

DAVID BROOKS

0001 : 00:00:09:10 00:00:11:20

Hi, my name is David Brooks.

0002 : 00:00:11:22 00:00:16:05

I am here to welcome you to
the Stars and Strife panel discussion.

0003 : 00:00:16:07 00:00:18:03

I am a New York Times
columnist

0004 : 00:00:18:05 00:00:20:13

and I direct something called Weave:
The Social Fabric Project

0005 : 00:00:20:15 00:00:21:21

at the Aspen Institute.

0006 : 00:00:21:23 00:00:24:15

And we lift up community builders
all around the country.

0007 : 00:00:24:17 00:00:29:02

I hope and expect that many of you
have watched Stars and Strife.

0008 : 00:00:29:04 00:00:32:18

It's a documentary that takes us to look
at the epidemic of polarization

0009 : 00:00:32:20 00:00:35:20

and hatred and systemic hatred
in this country.

0010 : 00:00:35:22 00:00:39:12

And it looks for solutions, ways people
can actually come together,

0011 : 00:00:39:14 00:00:43:15
and lead us to a better
and a little more pleasant future.

0012 : 00:00:43:17 00:00:45:06
Before we start I want to give you...

0013 : 00:00:45:08 00:00:48:06
make sure we're all working
on the same page here.

0014 : 00:00:48:08 00:00:49:19
If you look at the bottom
of your screen,

0015 : 00:00:49:21 00:00:52:06
you probably know
this from millions zooms before...

0016 : 00:00:52:08 00:00:54:08
but there is a Q&A button.

0017 : 00:00:54:10 00:00:58:04
No one other than the panelists,
if you see, will be actually speaking,

0018 : 00:00:58:06 00:01:01:07
but you can get questions
asked and we'll turn the questions later

0019 : 00:01:01:09 00:01:05:09
in the program by going to the Q&A
button and asking your question.

0020 : 00:01:05:11 00:01:08:06
If you want others to know
about this great, excellent event,

0021 : 00:01:08:08 00:01:11:17
we're live streaming at the Common

Ground Committee Facebook page

0022 : 00:01:11:19 00:01:15:16
and were using the hashtag #starsandstrife

0023 : 00:01:15:18 00:01:18:20
if anybody would like to tweet about it,
we welcome that.

0024 : 00:01:18:21 00:01:23:21
So let's get started,
we've got an all-star cast with us.

0025 : 00:01:23:23 00:01:25:14
My old friend David Smick,

0026 : 00:01:25:16 00:01:29:13
who I knew when he was just a cub
Hill staffer, (I think?),

0027 : 00:01:29:21 00:01:33:00
is the writer and director
of this important documentary.

0028 : 00:01:33:02 00:01:35:15
Leon Panetta, another old friend,
has worn many hats.

0029 : 00:01:35:17 00:01:39:14
He was Secretary of Defense,
at the CIA, OMB Director,

0030 : 00:01:39:16 00:01:41:22
long time member of Congress
in California.

0031 : 00:01:41:24 00:01:43:20
Kind of an impressive resume.

0032 : 00:01:43:22 00:01:47:03
Hawk Newsome is the chairman
of Black Lives Matter,

0033 : 00:01:47:05 00:01:48:10
of Greater New York.

0034 : 00:01:48:12 00:01:50:18
And has become well known to a lot
of us around the country.

0035 : 00:01:50:20 00:01:54:14
You've seen the uprising in the racial
reckoning

0036 : 00:01:54:16 00:01:56:02
that we've been going through.

0037 : 00:01:56:04 00:01:57:21
And Katherine Gehl is a business
leader who was appointed

0038 : 00:01:57:23 00:02:00:17
by President Obama to serve on
the Board of Directors

0039 : 00:02:00:19 00:02:03:07
of the Overseas
Private Investment Corporation.

0040 : 00:02:03:09 00:02:06:18
And Katherine has the best choice of...

0041 : 00:02:06:20 00:02:08:21
best taste in literature
of any of us in the group.

0042 : 00:02:08:23 00:02:11:01
She has two of my books
there in the background.

0043 : 00:02:11:03 00:02:12:18
I thank Katherine for that.

0044 : 00:02:12:20 00:02:15:14
We are going to start with Mr. Smick.

0045 : 00:02:15:16 00:02:19:18
You wrote and directed this thing and
I didn't think you had director in you,

0046 : 00:02:19:20 00:02:23:13
but, you've done
an excellent job here.

0047 : 00:02:23:15 00:02:26:14
In the beginning of the film
it portraits a chaotic

0048 : 00:02:26:16 00:02:29:00
and bleak America,
the one we're living in.

0049 : 00:02:29:02 00:02:30:22
And questioning whether
we're in an inflection point,

0050 : 00:02:30:24 00:02:34:23
a pivotal point in whether
we have a common heritage.

0051 : 00:02:35:00 00:02:37:07
How we can move forward out of this.

0052 : 00:02:37:09 00:02:40:13
What's the lesson you take away
from this long experience you had.

DAVID SMICK:

0053 : 00:02:41:07 00:02:43:18
One of the interesting things
when you do a film,

0054 : 00:02:43:20 00:02:46:15
and this is a big learning
experience for me.

0055 : 00:02:46:17 00:02:49:22
You market it using a digital marketing
company.

0056 : 00:02:49:24 00:02:52:18
A digital marketing
company can tell you a lot

0057 : 00:02:52:20 00:02:56:22
and what I found is there was
intense interest in this film

0058 : 00:02:56:24 00:03:00:19
in places like Brooklyn,
New York, in Chicago and L.A.

0059 : 00:03:00:21 00:03:04:20
And it was two and a half times
the interest

0060 : 00:03:04:22 00:03:07:13
in the film in Washington DC.

0061 : 00:03:07:15 00:03:12:06
So, Washington DC, the home
of the... you can say the hate industry

0062 : 00:03:12:08 00:03:14:12
that's getting rich
and famous on all this

0063 : 00:03:14:14 00:03:18:04

It wasn't like our marketing people –
some like it's not –

0064 : 00:03:18:06 00:03:19:24
of interest in Washington, it is.

0065 : 00:03:20:01 00:03:24:14
It's just extraordinary the interest
in other parts of the country.

0066 : 00:03:24:16 00:03:28:06
I mention those three cities
and they said it's two and a half times.

0067 : 00:03:28:08 00:03:30:14
So it told me that..

0068 : 00:03:30:16 00:03:33:14
That you can get really pessimistic
but I'm not...

0069 : 00:03:33:16 00:03:36:21
I'm cautiously optimistic
because I think the answer is...

0070 : 00:03:36:23 00:03:39:02
is bottom-up.

0071 : 00:03:39:04 00:03:42:16
It's out in the country, it's...
it's not going to come to Washington

0072 : 00:03:42:18 00:03:46:24
but it's going to come from...
I call it the 65 to 70% of the country,

0073 : 00:03:47:01 00:03:49:04
the common sense middle that says,

0074 : 00:03:49:06 00:03:53:24
"Oh, come on, I've had enough of this,
so I'm exhausted, I'm weary,

0075 : 00:03:54:01 00:03:58:12
and I want to move
the country forward."

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0076 : 00:03:58:14 00:04:00:13
And that's what some call
the exhausted majority.

0077 : 00:04:00:15 00:04:03:01
So, you're telling me
they really exist, they're out there.

DAVID SMICK

0079 : 00:04:06:19 00:04:08:05
It's very interesting.

0080 : 00:04:08:07 00:04:11:19
I've had reporters and other activist
friends of mine saying, you know,

0081 : 00:04:11:21 00:04:16:14
I saw your film. I felt a little guilty
because I probably am part

0082 : 00:04:16:16 00:04:21:01
of the hate industry,
and that I know that the algorithms

0083 : 00:04:21:03 00:04:23:24
are there and I need to get
the clicks as a reporter

0084 : 00:04:24:01 00:04:25:20
because that's where
the ad revenue is.

0085 : 00:04:25:22 00:04:29:24
I know that... you know I...

0086 : 00:04:30:01 00:04:34:00
I would love to write a story about
a congressman who's in the middle,

0087 : 00:04:34:02 00:04:36:12
or a woman who's in the middle
who's trying to

0088 : 00:04:36:14 00:04:40:15
do something to get the country
moving forward,

0089 : 00:04:40:17 00:04:43:08
but nobody will... I don't get much
response to that

0090 : 00:04:43:10 00:04:46:20
the way I do if I can write
the real nasty stuff

0091 : 00:04:46:22 00:04:49:10
in one extreme of the other.

DAVID BROOKS

0092 : 00:04:49:12 00:04:51:18
Tell me about it...

DAVID SMICK

0093 : 00:04:51:21 00:04:54:01
I would tell you, I went...

0094 : 00:04:54:04 00:04:56:13
I came up with the idea of this film,
as you know,

0095 : 00:04:56:15 00:04:59:15
I had an idea that the financial system

0096 : 00:04:59:17 00:05:02:17
was coming down and wrote
this book called, "The World is Curved,"

0097 : 00:05:02:19 00:05:05:13
and you wrote about it,
and I had the same idea.

0098 : 00:05:05:15 00:05:06:18
I thought the country is in trouble.

0099 : 00:05:06:20 00:05:10:00
I read one day that the...

0100 : 00:05:10:02 00:05:13:22
you know, the average empire
lasts about 250 years,

0101 : 00:05:13:24 00:05:16:03
and of course we're about
250 years old

0102 : 00:05:16:05 00:05:17:23
And it just dawned on me
that we were in trouble, so I went ...

0103 : 00:05:18:00 00:05:21:09
to some of the best documentary
makers in the country,

0104 : 00:05:21:11 00:05:23:13
and said, I want to do this
documentary,

0105 : 00:05:23:15 00:05:27:04
I'll pay for it, you do it.
Editorial control is all yours.

0106 : 00:05:27:06 00:05:29:05
And it says two things...

0107 : 00:05:29:07 00:05:32:01
How did we get in this mess
and how do we get out?

0108 : 00:05:32:03 00:05:33:22
And everybody turned it down.

0109 : 00:05:33:24 00:05:37:18
So, having grown up in Baltimore,
in a working class neighborhood,

0110 : 00:05:37:20 00:05:43:20
I went to another Baltimorean,
Academy award-winning icon,

0111 : 00:05:43:22 00:05:48:06
Barry Levinson, and I said Barry,
I said...

0112 : 00:05:48:08 00:05:51:01
I guess I'm giving up on this project,
it's too bad,

0113 : 00:05:51:03 00:05:54:04
and do you know anybody, and he said
how about you, you do it.

0114 : 00:05:54:06 00:05:56:16
I'll advise you, and later he said,

0115 : 00:05:56:18 00:06:00:00
he looked at it
and said this is rather compelling,

0116 : 00:06:00:02 00:06:01:20

he said, I'll be your executive
producer.

0117 : 00:06:01:22 00:06:05:01
That's really how it started,
I'm just...

0118 : 00:06:05:03 00:06:08:05
It was either choice,
but I really felt...

0119 : 00:06:08:07 00:06:09:11
I then made a list.

0120 : 00:06:09:13 00:06:11:07
Leon Panetta will be first he was...

0121 : 00:06:11:09 00:06:13:15
He and Jim Baker
were at the top of my list of people

0122 : 00:06:13:15 00:06:18:07
I respected, I had worked with Baker
on currency issues but we just...

0123 : 00:06:18:09 00:06:21:06
I thought put country before party

0124 : 00:06:21:08 00:06:25:02
and that really is why I got excited
when both of them said...

0125 : 00:06:25:20 00:06:28:00
yeah, I'll participate in this film.

DAVID BROOKS

0126 : 00:06:28:21 00:06:30:24
Now Barry Levinson did Diner,
he did Avalon,

0127 : 00:06:31:01 00:06:32:19
Did he do Rain Man?
I'm trying to remember...

DAVID SMICK

0128 : 00:06:32:21 00:06:34:11
He won an Academy Award
for Rain Man.

0129 : 00:06:34:13 00:06:37:02
If you look at the list
it's extraordinary.

0130 : 00:06:37:05 00:06:40:04
I'm talking to this guy everyday

0131 : 00:06:40:06 00:06:41:13
and why is he talking to me.

0132 : 00:06:41:15 00:06:43:16
But, he did see something in the film.

0133 : 00:06:43:18 00:06:47:04
I think that he thought
that needed to be told.

0134 : 00:06:47:06 00:06:50:00
And the other thing he said,
I'm amazed that this film,

0135 : 00:06:50:02 00:06:54:00
in this environment takes no cheap
shots, which is probably its strength.

0136 : 00:06:54:03 00:06:56:17
Because it's going to have a broad audience.

DAVID BROOKS

0137 : 00:06:56:19 00:07:00:11

Yeah, let's take a look
at a scene of the film

0138 : 00:07:00:13 00:07:02:09
starring our very own Secretary
Panetta.

0139 : 00:07:02:11 00:07:05:04
Let's take a look at that and then
we can continue the conversation.

