[01:00:00;08]

Rudy Giuliani:

Black Lives Matter is a Marxist organization.

[01:00:02;08]

Tucker

Carlson: How many innocent Americans have these people hurt?

[01:00:05;06]

Carl Cameron:

Fear is the best motivator.

[01:00:07;27]

Trump:

When Mexico sends its people

[01:00:10;05]

Ann Coulter:

They’re invading, they’re murdering, they’re raping.

[01:00:12;12]

Stephen Miller:

How many moms are grieving because of our sanctuary cities?

[01:00:15;20]

Carl Cameron:

You don’t have to talk about politics, you have to talk about how the brain of the human works.

[01:00:19;12]

Mark Levin:

Critical Race Theory is poison.

[01:00:21;15]

Rudy Giuliani:

These people who hate White people.

[01:00:23;02]

Brian Stelter:

There is now a white fear industrial complex.

[01:00:26;07]

Fox:

Mexican criminals

[01:00:27;07]

Ted Cruz:

Black Lives Matter terrorists

[01:00:29;00]

Hannity:

Radical Islamic Terrorism

[01:00:31;08]

Brian Stelter:

Where many people get very rich and very powerful by telling white America that they are under constant assault.

[01:00:39;16]

Kimberly Guilfoyle:

They want to steal your liberty, your freedom.

[01:00:42;23]

Trump: I want surveillance of certain mosques

[01:00:45;03]

Ian Haney Lopez:

This is strategic racism.

[01:00:47;24]

Marco Rubio:

We will never ever surrender to the woke mob.

[01:00:51;15]

Brian Stelter:

Tapping into white grievance and anxiety and then exploiting and creating more and more of it.

[01:00:57;01]

Bill O’Reilly:

They’re eating the dogs. They’re eating the cats.

[01:01:02;22]

Flag guy:

This country is being invaded.

[01:01:04;17]

Carl:

And when you’re scared, you fight back.

[01:01:06;29]

January 6th rioter:

We want our country back!

[01:01:10;29]

CNN:

White Supremacist protests turn violent.

[01:01:13;22]

NBC:

Panic in El Paso this morning

[01:01:15;16]

NBC:

Motivated by anti-immigrant hatred.

[01:01:17;08]

NBC:

Thirteen people were shot, ten of them killed.

[01:01:19;09]

ABC:

He specifically targeted black people.

We’re under fire. We’re under fire.

Title card: WHITE WITH FEAR

Onscreen: “You have to face the fact that the whole problem is really the Blacks.

The key is to devise a system that recognizes this while not appearing to.”

Richard Nixon,

Quoted in his Chief of Staff’s diaries

Archival: Gunshots.

Detroit Suburbs 1968

[01:01:49;18]

Old News Footage:

“Talk in the suburbs of tanks and troops and terror in the streets has led her to the pistol range – a grandmother, fearful. The little manuals that you have keep them with your cookbooks, they make a pretty good reference. The gun is suburbia’s new tranquilizer. These housewives in Dearborn, Michigan, an all-White city of 100,000, are learning to use it. All-White Dearborn is on the edge of Detroit, which is 40 percent Black. Fear and hate are the only bonds.

[01:02:19;10]

Nixon:

As we look at America, we see cities enveloped in smoke and flame. We hear sirens in the night.

[01:02:26;25]

Fake Kevin:

When Nixon ran for president in 1968, he came up with a template that countless politicians would use. Scare White voters about race without being openly racist.

[01:02:36;20]

Nixon:

The city of Washington DC has now become the crime capital of the world.

[01:02:41;12]

Ian Haney Lopez:

So he really started talking about law and order.

[01:02:44;29]

The law and the order and the justice that all Americans want.

[01:02:48;05]

Ian Haney Lopez:

And crime in the streets, and the right of people to be secure and protected from crime, knowing that many people had a racialized understanding of crime. Crime as something done by Black people, and done to White people.

[01:03:08;24]

Nixon Archival:

We’re gonna launch a successful war against crime in the United States of America.

[01:03:13;21]

Leah Wright:

We know that for white voters, law and order has a particular connotation.

[01:03:20;09]

White Lady Archival:

Everybody that lives with the colored has to move. “Why?” Because you’re not safe walking the streets at night, you cannot leave the house.

[01:03:26;28]

Rick Perlstein:

Nixon has these theorists on staff who are coming up with theories about how to accomplish winning the votes of White Americans. One of the most eloquent is a young man named Kevin Philips. And he says that politics is the organized deployment of hatreds. The argument basically is that if Republicans want to become the dominant party, they have to lean into the most epic hatred in America of all, which is the hatred of White people for Black people.

[01:03:58;19]

Kevin Kruse:

He says the whole secret of politics is understanding who hates who. And if you could figure that out and tap into those hatreds, you can win elections. And at the time, who hates who boiled down to Whites who’d fled the central cities, were scared about African Americans – and scared about them coming out into the suburbs.

[01:04:18;04]

Archival:

Let me tell you one thing. He better not show his face in front of my house because if it means my own life, I’d shoot him. Fear is fear and when you get fear into you, you’ll do anything.

[01:04:27;06]

Nixon:

I say to you that when the time comes that we have fear in the streets of our cities, it’s not time for the old leadership it’s time for new leadership

[01:04:35;13]

Rick Perlstein:

He has another young staffer named Pat Buchanan, who says very much the same thing. We have to divide the country in two, and if we divide the country in two and end up with the bigger half, then we will be able to, you know, dominate the future.

[01:04:49;19]

Archival of man at bar:

Shoot to kill! If they’re old enough to violate the laws, shoot ‘em. If there’s laws for us, there’s laws for negroes, let ‘em start obeyin’ em.

[01:04:55;23]

Archival:

Every home should have a shotgun to ward off would-be attackers or terrorists who may invade white neighborhoods.

[01:05:04;29]

KEVIN KRUSE FAKE:

Nixon’s strategy based on fear mongering works. He wins in 1968, he wins again in 1972.

[01:05:10;15]

Tucker Carlson:

That’s why Richard Nixon won the single biggest landslide in American history in 1972 – 49 states! It wasn’t because of his personality. Nixon won because he promised what his opponent refused to promise – Law and Order.

[01:05:24;23]

CBS Anchor:

The typical Republican voter was the kind of man for whom Richard Nixon had programmed his campaign. And though Nixon never really said it, that forgotten American who voted for Nixon also was White.

[01:05:35;24]

Ian Haney Lopez:

Now, there’s a lot of things going on in the 1972 election, Vietnam war, unrest on campuses, the Feminist movement. It wasn’t all race. And yet, I think primarily it was race — not all race, but primarily race. No Democratic candidate for president since 1964. Not Jimmy Carter, not Bill Clinton, not Barack Obama, not Joe Biden, has carried a majority of the White vote. American electoral politics after Richard Nixon’s victory is first and foremost about racial resentment.

FADE BLACK

[01:06:26;15]

FOX:

Good morning, welcome to Fox News Channel. This is Fox News Now, all the news you need in 15 minutes.

[01:06:32;02]

CNN Archival:

Rupert Murdoch is one step closer to realizing his dream of a 24-hour global news channel. His conservative fingerprints are smudged all over his newspapers. Many analysts wonder if he will use the TV news channel to spread his gospel.

[01:06:46;13]

Joe Peyronnin:

In 1995, Rupert Murdoch hired me as president of Fox News to create a proper news division. But in 1996 Rupert hired Roger Ailes as Chairman of News and Cable. Roger Ailes’ background was largely Republican and conservative.

[01:07:08;02]

CNN Archival:

Ailes is known as a conservative pitbull who masterminded political campaigns for Ronald Reagan, launched Rush Limbaugh’s’ TV show.

[01:07:15;24]

Roger Ailes Archival:

We just expect to do fine, balanced journalism.

[01:07:19;06]

Carl Cameron:

Roger was a conservative hack, hitman in Republican politics, and he got Richard Nixon elected, and that ought to tell you something.

[01:07:31;13]

Roger Ailes 1970 Archival:

Let me put it this way, I don’t believe any — anyone will ever be elected to a major public office again without the skillful use of television. And that skillful use, is that an illumination of the issues, or an emotional sell of the man involved? I think both.

[01:07:50;15]

Joe Peyronnin:

Roger, after he’s hired, contacts me and says, let’s go to lunch. And he says, I need you to stay on because I don’t know anything about news, he tells me. And he said, let me ask you a question, why are you a liberal? And I was taken aback. And I said, I was – I’m a liberal? He said, well, you worked for the Communist Broadcasting System, CBS. And then over the next minute or two, he started railing against the media. He said that the media is all liberal.

[01:08:23;04]

Roger Ailes Archival:

The American people are very smart. They know the difference between news, facts, analysis, commentary, opinion, spin, and BS. The other news organizations won’t tell you the difference, we will.

[01:08:34;23]

Brian Stelter:

Roger Ailes was the perfect Fox News viewer. He was aging — an aging white male, Republican who claimed he didn’t recognize the country he was living in anymore.

[01:08:46;04]

FOX Archival:

Quick poll – are we in a state of moral decline? The fact of the matter is a third of all children today are born out of wedlock.

[01:08:52;11]

FOX Archival:

Gay ed, it could become part of your child’s school curriculum. We report both sides of the story, you decide.

[01:08:57;20]

Joe Peyronnin:

He saw a lane where everybody else is liberal and I can create a conservative channel. And that will speak to millions of people, and I will be able to win them over.

[01:09:08;28]

Roger Ailes:

I had to launch Fox news and we had no studios, control rooms, stars, programs, or anything else, but we did have an idea. And we knew there was an audience.

[01:09:20;03]

Joe Peyronnin:

I said, I do not — do not do alternative news channels. I only do journalism, and I left. But that is where he started.

[01:09:28;25]

Brian Stelter:

He basically created a channel for people just like him. For people who were afraid of the changes that were roiling America. For people who wanted to pull the country back to when he thought the country was a better place.

September 11, 2001

[01:09:46;13]

FOX Archival:

We must say now that we are a nation under siege, right now we are a nation under siege.

[01:09:51;15]

Aasif Mandvi:

The sea change of 9/11 was that suddenly everyone was like, “What’s going on in the Middle East? Like, what is this religion, this Quran?” They’re teaching to hate America.

[01:09:59;08]

Brian Stelter:

9/11 was the turning point for Fox News. Fox was immediately catapulted into the rating stratosphere.

[01:10:06;20]

FOX Archival:

And America has been under attack this day, the 11th of September, 2001.

[01:10:12;18]

FOX:

Certainly there are many countries in the Middle East who don’t like us, who fly heavy jets. Iran does. Syria does. Iraq does.

[01:10:19;26]

Wajahat Ali:

It becomes us versus them, a clash of civilizations.

[01:10:23;28]

Bush:

Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists.

[01:10:28;20]

Kevin:

After 9/11, all the American media was unfair to Muslims, but right wing talk radio and cable channels like Fox News took it to another level.

