

NEH Application Cover Sheet

America's Media Makers

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Field of Expertise: History - American

INSTITUTION

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APPLICATION INFORMATION

Title: *BRIDGING THE DIVIDE: TOM BRADLEY AND THE POLITICS OF RACE*

Grant Period: From 5/2013 to 5/2014

Field of Project: History - American

Description of Project:

minute feature documentary designed for a national PBS broadcast in 2014. The documentary tells the little known story of how Mayor Tom Bradley, the first African American mayor of a major U.S. city elected with an overwhelmingly white population, changed Los Angeles through an extraordinary multi-racial coalition, and in the process, transformed American politics.

BUDGET

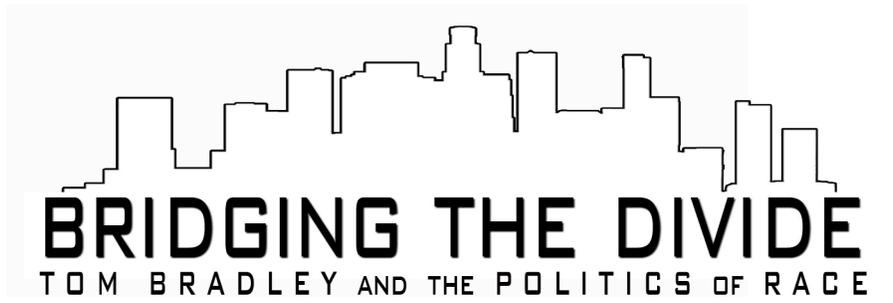
Outright Request	\$768,988.64	Cost Sharing	\$230,000.00
Matching Request		Total Budget	\$998,988.64
Total NEH	\$768,988.64		

GRANT ADMINISTRATOR

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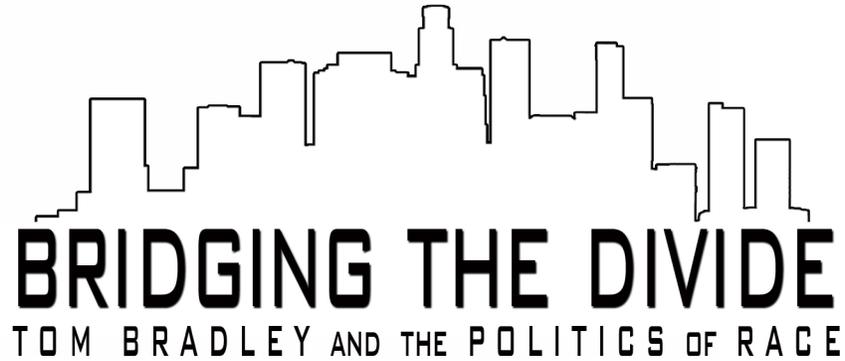
*NEH America's Media Makers
Production Grant Application Part (1)*



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*NEH America's Media Makers
Production Grant Application Part (2)*



Producers: Lyn Goldfarb & Alison Sotomayor

Institution: OUR L.A.

NARRATIVE

- A. Nature of the Request
- B. Humanities Content
- C. Project Format
- D. Audience and Distribution
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A. NATURE OF REQUEST

BRIDGING THE DIVIDE: TOM BRADLEY AND THE POLITICS OF RACE tells the little known story of how Mayor Tom Bradley, the first African American mayor of a major U.S. city elected with an overwhelmingly white population, changed Los Angeles through an extraordinary multi-racial coalition, and in the process, transformed American politics. The film will be a high-definition, 90-minute historical documentary feature intended for national PBS broadcast in 2014. This is a request for an NEH Production grant of \$768,988.64, which will cover production and post-production. The total budget for the documentary, website and social media outreach is \$998,988.64.

BRIDGING THE DIVIDE is the centerpiece of a multi-format plan for which we are raising funds separately. The multi-format plan includes: a 30-minute Educational Video geared for the classroom; Share Your Tom Bradley Story Interactive Website and Story Stations; a Filmed Oral History Archive, a collection of 100 hours of filmed interviews that will reside in a virtual archive available to the public following release of the film; Tom Bradley TV, a gallery of 2 – 4 minute stories available on the website; Multi-Media Interactive Installations at the Tom Bradley terminal at LAX, the Los Angeles Port, and Visitors Bureaus; and a Youth Workforce Program to train young people from minority communities in video storytelling, research and interviewing skills.

B. HUMANITIES CONTENT

SUBJECT OF THE PROJECT

In the spring of 1973, history was made. Tom Bradley was elected mayor of Los Angeles, becoming the first African American mayor of a major U.S. city with a minority black population. His coalition of African Americans, Jews, and white liberals, along with Mexican Americans and Asian Americans, united a divided city, and placed Los Angeles in the forefront of efforts to bridge racial divisions. Bradley's victory came at a time when people had given up hope for coalitions, and when he won, it opened up a new model for race relations in California – a model that reverberated across the nation and laid the foundation for the election of President Barack Obama.