CLIP FROM STARS AND STRIFE:

0140 : 00:07:06:20 00:07:10:03
For me when I was in Congress
governing was good politics.

0141 : 00:07:10:06 00:07:14:00
I don't think they think that governing
is good politics anymore.

0142 : 00:07:14:03 00:07:16:10
They think stopping the other side,

0143 : 00:07:16:12 00:07:19:04
beating the other side up,
that's good politics.

0144 : 00:07:19:20 00:07:23:09
Hell, I went back to Congress and
I talked to a group of new members.

0145 : 00:07:23:12 00:07:27:17
And I described to them
how the legislative process...

0146 : 00:07:27:20 00:07:29:06
worked when I was there.

0147 : 00:07:30:02 00:07:32:15
Introduce a bill,

goes to the committee,

0148 : 00:07:32:18 00:07:34:01
goes to the subcommittee,

0149 : 00:07:34:04 00:07:35:03
you have hearings,

0150 : 00:07:35:06 00:07:36:07
you have markup,

0151 : 00:07:36:10 00:07:37:24
goes to the floor.

0152 : 00:07:38:02 00:07:40:05
Everybody felt like
they were part of a process,

0153 : 00:07:40:08 00:07:41:12
and that's missing now.

0154 : 00:07:42:00 00:07:44:01
Nobody wants
to go out into no man's land,

0155 : 00:07:44:04 00:07:47:00
and try to cut a deal
because they'll get shot in the back.
(CLIP ENDS)

DAVID BROOKS:

0156 : 00:07:50:00 00:07:52:15
What year did you start in Congress?
What was your first year?

LEON PANETTA:

0157 : 00:07:53:10 00:07:56:23
I was elected in 1976.

DAVID BROOKS:

0158 : 00:07:57:01 00:07:59:13
So, you've seen this over the trend,

0159 : 00:07:59:15 00:08:02:07
and when you first arrived

0160 : 00:08:02:09 00:08:05:11
did you have genuine friendships
across the aisle?

0161 : 00:08:05:13 00:08:07:17
Did you have a sense
of compromise across the aisle?

0162 : 00:08:07:19 00:08:10:24
I used to... off the senate floor,
but you were in the house,

0163 : 00:08:11:01 00:08:14:01
but off the senate floor
there was a little liquor cabinet,

0164 : 00:08:14:03 00:08:15:18
and early in my reporting career,

0165 : 00:08:15:20 00:08:17:06
I could see the liquor levels
going down

0166 : 00:08:17:08 00:08:18:24
because people would actually
have drinks together

0167 : 00:08:19:01 00:08:21:01
and then, the liquor level stay
the same,

0168 : 00:08:21:03 00:08:22:24
and like nobody's having

drinks together.

0169 : 00:08:23:01 00:08:25:03
So, just describe to me
your experience over many decades

0170 : 00:08:25:05 00:08:28:10
in Washington
and the growth of this problem.

LEON PANETTA:

0171 : 00:08:29:04 00:08:34:05
Well, I've often said, David,
that I thought in my 50 plus years

0172 : 00:08:34:07 00:08:37:19
of public life,
I've seen Washington at its best and...

0173 : 00:08:37:21 00:08:40:16
Washington at its worst.

0174 : 00:08:40:18 00:08:43:07
I mean, the good news
is that I've seen Washington work.

0175 : 00:08:43:09 00:08:47:13
I think, I think
it was when I got out of the Army

0176 : 00:08:47:15 00:08:52:04
and went back to Washington
as a Legislative Assistant

0177 : 00:08:52:06 00:08:56:22
to a republican senator from California,
guy named Tom Kuchel.

0178 : 00:08:56:24 00:09:02:02
and it came out of the Hiram Johnson

tradition here in Cal.

0179 : 00:09:02:04 00:09:06:10
And Kuchel was the minority whip
and there were a group

0180 : 00:09:06:12 00:09:09:12
of Republicans similar to Kuchel.

0181 : 00:09:09:14 00:09:13:13
Javits from New York,
Hugh Scott from Pennsylvania,

0182 : 00:09:13:15 00:09:19:16
Case from New Jersey,
Aiken, Mark Hatfield...

0183 : 00:09:19:18 00:09:23:00
And they worked with members
across the aisle.

0184 : 00:09:23:02 00:09:28:02
They were real Statesman
on the Democratic side as well,

0185 : 00:09:28:04 00:09:31:11
like Henry Jackson,
Warren Magnuson,

0186 : 00:09:31:13 00:09:35:22
people like Fulbright,
Dick Russell from Georgia.

0187 : 00:09:35:24 00:09:41:12
There were really people
that focused on the national interest

0188 : 00:09:41:14 00:09:45:04
and they worked together on the big
issues, yes, they have their politics

0189 : 00:09:45:06 00:09:49:15
but they worked together on big
issues and got things done.

0190 : 00:09:49:17 00:09:51:20
and it was that way when I got
elected to Congress.

0191 : 00:09:51:22 00:09:57:03
Tip O'Neill was the Speaker. Kind of a
Democrats Democrat from Boston,

0192 : 00:09:57:05 00:09:59:14
but he had a great
relationship with Bob Michel

0193 : 00:09:59:16 00:10:01:07
who was the minority leader.

0194 : 00:10:01:09 00:10:03:18
And again, they had their political
differences.

0195 : 00:10:03:20 00:10:07:21
But, when it came to national issues,
whether it was a Democratic president

0196 : 00:10:07:23 00:10:09:09
or Republican president,

0197 : 00:10:09:11 00:10:12:18
they worked together to try
to resolve those issues.

0198 : 00:10:12:20 00:10:15:20
And during the Reagan
Administration, my goodness,

0199 : 00:10:15:22 00:10:19:06
we passed immigration reform,
we passed tax reform,

0200 : 00:10:19:08 00:10:23:01
we passed Social Security reform,
we past budgets,

0201 : 00:10:23:03 00:10:26:24
we worked on issues on foreign affairs
together.

0202 : 00:10:27:01 00:10:32:03
So, there was a real sense
that nation came before party

0203 : 00:10:32:05 00:10:35:02
when it came to those issues.

0204 : 00:10:35:04 00:10:40:11
You know, within the last 20 years
It's changed dramatically.

0205 : 00:10:40:13 00:10:43:14
It's obviously more partisan
than I've ever seen it,

0206 : 00:10:43:16 00:10:47:05
more divided than I've ever seen it,
it's almost trench warfare

0207 : 00:10:47:07 00:10:50:10
between the parties.
They're all in their trenches

0208 : 00:10:50:12 00:10:51:23
and they're throwing grenades
one another.

0209 : 00:10:52:00 00:10:54:19

If anybody wanders
into no man's land

0210 : 00:10:54:21 00:10:58:24
they could get shot in the back,
much less shot by the enemy,

0211 : 00:10:59:01 00:11:01:23
because they're worried about losing

0212 : 00:11:02:00 00:11:03:21
the own support
of their own party.

0213 : 00:11:03:23 00:11:08:08
So, that divisiveness,
that partisanship

0214 : 00:11:08:10 00:11:11:10
has in many ways paralyzed
the system,

0215 : 00:11:11:12 00:11:14:19
so that major issues
are not been dealt with

0216 : 00:11:14:21 00:11:18:22
because the parties
don't trust one another.

0217 : 00:11:18:24 00:11:21:17
They have no sense of being
able to sit down

0218 : 00:11:21:19 00:11:23:21
and talk through their differences.

0219 : 00:11:23:23 00:11:28:23
And more importantly, when I was
there I think politics was...

0220 : 00:11:29:00 00:11:31:09
or governing
was good politics, I really do.

0221 : 00:11:31:11 00:11:33:20
I think governing was good politics.

0222 : 00:11:33:22 00:11:37:09
I'm not so sure that they think
that governing is good politics now.

0223 : 00:11:37:11 00:11:39:13
And I think they pay a price for that.

0224 : 00:11:39:15 00:11:43:11
in the paralysis and gridlock
that we now see.

DAVID BROOKS

0225 : 00:11:43:13 00:11:47:13
Let me ask you, I used to think it
was this was a top-down problem,

0226 : 00:11:47:13 00:11:50:03
this was a Washington
media money problem.

0227 : 00:11:50:05 00:11:54:11
But, now I look at a lot of members
and they are... they feel trapped.

0228 : 00:11:54:13 00:11:57:11
I talked to a member who was
the fourth most conservative

0229 : 00:11:57:14 00:11:58:20
guy in the Senate.

0230 : 00:11:58:22 00:12:00:24
He said, if I do anything
that's not super conservative

0231 : 00:12:01:01 00:12:02:06
I get primaried.

0232 : 00:12:02:08 00:12:05:16
And we just saw the case
of Ben Sasse, a senator of Nebraska.

0233 : 00:12:05:18 00:12:08:06
Finally, he said something
negative about Donald Trump in public.

0234 : 00:12:08:08 00:12:09:17
But, he was keeping quiet

0235 : 00:12:09:19 00:12:11:09
because he thought that his career
would be over

0236 : 00:12:11:11 00:12:14:07
and so that suggests
they're afraid of the voters.

0237 : 00:12:15:18 00:12:17:11
Do you think it's a possibility, too?

LEON PANETTA:

0238 : 00:12:18:05 00:12:19:22
Yeah, no, there's no question

0239 : 00:12:19:24 00:12:27:07
that because the parties rely more
on their base for support,

0240 : 00:12:30:13 00:12:35:17
the divisiveness that is taking place
makes members

0241 : 00:12:35:19 00:12:38:20
who are in democratic states
worried about that

0242 : 00:12:38:22 00:12:40:21
somebody is going to run to
their left.

0243 : 00:12:40:23 00:12:44:17
And in Republican states, worried about
somebody is going to run

0244 : 00:12:44:19 00:12:47:17
from their right, and so rather than

0245 : 00:12:47:19 00:12:50:19
focusing on the center and trying
to get things done,

0246 : 00:12:50:21 00:12:53:18
trying to work through compromise
and consensus,

0247 : 00:12:53:20 00:12:55:04
in other words to govern,

0248 : 00:12:55:06 00:12:58:09
they are worried about protecting
their seat.

0249 : 00:12:58:11 00:13:03:06
And look I tell the students
here at the Panetta Institute

0250 : 00:13:03:08 00:13:06:18
that we govern either
by leadership or by crisis.

0251 : 00:13:06:20 00:13:09:12
If leadership is there
and willing to take the risk

0251a: 00:13:09:14 00:13:10:19
associated with leadership-

0252 : 00:13:10:21 00:13:15:06
and make no mistake about it,
it's tough to cast a vote

0253 : 00:13:15:08 00:13:18:02
sometimes that you think
is in the interest of the country -

0254 : 00:13:18:04 00:13:22:10
but it may very well anger,
your base constituency.

0255 : 00:13:22:13 00:13:27:04
But you want to do what's right
and that's why you're elected.

0256 : 00:13:27:06 00:13:29:12
You aren't elected to go
back to Washington

0257 : 00:13:29:14 00:13:31:24
just to protect your seat,
for goodness sakes.

DAVID BROOKS

0258 : 00:13:32:02 00:13:33:18
Let's go to Katherine.

0259 : 00:13:33:20 00:13:37:22
You tell us politics isn't broken...
it's fixed

0260 : 00:13:37:24 00:13:40:06

and how do you...

KATHERINE GEHL:

0261 : 00:13:41:00 00:13:44:11

Yeah, that is one
of my favorite things to say.

0262 : 00:13:44:14 00:13:50:16

Which get to this idea that
Washington isn't broken... It's fixed.

0263 : 00:13:50:18 00:13:54:11

Washington is because... Washington
is doing what it's designed to do,

0264 : 00:13:54:13 00:13:57:21

but it's not designed to serve
the public interest,

0265 : 00:13:57:23 00:14:02:12

it's been designed and optimized now
to serve this whole politics industry.

0266 : 00:14:02:14 00:14:05:20

And the politics industry is thriving
even if the American public

0267 : 00:14:05:22 00:14:09:14

has never been more dissatisfied,
so I agree the Secretary that

0268 : 00:14:09:16 00:14:11:19

governing is no longer good politics.

0269 : 00:14:11:21 00:14:13:20

And I think,
here's is what we need to do.

0270 : 00:14:13:22 00:14:18:11

Yes, we can call on people to do

the right thing and have leadership.

0271 : 00:14:18:13 00:14:22:22
But, if we can combine that
with an electoral system

0272 : 00:14:22:24 00:14:26:18
where solving problems
for the American people

0273 : 00:14:26:20 00:14:30:12
is directly connected
with getting re-elected,

0274 : 00:14:30:14 00:14:33:18
that would be the key.
Where as right now,

0275 : 00:14:33:20 00:14:38:07
dysfunction, gridlock,
demonizing the other side

0276 : 00:14:38:09 00:14:41:14
is what's connected
with getting re-elected.

0277 : 00:14:41:16 00:14:45:18
So, unless we change the Party
primary that everybody is afraid of,

0278 : 00:14:45:20 00:14:48:03
which is the Secretary's talking
about, when you mentioned.