[01:10:35;19]

Aasif:

I heard a guy on a news show once say — it was actually right after 9/11 and he said, you know, the Muslim holiday of Eid, which is the holiday after Ramadan, is spelled E-I-D. And he said, “If you spell it backwards, what does it spell? It spells die.

[01:10:53;29]

Bill O’Reilly Archival:

Many Americans have long suspected that some in the Muslim world are so fanatical, they believe murder is acceptable in the name of their religion.

[01:11:00;29]

Brian Stelter:

When I interviewed insiders of Fox, the term “brown menace” came up over and over again. They are programming to stoke fear of the other, usually a brown skinned person who is frightening to the White Christian audience.

[01:11:15;05]

Bill O’Reilly Archival:

It’s shaping up to be a world war between Muslim fanatics and the rest of us who don’t wanna be killed by people who say, Allah wants it done.

[01:11:25;01]

Katie McHugh:

Having a political family that was just, you know, very plugged into the right wing media. Fox tells them what to think about politics.

[01:11:32;13]

Fox:

It’s either we stop them, or they’re going to make mashed potatoes out of us!

[01:11:36;27]

Rupert Murdoch:

You have to be careful about Muslims who have a very strong, in many ways a very fine, but a very strong religion which supersedes any sense of nationalism wherever they go.

[01:11:49;10]

Brian Stelter:

I think what’s so often under appreciated is that so much of this is about the money. Rupert Murdoch’s programming choices. Roger Ailes’ creation of Fox News into what it is today, it’s about the money and power.

[01:12:01;19]

Bill O’Reilly Archival:

These people are not rational, they are not going to respond to your call, Reverend. In fact they would blow your brains out if they got a chance.

[01:12:09;10]

Joe Peyronnin:

I think that their coverage it was irresponsible at times. It wasn’t balanced. And it really ends up dividing the country and leading to violence against Muslims, inappropriately and unfairly.

[01:12:24;08]

Aasif Mandvi:

My bag got flagged on, through the conveyer thing at Tampa International Airport. And they opened up my bag. And then they pick up the Quran. And then it was like, we’re going through all your stuff now. Your instinct in that moment is to, for me, was to get sarcastic, right? And just be like, oh, oh, you’re looking for the bomb. I’m sorry. Yeah, yeah, you know, I left the bomb at home. I’m the worst terrorist. I am going to get so fired. Oh my god. This plane is going to make it.

[01:13:09;06]

Bush:

The face of terror is not the true faith of Islam.

[01:13:14;00]

Wajahat Ali:

Everyone applauds George W. Bush for this famous speech he does after the 9/11 attacks where he says Islam means peace, Muslims aren’t the enemy.

[01:13:22;14]

Bush:

Islam is peace.

[01:13:24;03]

Wajahat Ali:

I can tell you as an American and as a Muslim American based upon the policies of the Bush administration, they were able to weaponize racism and fear and anxiety to turn a majority of Americans against their Muslim neighbors.

[01:13:36;02]

Rick Santorum:

We are at war. We are at war with Terrorists.

[01:13:40;10]

Brian Stelter:

You hear about terrorists, which is a race neutral term, but post 9/11 meant Muslims.

[01:13:46;03]

Donald Rumsfeld:

Chasing down terrorists and, and criminals.

[01:13:49;00]

Mashup Non-Fox:

The war on Islamic Fascism. Militant Islamic fundamentalism. Islamo-Fascism and the terror that has been utilized by Islamo-Fascists and unleashed on liberty-loving peoples.

[01:14:03;16]

Wajahat Ali:

They went after our mosques. They went after our institutions.

[01:14:07;18]

Archival Trent Lott:

When you’re at war, civil liberties are treated differently.

[01:14:12;23]

Wajahat Ali:

The NYPD spent years surveilling innocent Muslim Americans. And they found zero actionable threats.

[01:14:19;18]

Tim Miller:

I think that, that a lot of people in the administration, in the Bush administration, you’d find, were genuinely saying, we need to do what we can to protect the homeland. Right? Like it’s this combination of — of earnest policy people and like political people who are trying to color between the lines and probably a handful of rat fuckers and we’re trying to think about, okay, what can we do to get people pissed?

[01:14:43;29]

George W. Bush Archival:

Our strategy is this – we will fight ‘em over there so we do not have to face them in the United States of America.

[01:14:49;22]

[01:14:56;29]Rick Perlstein:

In the case of George W. Bush he goes to war against two Muslim countries.

[01:14:56;04]

George W. Bush:

Our war on terror begins with Al Qaeda, but it does not end there.

[01:15:03;08]

Rick Perlstein:

There’s no way he would have been able to achieve his policy objective that he dearly wanted of going to war in Iraq unless he weaponized, you know, that kind of fear against Muslims after 9/11.

[01:15:15;14]

Joe Peyronnin:

This buildup after 9/11, and the uncertainty is all a part of a gigantic anti-Muslim campaign. Divide the country and that lays the groundwork to be able to go in and attack Iraq.

[01:15:34;21]

Katie McHugh:

My dad and I would always talk politics, and we were very pro Iraq War. We’d say very horrible things about Muslims and Muslim countries.

[01:15:42;23]

Michael Graham:

The reason that Islam as it’s constituted today is a terrorist organization is because the theology feeds the terrorism.

[01:15:49;07]

Clip:

I’ll tell you what you do. You racially profile.

[01:15:51;19]

Tim Miller:

The Republican strategists and conservative media, like didn’t give a fuck about like the impact on Muslim citizens like day to day lives, right, and like whether their overheated rhetoric was having a real negative impact on them.

[01:16:05;04]

Michael Savage:

We’re facing an enemy, the islamofascist movement, it is Hitler in a headscarf.

[01:16:10;18]

Tim Miller:

And I can, you know, even say, from being in that world at that time, you know, that was an eye opening thing.

[01:16:18;15]

Clip:

I am not gonna stop until I have executed at least ten Muslims. You have no right to be in this country.

[01:16:25;23]

[01:16:42;08]CBS News:

In Ohio today another mosque vandalized. Saturday a Pakistani Muslim shot dead in Dallas. And in Arizona a gas station owner shot and killed – not an Arab or a Muslim but an Indian Sikh. His temple fears anyone who even looks like America’s new enemy is a target.

[01:16:42;26]

Dick Cheney Archival:

The ultimate threat is the possibility of their succeeding and getting, say a biological agent or a nuclear weapon, smuggling it into the United States, into one of our own cities, and raising the specter of being able to kill hundreds of thousands of Americans.

[01:16:58;01]

Tom Ridge Archival:

Presently the nation currently stands in the yellow condition. An elevated risk.

[01:17:04;05]

Wajahat Ali:

There was a color chart – we’re at orange today. No, no, we’re at brown.

[01:17:08;14]

FOX Archival:

The raised terror alert level, saying we are now at orange, that’s high alert.

[01:17:12;11]

John Ashcroft Archival:

To increase that threat condition designation to the high-risk category.

[01:17:17;02]

CNN Archival:

Explosive claims from Tom Ridge, the country’s first secretary of Homeland Security. In a new book Ridge accuses top advisors to George W. Bush of playing politics with America’s fear of terrorism before the 2004 election.

[01:17:29;05]

AP Archival:

Ridge claims he felt pressure to raise the country’s terror alert level during the runup to the 2004 elections.

[01:17:36;02]

CNN Archival:

The episode left him disillusioned. He tendered his resignation within a month of the election.

[01:17:41;06]

Wajahat Ali:

It was perpetual fear, manufactured fear, manufactured anxiety, manufactured instability, and the only person, and the only regime that can bring you stability and security was who? George W. Bush and the Republicans.

BROLL: Bush at podium, large crowd

(BEAT)

END OF ACT

[01:18:03;27]

Katie Couric:

Now to the Barack Obama story, after months of speculation the freshman senator from Illinois says yes, he does want to be the next president of the United States.

[01:18:11;29]

Larry King:

A Newsweek poll shows that 12 percent of America believes that you’re a Muslim, and 26 believe – 26 percent believe you were raised in a Muslim home, a lot of misinformation.

[01:18:22;13]

Archival Lady:

His religious background scares me to death

[01:18:25;16]

Archival MOS:

I won’t vote for the man just because he’s Muslim.

[01:18:28;12]

Brian Stelter:

Muslims as a people were so viciously demonized for years and years after 9/11, that it makes a twisted amount of sense that the birtherism lie about Obama portrayed him as a secret Muslim.

[01:18:41;18]

Ann Coulter Archival:

Then they get President B. Hussein Obama in there and he has massive majority…[cuts in] So why do you keep saying the B. in Hussein? [cuts in] Well that’s his name. [cuts in] I know. [cuts in] It’s shocking that that — [cuts in] It’s also Barack Obama. [cuts in] That he’s probably going to be our next president, President Hussein.

[01:18:54;24]

Archival Vox Pop:

When you’ve got a name like Barack Hussein Obama, that’s not a normal American name, mmkay?

[01:19:00;29]

Tim Miller:

I was working with the Republican National Committee and I had to approve our mailers — it’s the little mailings, you send out to old people, so they give five bucks, you know, they can be part of the RNC Platinum Club if they join. And they would call him Barack Hussein Obama. And I had a general policy of like I’d always cross out Hussein. Like there’s no point in including Hussein Obama except for a racial dog whistle. I get called in to the RNC Chief of Staff’s office and the Chief of Staff’s like, what’s the problem like here? And I said, well we don’t use Hussein in our PR stuff. And he’s like, well, this stuff works. Like this is how, you know, we get more — we get more money in. I accept your objection, but we’re just gonna keep doing it.

[01:19:44;03]

Archival Vox Pop:

Tell me he’s American. No he is not.

[01:19:48;01]

Archive Man:

They don’t want to claim American. They want to be African American. Well, I want people that wanna be American.

[01:19:55;16]

Archive Woman:

I’m afraid if he wins, the blacks could take over.

[01:19:58;19]

Angie Maxwell:

For a lot of White communities, the idea that there could be a Black president was so impossible, so foreign, that it almost acted like an alarm, an alarm bell when it went off.

[01:20:10;18]

Archival MOS:

Are you ready to have a Black man president? No, no, no.

[01:20:13;08]

Archival MOS:

I don’t think we’re ready for a Black president yet.

[01:20:17;17]

Angie Maxwell:

It’s not necessarily because of anything Obama did. It’s what that visually meant to so many of those, you know, White voters for whom an Obama was an impossibility, you know, in their imaginations.

[01:20:34;09]

Wolf Blitzer:

And CNN can now project that Barack Obama, 47 years old, will become the President-Elect of the United States.

[01:20:42;16]

McCain:

I had the honor of calling Senator Barack Obama (booooo!) to congratulate him, please.

[01:20:50;29]

Eddie Glaude:

You get the hope that Obama represents, but also the fact that this black man has ascended to the White House. So, it deepens racial divisions.