Mayor Bradley held office for an unprecedented twenty years and changed Los Angeles from a conservative, white, urban center into one of the most diversified and important cities in the world, with a new skyline, vibrant downtown and revitalized financial and business districts. He positioned the growing metropolis to take its place as an international trade center. He reformed City Hall, opened high level jobs and city commissions to women and minorities, and influenced two generations of policy makers.

Mayor Bradley brought the city a glowing spot on the international stage with the 1984 Olympics – the first-ever profitable Games. He enacted environmental reforms, powerful anti-apartheid business practices, and ordinances prohibiting discrimination against gays and lesbians and people with AIDS. He created innovative after-school programs for children and transformed Los Angeles into a sophisticated arts and cultural center. He prevailed in his long struggle to bring civilian control and reform to the LAPD. He twice ran for Governor of California, losing by less than one-percent the first time. If he had won, he would have been the nation's first popularly elected African American governor.

But Mayor Bradley also presided over a city that grew increasingly polarized between rich and poor, where drugs and gang violence were rampant, police abuse and unemployment pervasive, and amenities like banks and supermarkets nearly non-existent in minority neighborhoods. In 1992, as Mayor Bradley neared the end of his fifth term, Los Angeles exploded into three days of civil unrest – triggered by the acquittal of the police officers involved in beating Rodney King and centered in the poorest, most neglected neighborhoods in the city. Bradley, deeply wounded by the loss of life and vast property damage after the riots, did not seek a sixth term. Four years later, he suffered a stroke, which left him partially paralyzed and unable to speak. In 1998, he died of a heart attack at the age of 80.

Tom Bradley is a great protagonist – his is a dramatic story, told with emotion and passion, courage and tragedy. It is a classic story of determination against seemingly insurmountable odds; the story of a black man who fought poverty, prejudice and bigotry to bridge racial divides. It is the story of one man’s ability to transform Los Angeles into a “world-class” city, a model of inclusion and opportunity nationwide.

BRIDGING THE DIVIDE is far more than the story of a tragic hero. It is a story about democracy and political transformation, police abuse and police reform, and the challenge of how to sustain coalitions through good times and bad. It is the story of the politics of race, which changed a city and set the stage for a realignment of politics and values, and on a national scale, laid the foundation for the election of our nation’s first black president, Barack Obama. It is the story of the challenges of diversity facing cities and nations, and the decisions we all must make.

SIGNIFICANCE TO THE HUMANITIES & THE HUMANITIES SCHOLARSHIP

This documentary is about human struggle and success, conflict and community, and is rooted in the history of a city, state and country. It begins with one man’s journey in search of identity, justice, equality and opportunity in the face of racism and poverty. In a broader sense, the documentary is an exploration of diverse ideas and perspectives that are essential to any serious exploration of U.S. social, cultural, economic and political history. The film will provide a historical perspective to illuminate our understanding of race and multi-ethnic coalition building. Grounded in the humanities, the story of Tom Bradley will advance our knowledge, and encourage thoughtful reflection that will deepen our awareness of our lives and our world.

Through the lens of the humanities, we will examine the history of Los Angeles and place it in a national context. We will employ a multidisciplinary approach to further our understanding of race, community, religion, education, urban economic change, politics, and coalitions. We have a strong and diverse advisory board with expertise in social history, anthropology, political science, African American history, Latino, Asian American and American Studies, Los Angeles history, and the history of blacks in Los Angeles, California, and the American West. (Please see **G: Humanities Advisers**.) With the support of our academic advisory board, we are looking critically and analytically at the forces that shaped the experience of Tom Bradley growing up in South Los Angeles, the evolution of African American politics, the development and sustenance of coalitions, and the resonance of this story on the national stage. This film will be a rich mosaic, enhanced by the diverse perspectives and experiences of our scholars.

We received an NEH Research and Development grant in May 2011 to collaborate and consult with scholars to expand and solidify the best possible humanities content. We also received a Cal Humanities grant. These two grants enabled us to conduct three scholars meetings. (Please see **I. Progress**).

THEMES AND QUESTIONS THIS PROJECT WILL ADDRESS

Theme #1: Race In America: Then And Now

In exploring the life and career of Tom Bradley, we go back to a time when racial segregation was legal in the south where he was born, when lynchings were widespread and few opportunities for advancement existed for African Americans– no matter their talent and ability. While Bradley lived to see the end of legal segregation and the passage of the great civil rights acts of the 1960s, his personality and style were inevitably shaped by the world in which he grew up. His careful demeanor, self-control, and ability to reassure whites that he was not threatening can only be understood in this historical context.