0279 : 00:14:48:05 00:14:53:03
And unless we change the way we
vote so we can have more competition,

0280 : 00:14:53:05 00:14:55:18
to put pressure on the existing

parties,

0281 : 00:14:55:20 00:14:58:22
that if they don't do what it's needed
someone else to take their place.

0282 : 00:14:58:24 00:15:02:06
We're not going to see a change
in the results

0283 : 00:15:02:08 00:15:05:23
simply by calling for better,
we have to align the incentives

0284 : 00:15:06:00 00:15:10:03
of getting and keeping these job
with solving problems.

DAVID BROOKS

0285 : 00:15:10:05 00:15:11:09
So, how you do that?

0286 : 00:15:11:11 00:15:13:21
There's some people talking about
rank choice voting or other things.

0287 : 00:15:13:23 00:15:16:03
What do you think we should do?

KATHERINE GEHL:

0288 : 00:15:16:06 00:15:18:17
Well, actually, I wrote a whole book,
it's called, The Politics Industry.

0289 : 00:15:18:19 00:15:20:17
I've got it right next to yours
on the shelf.

0290 : 00:15:20:19 00:15:23:02
And the point of the book is also,

you know,

0291 : 00:15:23:05 00:15:24:24
as David Smick did
with this documentary,

0292 : 00:15:25:01 00:15:26:24
talk about how we got in this mess,
but how to get out.

0293 : 00:15:27:01 00:15:30:15
And here is a key way
we need to get out.

0294 : 00:15:30:17 00:15:33:03
We need to change the rules
of the game.

0295 : 00:15:33:05 00:15:36:21
To change how the game is played
so we change the outcomes

0296 : 00:15:36:23 00:15:39:14
and I'm not talking about change
who gets elected

0297 : 00:15:39:16 00:15:44:11
I'm talking about changing what
the winners are incented to do in Congress.

0298 : 00:15:44:13 00:15:46:09
So, two things.

0299 : 00:15:46:11 00:15:49:17
Party primary system,
it came up in the first minute here,

0300 : 00:15:49:19 00:15:54:06
totally broken, totally optional,
let's get rid of it.

0301 : 00:15:54:08 00:15:57:15
Replace party controlled
primaries with a single ballot,

0302 : 00:15:57:17 00:15:59:24
an open top five primary.

0303 : 00:16:00:01 00:16:02:04
Now there's no eye of the needle

0304 : 00:16:02:06 00:16:05:07
to which no problem solving
politician can ever pass

0305 : 00:16:05:09 00:16:08:17
and we'll have five people
advance to the general election,

0306 : 00:16:08:19 00:16:12:17
And we have diversity of ideas and visions
and innovative policy ideas.

0307 : 00:16:12:19 00:16:14:24
Then in the general election
we do one other thing,

0308 : 00:16:15:01 00:16:19:00
we stop... we begin to implement
ranked-choice voting

0309 : 00:16:19:02 00:16:22:01
instead of plurality voting
and the key for that is we will elect

0310 : 00:16:22:03 00:16:24:19
a person with the greatest appeal to
the most number of voters,

0311 : 00:16:24:21 00:16:29:06
but the most important thing
is that we eliminate the reason

0312 : 00:16:29:08 00:16:33:11
we never see any new competition
and that's the spoiler argument.

0313 : 00:16:33:13 00:16:36:21
You know, this new independent
candidate, or this third party

0314 : 00:16:36:23 00:16:40:14
is going to spoil the race
for the one of the two lesser

0315 : 00:16:40:16 00:16:42:17
of two evils that are out there.

0316 : 00:16:42:19 00:16:48:19
And unless we can have competition
putting pressure on the players

0317 : 00:16:48:21 00:16:51:24
to do what needs doing,
they're not going to change.

0318 : 00:16:52:01 00:16:55:00
So long story short,
it's called final five voting,

0319 : 00:16:55:02 00:16:57:08
open top five primaries
plus ranked-choice voting

0320 : 00:16:57:10 00:16:58:08
in the general election.

0321 : 00:16:58:10 00:17:02:03
It connects solving problems with

getting re-elected and that's the key.

DAVID BROOKS:

0322 : 00:17:02:05 00:17:04:02

Yeah, for those who don't
know rank choice voting is,

0323 : 00:17:04:04 00:17:07:01

is where you can vote
for multiple candidates in one District.

0324 : 00:17:07:03 00:17:08:06

So, It's not either or.

KATHERINE GEHL:

0325 : 00:17:08:08 00:17:10:16

And you're a great supportive of that.

0326 : 00:17:10:18 00:17:13:04

It's been wonderful
what you've written about it.

DAVID BROOKS:

0327 : 00:17:13:07 00:17:14:11

I really believe in it.

0328 : 00:17:14:13 00:17:18:01

I don't know if we're going to be able
to make this clip work,

0329 : 00:17:18:03 00:17:21:16

but there was a super viral moment
involving you.

0330 : 00:17:21:18 00:17:23:18

Lets' pause for two seconds
to see if this can work.

VIDEO CLIP FROM "STARS AND STRIFE:"

0336 : 00:17:24:12 00:17:26:11

<After months of divisive rhetoric.>

0338 : 00:17:26:13 00:17:28:23

<A moment of unity>
<in an unexpected place.>

0339 : 00:17:29:01 00:17:31:22

<When members of Black Lives>
<Matter went to a rally in DC>

0340 : 00:17:31:24 00:17:35:20

<they were prepared to protest, but>
<what they did not expect was this.>

0341 : 00:17:35:22 00:17:38:07

<We are going to give you two minutes>
<of our platform>

0342 : 00:17:38:09 00:17:39:16

<to put your message out.>

0343 : 00:17:39:18 00:17:43:13

<Now, whether they disagree or agree>
<with your message is irrelevant.>

0344 : 00:17:43:15 00:17:45:17

<Is the fact that you have the right>
<to have a message.>

0345 : 00:17:45:19 00:17:48:09

<The first thing out of my mouth was,>
<I'm an American.>

0346 : 00:17:48:12 00:17:51:09

<I am an American.>

0347 : 00:17:53:01 00:17:55:17

<They all go crazy.>
<Like what do you mean.>

0348 : 00:17:55:19 00:17:58:09
<You're a protester,>
<you're a civil rights activist.>

0349 : 00:17:58:11 00:18:00:11
<You're a self-proclaimed liberator.>

0350 : 00:18:01:01 00:18:04:13
<You love America?>
<Yes, I love America.>

0351 : 00:18:05:15 00:18:10:14
<And the beauty of America>
<is it when you see something broke>

0352 : 00:18:10:16 00:18:14:22
<in your country>
<you can mobilize to fix it.>

0353 : 00:18:16:20 00:18:19:04
<Now they're clapping.>
<They're going.>

0354 : 00:18:19:06 00:18:24:11
<So when you see a man murdered,>
<choked to death.>

0355 : 00:18:24:13 00:18:28:13
<after he calls for his life 11 times>
<and nothing happens.>

0356 : 00:18:28:15 00:18:30:17
<You have to do something about that.>

0357 : 00:18:30:19 00:18:32:17
<And then there was like this awkward,>

0358 : 00:18:32:20 00:18:35:07
<I can't believe I'm clapping>

<for this guy.>

0359 : 00:18:35:09 00:18:41:07

<We say, if a cop is bad, he needs>
<to get fired like a bad lawyer.>

0360 : 00:18:41:09 00:18:43:16

<Like a bad politician.>

0361 : 00:18:44:13 00:18:45:08

<You know,>

0361a: 00:18:45:11 00:18:49:00

this is not what I believe in but he's
kind of right.

0361b: 00:18:50:00 00:18:52:08

Secondly, I said I'm a Christian.

0361c: 00:18:53:16 00:18:54:18

Everybody's going crazy.

0361d: 00:18:56:13 00:18:59:06

I don't think my bible
is any different from yours

0365 : 00:18:59:09 00:19:02:23

when it says, "love thy neighbor".

0365a: 00:19:03:01 00:19:04:01

What I really wanted

0365b: 00:19:04:13 00:19:07:16

was to show these folks
there are two guiding principles

0365c: 00:19:07:18 00:19:09:04

that we both have in common,

0365d: 00:19:09:07 00:19:12:14
which are the bible
and the constitution.

0366 : 00:19:19:04 00:19:20:23
I think we made progress.

0366a: 00:19:21:00 00:19:25:03
I don't think that activists
received the message well.

0366b: 00:19:25:06 00:19:29:19
I don't think that politicians
received the message well,

0366c: 00:19:29:21 00:19:31:12
but Americans...

0366d: 00:19:31:15 00:19:35:03
they saw that is a coming together
to find common ground,

0366e: 00:19:35:05 00:19:36:12
and they appreciated that.

CLIP ENDS

DAVID BROOKS:

0367 : 00:19:37:22 00:19:40:01
So, tell us, I'm just curious.

0368 : 00:19:40:03 00:19:42:03
That looks like it took a little courage
to be on stage

0369 : 00:19:42:05 00:19:43:14
in the middle of that rally.

0370 : 00:19:43:16 00:19:44:24

What were you thinking?

HAWK NEWSOME:

0371 : 00:19:45:01 00:19:47:19

Well, David, I don't know
were your faith is,

0372 : 00:19:47:21 00:19:51:03

but that was definitely
a moment of divine intervention.

0373 : 00:19:51:05 00:19:56:13

I mean realistically, we were
in this atmosphere, we were protesting,

0374 : 00:19:56:15 00:19:58:15

it was highly contentious.

0375 : 00:19:58:17 00:20:00:10

You have to realize that some
of these people

0376 : 00:20:00:12 00:20:03:10

we were having fist fights
with less than a month before

0377 : 00:20:03:12 00:20:05:09

in the Charlottesville riot.

0378 : 00:20:05:11 00:20:06:24

All right, so.

0379 : 00:20:07:01 00:20:10:03

Who knows how this moment
could've ended,

0380 : 00:20:10:05 00:20:14:01

but, someone said, you know,
do you have something to say.

0381 : 00:20:14:03 00:20:17:15
And I looked around at my team
and they were like, yeah,

0382 : 00:20:17:17 00:20:21:22
let's do it and walking to the stage
I was fully prepared

0383 : 00:20:21:24 00:20:24:22
to give them hell
and let them know how I thought

0384 : 00:20:24:24 00:20:30:08
their politics were despicable, and you
know the whole, the whole gamut.

0385 : 00:20:30:10 00:20:33:05
But, it was like the heavens open up,

0386 : 00:20:33:07 00:20:36:00
and God was like let them know
who you are, right?

0387 : 00:20:36:02 00:20:40:00
So, instead of me railing
into people

0388 : 00:20:40:02 00:20:43:19
and trying to tell them
why they're wrong and I'm right,

0389 : 00:20:43:21 00:20:47:20
it was... it became of moment
of finding common ground.

0390 : 00:20:47:22 00:20:51:17
Where people could actually try
to gain a better understanding

0391 : 00:20:51:19 00:20:53:21
of someone they viewed
as the opposition.

DAVID BROOKS:

0392 : 00:20:53:23 00:20:56:09
Yeah. Do I have it right,
that you're a pastor as well?

0393 : 00:20:56:11 00:20:57:19
Do I remember that correctly?

HAWK NEWSOME:

0394 : 00:20:57:21 00:20:58:16
No, no.

DAVID BROOKS:

0395 : 00:20:58:18 00:21:00:21
- You should be. You should be.
- Maybe one day.

HAWK NEWSOME:

0396 : 00:21:00:24 00:21:03:00
Working on it. Working on it.

DAVID BROOKS:

0397 : 00:21:03:02 00:21:05:04
You know, one of the...

HAWK NEWSOME:

0398 : 00:21:05:06 00:21:06:06
You were saying something.

DAVID BROOKS:

0399 : 00:21:06:08 00:21:09:14
Yeah, one of the things I think about
especially since George Floyd's killing,

0400 : 00:21:09:16 00:21:11:05
is that some of us who want to...

0400a: 00:21:11:07 00:21:13:13
we weave with social fabric...
want civility.

0401 : 00:21:13:15 00:21:16:05
We talk a lot
about civility and you know

0402 : 00:21:16:07 00:21:19:12
keep your tempers in check
and our passions in check.

0403 : 00:21:19:14 00:21:23:04
But, since George Floyd's death,
it's pretty obvious that sometimes

0404 : 00:21:23:06 00:21:24:10
to get attention,

0404a: 00:21:24:13 00:21:26:16
to move forward,

0405 : 00:21:26:18 00:21:28:09
civility isn't always
the right strategy.

0406 : 00:21:28:11 00:21:31:13
I mean, passion is sometimes
the right strategy,

0407 : 00:21:31:15 00:21:35:01
and they're different people
with different social roles,

0408 : 00:21:35:03 00:21:37:02
and some are radical,
and shouting,

0409 : 00:21:37:04 00:21:39:12
and crashing open the structures.

0410 : 00:21:39:15 00:21:42:24
Then others come in and build.