[01:21:01;26]

Archival Lady:

Obama and his wife, I’m concerned that they could be anti-White.

[01:21:06;02]

Eddie Glaude:

And you get this census report, which says that America is fast becoming a majority minority nation.

[01:21:13;01]

CBS News Archival:

The Census Bureau has long predicted that Whites would drop below 50% of the population by the year 2050. This new data suggests that shift could come far sooner.

[01:21:24;02]

Eddie Glaude:

And that statistical data point is embodied in the fact that we’ve just elected a black man to the White House.

[01:21:32;04]

Maneesh Arora:

When the census report comes out this sent shockwaves through the country but certainly through the White community.

[01:21:40;19]

Horace Sheffield:

He was the personification of what they were afraid of, of a country that was no longer run by whites.

[01:21:47;10]

Archival Chant:

Arrest Obama! Arrest Obama!

[01:21:51;13]

Carol Anderson:

This is why you see the rise of gun sales in this time, the rise of militias. The rise of these politicians really preying on having this Black man in the White House. “You’re not safe and I’m here to keep you safe.”

[01:22:06;29]

Ian Haney Lopez:

Right before Obama took office, the economy crashed, and he inherited a massive problem that he was going to have to solve.

[01:22:14;08]

CBS News:

This morning Wall Street begins the day holding its breath, the Dow plunged more than 500 points yesterday.

[01:22:20;06]

CBS News:

The Dow taking another breathtaking nosedive.

[01:22:22;19]

Eddie Glaude:

All hell breaks loose. Right? And the nature of that hell, right, it takes many forms. The one that’s most obvious is the Tea Party.

[01:22:30;21]

Newsclip:

And across the country today thousands of people protested over the tax system, demonstrating against what they call big government spending. These self-styled Tea Parties were aimed squarely at President Obama and the Democratic leaders in Congress.

[01:22:43;13]

Jonathan Alter:

What the real grievance was, was summarized by Rick Santelli with that original soundbite from the floor of the Chicago Board of Trade.

[01:22:52;28]

Rick Santelli:

How about this, president and new administration, why don’t you put up a website to have people vote on the internet as a referendum, to see if we really wanna subsidize the losers’ mortgages.

[01:23:03;25]

Jonathan Alter:

They’re replacing hard-working people like me with somebody who doesn’t deserve it who’s going to get money from the government.

[01:23:11;24]

Rick Santelli:

This is America. How many of you people wanna pay for your neighbor’s mortgage that has an extra bathroom and can’t pay their bills, raise their hand. How about we all — [boos] President Obama, are you listening? We’re thinking of having a Chicago Tea Party in July, all you capitalists that wanna show up to Lake Michigan, I’m gonna start organizing.

[01:23:32;16]

Newsclip:

Hundreds of Tea Parties planned in every single state.

[01:23:36;18]

CNN Newsclip:

This is highly promoted by the right-wing conservative network FOX.

[01:23:41;09]

Megyn Kelly:

We were one of the only organizations to give it any publicity or PR prior to the fact that it happened.

[01:23:47;06]

Tim Miller:

The thing I think that at the time, a lot of people in my shoes, which is in like, you know, white Republican consultant shoes, is, we really did convince ourselves that the Tea Party was legitimate grievance about government spending.

[01:24:04;22]

Sarah Palin:

It’s a false accusation that Tea Party Americans are racist.

[01:24:07;27]

CSPAN Archival:

The people that are involved in the Tea Party movement and other grassroots organizations across the country, Susan, they’re not racist.

[01:24:14;17]

Tim Miller:

And I think this is an example of our own naivete, and wishful thinking, right, and compartmentalization, and all those tricks that you do to yourself?

[01:24:22;21]

Tea Party Lady Archival:

I’m tired of hearing about the Black colleges, I’m tired of hearing Black, Black, Black.

[01:24:28;00]

Tea Party Interview Archival:

We can encapsulate it as Communist, Kenyan Muslim? yes.

[01:24:32;21]

Tim Miller:

Clearly now, with the benefit of hindsight, the Tea Party was a racial grievance uprising against the first black president.

[01:24:42;03]

Ian Haney Lopez:

If you think about a literal dog whistle, it’s a whistle used to train dogs, it blows at a very high frequency — human ears can’t hear it. But dogs can. So as a metaphor for political speech, it’s directing our attention to speech that’s also working on two levels. On one level, silent about race, but on the other, triggering strong racist reactions. So think about terms like welfare queen, illegal alien, thugs, gangbangers. These are terms that on their surface are silent about race, they don’t mention race at all. And yet, if you pay attention to the mental images that come to mind with these terms, you can understand the racial power they have.

[01:25:23;04]

Rush Limbaugh Archival:

The Barack Obama administration is actively seeking to expand the welfare state in this country.

[01:25:29;19]

Katie McHugh:

You know, you have Newt Gingrich from Fox calling him the food stamps president.

[01:25:32;26]

Newt Gingrich Archival:

Unconditional efforts by the best Food Stamp President in American history to maximize dependency.

[01:25:39;28]

Mike Huckabee on Fox:

Newt Gingrich pinned it pretty well when he said that President Obama is the food stamp president.

[01:25:45;05]

Katie McHugh:

He was just seen as, like this avatar of, you know, everything that’s bad about liberals and things like this are just thrown on to him.

[01:25:52;00]

Maneesh Arora:

The idea was that it wasn’t just Obama but everything that Obama touched that became racialized.

[01:25:57;22]

Donald Trump:

When Obama gets 95 percent of the Black vote, is that racist? He is creating a racial divide.

[01:26:04;15]

Glenn Beck:

This president I think has exposed himself as a guy, over and over and over again, who has a deep-seated hatred for White people or the White culture.

[01:26:14;11]

Maneesh Arora:

So, all of a sudden, the democratic party, healthcare became racialized.

[01:26:20;03]

Archival Chant:

Kill the Bill! Kill the Bill! Kill the Bill! Kill the Bill!

[01:26:26;19]

Keith Olbermann:

Rush Limbaugh has declared that the President’s health care reform package is a civil rights bill and constitutes reparations.

[01:26:32;25]

Rush Limbaugh:

This is returning the nation’s wealth to its quote-unquote rightful owners. This is a civil rights bill, this is reparations, whatever you want to call it.

[01:26:40;22]

Katie McHugh:

And then you have this controversy over there’s a government program for low income people giving them phones, because you can’t do anything without a phone. And so, this clip is always passed around of this African American lady saying I’m gonna get like an Obama phone.

[01:26:53;16]

Obamaphone Lady Archival:

Everybody in Cleveland, all minority got Obama phone, keep Obama in president, you know? He gave us a phone!

[01:27:01;11]

Fox Clips:

You’ve seen the YouTube of the Obama Phone woman. Who you — how you gonna get a free phone? Well, you’ve gotta vote for Obama, you’ve gotta be on food stamps. No one deserves a free phone. If you’re unemployed you’ve got welfare, you got food stamps, you got subsidized housing, you got free phones, you got free healthcare, you’re better off unemployed than working, isn’t that what this is all about?

[01:27:19;16]

Tea Party Obama King Archival:

It means Obama thinks he’s a king!

[01:27:21;14]

Ian Haney Lopez:

Obama runs for re-election in 2012. And again, you see his opponents focus on where he’s from, and whether he’s Muslim.

[01:27:29;13]

Mitt Romney Archival:

No one’s ever asked to see my birth certificate, they know that this is the place that we were born and raised.

[01:27:36;17]

Carl Cameron:

I would get phone calls from Fox headquarters. They would call me up to say, look, this whole business with the birth certificate with Obama, you know, what do you got for us? And I’d say, look, he says he’s got a — he says, he’s got a birth certificate, and he has a birth certificate until such time as anybody can prove that he doesn’t, I got nothing to say. And they would pass it off to some show host or something like that.

[01:27:58;11]

Fox News:

Tonight we’ve assembled an all-star panel to do a critical analysis of the president’s birth certificate.

[01:28:04;14]

Frank Luntz Panel Lady:

I believe that he is a Muslim. You do? Yes. How many of you believe that here?

[01:28:08;03]

Trump on O’Reilly:

He doesn’t have a birth certificate. Now, he may have one, but there’s something on that birth – maybe religion, maybe it says he’s a Muslim.

[01:28:18;17]

Rep. Berman Archival:

You know, that doesn’t embarrass me if people call me a birther. When we’re finished with this interview, I’ll show you some YouTubes. You know, YouTubes are infallible.

[01:28:30;23]

CNN Archival:

Another four years for President Obama and Vice President Joe Biden. They win reelection in the Electoral College, they’re winning the popular vote right now. Latinos for the first time in our nation’s history in double digits nationally, and look at that, the president winning even more of the Latino vote than he did four years ago. 71 percent. This is a crisis for the Republican Party on the national level going forward.

[01:28:52;20]

Jean Guerrero:

Barack Obama won the presidency again, and, you know, obliterated this — this White candidate.

[01:28:58;22]

FOX:

The two big questions for Republicans tonight, what went wrong, and where do they go from here?

[01:29:03;27]

Jean Guerrero:

And suddenly the Republican Party realized, oh, my goodness, we really have failed to, you know, appeal to communities of color.

[01:29:13;04]

Ari Fleischer Archival:

We cannot be a party of just White people. That’s not gonna cut it.

[01:29:16;15]

Jean Guerrero:

And so they published an autopsy report. And it was this breathtakingly honest report that talked about the Republican Party’s failure to do outreach in communities of color among Hispanics, among Black Americans and other marginalized groups.

[01:29:31;17]

Sally Bradshaw Archival:

Many minorities think that Republicans don’t like them, or don’t want them in our country.

[01:29:36;12]

Sally Bradshaw:

The report is presented and it makes national news.

[01:29:40;10]

Bret Baier:

Focus groups called the party narrow-minded, out of touch, and stuffy old men.

[01:29:44;16]

Sally Bradshaw:

We made it very clear, we urged Republican leadership to lead on immigration reform, we felt comprehensive immigration reform was needed. There was great interest in it at the political level.

[01:29:54;26]

Marco Rubio Archival:

Virtually every group that’s looked at immigration reform except for one has said that immigration reform would be a net positive for the economy of the United States.

[01:30:02;09]

Carl Cameron Archival:

The GOP now is officially supporting comprehensive immigration reform, something that’s been very, very controversial in the GOP for years.

[01:30:08;09]

Jean Guerrero:

There was this historic bipartisan immigration reform bill in 2013 and ’14, there was, John McCain, Lindsey Graham, Marco Rubio, along with a number of Democrats working for immigration reform.

[01:30:20;14]

Fox News Archival:

A huge bill on Capitol Hill today, the Senate about to vote on a massive immigration reform bill.

[01:30:25;10]

Ian Haney Lopez:

The GOP leadership wanted immigration reform to broaden their racial appeal. But the far right of the party, they opposed it.