In Barack Obama’s life story, we witness the impact of growing up in the aftermath of the civil rights movement, when legal integration was taken for granted, although subtle and not-so-subtle forms of racism persist. The Bradley story is essential to enhancing the “racial conversation” that we need today; how can we understand where we are unless we know where we have been? The question of how to build bridges over racial divisions is alive and potent. Because Los Angeles represents a distinctive, significant

western weave of the American racial tapestry, it is essential to bring the Bradley story into the national discussion of race.

Theme #2: Breaking Barriers: The Dynamics of “Firsts”

This documentary also explores the most remarkable political firsts in the history of race in America – the rise of Tom Bradley as the first black mayor of an overwhelmingly white city. The rise of the first black mayors represented a transformation of who held power in American cities. The essence of the “first” candidate is the ability to reassure those of the dominant group that it will be “safe” to open the door to a minority group.

In this documentary, we are intent on going beyond Bradley as an individual to seeing where he fits in the evolution of the Los Angeles black community, its cultural institutions, such as churches and fraternities, its political aspirations, and its internal divisions of neighborhood and social class. Bradley did not rise on his own and his success in large part reflected the black community’s capacity to maximize the strength of its numbers and build a winning coalition.

Tom Bradley was not the first black elected official in Los Angeles. Frederick Roberts was elected in 1918 to the California State Assembly as a Republican. In 1934, he lost the election to another African American, Democrat Augustus Hawkins, who held the office until 1963 when he won election to Congress. But Bradley was the most important in that his was the most visible and in the most competitive executive office, breaking the barrier for a black man to lead a largely white community.

For “first” candidates, though, sometimes something is lost as well as gained – the ability to advocate forcefully for one’s own group. Bradley experienced this problem as mayor; at times, he found himself cut off from the interests and needs of the poorest, working-class African Americans.

Theme #3: The African American Experience in the West

It is impossible to really understand the history of the West, California or Los Angeles without including African American communities, social and church networks, culture and politics. The long-term presence of minorities – African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans and Native Americans – adds to the distinctiveness of the western United States. Bradley’s story is an episode in the African American experience in the West. The West, with its geographical independence, and lack of rigid racist historical traditions, offered promise and a real opportunity for a better life, far from the Jim Crow violence of the South, and the prejudices of the North and Midwest. Because African Americans were a small minority in western cities, they often lived in multi-ethnic neighborhoods, especially in Los Angeles, where patterns of residential segregation prevailed. Blacks often found common ground with other minorities to achieve racial justice, economic opportunity and political empowerment.

Theme #4: Los Angeles: Another Kind of City for African Americans and Other Minorities

When African Americans began migrating to Los Angeles in the 1920s, they found a city of possibility, very different from their experiences in the South, Midwest and Northeast. Los Angeles was a boomtown with land available to build homes, many of which were owned by African Americans. There were job opportunities, a stable working-class and growing middle-class. The level of racial antipathy was lower. Some blacks began spreading the word that Los Angeles was a “paradise” for black Americans.

The pre-World War II generation lived in a close-knit community tied together by church, civic and community organizations, and the quest for a better life. Los Angeles offered a mix of fulfillment and frustration. Segregation and racially restrictive housing covenants prohibited blacks, Jews, Mexican Americans and “Orientals” from buying houses in white neighborhoods, particularly new subdivisions built to keep Los Angeles “white.” World War II created enormous economic and social transformation,

as more than 80,000 blacks migrated to Los Angeles to work in war production. The city was ill equipped to accommodate the newcomers, and a new black working-class developed.

Another major factor that shaped the African American experience in Los Angeles was the Los Angeles Police Department. Persistent police abuse and brutality toward minorities, coupled with economic inequities, set off historic civil violence, leading to some of the nation's worst urban riots, the 1965 Watts riots, and then nearly four decades later, the 1992 Los Angeles riots.

Los Angeles was always a multi-ethnic city and the black population was always relatively small, under 18%. Thus, it was necessary for African Americans to work in coalitions in order to gain political power and effect social change. The Tom Bradley coalition built upon L.A.'s racial and ethnic diversity and challenged the conservative white power structure that hindered the advance of minority communities.

Theme #5: Coalition Politics and the Transformation of the New Urban Agenda

The most historic aspect of the Bradley phenomenon was the creation of the most powerful and effective multi-racial coalition in American urban history. At the time of Bradley's rise, relations between blacks and Jews were undergoing severe trauma. After their close alliance in the civil rights movement, the two communities came into conflict in New York City, and the hope for biracial coalitions evaporated. So it was a major surprise that these very same two groups, so at odds in New York City where lasting impressions are often formed, created the coalition that brought Bradley to power and kept him in office. An alliance both at the voting level and at the activist stratum made history and reopened the debate over the prospects for biracial coalitions.