0411 : 00:21:43:01 00:21:47:13
And Black Lives Matter is now
famous and celebrated for

0412 : 00:21:47:16 00:21:49:19
sort of opening up the structures.

0413 : 00:21:49:21 00:21:52:22
How do you think about that issue,
passion versus civility,

0414 : 00:21:52:24 00:21:55:22
versus like just being angry
some of time?

HAWK NEWSOME:

0415 : 00:21:56:12 00:22:03:15
I think all of this rage comes
from a place of love, right?

0415a: 00:22:03:17 00:22:05:13
It's love for black people.

0417 : 00:22:05:15 00:22:10:21
It's love for humanity
that guides us to fight.

0418 : 00:22:10:23 00:22:13:24
That propels
us to shut down a highway.

0419 : 00:22:14:01 00:22:17:12
To sometimes maybe destroy
property, right?

0420 : 00:22:17:14 00:22:21:17
It's because you love people,
because you want a better society,

0421 : 00:22:21:19 00:22:24:19
you've grown to
this place of frustration.

0422 : 00:22:24:21 00:22:27:15
Now, when we start talking about
opening up the roads

0423 : 00:22:27:17 00:22:30:07
and building a foundation,
and building a structure.

0424 : 00:22:30:09 00:22:33:13
David does a great job
of it with the film.

0424a: 00:22:33:15 00:22:35:22
And providing people
an opportunity

0425 : 00:22:35:24 00:22:39:11
to talk with their guard down,
right?

0425a: 00:22:39:13 00:22:43:01
Because usually we'll be sitting
across a table,

0425b: 00:22:43:03 00:22:45:04
or sitting on some news show,

0427 : 00:22:45:06 00:22:48:18
and we're arguing with one another,
not even talking to one another,

0428 : 00:22:48:20 00:22:51:05
but just trying to win over
the audience.

0429 : 00:22:51:07 00:22:57:02
And what's was really important
now is to listen to one another.

0430 : 00:22:57:04 00:23:02:12
I mean realistically, politicians
stand in the way of true progress.

0431 : 00:23:02:14 00:23:05:22
Make no mistake about it,
it's the politicians and the media

0432 : 00:23:05:24 00:23:09:24
that won't let poor white folks
in middle America

0433 : 00:23:10:01 00:23:13:11
and poor black folks in the Bronx
or Atlanta come together

0434 : 00:23:13:13 00:23:17:00
and understand that they both
are facing a red crisis. Right?

0435 : 00:23:17:02 00:23:19:24
That they both are been oppressed
by the government.

0436 : 00:23:20:01 00:23:22:19
So, there are these roadblocks
and these impediments

0437 : 00:23:22:21 00:23:25:06
that stand in
the way of true progress.

0438 : 00:23:25:08 00:23:28:07
And it is politics and it is the money
in politics,

0439 : 00:23:28:09 00:23:33:18
but, I think that now is the time
for real people, regular people.

0440 : 00:23:33:20 00:23:36:19
I might not even a part
of that conversation

0441 : 00:23:36:21 00:23:39:11
because I am polarizing at times.

0442 : 00:23:39:13 00:23:42:10
But I would like to be there to help
build that foundation,

0443 : 00:23:42:12 00:23:46:04
but now is time for real people,
folks who are closer to center

0444 : 00:23:46:06 00:23:49:10
to really come together and talk
about what they want for this country.

0445 : 00:23:49:12 00:23:53:09
Because I think now is the time.

0446 : 00:23:53:11 00:23:58:17
Now is truly the time for radical ideas,
and yes,

0447 : 00:23:58:19 00:24:01:15
I have a lot of problems
with the right,

0448 : 00:24:01:17 00:24:05:05

but at the same time,
I have a problem with the left.

0449 : 00:24:05:07 00:24:09:06
And the black organizations
that they work with that continue

0450 : 00:24:09:08 00:24:12:11
to pull a sheep,
pull the wool over all of our eyes.

0451 : 00:24:12:13 00:24:14:02
You know, so I'm...

0452 : 00:24:14:04 00:24:17:08
now is the time for people to kind
of pull the curtain back

0453 : 00:24:17:10 00:24:20:23
and look at what's really happening
behind the scenes.

DAVID BROOKS:

0454 : 00:24:21:01 00:24:23:18
Yeah, I want to talk that you
mentioned economics in the film,

0455 : 00:24:23:20 00:24:25:19
talks about inequality
and economics a lot,

0456 : 00:24:25:21 00:24:28:24
But, before we get to it. I'd like
to ask any of the panelists

0457 : 00:24:29:01 00:24:31:01
about the American story.

0458 : 00:24:31:03 00:24:34:18
People as a group

with a common story.

0459 : 00:24:34:20 00:24:37:11
And the people as a group
with a common project.

0460 : 00:24:37:13 00:24:39:12
So, now I'm going to turn
pastor for a second,

0461 : 00:24:39:14 00:24:42:23
that in the Book of Genesis,
the creation of the universe

0462 : 00:24:43:00 00:24:44:21
is covered in 9 verses.

0463 : 00:24:44:23 00:24:47:06
In the Book of Exodus,
the creation of the Tabernacle

0464 : 00:24:47:08 00:24:50:22
takes them 300 verses
to do that. Why is that?

0465 : 00:24:50:24 00:24:54:07
Because Moses had this fractious
group of different tribes

0466 : 00:24:54:09 00:24:55:14
and had to will them together,

0467 : 00:24:55:16 00:24:57:22
and he did it by they built
this thing together.

0468 : 00:24:57:24 00:25:00:13
And I used to think the Exodus story
was the American story.

0469 : 00:25:00:15 00:25:03:02
We left depression,
came to the promise land.

0470 : 00:25:03:04 00:25:05:13
But, when I talk to young people,

0471 : 00:25:05:15 00:25:08:15
they say, that's what you,
people in your generation think.

0472 : 00:25:08:17 00:25:10:17
It's not what we don't think,
I don't think this is the land

0473 : 00:25:10:19 00:25:12:19
of milk and honey,
the promised land.

0474 : 00:25:12:21 00:25:16:03
So, what story... anybody,
if anybody wants to comment.

0475 : 00:25:16:05 00:25:19:10
Sort of, what is being American,
if you're talking to a young person.

0476 : 00:25:19:12 00:25:21:07
What is being American means?

0477 : 00:25:21:09 00:25:22:12
Something where they can...
we can all,

0477a: 00:25:22:14 00:25:25:17
all voices can feel part of the story.

LEON PANETTA:

0478 : 00:25:28:00 00:25:31:24

David, I still think that...

0479 : 00:25:32:01 00:25:37:20
the American story does resonate,
even with young people.

0480 : 00:25:37:22 00:25:41:23
You know,
I'm the son of Italian immigrants.

0481 : 00:25:42:20 00:25:45:11
And you know...

0482 : 00:25:45:13 00:25:49:05
The fact is that my parents
really believed

0483 : 00:25:49:07 00:25:52:07
that they could give their children
a better life in this country.

0484 : 00:25:52:09 00:25:55:22
And that is the American dream,
and in many ways,

0485 : 00:25:55:24 00:25:59:05
I think the purpose of public service
frankly ought to be

0486 : 00:25:59:07 00:26:01:12
to give people a better life.

0487 : 00:26:01:14 00:26:04:13
When I talk with students.

0488 : 00:26:05:07 00:26:10:16
And by the way,
we just did a poll of college students.

0489 : 00:26:10:18 00:26:16:09
Who 80% said that the Covid-19 crisis

0490 : 00:26:16:11 00:26:19:17
has dramatically changed their life.

0491 : 00:26:19:19 00:26:24:08
Because, no longer
are they sure about their education.

0492 : 00:26:24:10 00:26:28:23
No longer are they sure about what
kind of career they're going to have.

0493 : 00:26:29:00 00:26:33:21
And so in many ways
they see that dream that they have

0494 : 00:26:33:23 00:26:35:12
beginning to collapse.

0495 : 00:26:35:14 00:26:44:10
And what needs to be done is,
to show that this country is committed

0496 : 00:26:44:12 00:26:50:11
to giving them that equal opportunity,
to be able to achieve that dream.

0497 : 00:26:50:13 00:26:53:11
That regardless of who they are,
what race they are,

0498 : 00:26:53:13 00:26:56:09
what creed they are,
what gender they are,

0499 : 00:26:56:11 00:27:00:20
that they're going to have
a shot at the American dream.

0500 : 00:27:00:22 00:27:02:12
And I don't...

0501 : 00:27:02:14 00:27:04:06
I think right now,

0501a: 00:27:04:08 00:27:09:02
their sense is that that's not
what Washington really cares about,

0503 : 00:27:09:04 00:27:12:13
that's not what the leadership
in Washington really cares about.

0504 : 00:27:12:15 00:27:17:02
And so, there's a despondency
about whether or not

0505 : 00:27:17:04 00:27:21:01
the system we have is really going
to be able to respond.

0506 : 00:27:21:03 00:27:26:24
And I honestly think
that unless leadership

0507 : 00:27:27:01 00:27:32:22
in this country recognizes these problems
and is willing to confront them,

0508 : 00:27:32:24 00:27:36:08
that things are going to get worse
before they get better.

0509 : 00:27:36:10 00:27:39:01
And that's what I'm afraid of.

0510 : 00:27:39:03 00:27:46:02

And that's why it's absolutely critical
that leadership be able to step up

0511 : 00:27:46:04 00:27:49:20
and make the tough decisions,
work with people like Hawk.

0512 : 00:27:49:22 00:27:53:11
Work with people
that have something to say,

0513 : 00:27:53:13 00:27:58:03
and try to find answers to our
problems, not just bitch about it.

DAVID BROOKS:

0514 : 00:27:58:05 00:27:59:05
Yeah.

0515 : 00:27:59:07 00:28:01:15
And Katherine, you worked
at economic development

0516 : 00:28:01:17 00:28:03:08
in a local level in Chicago.

0517 : 00:28:03:10 00:28:06:06
Somehow things seem to work
better in a local level

0518 : 00:28:06:08 00:28:07:10
than at the national level.

0519 : 00:28:07:12 00:28:09:19
Do you see a way to take
what happens

0520 : 00:28:09:21 00:28:11:22
in a lot of good cities around
the country

0521 : 00:28:11:24 00:28:13:11
and make it Federal?

KATHERINE GEHL:

0522 : 00:28:14:11 00:28:17:16
You know, that's interesting.
I actually do believe that the closer

0523 : 00:28:17:18 00:28:21:21
you get to the local level
the more we have this...

0524 : 00:28:21:23 00:28:24:21
still shared sense of community
and the ability for government

0525 : 00:28:24:23 00:28:25:24
to solve our problems.

0526 : 00:28:26:01 00:28:29:19
But I think the part of that
is simply because the closer you get

0527 : 00:28:29:21 00:28:33:08
to the local level the less partisan
the issues are naturally.

0528 : 00:28:33:10 00:28:36:11
We used to say, you know, when
I was working in the city of Chicago.

0529 : 00:28:36:13 00:28:38:07
It's not that democrats are for clean
streets

0529a: 00:28:38:09 00:28:40:08
or Republicans are opposed
to them.

0530 : 00:28:40:10 00:28:45:11
You know, you tend to want
the same things at a city level.

0531 : 00:28:45:13 00:28:51:19
And I don't think that that trickles
up to the federal government.

0532 : 00:28:51:21 00:28:54:05
I think that what's happening even now,

0533 : 00:28:54:07 00:28:56:10
is that the dysfunction
of the federal government

0534 : 00:28:56:12 00:28:59:18
is in some cases
trickling down and poisoning,

0535 : 00:28:59:20 00:29:02:18
making harder what we've been able
to do in a local level.

0536 : 00:29:02:20 00:29:06:08
Even we continue to succeed
more than the federal level.

0537 : 00:29:06:10 00:29:09:09
You know, following up
on what the Secretary was saying,

0538 : 00:29:09:11 00:29:14:11
I think we can have the shared ideal
of America,

0539 : 00:29:14:21 00:29:19:22
but, when the shared ideals
are connected with

0540 : 00:29:19:24 00:29:24:18
a shared American dream
that can be delivered and believed in.

0541 : 00:29:24:20 00:29:30:00
And liberal democracies
have enjoyed this long period of,

0542 : 00:29:30:02 00:29:34:12
you know, sort of ascendancy
but they were always coupled with

0543 : 00:29:34:14 00:29:39:03
this economic expansion,

0544 : 00:29:39:05 00:29:43:13
overtime and the broadening
of economic benefits.

0545 : 00:29:43:15 00:29:49:19
And when you disconnect
the ideals from delivering the goods,

0546 : 00:29:49:21 00:29:53:07
in some cases, that's a lot to ask
people to sacrifice for.

0547 : 00:29:53:09 00:29:55:13
Because they'll sacrifice
for their country,

0548 : 00:29:55:15 00:29:59:04
If their children can have the American
dream, but, asking to sacrifice

0549 : 00:29:59:06 00:30:02:23
for the American dream of only a few
others, that's a lot.