[01:30:33;18]

Jean Guerrero:

Stephen Miller and Steve Bannon were working concertedly with — with Breitbart to attack the immigration reform bill by whipping up hysteria about the immigration issue and whipping up White racial anxiety.

[01:30:47;01]

Steve Bannon:

The autopsy comes out and it says this whole thing’s blamed on, we didn’t, you know, get the Hispanic vote. And what we have to do is have amnesty and all these types and so we have to basically concede to Democratic policies. And at the same time, this guy named Sean Trende who’s a lawyer writes a two or three part series for Real Clear Politics.

[01:31:06;14]

Sean Trende:

I heard Barack Obama make the comment, you guys have to appeal to non-White voters or you’ll never win another election. I just thought, that’s not right. So, I wrote this column about actually if the GOP could figure out a way to appeal to White voters and increase their vote share there, they could more than offset their losses among non-White voters, and so, that’s the idea of missing Whites.

[01:31:30;11]

Steve Bannon:

And so Trende’s thing was quite interesting to me about the whole White working class element of it, and how really, both parties had abandoned it. It was pretty obvious to me — it kind of reinforced what I felt.

[01:31:39;22]

Sean Trende:

There were a lot of White voters out there that were gettable for the GOP that for whatever reasons the Republicans weren’t pulling them to the polls.

[01:31:46;06]

Andrew:

So, you come out with this strategy, how did people respond to it publicly?

[01:31:50;11]

Sean Trende:

Well, they hated it.

[01:31:52;12]

Steve Bannon:

I had a dinner with Jeff Sessions and Stephen Miller. Senator Sessions, let’s say this had – had a few bourbon and branches ok, a lot! And we go through those policies that we believe strongly is what’s needed to drive the Republican party to actually start to get an electoral majority.

[01:32:10;18]

Jean Guerrero:

They went over some election analysis by Sean Trende. And they interpreted this analysis to mean that they could launch a popular movement.

[01:32:20;21]

Andrew Goldberg:

How did the three of you — what’s your game plan to push back on immigration reform?

[01:32:26;23]

Steve Bannon:

We have to stop it and we know something’s going to come up that year.

[01:32:29;28]

Jeff Sessions:

If this bill were to pass, wages would go down, unemployment would go up.

[01:32:35;28]

Steve Bannon:

We knew we had to stop — We had to stop it legislatively. We thought we could stop it. So —

[01:32:39;19]

Andrew:

What’d you do?

[01:32:40;28]

Steve Bannon:

Well we just — first off there were articles every day. There was – everybody on radio shows and TV, we really pushed the thing out.

[01:32:47;08]

Ann Coulter Archival:

We should be taking immigrants who are better than us, not worse than us, but instead of skimming the cream we are scraping the bottom of the barrel, getting rid of – taking care of other countries’ internal problems, taking their terrorists, their losers, their poor people.

[01:33:01;09]

Katie McHugh:

I had a phone interview with Steve Bannon in 2014. I was walking around Barnes and Noble, in Lynchburg. And he was asking – he was just firing off questions like he does. And he said, what’s your perspective on education? And I would just deliver, you know, the true believer conservative lines. And then he said, what do you think about immigration? All I said was, it affects everything? And that was — he was so excited and enthused by that answer. He yelled, yes, like, and I heard him through the phone, I actually pulled away a little bit like, okay, he’s really excited about that. And I was hired like that.

[01:33:39;10]

Steve Bannon:

We kind of put a network together of people that just continued to put – that just continue to put out more and more information. Look, our whole thing is if you put out information and you have force multipliers that just drive it, people will start to absorb it themselves.

[01:33:53;06]

Ann Coulter:

It’s the servant class that is coming in, whom taxpayers need to support.

[01:33:58;11]

Steve King Archival:

For everyone who’s a valedictorian there’s another hundred out there that, um, they weigh 130 lbs and they’ve got calves the size of cantaloupes because they’re hauling 75 lbs of marijuana across the desert.

[01:34:09;08]

Hillary Clinton:

I mean, it’s the — what do they say, it’s the Russian active measures, it’s, you know, lying through a fire hose. I mean, you’re just overwhelmed by the lies.

[01:34:17;28]

Laura Ingraham:

A lot of people coming to the country are working for drug cartels, a lot of people have wreaked havoc upon communities.

[01:34:24;06]

Katie McHugh:

The strategy was to take reactionary racist feelings against immigrants, you know, non-White immigrants and to present it to the base as a political choice made by elites who betrayed you, the working White man.

[01:34:42;16]

Mark Levin:

Do you realize, we’re the second-class citizens? You secure that border to protect us!

[01:34:49;18]

Katie McHugh:

As if we were being deluged by a wave of non white immigrants.

[01:34:54;08]

Bill O’Reilly Archival:

You’re gonna have a flood of new immigrants into the United States.

[01:34:57;29]

Ann Coulter:

They’re invading, they’re murdering, they’re raping.

[01:34:59;20]

Jeff Sessions Archival:

As one officer said, a tidal wave of new illegality in the future.

[01:35:04;03]

Jean Guerrero:

And that successfully turned public opinion against immigration.

[01:35:08;29]

Flag guy:

This country is being invaded by foreigners with diseases and crime!

[01:35:13;19]

Protest Lady:

These are going to be more jobs taken away.

[01:35:16;02]

Bumpit lady:

Letting Muslims come across the border, they’re finding Qurans on the ground.

[01:35:20;28]

Chris Hayes:

When I hear “let’s go after the missing White voter,” I start to think, “oh Lord.”

[01:35:24;14]

Sean Trende:

There was an article in The Nation where one of their editors called me a White supremacist.

[01:35:28;13]

Sean Trende:

A lot of people took the suggestion that this is a path that the GOP could take as me basically calling for the GOP to be the party of White people. And that’s absolutely not what I wanted. It was kind of an academic exercise.

[01:35:44;29]

Trende Archival:

I’m just saying if you want to look at the cold calculus of electoral politics, it works out a little different than I think a lot of people expect.

[01:35:51;06]

Sean Trende:

So it was, like, in 2013 when I was getting all these attacks I thought, “Wouldn’t it be great in 2016 if a candidate came along and did this and proved me right?” And then the monkey’s paw finger curled because I did not have Donald Trump or anyone like him in mind, and he came and kind of took the strategy and put it on steroids.

[01:36:12;14]

Fox and Friends:

I’m Donald Trump, and you’re watching Fox and Friends, and if you turn the channel, you’re fired.

[01:36:18;15]

Brian Stelter:

Everyone knows Trump built an image of himself via The Apprentice, but I believe it was Fox that was more important to his political rise.

[01:36:25;13]

Fox and Friends:

Does he have the power to fire me in this company? Trump: Brian, you’re fired. I guess he does.

[01:36:30;06]

Brian Stelter:

Because he was given by Roger Ailes, a weekly slot on Fox and Friends.

[01:36:35;01]

Newt Gingrich:

You could say that Trump was the candidate Fox and Friends invented.

[01:36:38;13]

Fox and Friends:

\*doorbell\* Who’s at the door? Oh look, it’s Donald Trump. Come on in. Donald Trump in person every Monday is a Donald Trump Monday but now in person for one reason, he hasn’t seen Steve and I in a long time. TRUMP: A long time. A long time. Nice to see ya, Donald Trump.

[01:36:54;07]

Brian Stelter:

He became the GOP nominee in waiting because of those weekly appearances on Fox.

[01:36:59;12]

Brian Stelter:

and portrayed himself as the savior, as the protector, as the one billionaire — billionaire who would save them.

[01:37:09;05]

Newt Gingrich:

It’s cause of you guys, Donald Trump gets up in the morning, Tweets to the entire planet at no cost, picks up the phone, calls you, has a great conversation for about eight minutes, which would have cost him a ton in commercial money.

[01:37:19;28]

Trump Archival:

When Mexico sends its people, they’re not sending their best. They’re not sending you, they’re not sending you. They’re sending people that have lots of problems.

[01:37:31;09]

Rick Gates:

Trump was leaning into the culture war. He understood what the people were — how the people were reacting, what they were resonating to. The immigration was the first one.

[01:37:40;17]

Trump Archival:

They’re bringing drugs, they’re bringing crime, they’re rapists, and some, I assume are good people.

[01:37:47;10]

Rick Gates:

Political people said, “Oh, those are very bad things to say. That doesn’t resonate with the people.” They missed the boat on that. That absolutely resonated with people. People said, “This guy’s got it. He’s absolutely right,” so they wanted to hear more.

[01:37:59;23]

CNN Panel Lady:

He says what I’m thinking. I’ve never been involved in politics, never had an interest in any of it, now suddenly, he is resonating. He is resonating with the people, and he’s speaking our minds.

[01:38:12;22]

Manassas Lady:

He’s resonating with the people, I’ve been following his campaign, and he’s resonating with the people, look at the people.

[01:38:18;22]

Rick Gates:

You would go, and the people were cheering like it was some famous musician coming on and instead Trump came up and he attacked people.

[01:38:26;27]

Trump Archival:

ISIS is honoring President Obama. He is the founder of ISIS. He’s the founder of ISIS, okay? He’s the founder. He founded ISIS.

[01:38:42;08]

Rick Gates:

And it was almost like this underlying sentiment among the American people.

[01:38:46;29]

Trump:

I want surveillance of certain mosques, okay? If that’s okay

[01:38:51;08]

Rick Gates:

And here is a guy that’s just telling it to them plain. He’s not sugarcoating it. He’s using abusive words — whatever you want to call it.

[01:38:58;00]

Trump:

I’d like to punch ‘em in the face, I’ll tell ya.

[01:39:01;00]

Sam Nunberg:

I met Trump at Wrestle Mania V. I’d always been a Wrestle Mania— I’d always been a wrestling - WWE fan. And then through Roger Stone was reporting directly to him — working under Roger.

[01:39:10;26]

Trump:

Any guy that can do a body slam, he’s my kinda … [makes body slam gesture]

[01:39:18;20]

Archival chant:

USA, USA!

[01:39:21;06]

Trump in Charleston Archival:

We have a movement going, we have something very special.

[01:39:23;19]

Sam Nunberg:

So he called me and he’s like, there’s a movement, Sam. I feel it. It’s electrifying. They love it. Everyone loves it.

[01:39:28;18]

Kristi Draper:

It was electric to be a part of one of his rallies! It really was, it was amazing. You feel a certain fellowship and camaraderie with people who have like minded thoughts, you know, and desires. And it was wonderful. It was amazing.

[01:39:46;03]

Trump Archival:

It’s called The Snake. I thought of it having to do with our borders, and people coming in.

[01:39:52;03]

Kristi Draper:

It was patriotic. That’s all I can say. He told the snake poem, and it was wonderful.