Why did the Bradley coalition arise in Los Angeles? All minority groups, Jews and white liberals were excluded from the civic arena of Los Angeles. Unlike older cities like New York City and Chicago where party organizations allowed some access for minorities, Los Angeles had a closed political system that provided virtually no minority representation. As a result, these disenfranchised groups joined in opposition to a powerful, entrenched conservative leadership. And within these groups, there were trusting relationships among leaders who had been active in civil rights and other progressive causes. It was the time when the rise of white liberalism in Los Angeles coincided and was bolstered by the growth of minorities seeking representation in government. And yet, coalition building and maintenance required constant work. There were always pressures threatening to split the coalition – segregated schools and busing, environmental and development issues. Constant negotiation and renegotiation were essential elements of the coalition process that came to define Los Angeles politics.

Tom Bradley had performed a political miracle, and hopes for change were sky high. He had walked across the racial divide and created a bridge. His victory provided great opportunities, but the nature of his coalition also meant that there might be limitations to how fully he could meet the expectations of those who put him in office. Often he stood at the center of the bridge and faced increasingly high expectations on both sides – expectations that could, and often did challenge the realities of what he could accomplish. A black man who could walk comfortably in white neighborhoods – would he be able to meet the needs of the poorest residents whose mobility he had left behind? The candidate with both labor and business support – could he build the city, expand the economy and still help close the economic divide? The politician who projected strength without much talk – could he articulate his dreams for the city? The mayor who had reassured minority voters that he was tough enough to hold the police accountable – could he also reassure white middle class voters that he was not anti-police? These were the type of questions at the heart of what coalitions mean and how they are sustained in urban America.

Theme #6: Los Angeles: Beyond Black and White

Because of segregation and restrictive housing covenants, minority neighborhoods were often racially mixed. In South Central Los Angeles, blacks lived alongside Japanese Americans, and to a smaller

degree, Mexican Americans. Boyle Heights and neighborhoods in East Los Angeles were primarily Mexican American, yet were shared with Jews, Japanese and Chinese Americans. White racism in a sprawling metropolis brought together different ethnic and racial minorities. Bradley's successful challenge against the city's institutional racism forever changed its power dynamics.

The Tom Bradley story has often been told in terms of a black and Jewish coalition. The Mexican American part of the story has been historically overlooked. Mexican American City Councilman Edward Roybal provided a model for Bradley's coalition, and Bradley and Roybal worked together to advance minority political representation. African Americans and Mexican Americans in Los Angeles shared a similar yet distinct past. Both groups battled housing discrimination, segregated schools and police brutality. Yet, they also had unique experiences, such as different timing of migrations, distinct religious affiliations and geographically diverse population centers. Despite common interests, they did not fully join together until the 1973 Los Angeles mayoral election, and even then, the relationship was complicated. Still, Bradley always appointed at least one Latino deputy mayor while he was in office.

The Asian American story also plays a notable role in the Bradley saga. Bradley forged ties with Asian Americans, and worked to maintain Asian American representation on the City Council. He also built up trade between Los Angeles, China and Japan. Unfortunately, the 1992 Los Angeles riots worsened the already deeply strained relations between blacks and Asians, particularly Korean Americans.

Theme #7: Police and Minority Communities

Tom Bradley served in the Los Angeles Police Department from 1940 – 1961, during a time when racist policies and practices were common. Even so, he steadily rose through the ranks. The police department's mistrust of minorities shaped their leaders' attitudes about black and Latino police within their own departments. Criticism – even reasonable – was seen as betrayal. Blacks were not allowed to work with whites on patrol, were still relegated to “black precincts” in South Central Los Angeles, and were not admitted into many of the department's elite units. A black officer running for political office was perceived as breaking ranks.

To understand how the LAPD would become Tom Bradley's nemesis throughout his political career, we first must understand the growing, historical conflict between the LAPD and L.A.'s minority communities. Tensions between minorities and the police department emerged full force with the 1950 appointment of Police Chief William Parker who did nothing to stop police brutality and misconduct, and later, during the 1965 Watts uprising. Tensions accelerated in 1978 when Daryl Gates, Parker's driver and protégé, was appointed Los Angeles Police Chief, maintaining Parker's tough and inflexible approach and clashing frequently with elected officials. Gates' fourteen year reign continued the increasingly and contentious rivalry between Bradley and the LAPD, exacerbated by excessive police brutality in minority communities and the 1992 Los Angeles civil unrest. Tom Bradley's story also brings into sharp focus the ways that white and minority communities regard the police, law and order and police abuse.

Theme #8: The Bradley and Obama Experiences: What Do They Say About a Changing America?

The Bradley-Obama link is a natural one. During the 2008 presidential campaign, those who feared that whites were lying to pollsters and intended to vote against Obama cited the “Bradley Effect,” based on the questionable theory that Bradley lost the 1982 race for governor because undecided white voters changed their minds in the voting booth.