0550 : 00:30:03:00 00:30:05:08

And we're not going to successful
doing that.

DAVID BROOKS:

0551 : 00:30:06:02 00:30:10:12
What do you think about that David?
And then I'll come to Hawk.

0552 : 00:30:10:14 00:30:14:13
When you and I, we were defenders
of the market, that is the...

0552a: 00:30:14:15 00:30:18:00
American capitalism fundamentally
broken and unfair and unequal.

0554 : 00:30:18:02 00:30:19:23
Sometimes it seems that way.

DAVID SMICK:

0555 : 00:30:20:00 00:30:22:23
I think so, there's a ruthlessness
to capitalism

0556 : 00:30:23:00 00:30:25:05
in the last 15 to 20 years ago.

0557 : 00:30:25:07 00:30:27:21
It's really kind of appalling.

0558 : 00:30:27:23 00:30:29:13
I think that you can...

0559 : 00:30:29:15 00:30:32:00
I think the entire political
establishment...

0560 : 00:30:32:02 00:30:34:24
Listen, they complain
about the economy,

0561 : 00:30:35:01 00:30:38:11
but they really need to think
about how we got to where we are.

0562 : 00:30:39:06 00:30:40:15
Two points.

0563 : 00:30:40:17 00:30:44:06
One... the Berlin wall falls.

0564 : 00:30:44:08 00:30:49:17
China, India, a host of other countries
join the global system.

0565 : 00:30:49:19 00:30:51:06
Both parties said hurray.

0566 : 00:30:51:08 00:30:54:13
This is great, we did a lot of trading
with them,

0566a: 00:30:54:15 00:30:58:05
you could buy products
cheaper at Walmart,

0568 : 00:30:58:07 00:31:00:20
and you stretch your dollars
and all the rest.

0569 : 00:31:00:22 00:31:02:10
Of course, there was a downside,

0570 : 00:31:02:12 00:31:06:21
globalization had a paradoxical
element to it.

0571 : 00:31:06:23 00:31:10:20
And the downside wasn't just

that your plant

0572 : 00:31:10:22 00:31:12:21
might move to Mexico
or China.

0573 : 00:31:12:23 00:31:19:22
It was also that globalization led
to extraordinary low interest rates.

0574 : 00:31:19:24 00:31:24:07
And it did so because
when dollars are recycled,

0575 : 00:31:24:10 00:31:26:22
a lot of countries tend to buy
our bonds.

0576 : 00:31:26:24 00:31:30:14
And so we ... we've seen
a 30-year period of low interest rates.

0577 : 00:31:30:16 00:31:32:14
What does that mean?
Why is that matter?

0578 : 00:31:32:16 00:31:34:02
It's great for stocks.

0579 : 00:31:34:04 00:31:36:09
So, you have
half of the country own stocks.

0580 : 00:31:36:11 00:31:39:00
The other half doesn't.
The other half are wage earners,

0581 : 00:31:39:02 00:31:41:09
so you've had this period
of

0581a: 00:31:41:12 00:31:44:08
stock market bonanza
which is great,

0581b: 00:31:44:11 00:31:46:09
and a lot of 501.

0583 : 00:31:46:11 00:31:52:14
A lot of retirement plans benefit,
but so half the country

0584 : 00:31:52:16 00:31:54:12
didn't have access to that.

0585 : 00:31:54:14 00:31:57:10
And I say that in part contributed
to some of the hate

0586 : 00:31:57:12 00:32:00:00
because if you're if you're not part
of the party

0587 : 00:32:00:02 00:32:02:04
there is a sense of humiliation,

0588 : 00:32:02:06 00:32:05:14
your loss of dignity
which turns anger and hate.

0589 : 00:32:05:16 00:32:11:12
But I think the second element of this,
is the economy has become rigid.

0590 : 00:32:11:14 00:32:16:10
A lot of it was contributed...
came from the financial crisis.

0591 : 00:32:16:12 00:32:21:09

After the financial crisis we ended up
with four Wall Street banks.

0592 : 00:32:21:11 00:32:24:11
Big banks that controlled 75%
of bank financing.

0593 : 00:32:24:13 00:32:27:05
So, everything became
much top down.

0594 : 00:32:27:07 00:32:32:13
And the whole ability
of a large corporation to mount

0595 : 00:32:32:15 00:32:35:24
aggressive campaigns
and in a whole series of fronts

0596 : 00:32:35:24 00:32:39:02
involving patents
and the other regulatory.

0597 : 00:32:39:04 00:32:41:19
You end up with the powerful
at the top.

0598 : 00:32:41:21 00:32:46:03
And when that happened...

0599 : 00:32:46:05 00:32:52:06
and during this process you saw
a decline in economic opportunity.

0600 : 00:32:52:08 00:32:56:14
We talk about income inequality
but there's opportunity inequality.

0601 : 00:32:56:16 00:33:03:04
Again, 30 years ago, if you were born

in the bottom 25% of the economies,

0601a: 00:33:03:06 00:33:07:21
you had a 25% chance of rising
to the top 25%.

0603 : 00:33:07:23 00:33:10:05
Today, only a 5% chance.

0604 : 00:33:10:07 00:33:16:01
So, as Katherine says, If you have gone into debt to study.

0605 : 00:33:16:03 00:33:20:06
And you're also working hard
at your jobs, wherever,

0606 : 00:33:20:08 00:33:24:12
and you are not getting ahead,
or your children have sacrificed

0607 : 00:33:24:14 00:33:27:10
that way and they're not getting in.
That is...

0608 : 00:33:27:12 00:33:32:15
That is a whole crux of the...
of the reason for

0609 : 00:33:32:17 00:33:36:07
fear, anger, humiliation,
the sense of calling,

0610 : 00:33:36:09 00:33:39:08
in particularly
if you fall out of the middle class.

0611 : 00:33:39:10 00:33:41:06
You thought you had made it
to the middle class

0612 : 00:33:41:08 00:33:42:15
and you fall out of that.

0612a: 00:33:42:17 00:33:47:12
You can see that sense
of helplessness and fear.

0613 : 00:33:48:10 00:33:54:00
I was... I thought this was an
interesting point in the similar

0614 : 00:33:54:02 00:33:57:22
discussion that we had last week.
Hawk was part of it.

0615 : 00:33:58:00 00:34:01:19
David Ignatius from the Washington
Post, who's is in the film,

0616 : 00:34:01:21 00:34:05:05
good friend of mine.
He was asked, how could someone

0617 : 00:34:05:07 00:34:09:02
who has the approach
of Donald Trump.

0618 : 00:34:10:15 00:34:13:24
You can see how he got elected, but
how could he have all these people,

0619 : 00:34:14:01 00:34:18:10
some people were saying, hey,
in certain states the race is close.

0620 : 00:34:18:12 00:34:20:01
How could that happen?

0621 : 00:34:20:03 00:34:23:07

And Ignatius said, you know
I've been looking into a lot of this,

0622 : 00:34:23:09 00:34:26:23
and he quoted a couple of books.
He said, but a lot of it is...

0623 : 00:34:27:00 00:34:28:15
He said, there's a...

0624 : 00:34:28:17 00:34:34:09
If you look at the people who
are the most fearful in the country.

0625 : 00:34:36:01 00:34:42:16
He said, it is white, high school
educated males and some female.

0626 : 00:34:42:18 00:34:46:02
He said, that's the fear.

0627 : 00:34:46:04 00:34:49:10
Now, there are other people who are
fearful, but they're the ones that feel,

0628 : 00:34:49:12 00:34:51:13
they don't have a home,

0629 : 00:34:51:15 00:34:55:01
and they certainly don't have a home
in the Republican Party.

0630 : 00:34:55:03 00:34:59:12
And they don't have a home in the
FDR, wing of the democratic party,

0631 : 00:34:59:14 00:35:01:00
but now they're not sure.

0632 : 00:35:01:02 00:35:05:01

And so they're taking
a ride with Trump,

0633 : 00:35:05:03 00:35:08:22

but he said that's the only way I can...
I look at it is...

0634 : 00:35:08:24 00:35:12:20

They kind of look at all the offensive
stuff and they say,

0635 : 00:35:12:22 00:35:14:18

but what else do I have.

0636 : 00:35:14:20 00:35:19:23

It's funny in the... you noticed
when Trump got in the first year

0637 : 00:35:20:00 00:35:23:14

or two there was a...
there was no open discussion.

0638 : 00:35:23:16 00:35:25:04

How did this happen?

0639 : 00:35:25:06 00:35:29:07

Trump is a symptom of the failure
of the political system,

0640 : 00:35:29:09 00:35:31:17

and but, that's all gone now.

0641 : 00:35:31:19 00:35:34:24

It's almost like people don't...
no one's talking about that.

0642 : 00:35:35:01 00:35:39:07

And I hope we get back to saying,
okay,

0643 : 00:35:39:09 00:35:42:07
you know, when the Trump year
is gone.

0644 : 00:35:42:09 00:35:43:14
How did that happen?

0644a: 00:35:43:16 00:35:45:16
Why, where is,
why is this fear coming?

0645 : 00:35:45:18 00:35:47:24
And I suspect a lot
of it is economic.

DAVID BROOKS:

0646 : 00:35:48:02 00:35:49:18
So, Hawk, what's your take on that,

0647 : 00:35:49:20 00:35:52:10
do you think the economics
is driving a lot of the anxiety?

0648 : 00:35:52:12 00:35:54:09
How do you see it as a lived
reality?

HAWK NEWSOME:

0649 : 00:35:54:24 00:36:00:22
Well, we believe
that behind all of the racism,

0650 : 00:36:00:24 00:36:02:23
there is classism.

0651 : 00:36:03:00 00:36:06:04
I just want to touch back on
something that you said earlier.

0652 : 00:36:06:06 00:36:08:07
About the American dream.

0653 : 00:36:08:09 00:36:13:01
The American dream to most folks
who are outside of this country,

0654 : 00:36:13:03 00:36:15:10
and what of a lot of people
experience here.

0655 : 00:36:15:12 00:36:17:17
Is the American nightmare.

0656 : 00:36:17:19 00:36:20:04
For foundational black Americans,

0657 : 00:36:20:06 00:36:25:03
for the people who built
this country for nothing.

0658 : 00:36:25:05 00:36:28:24
If we want to talk about America
having anything

0659 : 00:36:29:01 00:36:32:13
that even resembles a soul,

0660 : 00:36:32:15 00:36:38:06
then we would be talking about
reparations for black people, right?

0661 : 00:36:38:08 00:36:43:14
Not that it made any great difference
to Jewish people

0662 : 00:36:43:16 00:36:45:05
when they received reparations,

0662a: 00:36:45:07 00:36:48:04
but it was something,
it was definitely a gesture to say,

0664 : 00:36:48:06 00:36:50:08
we're sorry for your pain,
for your loss.

0665 : 00:36:50:10 00:36:52:21
Same thing happened
with Japanese people.

0666 : 00:36:52:23 00:36:58:22
But, when it comes to black people,
there's always this shut up, wait,

0667 : 00:36:58:24 00:37:02:07
keep your pain to yourself.
Why?

0668 : 00:37:02:09 00:37:09:10
Because, white America doesn't want
to be made to feel uncomfortable,

0669 : 00:37:09:10 00:37:13:11
and if we're going to really go
about seeking change in this country.

0670 : 00:37:13:13 00:37:15:12
Then we have to talk about,

0671 : 00:37:15:14 00:37:18:14
we have to have some very
uncomfortable conversations.

0672 : 00:37:18:16 00:37:22:23
Conversations that will say things like,
it's easy, it was easy,

0673 : 00:37:23:00 00:37:25:14
it's been easier for white immigrants
to come here

0674 : 00:37:25:16 00:37:27:08
and build a life for themselves

0675 : 00:37:27:10 00:37:29:15
than black people have been here
for generations.

0676 : 00:37:29:17 00:37:31:21
We'd have to talk about redlining.

0677 : 00:37:31:23 00:37:35:23
We'd have to talk about the inability
of black people to maintain property.

0678 : 00:37:36:00 00:37:41:00
To pass along generational wealth
and insurance and things like that.

0679 : 00:37:41:02 00:37:43:14
These are things that people don't
want to talk about.

0680 : 00:37:43:16 00:37:47:05
They want to say things like,
pull yourself up by the boot straps,

0681 : 00:37:47:07 00:37:50:23
but Dr. King said, "you can't tell a man
to pull himself up

0682 : 00:37:51:00 00:37:53:16
by the boot straps
when he has no boots".

0683 : 00:37:53:18 00:37:56:21
In my community, where I live,

0684 : 00:37:56:23 00:38:00:07
40% of the children drop out
of high school.

0685 : 00:38:00:09 00:38:06:16
90% of us who are lucky enough to
make it to college drop out of college.