[01:39:56;23]

Trump:

Oh shut up silly woman, said the reptile with a grin. You knew damn well I was a snake before you took me in.

[01:40:09;09]

Rick Gates:

We did some polling on immigration early on, and the numbers actually weren’t as supportive in favor of Trump as you might think. It was “Do you support blocking immigration?” just general, across the board. And people were very reticent to do that because they felt that was impinging on the American dream. However, if you rephrase the question, “Would you support a ban on immigration if it results in you losing your job, healthcare costs going up?” So when we started reframing it, people were like, “Whoa.” Even legal immigrants were “We don’t want this. We don’t want illegal immigrants in our country. We’re very much in favor of Trump.”

[01:40:45;22]

Trump:

They’re taking our jobs, they’re taking our manufacturing, they’re taking our money, they’re taking everything and they’re killing us on the border.

[01:40:53;25]

Ian Haney Lopez:

What the Trump campaign was saying about immigrants, jobs and health care, it was a complete distortion. But again, the point was racial manipulation.

[01:41:02;23]

Katie McHugh:

I was communicating with Stephen Miller while he was on the Trump campaign, while my Twitter feed was very active, very racist, very anti Islam. And while I was writing racist articles for Breitbart, we were in communication. And we’re both expressing pro Trump sentiments with my company Breitbart email, and there’s no problem with this. Breitbart, in my view, de facto advertising arm of the Trump campaign.

On screen: A Letter to My Kids: Why Dad’s Voting for Trump

[01:41:30;13]

Katie McHugh:

And there was no real intervention from management at all.

On screen: Democrat-run cities push plans to let non-citizen vote

[01:41:36;29]

Stuart Stevens:

I think the tone of these discussions matter when you’re using them as wedge issues, as Republicans have done now, it’s different. And it’s really intended not to solve a social problem of borders. But it’s about stirring up racial animus.

[01:42:00;04]

Vest Lady:

White Americans who founded this country, but we are being pushed aside because of the present administration and the media, the liberal media.

[01:42:08;28]

PennLive Lady:

I want to feel safe in our country, and I don’t feel safe anywhere I go.

[01:42:14;23]

Sam Nunberg:

So one of – I mean this whole conversation, and I say you know, and so I say, “They’re all going to talk about border security. You got to talk about building a wall.” You got to talk about, you know what I mean? “We’re going to come in with a wall. This is a marriage between your business, your brand — it’s like a real estate deal, right?

[01:42:30;20]

Trump Archival:

I will build a great, great wall on our Southern border.

[01:42:35;01]

Sam Nunberg:

And then I said, “And then you say you’ll get the Mexico — you’ll get the Mexicans to pay for it because they’re stealing from us,

[01:42:39;24]

Trump:

And I will have Mexico pay for that wall, mark my words.

[01:42:43;27]

Sam Nunberg:

So then he said, “I’ll make it a real estate deal.” “That’s right. It’s like a real estate deal.” And he goes, “And nobody builds like Trump.

[01:42:48;19]

Trump Archival:

Nobody builds walls better than me, believe me.

[01:42:51;02]

Sam Nunberg:

“Nobody builds like Trump.” He loves that line.

[01:42:53;28]

Trump:

We’re gonna make America Great again! And we’re gonna keep winning, winning, winning!

[01:42:58;15]

Sam Nunberg:

Now, when they say, “What did ‘Make America Great Again’ meant — mean?” It meant, if you want to compare it to something, it meant Bill O’Reilly, 8 p.m. It meant the culture war. It meant keeping America’s, ya know, history.

[01:43:13;27]

Trump:

And I guarantee, if I become president we’re gonna be saying Merry Christmas at every store. We’re not going to be doing.

[01:43:21;17]

Sam Nunberg:

Remember Barack Obama said “Change”? No. We don’t want change. That change is shit for a lot of reasons.

[01:43:28;01]

Trump:

We’re not allowed to punch back anymore. I love the old days, you know what they used to do to guys like that when they were in a place like this? They’d be carried out on a stretcher, folks.

[01:43:37;20]

Andrew:

Why do you think Trump plays culture wars instead of old-school Republican stories, lower taxes, small government?

[01:43:44;01]

Sam Nunberg:

Because that shit’s boring, and we’re not going to win. Okay? We’re not going to win. I’ll tell you why: ‘cuz we’re not going to win. It’s boring.

[01:43:51;22]

Islam Suck’s T-shirt:

I’ll tell you what, that is one thing I really respect about Trump, he speaks his mind. He says what’s on his mind. And we’re in his best interests when he does.

[01:44:00;05]

Sam Nunberg:

Policy, straight-up policy, that’s Mitt Romney, okay? It ain’t winning.

[01:44:05;20]

Pink shirt lady:

He’s not so up tight, everything’s gotta be PC.

[01:44:10;26]

Sunglasses lady:

I think he had to break through all the nonsense by being blunt.

[01:44:14;21]

Andrew:

Were you comfortable with how much of that white-voter anger, resentment model you guys did in the Trump administration?

[01:44:22;15]

Rick Gates:

When we looked at the white model — the white-voter model in the Trump administration again we broke it down in multiple ways.

[01:44:29;17]

Andrew:

But were you comfortable with it?

[01:44:31;05]

Rick Gates:

Absolutely, yeah, because from a – from a political-consultant standpoint remember you’re trying to get every vote imaginable. I don’t care where the votes come from; I need to make sure that the candidate’s messages are focusing on those people. And so if—look, if Trump’s messages as an example had focused more on black issues and black voters were our target, so be it. If that’s where he was aligned, that’s what you do. You take those messages, and you use them to encourage supporters and voters to come out for your causes; it’s that simple. And so it doesn’t matter who we’re targeting — we’re targeting voters of all demographics, all persuasions because that’s how you win elections. When you win elections, you hold power.

[01:45:12;11]

Carter Wrenn:

I think a lot of politicians realize, well, this is playing the race card a little bit, but it gets votes, let’s do it. It’s not I don’t think so much racism in the sense that I want to harm black people. It’s more like opportunism in that I see — see something that can help me, so I’m going to do it and I don’t care.

[01:45:37;25]

Jean Guerrero:

Stephen Miller came on as speechwriter and senior policy advisor for Trump and he began to use tactics that are often used by White supremacist groups to recruit people. Things like inserting very graphic, gory descriptions of migrant crimes into Trump’s speeches.

[01:45:53;26]

Trump:

Brutally beaten, and left to bleed to death.

[01:45:57;04]

Jean Guerrero:

and into his policy proposals. For example, the immigration plan that Trump put out in 2015 references this migrant taking a hammer and bashing in a woman’s eye sockets.

[01:46:07;18]

Trump Archival:

Beaten to death with a hammer.

[01:46:09;11]

Cowboy hat guy:

You got the undesirables who just come in and wreak havoc so, so they gotta have some control over it.

[01:46:15;16]

Stephen Miller Archival:

You’re gonna turn on the TV and see somebody fight as hard for you as the other side fights for illegal immigrants.

[01:46:20;28]

Katie McHugh:

Stephen Miller was introduced to me right before Trump ran. And it was with the understanding that it wasn’t explicitly written in email, but Stephen would pitch to you. And what that meant was, Stephen would, you know, tell you what to write. It’s common for reporters to receive pitches from, you know, from politician’s offices. What is not common is for a ostensible news site to receive a press release like, as Breitbart did ghost written by Miller, to put under the byline of Breitbart News, and to make it the lead of the Breitbart News website.

[01:46:58;01]

Steven Miller:

How many children are dead because of our sanctuary cities?

[01:47:01;05]

Kesha Ram:

When I was in middle school, my brother was good friends with Stephen Miller. And one day starting in high school, Stephen Miller told most of his friends who were mostly brown, because this was Los Angeles, I can’t be your friend anymore. Because you have a family of immigrants, your family’s Mexican, you — your parents don’t speak English, whatever it was. I actually have tried to figure out the nicest thing I could say about Stephen Miller, which is that he didn’t hide behind a computer screen. He would get up in front of the whole school in an assembly of thousands of kids and literally have things thrown at him and say:

[01:47:38;19]

Stephen Miller Archival:

Am I the only one who is sick and tired of being told to pick up my trash when we have plenty of janitors who are paid to do it for us!

[01:47:50;27]

Kesha Ram:

He did it for the shock value and it made him you know, a mini- superstar in the regional conservative media.

[01:47:58;02]

Stephen Miller Archival:

I will say and I will do things that no one else in their right mind would say or do!

[01:48:05;17]

Kesha Ram:

In some ways, I think that made him valuable to the White House. He was writing a playbook that hadn’t been written yet.

[01:48:13;15]

Katie McHugh:

Miller is obsessed with immigration. And he would email me after a story was up and say, and try to flatter you know, flatter me saying it was such a great story. I told Bannon about this, and then Bannon will reply, this is great, Katie wrote a great article. You know, just things like that to like, so like make a 24-year-old girl feel better about the racist screed she just wrote.

[01:48:36;00]

Jean Guerrero:

They, you know, put out the false migrant crime statistics that — that migrants are responsible for thousands of deaths in America every year.

[01:48:43;10]

Fox and Friends Archive:

Sadly people are murdered all the time by illegals, as we have detailed on this program.

[01:48:49;12]

Jean Guerrero:

When the reality is that maybe three or four deaths a year a result of immigrant crimes.

[01:48:54;17]

Fox and Friends Archive:

We’re talking about it because Donald Trump brought this up as a campaign issue.

[01:48:57;22]

Jean Guerrero:

They repeatedly exploited the death of Kate Steinle.

[01:49:01;14]

Trump:

Kate Steinle, gunned down in the sanctuary city of San Francisco.

[01:49:08;29]

Jean Guerrero:

A blonde blue eyed woman, shot to death in San Francisco by an immigrant who was mentally ill [on screen news headline] and who was later found not guilty of murder.

[01:49:20;10]

ABC News:

The jury found Jose Inez Garcia Zurate not guilty of murder or manslaughter.

[01:49:25;14]

Katie McHugh:

This story, this beautiful young woman who died a tragic death, it was seized on by the Trump campaign, [X post] by Breitbart [news headline] to push the anti immigrant agenda.

[01:49:47;00]

Laura Ingraham:

Kate Steinle

[01:49:47;10]

Sean Hannity:

Kate Steinle

[01:49:48;18]

Bill O’Reilly:

32-year-old Kate Steinle

[01:49:50;02]

Katie McHugh:

You can take a highly emotional, horrible story and take that family’s grief and turn it into a cynical campaign to gain power and to demonize — to demonize immigrants.

[01:50:00;25]

Stephen Miller:

Our hearts broke as a nation last summer when Kate Steinle was murdered in cold blood.

[01:50:06;08]

Katie McHugh:

We had already, you know, decided as like our own judge and jury, you know, that this person was guilty. [news headline] Therefore, we have to curb immigration to stop the crime to stop our beautiful young white women from, you know, from being harmed by immigrants. [news headline]

[01:50:30;23]

Andrew Goldberg:

The Steinle case — so you would write these stories, and what would people say?