The role of Obama as bridge builder can be illuminated by understanding how Bradley walked the path years before and the tradeoffs that went with that role. This can help avoid treating Obama as a unique, historical phenomenon. And this bridge role reveals a great deal about race, the gulfs that separate people, and the paths to mutual understanding. Obama and Bradley are also tied together by the fear that some will reduce the whole black community to the style and personalities of these “firsts.” Because they

crossed bridges, Bradley and Obama became something beyond their own communities. By offering a bridge for people to cross over, one would hope that this would lead to a deeper understanding of the whole community, not just of a representative who is particularly able to reassure. Both Bradley and Obama are historic figures, and the next generation will wrestle with the question of race with the knowledge and experience that their journeys provide.

IDEAS AND THEMES AS THEY UNFOLD IN “BRIDGING THE DIVIDE”

PROLOGUE: The Prologue places Bradley in a historical perspective. The film begins in 2008 as Senator Barack Obama, candidate for U.S. president, addresses a Philadelphia crowd about the issue of race. A black candidate like Obama could not win without crossing racial barriers and attracting a majority white vote. We establish that Obama’s election was foreshadowed decades before – in Tom Bradley’s election as mayor of Los Angeles. The Prologue also describes the environment in which Tom Bradley ran for m Los Angeles mayor in 1969: a time of racial tensions, urban riots, massive anti-war protests, assassinations and uncertainty. We establish the stakes for Bradley and for Los Angeles. For a black candidate in an overwhelmingly white city, the risk is high – the risk of failure and the risk of violence against the candidate himself. If he wins, there is the risk of backlash from the conservative, white community, and if he loses, there is the risk of rebellion from a community in despair. The multi-ethnic coalition that Bradley created was unprecedented in a city as large as Los Angeles.

ACT ONE: ROOTS OF CHANGE establishes Bradley’s early life in pre-World War II Los Angeles. Growing up in poverty, he came of age in South Central Los Angeles in a community that offered stability and opportunity. Despite economic hardships, Bradley was nurtured by the values of education, religion and community. We experience the black community of Los Angeles in a very different way than ordinarily portrayed in the media. In this period of complexity, opportunity and discrimination existed side-by-side. Yet, Tom Bradley was an extraordinary man with profound inner strength and strong ambitions, which helped him become a “first” in many arenas and carried him through high school, UCLA and the LAPD.

We see the paradox of the LAPD to an African American reformer. Being a police officer during the time Bradley was in the LAPD meant a good income and stability. But the department was racist, both within the ranks and on the streets. We witness the beginning of what would become a continuing conflict between Bradley and Police Chief William Parker, and later, Police Chief Daryl Gates. It was an ongoing conflict between Bradley and the LAPD’s practices of police brutality and harassment.

Act One shows Bradley’s modus operandi: finding ways to reach out to the community and bridge ethnic and racial divides. He began his political career in 1949 supporting Mexican American Los Angeles City Council candidate Edward Roybal who became a friend and political mentor. From the earliest stages of his political career, Bradley worked in coalitions, an essential formation for minority candidates intent on winning elections in predominantly white communities. The black and Jewish communities, both politically disenfranchised, shared common goals and interests in joining together to support Tom Bradley’s political campaigns. We see how coalitions coalesced to bring him to power, first as a member of the Los Angeles City Council, and later as mayor.

We see how the 1965 Watts riots forced the nation to look squarely at issues of poverty and police brutality in the black community and how these problems were exacerbated by Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty’s refusal to accept War on Poverty funds unless he personally controlled them. Act One concludes with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.’s visit to Los Angeles in the aftermath of the Watts riots to publicly address the issues of economic justice in America.

ACT TWO: POWER begins with Bradley's seemingly impossible idea that, in a city with less than an 18% black population, in a city with a racist police department, and in a nation torn apart by political turmoil, protests and assassinations, he could be elected mayor and transform Los Angeles.

With an abundance of footage and stills, we re-live Bradley's remarkable 1969 and 1973 campaigns for mayor of Los Angeles. In 1969, Bradley was the long shot candidate, but a carefully planned community organizing model of campaigning brought out thousands of volunteers. Race and politics became critical points during the campaign. Incumbent Mayor Sam Yorty fought for his political life through a campaign of fear based on racism and redbaiting. When Bradley lost the race, we see the tenacity of a man who spent the next four years building the foundation for a broad and inclusive citywide coalition. In 1973, this multi-ethnic coalition between blacks and Jews, with the help of liberal whites and Mexican Americans, placed Los Angeles at the forefront of racial bridge building in the nation. In that same year, Tom Bradley faced a rematch with Mayor Yorty, and this time, he won.