0686 : 00:38:06:18 00:38:09:15
Now, it's nothing short of the glory
of God

0687 : 00:38:09:17 00:38:11:14
that I was able to drop out
of high school

0688 : 00:38:11:16 00:38:14:15
get a bachelor's degree
and going to get a law degree,

0689 : 00:38:14:17 00:38:18:19
but, it's definitely not easy
and it's not attainable

0690 : 00:38:18:21 00:38:20:10
to a lot of our people.

0691 : 00:38:20:12 00:38:23:11
Why is that? Right?
Why is that?

0692 : 00:38:23:13 00:38:27:13
Because, here we go
with been uncomfortable, right?

0693 : 00:38:27:15 00:38:33:07
America was founded
on white supremacy. Right?

0694 : 00:38:33:09 00:38:38:15
White people are at the top.
White male are at the top.

0695 : 00:38:38:17 00:38:44:05
Women, blacks and all other
oppressed groups fall below that line.

0696 : 00:38:44:07 00:38:47:17
Let's talk about strides
in this country's history.

0697 : 00:38:47:19 00:38:50:12
From voting,
to the ending the Jim Crow,

0698 : 00:38:50:14 00:38:53:13
to the desegregation of our schools.

0699 : 00:38:53:15 00:38:57:23
It's been black folks fighting
in a similar way

0700 : 00:38:58:00 00:39:00:06
to the way we are fighting now.

0701 : 00:39:00:08 00:39:05:01
And we always been fortunate
to have allies, like my brother David,

0702 : 00:39:05:03 00:39:09:13
who will work with us
to push the world forward,

0703 : 00:39:09:15 00:39:13:16
but at the end of the day,
at the end of the day,

0704 : 00:39:13:18 00:39:16:09

when you start talking to me
about economics...

0705 : 00:39:16:11 00:39:18:00
Check this out.

0706 : 00:39:18:02 00:39:19:15
I'm not a fan of welfare.

0707 : 00:39:19:17 00:39:22:14
There should be... there should not be
two and three generations

0708 : 00:39:22:16 00:39:24:20
of people on welfare
and public housing.

0709 : 00:39:24:22 00:39:28:13
But, are we teaching
black kids about financial literacy?

0710 : 00:39:28:15 00:39:30:04
No, right?

0711 : 00:39:30:06 00:39:32:11
Are we giving them
credit counseling?

0712 : 00:39:32:13 00:39:33:12
No.

0713 : 00:39:33:14 00:39:37:10
Are we teaching them about the values
of owning property?

0714 : 00:39:37:12 00:39:38:07
No.

0715 : 00:39:38:09 00:39:41:20

Like... our oppression, like,
oh my God,

0716 : 00:39:41:22 00:39:46:02
like the good sister said... Katherine.

0717 : 00:39:46:18 00:39:49:23
This system is fixed
and it's fixed against us.

0718 : 00:39:50:00 00:39:54:06
And the system is working to keep us
poor and oppressed.

0719 : 00:39:54:08 00:39:57:13
And I don't want equality,
I just want equity.

0720 : 00:39:57:15 00:40:01:04
I just want people to have the same
chances, no matter where they're born,

0721 : 00:40:01:06 00:40:03:12
and where they are here.

0722 : 00:40:03:14 00:40:08:18
You know, teach the man to fish.
Right? Teach a man to fish. That's it.

DAVID BROOKS:

0723 : 00:40:08:21 00:40:12:03
I might say like Leon,
I grew up in an immigrant home,

0724 : 00:40:12:06 00:40:15:21
my family had four generations
in lower east side of Manhattan

0725 : 00:40:15:23 00:40:17:24
and I know where my

great-grandfather's butcher shop.

0726 : 00:40:18:01 00:40:20:24
And it was like that you're so steeped
in that.

0727 : 00:40:21:01 00:40:24:16
And it's been a challenge
to get outside that.

0728 : 00:40:24:16 00:40:26:14
And say okay,
that immigrant story is one story,

0729 : 00:40:26:16 00:40:29:01
but there's black stories,
there are other stories,

0729a: 00:40:29:04 00:40:31:06
there's the native story.

0730 : 00:40:31:08 00:40:36:15
And somehow encompassing all
the stories is just seems to be gigantic

0731 : 00:40:36:17 00:40:40:19
challenge for our moment to get all
those stories included. David quickly...

DAVID SMICK:

0733 : 00:40:40:21 00:40:44:00
I keep saying that to Hawk,
I say that he's my teacher,

0734 : 00:40:44:02 00:40:46:07
but you know, when we met
in the South Bronx,

0735 : 00:40:46:09 00:40:50:09
and we were... And he was telling me

on camera about this...

0736 : 00:40:50:11 00:40:53:09
the husband of a woman that works
in his organization,

0737 : 00:40:53:11 00:40:57:13
who it was held at the back of a cop
car at 100 degrees...

0738 : 00:40:57:15 00:41:00:00
He kept screaming, I can't breathe,
I can't breathe, 11 times,

0739 : 00:41:00:02 00:41:02:02
and then he finally got out and he died.

0740 : 00:41:02:04 00:41:06:03
So, I'm watching the George Floyd
footage and I said, oh,

0741 : 00:41:06:05 00:41:08:13
that's the footage from...

0741a: 00:41:08:15 00:41:10:20
that Hawk was talking about
that they were running on in a film.

0741b: 00:41:10:22 00:41:12:21
No, it wasn't,
it was completely new.

0743 : 00:41:12:23 00:41:16:02
And I guess one of the things is,
if you're in a position

0743a: 00:41:16:04 00:41:21:14
like we all are you... there is an
inside, you don't think in terms of...

0745 : 00:41:21:16 00:41:23:18
I mean we need to open our hearts

0746 : 00:41:23:20 00:41:26:04
to what's really going on
in this community.

0747 : 00:41:26:06 00:41:28:08
The other point I would make
real quick.

0748 : 00:41:28:10 00:41:33:07
I'm very big on the roll of startups.
I think they're a great equalizer.

0749 : 00:41:33:09 00:41:36:11
I think women starting up firms twice
away to the rate of men,

0750 : 00:41:36:13 00:41:39:20
is a power...
they're transforming the economy,

0751 : 00:41:39:22 00:41:43:04
and I think Hispanics,
Latinos, two and a half times

0752 : 00:41:43:06 00:41:45:21
the rate of non-Hispanics,
not in the black community.

0753 : 00:41:45:23 00:41:47:21
So, I started investigating this,

0754 : 00:41:47:23 00:41:51:05
and what did it tell me is,
if you're a black entrepreneur,

0755 : 00:41:51:07 00:41:55:19

if you go to a venture capitalist,
you better take a white guy with you.

0756 : 00:41:55:21 00:41:59:13
And also take a white...
yeah, take a white guy,

0757 : 00:41:59:15 00:42:02:03
he's not really associated
with our effort,

0758 : 00:42:02:05 00:42:05:06
but I have to have him
there so the venture capital people

0759 : 00:42:05:08 00:42:06:12
will give me the money.

0760 : 00:42:06:14 00:42:09:16
And afterwards, you know,
I pay him for the time.

0761 : 00:42:09:18 00:42:12:14
But, that's really a disgrace,
because you're talking about...

0762 : 00:42:12:16 00:42:16:02
that is how, you know,
communities rise up,

0763 : 00:42:16:04 00:42:18:18
that's how various groups
historically have risen up

0764 : 00:42:18:20 00:42:20:12
and it's not happening
in the black community,

0765 : 00:42:20:14 00:42:22:22
and I think we have to look into why

it isn't...

DAVID BROOKS:

0766 : 00:42:23:22 00:42:27:04
We're going to go to questions...
before I do I just want to mention

0767 : 00:42:27:06 00:42:30:08
for those of us who aren't voting
in midterm races.

0768 : 00:42:30:10 00:42:32:19
Who want to get more involved,

0769 : 00:42:32:21 00:42:34:24
the Common Ground Committee
has launched a voting tool

0770 : 00:42:35:01 00:42:36:23
recently to help with this issue,

0771 : 00:42:37:00 00:42:40:18
and maybe we can get this screen
up there.

0772 : 00:42:40:20 00:42:43:09
It's called The Common Ground
Scorecard.

0773 : 00:42:43:11 00:42:45:14
It's easy to use,
you just plug in your ZIP code

0774 : 00:42:45:16 00:42:47:06
to The Common Ground Scorecard
to see which candidates

0775 : 00:42:47:08 00:42:49:02
are willing to work across the aisle,

0776 : 00:42:49:04 00:42:51:05
and lead to less division.

0777 : 00:42:51:07 00:42:55:17
And so that is one way you can,
we can all find the candidates

0778 : 00:42:55:19 00:42:59:03
who are willing to actually
not be totally party line.

0779 : 00:42:59:05 00:43:05:17
One of the great questions that's come
across from Joseph Schumann, is...

0780 : 00:43:05:19 00:43:09:06
"I would love to hear about a time when
you were convinced you were wrong

0781 : 00:43:09:08 00:43:11:02
by the other side."

0782 : 00:43:11:05 00:43:13:20
And that's a tough question.
So, I'm going to give you 45 seconds

0783 : 00:43:13:22 00:43:16:07
to think about it by answering myself.

0784 : 00:43:16:09 00:43:18:00
And I would like to say too, that

0785 : 00:43:18:02 00:43:20:17
one goes back to just what
Hawk was just talking about.

0786 : 00:43:20:19 00:43:23:17
I opposed reparations for long time.

0787 : 00:43:23:19 00:43:27:15
And came to believe that
the election of Donald Trump

0788 : 00:43:27:17 00:43:30:05
demanded a different kind
of response not a...

0789 : 00:43:30:07 00:43:33:10
not an admission of shame,
but a show respect

0790 : 00:43:33:12 00:43:36:17
for what have been endured.

0791 : 00:43:36:19 00:43:38:14
And I have a way to do
reparations but,

0792 : 00:43:38:16 00:43:43:17
I do think if we're gonna crack
this 400 year old problem

0793 : 00:43:43:19 00:43:45:24
that's a necessary step.

0794 : 00:43:46:01 00:43:48:16
And then, you know, I don't know
where you were Secretary Panetta...

0795 : 00:43:48:18 00:43:50:14
I was a supporter
of the Iraq War,

0796 : 00:43:50:16 00:43:53:07
and you learn from hard
experiences.

0797 : 00:43:53:09 00:43:55:09

Sometimes you just make the wrong call .

0798 : 00:43:55:11 00:43:57:23
So, I'm going to go to you Leon,
on the time you were persuaded

0799 : 00:43:58:00 00:44:01:07
by your political opponents
that you were wrong.

LEON PANETTA:

0800 : 00:44:04:01 00:44:05:10
Yeah it a...

0801 : 00:44:06:21 00:44:08:06
You know the...

0802 : 00:44:09:08 00:44:15:07
There are a lot of those moments,
because frankly, if the system

0803 : 00:44:15:09 00:44:18:09
is working the way
it should be working,

0804 : 00:44:18:11 00:44:21:06
the process of governing,

0805 : 00:44:21:08 00:44:24:20
then you're going to spend
a lot of moments in a room

0806 : 00:44:24:22 00:44:27:09
with your political opponents.

0807 : 00:44:27:10 00:44:30:04
By talking through issues,

0808 : 00:44:30:06 00:44:33:05
and because you trust one another

0809 : 00:44:33:07 00:44:36:18
because you don't worry about
somebody putting a knife in your back,

0810 : 00:44:36:20 00:44:41:20
You're much more forthright about
both the politics and what have you.

0811 : 00:44:41:22 00:44:46:11
I mean I...I remember working
on immigration reform -

0812 : 00:44:46:13 00:44:48:07
this is in the Reagan Administration -

0813 : 00:44:50:00 00:44:56:24
and I represented an agricultural
area here in California.

0814 : 00:44:57:24 00:45:03:10
And you know, immigration meant
an awful lot in terms of whether or not

0815 : 00:45:03:12 00:45:07:23
there would be a work force
in the fields.

0816 : 00:45:08:00 00:45:12:16
And I remember...

0817 : 00:45:12:18 00:45:15:21
Trying to make the point

0818 : 00:45:15:23 00:45:22:03
that it was important to recognize
that we had to find a way

0819 : 00:45:22:05 00:45:28:02
to be able to bring workers in
and be able to provide those workers,

0820 : 00:45:28:04 00:45:31:23
to be able to get it done.

0821 : 00:45:32:00 00:45:35:19
And I can remember Alan Simpson..Republican,

0822 : 00:45:36:23 00:45:41:04
basically said, you know, look,

0823 : 00:45:42:08 00:45:48:04
you can't worry about that particular
problem...

0824 : 00:45:48:23 00:45:51:11
if we lose

0825 : 00:45:51:13 00:45:55:21
all of our efforts to somehow
do comprehensive immigration reform.

0826 : 00:45:56:17 00:45:59:15
And it made me think

0827 : 00:45:59:17 00:46:02:17
about the fact, yeah,
you know I'm their kind of

0828 : 00:46:02:19 00:46:06:12
making a pitch for one provision.

0829 : 00:46:06:14 00:46:09:13
But, if we lose immigration
reform I'm going to get nothing.