[01:50:34;14]

Katie McHugh:

People would react by saying justice for Kate Steinle, almost as a — as a way to express their anger at immigration policies that they didn’t even — weren’t even aware of before the far right brought them — and the Trump campaign brought them to their attention.

[01:50:50;26]

Bill O’Reilly:

So, I propose Kate’s Law.

[01:50:53;23]

Tim Miller:

The Kate Steinle thing. We got offered on the Jeb campaign, Bill O’Reilly’s producer called and said, quid pro quo, Jeb can come on the show tonight like if you will support the Kate’s law or whatever.

[01:51:08;14]

Bill O’Reilly:

And if Kate’s Law doesn’t pass, then the world will know which senators and congresspeople are truly villainous.

[01:51:15;05]

Tim Miller:

And as long as he talks about how important it is that we have this new law, that cracks down on illegal immigrant crime.

[01:51:23;00]

Bill O’Reilly:

To sweep dangerous foreign nationals here illegally off the streets of America.

[01:51:28;17]

Tim Miller:

I kind of think I was for him doing it actually, now that I look back on it. Because, you know, one cog in the wheel, fuck it, like Kate’s law. Sure, like we’ll support Kate’s law. That’ll get him a hit on Bill O’Reilly. We’re getting our ass kicked in the polls like maybe this will help. But, the policy guys, or maybe Jeb himself, you know said that they didn’t support Kate’s law for some reason. I don’t even remember what the particulars are of it. But like this is just another prime example of the like conservative media, like creating a — creating outrage, creating fear over something, you know, the voters then feeling like they should be afraid of it. And then politicians feeling like they need to play into that as well in order to, you know, make the voters like them.

[01:52:14;15]

Reporter/Trump Exchange:

Aren’t you close to xenophobia? You’re talking about expelling millions and millions of people? TRUMP: We have to clean up the country, our country is a mess.

[01:52:20;24]

Ian Haney Lopez:

It’s true that Trump appeals to open racists. But It’s a big mistake to think that Trump’s intention is to create a coalition of open racists, of skinheads and Klan members and Proud Boys. That’s not what he’s doing. Trump is looking for language that can scare people with racist stories, where those people genuinely believe — genuinely believe they’re not racist.

[01:52:48;03]

Trump Archival:

I am the least racist person that you have ever met.

[01:52:53;01]

Drunk girl:

Trump is not racist!

[01:52:54;29]

Bayou lady:

I don’t understand how people can say you know, that we’re racist, we’re this, we’re that. We don’t care! We welcome everybody. You know, we’re in the United States of America and that’s what it’s all about. [confederate flag in background]

[01:53:08;02]

Stephen Miller Archival:

Don’t ever, ever let anybody tell you that you’re not a good person because you want to secure the border.

[01:53:13;26]

Hillary Clinton:

They had to persuade those White voters who had voted for Barack Obama and Bill Clinton, not to vote for me based on all kinds of attacks that, you know, lit people up.

[01:53:29;26]

Trump Archival:

Hillary would let everybody come in, killers, criminals, drug dealers.

[01:53:35;18]

Archival man:

Fuck Islam! Fuck ‘em.

[01:53:38;04]

Hillary Clinton:

The Muslims, the immigrants, all of that was just in general designed to either discourage people from voting for Democrats, namely in 2016 me, or to switch them to vote for the Republicans.

[01:53:57;05]

Red hat guy:

We’ve gotta be cautious with these new people coming in that we don’t get ISIS moving in! And terrorists that we don’t even know!

[01:54:05;19]

Trump Archival:

Donald J. Trump is calling for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States, until our country’s representatives can figure out what the hell is going on.

[01:54:20;26]

Andrew:

What about when he proposed banning Muslims? Were you around for that?

[01:54:23;17]

Sam Nunberg:

No. I had talked to him about doing it. I said, “When there’s a terrorist attack — and there will be domestically because they’re already attacking us, you know, the ISIS and everything — propose a Muslim ban. Propose something.” And he goes to me, “Why don’t you fucking propose that? You want me to get killed? Do you want me to get killed?” I’d even thought about — we had such sick shit. I never told him this, but I’ve even thought about like claiming that like the cartel leaders — we had to stop a plot for the cartel leaders to kidnap him, during the campaign. I thought it would help us politically.

[01:54:57;20]

Sally Bradshaw:

The point at which I decided I could no longer be a registered Republican was during the Republican Convention when Trump was being nominated and he went, following the Republican Convention he went after the mother of a Muslim soldier who was killed.

[01:55:13;16]

Trump:

If you look at his wife, she was standing there, she had nothing to say. She probably maybe she wasn’t allowed to have anything to say, you tell me.

[01:55:20;19]

Sally Bradshaw:

I thought this is not my party, how are we letting this man be nominated? Why is no one in leadership speaking out and saying that’s wrong? Most people looked the other way to preserve their own power.

[01:55:32;28]

FOX News:

Donald Trump will be the 45th president of the United States, winning the most unreal, surreal election we have ever seen.

[01:55:45;27]

Trump:

Sorry to keep you waiting, complicated business, complicated.

[01:55:50;25]

Wajahat Ali:

With Trump in particular, he realized, you know what, I don’t have to be subtle. My base loves it. We can manufacture the villain, and they’ll eat it up. Hell, I became president off it. So when Charlottesville happens, I don’t have to condemn the Nazis.

[01:56:07;02]

Newscaster:

We’re following breaking news out of Virginia, the Governor has declared a state of emergency in Charlottesville after White supremacist protests turned violent in that town.

[01:56:17;22]

Terry McAuliffe:

I talked to Trump that day. He called me and I explained to him what I had seen on the ground, what I had heard. And he says, Terry, what do you want me to do? I said, Mr. President, this is your moment. And I said let me be very clear, you’ve got to come out, you need to condemn the White supremists who are here, call them out by name that White supremacy is not acceptable behavior. And you need to call out the Neo Nazis. He said, okay, I’ll do it. Great. Felt pretty good. I waited, I waited, I waited, I waited four hours to do my press conference. But I wanted the president to speak, because, you know, he has the biggest bully pulpit and he can, you know, bring us together if he says the right words — and he didn’t. He came out and said there were good people on both sides.

[01:57:08;29]

Trump Archival:

You also had people. that were very fine people, on both sides.

[01:57:14;26]

Terry McAuliffe:

I know exactly what happened. He agreed with me on the phone. Yes, Terry, I’ll come out and say that, great, terrific. So, what happened in those four hours? Was it Bannon? Was it Miller? Somebody in the White House got to him. And said, no sir. No, you will not condemn Neo-Nazis and White supremists because, these are wedge issues to drive out their voters. And he wasn’t gonna do anything that would offend any of his voters.

[01:57:50;20]

Rick Gates:

We crafted a statement, in that example, and he marked it up. Didn’t like some of the soft language we used, wanted to use harder language.

[01:57:58;21]

Trump:

I think there’s blame on both sides, and I have no doubt about it, and you don’t have any doubt about it either.

[01:58:04;04]

Hillary Clinton:

The number of enemies that the right is putting up on the board — if you’re not — if you know, if you don’t feel right about you know, being, you know, nice to Black people. And maybe you’ve got immigrants working for you. Well, then let’s find another target that you can, you know, be upset about. And, of course if you’re an Asian American, maybe you brought COVID over, so you know yell – yell at them.

[01:58:32;02]

Trump:

The Wuhan virus

[01:58:33;13]

Mike Pompeo:

The Wuhan virus

[01:58:34;19]

Mae Ngai:

He called it the Chinese virus, the Wuhan virus, the Kung Flu.

[01:58:39;15]

Trump: I can name Kung Flu. Kung Flu.

[01:58:44;20]

Peter Navarro:

This China Virus.

[01:58:46;11]

Lindsey Graham Archival:

The president continues to call this the Chinese Virus. It came from China.

[01:58:50;22]

Mae Ngai:

The problem with calling it the China virus is then people associate any Chinese person with a virus.

[01:58:55;07]

CNN:

Hate crimes against Asian Americans spiking since the pandemic began a year ago.

[01:58:59;10]

Mae Ngai:

And then it became shocking and the violence.

[01:59:02;25]

CNN:

Tonight Attorney General Merrick Garland pointed to an alarming rise in violent attacks against Asian Americans.

[01:59:08;08]

Mae Ngai:

I was attacked on the street near Columbia at night.

[01:59:11;22]

CNN:

Nearly 3800 anti-Asian hate incidents from March 2020 through February have been reported.

[01:59:18;08]

Stuart Stevens:

There’s always been hate movements in American politics, right. I mean, go back to Father Coughlin.

[01:59:22;19]

Father Coughlin:

I challenge every Jew in this nation!

[01:59:26;09]

Stuart Stevens:

The Klan. I mean, there’s tons. What’s different about this moment is that anger and hate and grievance has been adopted as fundamentally true to a major American political party — the Republican Party. That hasn’t happened before, not in our lifetime.

[01:59:44;06]

Biker rings guy:

Donald Trump woke us up. They have awakened a sleeping giant with a terrible resolve.

[01:59:51;05]

Stuart Stevens:

The Republican party — this isn’t an aberration of Republican Party. It is a racially driven grievance party and it’s comfortable with being that. I would love to believe that Liz Cheney is the future of the Republican party. It’s not. Marjorie Taylor Green is the future of the Republican Party.

[02:00:09;11]

Marjorie Taylor Green:

Joe Biden’s 5 million illegal aliens are on the verge of replacing you. Replacing your jobs and replacing your kids in school.

[02:00:18;13]

Rick Perlstein:

You can achieve power by opening Pandora’s Box, but it’s dangerous, right? So, I think the generation of politicians who did have that living memory of the Nazi experience in World War II and the acres and acres of blood that were caused by demagogues who were unleashing the fears of the public, they understood that there was power to be gained from that, but that it has to be used very judiciously. The fascinating thing about Donald Trump is he completely flips over that whole game board, and he turns the dog whistle into a train whistle. It would have been impossible for him to do this without kind of the ground being laid by 55 years of Republican dog whistling.

[02:01:06;04]

Trump:

We will also be a country of law and order.

[02:01:16;06]

Katie McHugh:

Trump dusted off the Nixon machine. And he did a software upgrade, rebooted it and ran it in 2016.

[02:01:21;11]

Nixon:

We need to restore respect for law and order in the United States of America

[02:01:26;11]

Hillary:

I actually was part of a program at Wellesley College and my professors assigned me to work for the Republican House Conference Committee. I remember going to Nixon’s speech once he got nominated in the summer of 1968, and I thought it was very dark.

[02:01:45;28]

Nixon:

We see Americans hating each other, fighting each other, killing each other at home.

[02:01:51;12]

Hillary Clinton:

Looking back now you can see all of the trend lines that he was pulling together.

