY  
OUT OF 13 COLONIES.

532 01:22:18:28 01:22:20:14 Masur:  
PART OF THE  
PROCESS, RIGHT

533 01:22:20:16 01:22:21:25 IS TO RECOVER  
THESE STORIES.

534 01:22:21:27 01:22:23:24 BUT IT'S NOT ENOUGH  
JUST TO TELL THEM.

535 01:22:23:26 01:22:25:17 BECAUSE IF ALL WE  
DO IS TELL THEM

536 01:22:25:19 01:22:27:21 WE'RE NOT HISTORIANS,  
WE'RE ANTIQUARIANS

537 01:22:27:23 01:22:29:13 AND WE'RE JUST  
CHRONICLING EVENTS

538 01:22:29:15 01:22:31:09 WITHOUT PUTTING THEM  
INTO ANY ORDER

539 01:22:31:11 01:22:33:08 OR LENDING ANY INTERPRETATION  
TO THEM.

540 01:22:33:10 01:22:35:06 THE MOST INTERESTING  
KIND OF HISTORY

541 01:22:35:08 01:22:36:25 IS THE HISTORY THAT DOES GET AT

542 01:22:36:27 01:22:38:28 THE PAIN AND VALUE  
OF HUMAN EXPERIENCE

543 01:22:39:00 01:22:40:27 AND IT EXPLAINS NOT  
JUST WHAT HAPPENED

544 01:22:40:29 01:22:43:24 BUT WHAT PEOPLE DO WITH WHAT  
HAPPENS, WHAT IT MEANS.

545 01:22:43:26 01:22:44:24 Miller:  
HISTORY CAN BE

546 01:22:44:26 01:22:46:02 JUST AS GOOD AS GREAT FICTION

547 01:22:46:04 01:22:48:11 IN THAT REGARD, IN  
ILLUMINATING CHARACTER

548 01:22:48:13 01:22:50:15 IN ILLUMINATING THE TRAGEDY  
OF THE HUMAN CONDITION

549 01:22:50:17 01:22:52:20 AND WHAT IT'S LIKE JUST TO BE  
ALIVE ON THIS EARTH.

550 01:22:52:22 01:22:55:13 THERE'S AN APHORISM THAT I THINK  
SAYS A LOT ABOUT WHAT WE DO

551 01:22:55:15 01:22:56:27 AND THE APHORISM IS

552 01:22:56:29 01:22:58:24 THAT THE ONLY THING THAT'S  
CERTAIN IS THE FUTURE

553 01:22:58:26 01:23:00:26 BECAUSE THE PAST  
IS CONSTANTLY CHANGING.

554 01:23:12:26 01:23:16:16 ONCE OUR HISTORY WAS WHAT  
WHITE MEN DID IN THE DAYLIGHT.

555 01:23:16:18 01:23:19:22 NOW IT'S WHAT HAPPENS  
TO OTHER PEOPLE WHILE WE WATCH.

556 01:23:19:24 01:23:23:20 WE ARE AT TIMES JUST CURIOUS--  
AN OSCAR, OR A SUPER BOWL.

557 01:23:23:22 01:23:27:22 WE ARE AT TIMES COMPELLED--  
A WATERGATE OR BERLIN WALL.