0830 : 00:46:10:21 00:46:13:00
And Alan made that point.

0831 : 00:46:13:02 00:46:17:16
And I really...
I suddenly kind of thought about it.

0832 : 00:46:17:18 00:46:20:20
And said, you know, you're right.

0833 : 00:46:20:22 00:46:26:15
You're right, unless we get
comprehensive reform accomplished

0834 : 00:46:26:17 00:46:28:17
then we're not going to get nothing.

DAVID BROOKS:

0835 : 00:46:29:12 00:46:32:02
Katherine, do you have an example
that leaps to mind?

KATHERINE GEHL:

0836 : 00:46:32:11 00:46:35:01
Yeah, I mean one thing I will say is,

0837 : 00:46:35:03 00:46:38:19
I've always thought
I couldn't really be in politics itself

0838 : 00:46:38:21 00:46:43:16
because I'm never sure
as the politicians seem to be

0839 : 00:46:43:18 00:46:45:23
that what they say is right,
where is I'm always thinking,

0840 : 00:46:46:00 00:46:48:12
well there's this pro and this con,

and this trade off,

0841 : 00:46:48:14 00:46:51:09

and so I wouldn't be as comfortable pronouncing a ...

0842 : 00:46:51:09 00:46:54:21

despite what you may have seen tonight, but here's about years ago

0843 : 00:46:54:23 00:46:59:14

I absolutely thought we should solve everything at the federal level.

0844 : 00:46:59:16 00:47:04:12

And that would bring scale, and that there would be one best way,

0845 : 00:47:04:14 00:47:09:19

and then we could deliver the same opportunity across the country.

0846 : 00:47:09:21 00:47:13:16

And I now see, in part because of quote "opponents,"

0847 : 00:47:13:18 00:47:15:05

or people who felt differently,

0848 : 00:47:15:07 00:47:18:18

and also because just what the facts are showing us over these years,

0849 : 00:47:18:20 00:47:23:22

that the Federal Government is not in many cases the right place

0850 : 00:47:23:24 00:47:26:24

for us to figure out innovation and make progress.

0851 : 00:47:27:01 00:47:30:20
And there's something
to be said for these laboratories

0852 : 00:47:30:22 00:47:32:21
of Democracy
in our federalist system.

0853 : 00:47:32:23 00:47:38:20
And I've come really all the other
direction on that

0854 : 00:47:38:22 00:47:41:03
with the understanding that the federal
government

0855 : 00:47:41:05 00:47:46:03
still has enormous responsibility
in the Constitution ideals

0856 : 00:47:46:05 00:47:47:18
that we have to fulfill there.

0857 : 00:47:47:20 00:47:53:18
But, I think states should continue to
move us forward as these laboratories

0858 : 00:47:53:20 00:47:56:14
of democracy
and innovative policy ideas.

0853 : 00:47:32:23 00:47:38:20
And I've come really all the other
direction on that

0854 : 00:47:38:22 00:47:41:03
with the understanding that the federal
government

0855 : 00:47:41:05 00:47:46:03
still has an enormous responsibility

in the Constitution, the constitutional ideals

0856 : 00:47:46:05 00:47:47:18
that we have to fulfill there.

0857 : 00:47:47:20 00:47:53:18
But, I think states should continue to move us
forward as these laboratories

0858 : 00:47:53:20 00:47:56:14
of democracy and
innovative policy ideas.

DAVID BROOKS:

0859 : 00:47:57:02 00:48:00:02
Hawk, How about you, do you have a story?

HAWK NEWSOME:

0860 : 00:48:00:22 00:48:04:23
Yes, I do, but it involves a recording.

0861 : 00:48:05:00 00:48:09:09
Sneaking a recording device
into the Attorney General's office,

0862 : 00:48:09:11 00:48:12:16
so Secretary,
I'm asking for absolution.

0863 : 00:48:23:18 00:48:25:15
So, I'm... It's actually.

0864 : 00:48:25:17 00:48:30:12
It was actually around the case
that David referenced earlier.

0865 : 00:48:30:14 00:48:31:24
The Andrew Kears case.

0866 : 00:48:32:01 00:48:37:07

A man begged for his life just numerous times in the back of a police car.

0867 : 00:48:37:09 00:48:39:17
He died in the back of that car.

0868 : 00:48:41:18 00:48:46:20
He died, you know, as a result to that officer ignoring his cries for help.

0869 : 00:48:46:22 00:48:50:18
So, we advocated for the Attorney General to prosecute the case.

0870 : 00:48:50:20 00:48:55:20
And they were finally nine months later going to show the wife

0871 : 00:48:55:22 00:48:59:09
the patrol footage,
the cops footage.

0872 : 00:48:59:11 00:49:03:06
And they said, we'll show it to you and your lawyer, but Hawk can't come. Right?

0873 : 00:49:03:08 00:49:06:07
So, I convinced her to record the conversation,

0874 : 00:49:06:09 00:49:10:05
record what was on the video on her cell phone.

0875 : 00:49:10:07 00:49:15:09
So, what I listened to was 17 minutes of hell.

0876 : 00:49:15:11 00:49:19:21
And a man crying for his life

and eventually dying.

0877 : 00:49:19:23 00:49:23:12
You could hear his body
slump over when life left his body.

0878 : 00:49:23:14 00:49:27:18
And I got that footage
and I had the audio

0879 : 00:49:27:20 00:49:31:11
and I was shopping it around to,
you know, CNN,

0880 : 00:49:31:13 00:49:35:05
I was shopping it around.
I went to my contacts at NBC,

0881 : 00:49:35:07 00:49:39:20
but I remember somebody telling me,
sorry, that,

0882 : 00:49:39:22 00:49:43:10
sorry, but Donald Trump
is dominating the political cycle.

0883 : 00:49:43:12 00:49:48:05
Here I have never released footage
of a man dying in police custody

0884 : 00:49:48:07 00:49:52:12
and nobody wanted it.
And then I reflected on a conversation

0885 : 00:49:52:14 00:49:54:24
I had with Candace Owens.

0886 : 00:49:55:01 00:49:58:03
And Candice told me, she said,
you know the Dems only care about

0887 : 00:49:58:05 00:50:00:22
you and it's election cycle,
you know.

0888 : 00:50:00:24 00:50:08:11
And it hurt, it hurt, to really you
know, and I argued with her on it.

0889 : 00:50:08:13 00:50:10:21
But, the truth for the matter is is

0890 : 00:50:10:23 00:50:15:11
Black Lives Matter gets more
attention near election cycles.

0891 : 00:50:15:13 00:50:20:23
You get a lot of cases that you, that
wouldn't receive the attention they do,

0892 : 00:50:21:00 00:50:23:21
that they, that they receive

0893 : 00:50:23:23 00:50:26:00
if it was outside of the election
cycle.

0894 : 00:50:26:02 00:50:31:00
Long story short, they're
playing up to get black folks out

0895 : 00:50:31:02 00:50:35:16
to the ballot box and it hurts,
you know.

0896 : 00:50:35:18 00:50:38:20
But, it's just an unfortunate truth.

0897 : 00:50:38:22 00:50:44:09

So, the conservatives actually were right about the way that,

0898 : 00:50:44:11 00:50:50:22
you know, the way that the media... and media sometimes manipulates our cause.

0899 : 00:50:50:24 00:50:53:06
That was... that was one of those light bulb moments to me.

DAVID BROOKS:

0900 : 00:50:53:12 00:50:56:23
Okay, let me go to another question, and directed to David,

0901 : 00:50:57:00 00:50:58:10
and it's from Devlin Malinow.

0902 : 00:50:58:12 00:51:03:15
We're all shaking our heads at the ruthlessness of capitalism.

0903 : 00:51:03:17 00:51:06:04
What could mitigate that ruthlessness to replace the system?

0904 : 00:51:06:06 00:51:08:10
And what are the possibilities for a new economy.?

0905 : 00:51:08:12 00:51:10:19
David you, thoughts on that one.

DAVID SMICK:

0906 : 00:51:10:21 00:51:14:11
Yeah, well, I actually think that there are a number of things that you can do.

0907 : 00:51:14:13 00:51:19:00
All of it is more top down
versus bottom up.

0908 : 00:51:19:02 00:51:21:23
Everything that comes out
of the federal government

0909 : 00:51:22:00 00:51:24:17
we should be evaluated.

0910 : 00:51:24:19 00:51:27:16
What is this do to the small
and medium-sized businesses

0911 : 00:51:27:18 00:51:32:23
and what is this do to the incentive
for someone to take the risk.

0912 : 00:51:33:00 00:51:35:14
It's so, you know, it's crazy
when you start a business.

0913 : 00:51:35:16 00:51:37:10
I've done business.

0914 : 00:51:37:12 00:51:41:21
Take that risk, and accept
the possibility of failure,

0915 : 00:51:41:23 00:51:47:00
what do we do to make that easier
for them and to encourage that.

0916 : 00:51:47:02 00:51:50:11
I think, you know I look at that,
I've been...

0917 : 00:51:50:13 00:51:52:16

I've watched two tax reforms.

0918 : 00:51:52:18 00:51:57:07
I watch the 1986 tax reform,
which was truly bipartisan,

0919 : 00:51:57:13 00:51:59:09
and involved...

0920 : 00:52:01:23 00:52:04:00
I work with Bill Bradley on this

0921 : 00:52:04:02 00:52:06:07
and I ended up working on
his presidential campaign

0922 : 00:52:06:09 00:52:10:23
because I believed
in his whole approach there, but...

0923 : 00:52:11:00 00:52:13:03
Then I look at the tax reform
that passed

0924 : 00:52:13:05 00:52:15:09
under the Trump Republican senate.

0925 : 00:52:15:11 00:52:18:13
It was, it didn't get...

0926 : 00:52:18:15 00:52:22:04
It was so oriented
to large businesses

0927 : 00:52:22:06 00:52:28:22
that it was a... and it was...
and to Wall Street inside stuff.

0928 : 00:52:28:24 00:52:32:10

I mean, I remember
talking to those involved

0929 : 00:52:32:12 00:52:36:12
in pushing this through, which is really
a trillion dollar spending bill

0930 : 00:52:36:14 00:52:40:24
and I said how can you
keep something called carried interest,

0931 : 00:52:41:01 00:52:44:20
in this tax bill,
which essentially says,

0932 : 00:52:44:22 00:52:49:02
if you're a small business man
running a laundry,

0933 : 00:52:49:04 00:52:54:02
you pay tax rate twice as high
as the tax rate of the Wall Street guy.

0934 : 00:52:54:04 00:52:57:15
And I thought, you know, I've benefited
from carried interest.

0935 : 00:52:57:17 00:53:02:14
It's absolutely obscene
to have that kind of a system.

0936 : 00:53:02:16 00:53:07:04
I was assured it was all coming
out and yet the final bill,

0937 : 00:53:07:06 00:53:12:24
there it was, they could have easily
use that revenue and expanded

0938 : 00:53:13:01 00:53:16:00

the earned income credit
and host of other things,

0939 : 00:53:16:02 00:53:19:15
but I think the way to fix
the economy...

0940 : 00:53:19:17 00:53:22:04
And I do have a number
of proposals in the film.

0941 : 00:53:22:06 00:53:25:03
But you start with the mentality right
now.

0942 : 00:53:25:05 00:53:27:16
You have to... it's small is beautiful.

0943 : 00:53:27:18 00:53:31:04
You have to look at that that side
of it and realize

0944 : 00:53:31:06 00:53:37:06
that we really have allowed
the system to become top-heavy

0945 : 00:53:37:08 00:53:40:23
and I think that is supported...

0946 : 00:53:41:00 00:53:43:11
I've talked to both sides
of the aisle.

0947 : 00:53:43:13 00:53:45:08
People all acknowledge that.

0948 : 00:53:45:10 00:53:50:23
And so I think that's where we
should... where we should be going.

0949 : 00:53:51:00 00:53:56:14
I do have a view that you cannot
have the entire half of the country

0950 : 00:53:56:16 00:54:00:02
involved in equity markets
during this bonanza

0951 : 00:54:00:04 00:54:03:11
without getting the rest
of the country involved.

0952 : 00:54:03:13 00:54:08:24
I proposed the whole idea
of a loan made...

0953 : 00:54:09:01 00:54:12:16
If we can loan the Wall Street banks
trillions during the financial crisis,

0954 : 00:54:12:18 00:54:15:10
we would have a loan
for average folk,

0955 : 00:54:15:12 00:54:18:22
when their child is born
they would have an index fund

0956 : 00:54:18:24 00:54:21:11
for the next 60 years
and it would be a loan

0957 : 00:54:21:13 00:54:25:02
that they pay it off very low interest
rate as a bubble at the end,

0958 : 00:54:25:04 00:54:29:05
and they would find out
what compound interest is.

0959 : 00:54:29:07 00:54:33:05
They'd find out the same kind of
miracle that made Warren Buffet rich,

0960 : 00:54:33:07 00:54:38:01
because that fund would be worth
a half a million to a million dollars.