[02:01:56;02]

Nixon:

If we fail in the battle against crime, then we fail not only ourselves but our heritage and the future of our children.

[02:02:02;08]

Trump:

I am your president of Law and Order

[02:02:05;11]

Marco Rubio:

Law and Order

[02:02:06;22]

Don Lemon:

The video of an officer with his knee on Floyd’s neck as Floyd pleads for his life has shocked Americans.

[02:02:12;20]

Trump:

In recent days, our nation has been gripped by professional anarchists, violent mobs, arsonists, looters, criminals, rioters, Antifa and others.

[02:02:25;21]

Face the Nation:

Washington, DC besieged by peaceful protest. Unified in the message painted on the road below their feet – Black Lives Matter.

[02:02:34;26]

Leah Wright Rigeur:

George Floyd’s death happens in a context of the pandemic. We’re all stuck at home. We can’t go anywhere. We all watch it together.

[02:02:43;07]

Leah Wright Rigeur:

And there’s something about that, that not only sparks kind of this large global movement, but also sparks something else within a subtext of this — this constituency that is deeply antagonistic towards questions of race.

[02:03:04;05]

Rudy Giuliani:

Stop the nonsense, these are killers, and these are people who hate White people, they’re people who hate White men in particular.

[02:03:10;09]

Laura Ingraham:

Black Lives Matter and um, and the domestic terrorists posing as protesters AKA Antifa.

[02:03:16;21]

FAKE Kruse:

There was some violence at Black Lives Matter protests to be sure. But research shows the overwhelming majority of the protests were entirely peaceful.

[02:03:24;00]

News clips:

A peaceful Black Lives Matter protest was held overnight very peaceful here today to peacefully protest the death of George Floyd

[02:03:29;23]

Tucker Carlson:

How many innocent Americans have these people hurt? How many have they murdered? We don’t know that number.

[02:03:36;17]

Rudy Giuliani:

When you say Black Lives Matter, that’s inherently racist.

[02:03:40;04]

Trump:

First time I ever heard of Black Lives Matter I said that’s a terrible name. It’s so discriminatory. It’s bad for Black people. It’s bad for everybody.

[02:03:48;18]

Kristi Draper:

I first really started hearing and listening to Black Lives Matter last summer — summer of 2020.

[02:03:55;04]

Mark Levin:

Black Lives Matter is a Marxist organization.

[02:03:58;00]

Lou Dobbs:

The president calls it a Marxist organization, I do too.

[02:04:01;08]

Tucker Carlson:

Black Lives Matter doesn’t really care about Black lives.

[02:04:04;10]

Kristi Draper:

I don’t believe that black lives matter really cares about black lives.

[02:04:08;05]

Newsclip:

Holding a high-powered rifle and wielding a pistol in these now-viral images, Mark and Patricia McCloskey looked ready for a gunfight as a protest moved through their mansion-lined St. Louis neighborhood.

[02:04:21;22]

McCloskey:

Get the hell out of my neighborhood!

[02:04:24;09]

MSNBC:

They were charged on Monday with gun crimes. Placing those protestors in fear of injury. And the protestors by all reports were quite peaceful.

[02:04:33;26]

Mark McCloskey:

George Floyd was murdered, let’s say by a White policeman. Okay. I said this on television a couple of weeks ago, when a cop kills a thug were supposed to change the world over it. But we have this national outrage, allegedly, because George Floyd was killed by a policeman. Okay. And that’s — that’s discrimination.

[02:04:55;27]

Ian Haney Lopez:

They thought they needed to defend themselves by taking up arms as if they themselves were under threat. When it’s the racist story, that’s really doing the violence here.

[02:05:12;15]

Kristi Draper:

The McCloskey’s standing out on their lawn with rifles shown was definitely a symbol for me. It was a symbol that we are going to have to stand up for our rights.

[02:05:23;28]

PBS Newshour:

Mark McCloskey will be among the speakers at next week’s Republican National Convention.

[02:05:29;02]

Patricia McCloskey convention video:

No matter where you live, your family will not be safe.

[02:05:33;05]

Hillary Clinton:

I mean, Richard Nixon was simplistic compared to what we’ve got now.

[02:05:38;07]

Mark McCloskey:

The mob, spurred on by their allies in the media, will try to destroy you.

[02:05:43;03]

Hillary Clinton:

These people play — play for keeps. They want to work hand in hand with their media outlets, now their social media outlets. And they think they’re on the brink of being very successful.

[02:05:54;21]

Steve Bannon:

The path to power here, what we’re going to do is that you have to start at the school board level.

[02:05:59;24]

CNN:

Republican Glenn Youngkin has been elected governor of Virginia.

[02:06:04;20]

NBC:

Youngkin targeting the fury over Critical Race Theory, which is not taught in Virginia schools, but the issue becoming a lightning rod for conservatives.

[02:06:12;23]

Rick Gates:

I helped behind the scenes in the Youngkin campaign in Virginia. The education was the culture-war issue. It was the issue that was divisive, it drove people to anger and frustration, and that’s — motivated them to come out and vote. They brought crying moms; they brought crying children up to the stage. They used that as a campaign issue to leverage that position and to win that governorship and he did.

[02:06:36;14]

Steve Bannon:

The moms of America, many of whom will spit on the floor at the sound of Donald Trump’s name, okay, are our unnatural allies in this.

[02:06:45;11]

FOX:

We are an army of moms and parents that will not stop until we’re heard.

[02:06:49;20]

Archive parents:

Amen! No critical race!

[02:06:52;11]

Pete Hegseth FOX:

Critical race theory is American history? No it’s Marxist history, intended to deconstruct and divide.

[02:06:57;17]

Hillary Clinton:

It’s all strategy. Look, I mean, critical race theory is truly taught only in law schools.

[02:07:04;10]

DeSantis:

I directed the Florida department of education to prohibit critical race theory.

[02:07:10;03]

Hillary Clinton:

It’s a way of thinking about how the legal system helped to support and enforce segregation.

[02:07:18;13]

Red shirt man:

Critical Race Theory is anti-White and it’s not American.

[02:07:22;21]

Carol Anderson:

This language about critical race theory. You didn’t have to know what it was; it just had the language, critical, race and theory in there. Those three words then became a powerful dog whistle.

[02:07:37;09]

Trump:

The Biden administration is pushing toxic Critical Race Theory and illegal discrimination into our children’s’ schools.

[02:07:45;23]

Wajahat Ali:

What happens, is specifically now, specifically what we’re dealing with a post George Floyd world where there was mass protests against the murder of George Floyd and people are like, you know, what, we need to do a little bit more for diversity, for equity and for inclusion. You know, what do we need to have more people of color speak out. We know — we need to read a little bit more — books by black authors because it’s the reality we live in. This makes some people uncomfortable. It’s not a perfect science.

[02:08:08;03]

Archive man:

This is a racist, vile and evil ideology that has infected this once great school district.

[02:08:13;29]

Wajahat Ali:

So with CRT they’re like, aha, what we can do is we can take parental concern over some of these books that are being taught with diversity, equity and inclusion, and we can manufacture a villain.

[02:08:27;22]

Jason Van Tatenhove:

Good propaganda is always wrapped in a seed of truth. You know, you take one little truth that you can kind of put up on the pedestal and then you wrap all this bullshit around it.

[02:08:36;11]

Glenn Beck:

This is reeducation, this is indoctrination of our children, and it is so destructive, the only way I can truly describe it is evil.

[02:08:46;01]

Kevin McCarthy:

I think critical race theory is wrong and I don’t think it should be taught in schools at all.

[02:08:50;15]

Chris Rufo:

What I’ve discovered is that Critical Race Theory has become in essence the default ideology of the Federal bureaucracy and is now being weaponized against the American people.

[02:08:59;10]

Steve Bannon:

With the mask mandates particularly, then the vaccines mandates, and then CRT and how CRT and social emotional learning, SEL exploded. That was a galvanizing organizing principle at the school board level. And galvanized the American parents.

[02:09:14;20]

Newscaster:

School officials tell me this was the largest group they’ve ever had attend a school board meeting.

[02:09:19;26]

Ginger beard man:

Just because you guys changed the name to equity does not mean it’s not the same thing as the critical race theory.

[02:09:24;04]

Carol Anderson:

I mean those kinds of sound bites where people went “Well, I don’t want my child indoctrinated. I want my child educated. Why can’t we have real education? Why do we have to have this indoctrination?”

[02:09:36;09]

NBC News:

Dr. James Whitfield, the first Black principal at Colleyville Heritage High School, officially removed from his position during an emotional school board meeting. All of it over what he says was a false accusation of promoting critical race theory.

[02:09:48;17]

Hillary Clinton:

I mean, this is brilliant, that we’re now having national debates about what happens in classrooms. It’s brilliant.

[02:09:57;12]

Glenn Beck:

Go and run for your school board. Get on to your city council, do whatever you have to do to protect what’s being taught in our schools.

[02:10:10;13]

Carol Anderson:

The folks who are into the sound bites never have to define it.

[02:10:14;03]

Eddie Glaude:

The goal is to have the public read something crazy in the newspaper, and immediately think critical race theory.

[02:10:20;19]

Carol Anderson:

They ply on a fear, they ply on the feelings that what this is doing is this is assault, an assault against your children, and we are here to protect your children.

[02:10:32;29]

Trump:

Getting critical race theory out of our schools is not just a matter of values, it’s also a matter of national survival. We have no choice. The fate of any nation ultimately depends upon the willingness of its citizens to lay down, and they must do this, lay down their very lives to defend their country.

(January 6th Broll)

[02:11:10;09]

Stuart Stevens:

What happened on January 6th? You had the American flag taken down, the Trump flag raised, and the Confederate flag raised inside the Capitol of the United States. They did what the 9/11 terrorists failed to do.

[02:11:27;01]

Man with beard:

The President invited me. And, he invited me, I had to come.

[02:11:33;03]

Stuart Stevens:

And the Republican Party had a chance to hold Trump accountable and they blinked.

[02:11:36;22]

Andrew Goldberg:

How is that about White being white?

[02:11:39;14]

Stuart Stevens:

Well, how many black people did you see on — breaking into the Capitol? Not many. How many — anytime you’re carrying Confederate flags — it’s about race.

[02:11:52;12]

Jamie Raskin:

The Oath Keepers were there. The three percenters were there. Also, the QAnon networks, also the Ku Klux Klan, the Aryan Nations, White Christian nationalist groups, multiple religious cults were there and the many other groups like that.

[02:12:10;06]

Officer Daniel Hodges:

Some of them would try to – try to recruit me. One of them came up to me and said, “are you my brother?”

[02:12:15;22]

Jason Van Tatenhove:

Racism, whether we want to admit it or not, was an undercurrent to what happened on January 6th.

[02:12:22;07]

Sergeant Aquilino Gonell:

Apparently they’d seen, even through my mask, they saw my skin color and said, “you’re not even an American.”