In Act Two, we witness how Bradley reformed City Hall and brought minorities, women, as well as gays and lesbians and disabled people into positions of power and leadership. He revitalized downtown and transformed Los Angeles into an international trade center, and embraced often controversial, liberal policies. We experience Bradley's political ambitions when he ran for governor of California, and the significance of his narrow loss. We see one of his greatest achievements as mayor when, after ten years of intense, behind-the-scenes negotiations, Bradley brought the 1984 Summer Olympics to Los Angeles. In a face-off with the International Olympic Committee, Bradley was unwavering in his conviction to privately finance the Olympics – a bold, innovative idea. Bradley prevailed and the Olympics made a huge profit, which prompted some to say he saved the Olympic movement. At this point in Bradley's career, it seemed that nothing could get in his way.

We get a sense of who the “real” Tom Bradley was, a sense of his “moral core,” his principles, motivations, beliefs, and how his personality and style were shaped by the world in which he came of age. These stories are key to understanding why Bradley governed the way he did and what happened when he was confronted with controversial issues and events.

And then the honeymoon was over. Los Angeles encountered the same economic difficulties as the rest of the nation as President Ronald Reagan reduced federal funding to cities. By the mid 1980s, Los Angeles faced an economic crisis, which increased the polarization between rich and poor, resulting in an endless cycle of poverty, despair and police brutality in minority communities. Bradley's “world-class city” was coming apart at the seams. Bradley was caught between business and development interests of downtown and the wealthier Westside, and the needs of the poor blacks and Latinos in South Central Los Angeles. He was then accused of being out of touch with and neglectful of the black community.

In this act, we see Bradley facing challenges by the very coalition that brought him to power. Strains in Bradley's black-Jewish alliance, weakened by court-ordered mandatory busing, were further damaged by Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan's controversial visit to Los Angeles. We see the paradox of Mayor Bradley as a coalition builder, torn between being a mayor “for all people,” and faced with conflicting needs and interests of the black and Jewish communities. Act Two ends in 1989, Bradley's fifth term in office, with Bradley engulfed in a financial scandal. While never indicted, the scandal weakened Bradley's power and standing and tarnished his model reputation.

ACT THREE: OUT OF THE ASHES begins with the recurrent theme of police abuse and brutality. When Rodney King's beating by four police officers is captured on videotape, and tensions escalate between the black and Korean communities, the city teeters on the edge of disaster. In 1992, Los Angeles erupted into one of the largest urban riots in American history, shattering Bradley's dreams, and the hopes of a city whose citizens believed an African American mayor would bring unity, peace, change and

economic development to minority communities. The legendary feud between Mayor Bradley and his adversary, L.A. Police Chief Daryl Gates, exposed the continuing problem of an abusive police department, which was out of the mayor's control. Because the police chief's position was under civil service protection, Bradley could not force Gates' resignation. And yet at the very end, Bradley achieved his greatest political victory, the passage of a ballot measure that put the chief of police and the LAPD under effective civilian control for the first time since 1937. At the end of Act Three, Bradley decided not to run for a sixth term as mayor, and four years later, suffered a stroke, leaving him unable to speak for the rest of his life. In 1998, Tom Bradley died of a heart attack. The documentary concludes with Bradley's legacy, the complexities and contradictions of his career as a bridge builder, and the enduring, intractable issue of race in American life.

C. PROJECT FORMAT

RESOURCES AVAILABLE: We have an extraordinary list of resources for the film. (For a comprehensive list, please see **M. Collections of Materials**.) Our initial research uncovered a rare copy of a 1975 documentary short, *Profile: Tom Bradley*, which presented a day in the life of Mayor Bradley, produced by the USIA for distribution outside of the United States. We have also collected more than 2,000 stills of Bradley's life and work. We have obtained archival footage from Bradley's inaugurations and news footage of many press conferences and events that took place during his terms as councilman and mayor. We also have footage and stills of key events and issues surrounding Bradley, including but not limited to: the 1965 Watts Riots; his 1969 and 1973 campaigns for mayor including debates, campaign television commercials, campaign literature, newspaper headlines; his 1982 and 1986 campaigns for California governor; the 1984 Los Angeles Summer Olympics; the 1991 Rodney King beating; and the 1992 Los Angeles riots. We have also obtained access to never-before-heard audiotapes of Bradley's 1969 mayoral campaign kept by his first press secretary.

We have also unearthed a misfiled and large collection of various old tapes, audiocassettes and film reels at the L.A. City Archives, which came from Tom Bradley's City Hall office. We have arranged to transfer a majority of this collection into a viewable format, which we will catalogue and make available to the public. We are also working with the City of Los Angeles and the L.A. Police Commission to gain access to the LAPD's audio-visuals archive. Moreover, one of our advisers, Susan Anderson, is curator of *Collecting Los Angeles* at UCLA Special Collections. She is assisting us in gaining special access to the Tom Bradley Administrative Archive housed there, which consists of 4,200 boxes, yet to be completely processed and catalogued. UCLA also houses the only oral history on Bradley, conducted in 1979, which has been key in our research. We are working with the boards of the Tom Bradley Legacy Foundation and Tom and Ethel Bradley Foundation to obtain additional visuals. The Bradley daughters, Lorraine and Phyllis, are providing us with family photos and various memorabilia. Dr. Raphael Sonenshein, our chief scholar, has conducted over 20 interviews with Bradley's staff, which we are using in our research.