0961 : 00:54:38:03 00:54:41:02
But, if you don't do that
and you end up with two countries.

0962 : 00:54:41:04 00:54:43:22
Countries that are part
of the Wall Street deal

0963 : 00:54:43:24 00:54:45:13
and then you have another part
of the country

0964 : 00:54:45:15 00:54:48:08
is so far removed from that,
they have no hope.

0965 : 00:54:48:10 00:54:51:22
Then we are going to have
a revolution, so I would argue that,

0966 : 00:54:51:24 00:54:57:07
I would say, it astounds me
that neither party has put any effort,

0967 : 00:54:57:09 00:54:59:00
other than Cory Booker.

0968 : 00:54:59:02 00:55:03:12
Any effort into looking into
how we can get much,

0969 : 00:55:03:14 00:55:08:10
many more parts of the economy
involved in that great financial wave.

0970 : 00:55:08:12 00:55:10:14
If in fact that's going to be
a continuation,

0971 : 00:55:10:16 00:55:12:23
and I suspect
with the tech revolution,

0972 : 00:55:14:04 00:55:17:15
and the cloud and artificial
intelligence and all the rest,

0973 : 00:55:17:17 00:55:20:03
that the markets are going to continue
to be robust.

0974 : 00:55:20:05 00:55:23:23
And yet we can't have large parts
of the economy kept out of that.

0975 : 00:55:24:00 00:55:26:04
They don't even know about it,
that's the thing,

0976 : 00:55:26:06 00:55:29:07
what if they do,
that it's a deep frustration.

DAVID BROOKS:

0977 : 00:55:29:09 00:55:30:04
Yeah.

0977a: 00:55:30:06 00:55:33:17
We got about 5 minutes left
and so we go to one more question,

0978 : 00:55:33:19 00:55:35:23
then go around the horn
and everybody gets about a minute.

0979 : 00:55:36:00 00:55:38:08
And we are going to end on
an upbeat note.

0980 : 00:55:38:10 00:55:41:08
Because the film is about solutions.

0981 : 00:55:41:10 00:55:43:19
And from Sasha Schroeder,
to each of the panelists,

0982 : 00:55:43:21 00:55:45:16
What makes you optimistic?

0983 : 00:55:45:18 00:55:49:03
Let's start with Hawk this time.
What makes you optimist?

HAWK NEWSOME:

0984 : 00:55:51:16 00:55:59:11
The children, the children.
Folks who are 20 now, or 18.

0985 : 00:55:59:13 00:56:02:01
Grew up in this Black Lives Matter
movement.

0986 : 00:56:02:03 00:56:05:07
This movement of social justice,
this movement for equal rights,

0987 : 00:56:05:09 00:56:08:07
and equity for all,
since they were 10 or 12.

0988 : 00:56:09:02 00:56:12:24

Those young minds
have been shaped, even the babies,

0989 : 00:56:13:01 00:56:15:20
you know,
who are in elementary school.

0990 : 00:56:15:22 00:56:21:00
They are receiving a world in doses

0991 : 00:56:21:02 00:56:25:14
that is not hypocritical, right?

0992 : 00:56:25:16 00:56:30:13
These kids know that Christopher
Columbus conquered a people.

0993 : 00:56:30:15 00:56:34:24
They don't think that he just magically
discovered empty land,

0994 : 00:56:35:01 00:56:37:21
you know what I mean,
like there's just so much realness

0995 : 00:56:37:23 00:56:41:19
and just so much compassion
in the world right now,

0996 : 00:56:41:21 00:56:49:07
and with that being said, I think that
as a civilization we've hit rock bottom.

0997 : 00:56:49:09 00:56:50:16
Right?

0998 : 00:56:50:18 00:56:56:02
Corporate greed, to divisiveness,
to racism,

0999 : 00:56:56:04 00:56:58:15
they've hit an all time low.

1000 : 00:56:58:17 00:57:03:07
And I believe that the majority of us
are committed to building

1001 : 00:57:03:09 00:57:06:14
the country that we really want,
the country did we all deserve,

1002 : 00:57:06:16 00:57:08:09
and America being what it is,

1003 : 00:57:08:11 00:57:10:13
being a beacon of light to the rest
of the world.

1004 : 00:57:10:15 00:57:12:08
Well, at least until four years ago.

1005 : 00:57:12:10 00:57:14:15
But, being a beacon of light
to the rest,

1006 : 00:57:14:17 00:57:16:12
a beacon of hope to the rest
of the world,

1007 : 00:57:16:14 00:57:19:21
I think that we can be the example

1008 : 00:57:19:23 00:57:22:14
that a lot of societies,
and countries will follow.

1009 : 00:57:22:16 00:57:24:09
So, the best time are ahead of us.

DAVID BROOKS:

1010 : 00:57:24:11 00:57:26:06
Okay, how about you Katherine?

KATHERINE GEHL:

1011 : 00:57:27:07 00:57:31:06
What makes me optimistic
are so many people

1012 : 00:57:31:08 00:57:35:19
with different ideologies coming
together around political innovation.

1013 : 00:57:35:21 00:57:37:14
Like the rules of the game
for elections,

1014 : 00:57:37:16 00:57:42:19
I'll name two, there's a man
Andy Nunemaker in Wisconsin,

1015 : 00:57:42:21 00:57:45:22
who shared the stage with a woman
lined e-line in Wisconsin

1016 : 00:57:45:24 00:57:48:21
and lines one
of the largest Progressive fundraiser.

1017 : 00:57:48:23 00:57:51:07
Andy is a Trump fundraiser,
and they stood up and they said,

1018 : 00:57:51:09 00:57:55:09
we don't agree on any policies,
we don't vote for the same people.

1019 : 00:57:55:11 00:57:58:13
We're apart on everything
but we agree on this,

1020 : 00:57:58:15 00:58:02:07
that the system isn't working
and that we need to hold together

1021 : 00:58:02:09 00:58:05:20
to change these rules,
so that we can start to solve problems

1022 : 00:58:05:22 00:58:07:11
for all the American people.

1023 : 00:58:07:13 00:58:09:08
And you know they keep doing
their own thing

1024 : 00:58:09:10 00:58:12:09
in the existing duopoly,
but they say we need to change it

1025 : 00:58:12:11 00:58:14:07
because it's not working for anybody.

DAVID BROOKS:

1026 : 00:58:14:17 00:58:15:22
Okay, David.

DAVID SMICK:

1027 : 00:58:16:15 00:58:20:24
I'll say two things. One, why I'm
optimistic and why I'm pessimistic.

1028 : 00:58:21:01 00:58:25:23
First, I'm optimistic because
of the gay marriage example.

1029 : 00:58:26:00 00:58:28:17
Gay marriage was fought as having
absolutely no chance

1030 : 00:58:28:19 00:58:30:23
of going anywhere in Washington.

1031 : 00:58:31:00 00:58:33:00
President Obama was against it.

1032 : 00:58:33:02 00:58:37:02
Everybody said,
that's not going to happen.

1033 : 00:58:37:04 00:58:40:20
There's a revolution in the country,
state by state by state.

1034 : 00:58:40:22 00:58:42:07
It just kind of happened.

1035 : 00:58:42:09 00:58:44:08
I think Joe Biden actually
had to say to the president,

1036 : 00:58:44:10 00:58:47:00
no, this is coming.
Do you see that tidal wave?

1037 : 00:58:47:02 00:58:48:07
You don't want to be in front of that.

1038 : 00:58:48:09 00:58:52:07
So, when I looked at...
I changed.

1039 : 00:58:52:09 00:58:56:18
It's very easy to sit in Washington
and assume the country won't change.

1040 : 00:58:56:20 00:58:59:18
Assume progress won't be made.
I wouldn't assume that because...

1041 : 00:58:59:20 00:59:01:20
Talk to state and local level.

1042 : 00:59:01:22 00:59:03:24
There isn't that same partisan
hate.

1043 : 00:59:04:01 00:59:06:10
And there are much more problem
solve oriented.

1044 : 00:59:06:12 00:59:10:01
The one thing that bothers me
and I will say it's my main argument

1045 : 00:59:10:03 00:59:11:22
for the film right now.

1046 : 00:59:11:24 00:59:15:16
If you look at...
and this is a technical argument,

1047 : 00:59:15:18 00:59:17:10
but look at the strength
of the dollar.

1048 : 00:59:17:12 00:59:20:14
It's weakening this year
and that's my day job.

1049 : 00:59:20:16 00:59:23:03
And I can tell you,
it shouldn't be weakening

1050 : 00:59:23:05 00:59:26:01
because of monetary policy
conditions.

1051 : 00:59:26:03 00:59:30:13
The Europeans are running much
looser monetary policy.

1052 : 00:59:30:15 00:59:34:13
All this yet, the dollar is weakening
against the Euro

1053 : 00:59:34:15 00:59:39:09
and a number of other currencies,
and you say how can that be.

1054 : 00:59:39:11 00:59:46:15
The reason I suspect is in part,
the world is voting thumbs down,

1055 : 00:59:46:17 00:59:50:02
thumbs down on the whole notion
of American exceptionalism.

1056 : 00:59:50:04 00:59:52:19
Which is whether it was a myth
or reality,

1057 : 00:59:52:21 00:59:56:17
that notion since 45,
that said we're different

1058 : 00:59:56:19 00:59:58:15
and when we have problems
as Americans

1059 : 00:59:58:17 01:00:01:11
we can put our problems
and divisions aside

1060 : 01:00:01:13 01:00:03:07
and we get things done.
That's the way.

1061 : 01:00:03:09 01:00:05:14
You want us to beat the Nazis,
we'll do it.

1062 : 01:00:05:16 01:00:09:11
You know, that they are now saying
that's a that's a farce.

1063 : 01:00:09:13 01:00:12:08
Look at these people,
they can't get along,

1064 : 01:00:12:10 01:00:16:15
the civil war is going to continue
and that should worry us.

1065 : 01:00:16:17 01:00:20:24
A country with this much debt
should worry if in fact

1066 : 01:00:21:01 01:00:23:22
the rest of the world's voted
thumbs down.

1067 : 01:00:23:24 01:00:29:03
So, that's why I think it's the main
argument for economically...

1068 : 01:00:29:05 01:00:32:00
for why we...
we need to come together.

1069 : 01:00:32:08 01:00:35:03
Okay, Leon brings us homeland.
Cheers us up.

1070 : 01:00:36:23 01:00:43:11
David.
I believe in American leadership.

1071 : 01:00:44:02 01:00:48:18
This country has over 200 years,
faced all kind of crisis.

1072 : 01:00:48:20 01:00:54:04
And somehow leadership is always
been able to rise to the occasion.

1073 : 01:00:55:05 01:00:58:05
And I think that's largely because...

1074 : 01:00:58:07 01:01:00:19
We haven't had leadership
in Washington,

1075 : 01:01:00:21 01:01:03:03
we don't we don't have
it now.

1076 : 01:01:04:00 01:01:07:11
But, I think the real leadership
rests with the American people,

1077 : 01:01:07:13 01:01:10:22
in their common sense,
and their resilience.

1078 : 01:01:11:18 01:01:15:12
Their desire to raise their family,
and have a job.

1079 : 01:01:15:14 01:01:18:14
To be able to have the freedom,

1080 : 01:01:18:16 01:01:23:22
to be able to enjoy their family
and their life.

1081 : 01:01:24:18 01:01:28:03
That's the real strength

of this country.

1082 : 01:01:28:05 01:01:30:20
And I've seen it as Secretary
of Defense,

1083 : 01:01:30:22 01:01:34:15
I saw it in the men and women
in uniform that serve this country.

1084 : 01:01:34:17 01:01:38:07
I mean, I looked into their eyes
and I suddenly saw these young kids

1085 : 01:01:38:09 01:01:41:03
who are willing to put their life
on the line.

1086 : 01:01:41:05 01:01:43:07
Fight and die for this country.

1087 : 01:01:44:10 01:01:48:24
And if there are people like that,
if they're willing to do that,

1088 : 01:01:49:01 01:01:54:04
then I think that ultimately this
country will find a path forward,

1089 : 01:01:54:06 01:01:59:04
that will again renew our democracy
and give us a rebirth.

DAVID BROOKS:

1090 : 01:01:59:18 01:02:01:02
Okay.

1090a: 01:02:01:04 01:02:03:02
So the movie
is called Stars and Strife.

1091 : 01:02:03:04 01:02:05:10
You should watch it six more times.

1092 : 01:02:05:12 01:02:09:21
Just, bring up that sense of hope,
bring up that sense of solution.

1093 : 01:02:09:23 01:02:12:23
I want to thank all you guys
for what have been a delightful hour.

1094 : 01:02:13:00 01:02:16:12
And a real hour, but a hopeful hour.

1095 : 01:02:16:14 01:02:18:05
And I want to thank
The Common Ground Committee

1096 : 01:02:18:07 01:02:20:18
and the Bridge Alliance
for bringing us together.

1097 : 01:02:20:20 01:02:23:18
And goodnight to all of you.