558 01:23:27:24 01:23:30:21 WE MAY HOPE AT EXALTED MOMENTS  
LIKE A MOON SHOT

559 01:23:30:23 01:23:33:10 AND ON DREADFUL OCCASIONS

560 01:23:33:12 LIKE AN ASSASSINATION  
 01:23:36:09 TO EXPERIENCE COMMUNITY  
 AS A NATION.  
 561 01:23:36:11 01:23:41:00 BUT MOSTLY, WE JUST SIT THERE,  
 HUNGRY, ANGRY, LONELY OR TIRED  
 562 01:23:41:02 01:23:44:05 NEEDING NOVELTY OR DISTRACTION,  
 GOSSIP OR LAUGHS  
 563 01:23:44:07 01:23:46:27 REMEDIAL SERIOUSNESS,  
 OR VULGAR CELEBRITY  
 564 01:23:46:29 01:23:49:18 A PLACE TO CELEBRATE,  
 AND A PLACE TO MOURN  
 565 01:23:49:20 01:23:51:26 A CIRCUS AND A WISHING WELL.  
 566 01:23:51:28 01:23:53:25 THIS IS A MIXED CURSE.  
 567 01:23:53:27 01:23:55:20 ON THE ONE HAND, AS NEVER BEFORE  
 568 01:23:55:22 01:23:58:09 WE ARE PRIVILEGED WITH  
 THE BEST SEAT IN THE HOUSE  
 569 01:23:58:11 01:24:00:09 FOR CORONATIONS  
 AND IMPEACHMENTS  
 570 01:24:00:11 01:24:05:03 CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL RIOTS,  
 EARTHQUAKES, O.J. AND VIETNAM.  
 571 01:24:05:05 01:24:06:25 AS IF LOOKING DOWN  
 FROM A ZEPPELIN  
 572 01:24:06:27 01:24:09:08 OUR VANTAGE IS SUPERIOR  
 TO THE FIXED POSITIONS  
 573 01:24:09:10 01:24:12:13 OF OFFICIAL PARTICIPANTS  
 AND COURT HISTORIANS  
 574 01:24:12:15 01:24:14:09 WITH MULTIPLE VIEWS  
 OF THE ACTION  
 575 01:24:14:11 01:24:16:12 IN INTIMATE FOCUS OR BROAD SCAN  
 576 01:24:16:14 01:24:20:21 AND AN I.V. FEED OF RAW DATA  
 AND EXPERT CHIT-CHAT ON DEMAND  
 577 01:24:20:23 01:24:22:11 BY ROYAL WHIM.  
 578 01:24:22:13 01:24:26:14 ON THE OTHER HAND, TV HAS STOLEN  
 OUR MEMORY, YOURS AND MINE.  
 579 01:24:26:16 01:24:28:17 IT'S GONE TO ANOTHER BANK.  
 580 01:24:28:19 01:24:30:28 I WAS A STUDENT AT BERKELEY  
 IN THE EARLY '60s  
 581 01:24:31:00 01:24:33:23 BUT THE IMAGES IN MY HEAD  
 ARE MARIO SAVIO'S  
 582 01:24:33:25 01:24:36:05 AND RONALD REAGAN'S, NOT MY OWN.  
 583 01:24:36:07 01:24:40:04 I REPORTED FROM CHICAGO ON THE  
 DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION OF 1968  
 584 01:24:40:06 01:24:42:29 BUT THE CASSETTE IN MY HAND  
 IS ABBIE HOFFMAN'S.  
 585 01:24:43:01 01:24:46:00 I MARCHED IN FAVOR  
 OF INTEGRATION AND AGAINST WAR  
 586 01:24:46:02 01:24:49:09 BUT THE TAPES IN MY HEAD  
 ARE "EYES ON THE PRIZE."  
 587 01:24:49:11 01:24:52:16 ON THE THIRD HAND,  
 AND THERE'S ALWAYS A THIRD HAND  
 588 01:24:52:18 01:24:55:09 WE ARE AGNOSTICS  
 ABOUT REALITY ITSELF.  
 589 01:24:55:11 01:24:57:26 WE'VE BEEN "DOCUDRAMATIZED"  
 AND DUTCHED  
 590 01:24:57:28 01:25:00:14 AS IF EVERY NARRATIVE,  
 HOWEVER PROBLEMATIC

591 01:25:00:16 01:25:03:14 HAD BEEN DUMBED DOWN  
TO LOVE GONE WRONG

592 01:25:03:16 01:25:07:04 AND WHILE TV SELLS US CARS  
BY PROMISING ADVENTURE

593 01:25:07:06 01:25:09:27 AND SELLS US BEER  
BY PROMISING FRIENDSHIP

594 01:25:09:29 01:25:12:14 IT ALSO ROBS US OF CHRONOLOGY.  
595 01:25:12:16 01:25:15:21 WITH CHANNELS FOR WEATHER, FOOD,  
HISTORY, NOSTALGIA

596 01:25:15:23 01:25:17:16 CARTOONS AND PORN  
597 01:25:17:18 01:25:21:05 WE SEE EVERYTHING THAT EVER WAS,  
ALL AT THE SAME TIME

598 01:25:21:07 01:25:23:10 AND INCREASINGLY REMOTE.  
599 01:25:23:12 01:25:27:01 HOW COME, WHILE TELEVISION  
HAS TOLD US OVER AND OVER AGAIN

600 01:25:27:03 01:25:30:29 TO BE NICER TO WOMEN, CHILDREN,  
MINORITIES, IMMIGRANTS

601 01:25:31:01 01:25:35:07 POOR PEOPLE, SICK PEOPLE, OLD  
PEOPLE, ODD PEOPLE AND STRANGERS

602 01:25:35:09 01:25:37:21 THE NATION GOT SO MEAN?  
603 01:25:43:03 01:25:46:16 [Captioned by  
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