[02:12:28;14]

Jason Van Tatenhove:

Like, we just have to cut through the bullshit and call it for what it was.

[02:12:32;00]

Officer Harry Dunn:

One woman in a pink MAGA shirt yelled, “you hear that guys? This nigger voted for Joe Biden.” Then the crowd, perhaps around 20 people, joined in screaming, “boo, fucking nigger.”

[02:12:47;10]

Eddie Glaude:

The majority of the folk who were arrested came from places where the White population is in decline. [news headline] This fear of being displaced, this fear of being replaced, right, it’s driving political behavior, driving folk to engage in something as dramatic as assaulting the capital itself.

[02:13:09;04]

Stuart Stevens:

So here’s what terrifies them, right? Of Americans, 15 years and under, the majority are non-White. So odds are really, really, really good they’re going to turn 18 and still be non-White. And that’s the end of the Republican Party if they let these people vote. Of the new census right now only one out of every 10 new Americans is White. That’s what they’re afraid of. That’s what it’s about. All the Stephen Millers in the world can’t stop that from happening.

[02:13:42;04]

Jamie Raskin:

I don’t think you can really find an example in history of the country where a racial majority has lost its top spot and its political power and hegemony to a multicultural arrangement without there being violence and tremendous trauma, in dislocation. And the people who are organizing the violence and the assault on democratic institutions are perfectly well aware of what they’re doing, and what their propaganda messages are, and they’re — they’re mobilizing that anxiety, and that hatred, around scapegoats, and then around attacks on democracy itself.

[02:14:26;12]

Eddie Glaude:

We have to begin to draw the through line, there are those who believe that culturally and demographically they are under threat.

[02:14:36;04]

Lara Logan:

There is a plan! The plan was to infiltrate a hundred million illegal immigrants and these people would dilute what they called the pool of patriots.

[02:14:45;03]

Tucker Carlson Archival:

Demographic change is the key to the Democratic party’s political ambitions. In order to win and maintain power, Democrats plan to change the population of the country.

[02:14:55;15]

Maneesh Arora:

One of the best examples I think of an idea that was on the fringe that has moved into the mainstream is the great replacement theory.

[02:15:02;20]

Laura Ingraham Archival:

Democrats believe that they have to repeal and replace the American electorate.

[02:15:09;01]

Tucker Carlson Archival:

In political terms this policy is called the great replacement.

[02:15:12;04]

Maneesh Arora:

This is this idea that White kind of European descent people are being culturally and demographically replaced by people of color.

[02:15:22;02]

Tucker Carlson Archival:

The replacement of legacy Americans with more obedient people from far away countries.

[02:15:26;05]

Maneesh Arora:

So April 2021 you have Tucker Carlson on his show explicitly endorse, the great replacement theory.

[02:15:33;18]

Tucker Carlson Archival:

To reduce the political power of people whose ancestors lived here, and dramatically increase the proportion of Americans newly arrived from the Third World.

[02:15:40;21]

Maneesh Arora:

And this sent a shockwave through the White supremacist community who are talking about how well, Tucker Carlson just red-pilled millions of people because of his reach. [X posts]

[02:16:03;22]

Jason Van Tatenhove:

The people at the top don’t necessarily believe in replacement theory.

[02:16:07;06]

Tucker Carlson:

The Great Replacement Plan!

[02:16:09;05]

Jason Van Tatenhove:

At the top, it’s seen as an opportunity. You know, it’s seen as a strategy, it’s seen as a way to — to make money and gain power. So I think we have to differentiate between, you know, the people that are kind of moving the pawns around the chessboard, and the people that are just being moved around and not even know about it, that they are actually pawns [X posts] who think that their place in society — in American society is being taken away from them and given to someone else who’s not American.

[02:16:44;29]

Newsmax:

Talk to me about this term Invasion. When you hear that term being thrown out like that, it really – it causes you to pause for a second.

[02:16:52;17]

Horace Sheffield:

When you look at the sociodemographic economic data, it does not align itself with the fear that we see these people having. They’ve not been displaced from positions of power. They’ve not been displaced from the workforce, but they don’t rely upon facts. It’s fiction. And if I can create a sense, whether perceived or real, that even what we have now, which is diminished, is going to be gone altogether, and that creates and even greater cauldron of fear and calamity.

[02:17:25;15]

Dan Patrick:

This is a different type of invasion, intended, one day, in the next 15 to 20 years to become citizens, and to become voters. So the Democrats in their view have a lock on this country forever.

[02:17:36;04]

Brian Babin from Texas on Newsmax:

They want to replace the American electorate with a Third World electorate.

[02:17:41;05]

Jonathan Capehart:

48 percent of Americans, overall Americans, agreed that demographic changes were part of a quote purposeful plan to replace White voters.

[02:17:53;23]

Eddie Glaude:

The data shows, social scientists and political scientists have shown, that particularly among White Evangelical Republican men, the feeling of cultural and demographic threat is heightened to the point to where they are susceptible to violence.

[02:18:13;03]

Red hat man:

What would solve the whole thing in the border if they just start shooting. Only shoot a couple, and they would go home.

[02:18:19;25]

News Clip:

Panic in El Paso this morning when a day of shopping turned into horror with an active shooter on the loose.

[02:18:26;21]

Eddie Glaude:

You think about El Paso. This, the shooter young man comes down and what does he do? In the name of what — a 2300 page manifesto.

[02:18:36;08]

News Clip:

Law enforcement officials in Texas say they believe he wrote an essay on the internet and posted it an hour or so before the shooting. And says the attack was motivated by anti-immigrant hatred.

[02:18:47;08]

Eddie Glaude:

In the name of the fear that we’re going to be replaced.

[02:18:49;19]

NBC:

Shots rang out just before 10am. “We’re under fire! We’re under fire!” The chaos unfolding at the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh.

[02:18:57;10]

Eddie Glaude:

You think about Pittsburgh, the shooter said this global Jewish cabal, it’s funding, right, these immigrants to change the very nature of the country. And look what happened, the slaughter.

[02:19:07;21]

News clip:

He had posted about the caravan of migrants moving up from Central America, called them invaders.

[02:19:14;13]

Newscaster:

Deadly violence at a house of worship in San Diego. One person is dead after a synagogue shooting.

[02:19:20;17]

Newscaster:

In his manifesto he says Jews are planning a genocide of the European race.

[02:19:25;07]

Newscaster:

Police say thirteen people were shot, ten of them killed Saturday afternoon at this Tops Friendly Market in northeast Buffalo.

[02:19:32;12]

Eddie Glaude:

The young man who walks into the supermarket in Buffalo. Now, that’s just — the spectacle of bloody violence.

[02:19:40;04]

Garnell Whitfield:

My wife and I had been over in Niagara Falls. Coming back, my sister-in-law calls and says, did you hear about what happened to Tops? I said, no, I didn’t hear anything.

[02:19:47;20]

NBC:

Breaking news out of Buffalo, New York. A mass shooting at a Tops grocery store.

[02:19:52;09]

Garnell Whitfield:

And I tell my wife, I’m going in to check on my mom because Tops is only a couple of blocks from the nursing home that she goes to every day to take care of my dad. News has started coming out, I go down to Tops. She drove a 2020 black Hyundai. My mom was a thrift shopper and all that. So she would always have a bunch of crap in the car. You know, she would have signs like, God is my co-pilot. She would hand write with maybe a nail polish or somewhere in the window. That’s — that’s my mom. Anyway, it was my mom’s car. The detective went in and he didn’t come back, which makes me know that she’s in there. So…I mean I was – I was by myself, I was crying. And they came and they put their arms around me and confirmed what I already knew, that she was in there. And there’s nothing to say. What are you gonna say? I mean what could they have said?

[02:20:49;21]

MSNBC Stephanie Ruhle:

Authorities also say the manifesto revealed the suspect was motivated by something called Replacement Theory.

[02:20:56;24]

Garnell Whitfield:

My dad’s a couple blocks away, you know? They married 68 years, man. She was his caretaker. You understand, every day. She took care of him. She’s the only reason he was alive. I mean, what am I gonna say to him?

[02:21:21;15]

Jason Van Tatenhove:

The things we talk about, the words we use, the notions we put out there, they become reality.

[02:21:27;15]

FOX News Clip:

The coronation of Kamala Harris is under way.

[02:21:30;21]

Fox News Clip:

Marxist Kamala Harris. Comrade Kamala.

[02:21:33;24]

Trump:

You can say Kamala. You can say Kamala, I said don’t worry about it. It doesn’t matter what I say. I couldn’t care less if I mispronounce it or not.

[02:21:41;05]

Jason Van Tatenhove:

And the more of a camera and the more of a platform, we give that type of messaging those words – the more the actions are taken and those actions go on to create the reality that we live in.

[02:21:55;17]

Tim Miller:

People you know who work in conservative media are gonna keep — are going to keep selling fear.

[02:21:59;09]

FOX News Clip:

She is a radical cratering our sense of self. Our southern border, our national identity.

[02:22:06;05]

Tim Miller:

They’ve seen that it’s worked, and they’re gonna continue to do it.

[02:22:08;28]

Tucker Carlson:

The first Samoan Malaysian low IQ former California prosecutor.

[02:22:16;13]

Tim Miller:

Think about the types of people that are being drawn to Donald Trump’s party. Think about what the 22-year-old is like, who says, I want to sign up for this? Right? That’s a category difference, like a kind of a type of person than have gotten into politics in the past.

[02:22:31;05]

Jason Van Tatenhove:

I am worried about more violence, I am. And, you know, I think it’s something that’s going to affect people across the country.

[02:22:40;12]

Horace Sheffield:

I’m optimistic because I’m a preacher. I’m a pastor. I’m a believer. And so, my hope is not of this world. My hope is built on nothing less. So, you know, I mean, listen, I lived long enough because I lived through the civil rights movement, I lived through the Vietnam War protest movement, and I’ve seen things get better, and I’ve seen things get worse. And I know sometimes it takes what we’re going through now to get people motivated to do what is necessary to change this. It’s not going to happen watching the evening news and being disgusted. It’s not going to happen calling your friend and sharing your sentiments and ventilating you know, your frustration. There are enough good people of all hues and colors and stations of life who really believe that this ought to be a country that’s open to all, and that embraces diversity and sees what we presently experiencing as insanity and racism and prejudice and hatred.

[02:23:40;03]

Jamie Raskin:

I’ve been trying to teach the young people that for most of the existence of our species, people have lived under bullies, and dictators and kings, people like Vladimir Putin and Donald Trump. Democracy is totally the exception. That’s the magnificence of America. That’s why people love America, because even with the flawed beginnings we have with slavery and so on, the ideals were there to create the world’s greatest multiracial, multicultural, multi religious democracy. And we’re on the path to getting there, if the dictators don’t catch up and destroy all our institutions first.