PLANNED RE-ENACTMENTS AND ANIMATION TECHNIQUES: Re-enactments and location footage will be used selectively to illuminate scenes for which there is no archival material. These re-enactments will be stylized and interpretive, using light, shadows, wind, sun, water, historically authentic props and sound design to dramatize events and convey emotion. We will use slow motion, dollies and jib arms to allow the camera to become the conveyor of motion. We will create diffusion with filters and smoke, creating the effect of interpretive memory. Some examples could include: a shaft of light crossing a room, the blur of a police car through an open window, a gust of wind blowing open a curtain to reveal a meeting inside a crowded room, hands cranking a mimeograph machine, the hands of many races picking up leaflets, a loud police siren piercing the serenity of a full moon on a quiet street, rain dripping from the eaves of a tin roof, a young boy picking cotton under a blistering sun. Lyn Goldfarb has mastered these kinds of scenes in two of her documentary series, *JAPAN: MEMOIRS OF A SECRET EMPIRE* and *THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE FIRST CENTURY*.

In the film, we will do two major re-enactments as well as smaller evocative moments in time. The first will take place in Calvert, Texas, where a young, African American boy (the 5 year old Tom Bradley) is picking cotton and dragging cotton sacks under a piercing sun. We will also recreate the 1961 nominating convention where Bradley is selected the candidate to represent the black community for the 10th District Los Angeles City Council race.

We will use photos and footage as part of the visual narrative, and will employ, when appropriate, the latest layer-based computer graphics software, such as After Effects and Photoshop, to gracefully and with integrity, illuminate, animate and/or dramatize still images, newspaper headlines, campaign materials and memorabilia. Still photographs will be composited into three-dimensional (3D) layers to digitally separate subjects from their backgrounds to add depth, dimension and drama to the story, and increase visual appeal. Slow motion and layering will be used with archival footage to create impact and resonance. We will create an estimated 75 – 100 sequences using these visual effects, which will range from simple to complex. There are many places, particularly in the telling of Bradley's early life, where we can employ 3D visual effects to add whimsy to the life of a child or enhance a plot point. We will use stop motion photography to show, through the passage of time, how downtown Los Angeles was profoundly changed by high-rise development beginning in 1973 when Bradley became mayor until the end of his fifth term in 1993. We will use After Effects to create a layered, detailed map of Los Angeles and its various neighborhoods, which we will revisit at critical times in the film.

We will hire a composer to create an original score, which will provide a significant dimension of emotion, drama and historical context, and will resonate with the sounds of the city, the jazz of hope, and the blues of despair.

D. AUDIENCE, DISTRIBUTION AND PARTNERSHIPS

AUDIENCE: Our primary audience for the documentary is a national public television audience. Our secondary audience will be education and community centered. We will work with an educational distributor to reach college and university audiences, as well as middle and high school social studies and government classrooms. We will create outreach campaigns to organizations working on issues of race, coalition building, urban development, immigration, and political and economic change. We will reach out to a diverse collection of religious entities: churches, synagogues, temples and mosques. Because of Tom Bradley's reputation and appeal internationally, we will contact international television broadcasters and distributors with a special emphasis on Europe, Asia and Africa.

PBS has provided us with an Audience Projection estimate for BRIDGING THE DIVIDE, projecting our audience for the national primetime broadcast to be more than 2,000,000. We also expect to reach an additional 10,000 – 20,000 people with community screenings, festivals and educational outreach.

DISTRIBUTION: During the post-production phase of the documentary, we will consolidate our promotional and outreach plans, using our extensive media contact lists to promote the film and further its visibility. Producer/Director Lyn Goldfarb has received extensive press coverage on her documentaries with film reviews and interviews from media and print outlets, including: *The New York Times*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Chicago Tribune*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *TV Guide*, *Current Newspaper*, *DOCUMENTARY Magazine*, *Hollywood Reporter*, *Variety*, *USA Today*, KCET-TV's *Life and Times*, NPR's *Day to Day* and *Telemundo*. We plan on running an aggressive, nationwide public relations campaign for BRIDGING THE DIVIDE, focusing on the national story.

As part of our distribution plan, we will contact libraries throughout the nation for inclusion in their audio-visual collections. We will work with the L.A. County and California public library system to

ensure that a copy of the film will be in every library in California. Goldfarb's film, THE NEW LOS ANGELES, was purchased by the L.A. County Library system for inclusion in every library in Los Angeles. We will apply to film festivals interested in films about race, urban planning, politics, and economics. We will also work with an international distributor.

We will release the film with a public premiere and a series of public community screenings hosted by the L.A. Mayor's office, the L.A. City Council, and the L.A. County Board of Supervisors. Working with an educational distributor, we will target colleges and universities as well as middle and high school social studies classrooms. We will produce a short educational video and work with educational curriculum developers, school boards and teachers unions to incorporate the educational video into high school and middle school social studies and government classrooms. We will work with an outreach partner.

We will complement our social media efforts with a dynamic destination site that aggregates the best content about the major themes in BRIDGING THE DIVIDE, and features original and user-contributed content. This in-depth resource will direct people from our site to our Facebook profile and vice versa. It is our goal to become the go-to site for information on Tom Bradley and Los Angeles – regularly attracting journalists, policymakers, historians, educators, students, and people with stories to share.

As part of our social media strategy, we have been successfully using professionally designed email blasts, coupled with our interactive website, to create awareness, collect stories, and raise funds. Our email blasts direct more than 2,000 users to our website. (www.mayortombradley.com) Given that email open rates average about 22%, we estimate about 440 people visit our website monthly. We will continue to use social media during production and post-production to create awareness and interest in the broadcast, promotion, and distribution of the film. We will also use the latest video on demand and home video resources for distribution. Our outreach will be facilitated by our contacts and long-standing relationships, and we will re-create the diverse coalitions Bradley established.

In total, we estimate, through the combined distribution and outreach components of the project, we will reach out to about 4,000,000 people. By May 2014, we estimate our website audience reach, at a minimum, will double given new technology, additional promotional partners and increased promotion.

PARTNERSHIPS: On a national scale, we have partnered with BlackPast.org, the largest online resource on African-American history, created by one of our academic advisers, Dr. Quintard Taylor, the Scott and Dorothy Bullitt Professor of American History at the University of Washington, Seattle. We are have linked together BlackPast.org with MayorTomBradley.com, and BlackPast.org will be dedicating a page to the film. By 2012, BlackPast.org had received 10 million unique visitors. During Black History month alone, the site received more than 388,000 visitors; its monthly hits average is 7,927,597; it has 8,718 Facebook fans; 989 Twitter followers; and 1,200 people on its mailing list. We are also partnering with Kappa Alpha Psi, a national fraternity with a primarily African American membership, the national and local Urban League, and other national organizations concerned with issues of race and coalitions.

We will partner with the Mayor's Office of the City of Los Angeles, the L.A. City Council, L.A. County Board of Supervisors, the Tom Bradley Legacy Foundation at UCLA, the Tom and Ethel Bradley Foundation, the Mayme A. Clayton Library and Museum, the California African American Museum, the AC Bilbrew Library's Black Resource Center, the Los Angeles Community Coalition, the Japanese American Museum, the UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center Library and Archive, Cal Humanities, and the International Documentary Association. We will also partner with LAX, the Harbor Commission, Staples Center, Los Angeles Convention and Tourism Bureau, and the Department of Cultural Affairs to create a series of short video installations of the film to exhibit in public venues.

Our chief scholar, Dr. Raphael Sonenshein, Executive Director of the Edmund G. “Pat” Brown Institute of Public Affairs at Cal State University Los Angeles, will be assisting in promoting the film through the Institute. The rest of our academic team also have long-standing relationships with various educational institutions and political/social networks throughout the nation, and will promote the documentary.

We have also partnered with Liberty Hill, an L.A. foundation that advances movements for social change through a combination of grants, leadership training and alliance building. In January 2012, Liberty Hill convened a meeting of stakeholder organizations interested in using the film in their engagement and educational work, as well as promoting the film. Combining Liberty Hill’s Facebook fans, Twitter followers, its mailing list, and the more than 2,000 visitors to its website each month, we will be reaching out to an additional 10,000 people in our efforts to publicize the documentary.

Lastly, in the summer of 2012, we partnered with the Los Angeles Urban League and CDTech in a workforce pilot program entitled, *The Tom Bradley Intergenerational Leadership Summit and Video Training Program*. The program taught African American and Latino 12th grade high school students hands-on video production, storytelling, interviewing and research skills, successfully using examples from Tom Bradley’s life and work to also teach students about leadership, overcoming obstacles, creating tolerance and understanding, and long-term relationship and coalition building. The students produced 2 – 4 minute short films on Mayor Bradley and blogged about their experiences. The Los Angeles Urban League and CDTech will also help promote the documentary through their constituencies and networks.

We intend to release a 30-minute educational video, TOM BRADLEY’S IMPOSSIBLE DREAM (working title), for Los Angeles schools in February 2013 during African American history month and in honor of the 40th anniversary of Tom Bradley’s historic election as mayor.

E. PROJECT EVALUATION:

Documentary film helps build engagement by offering models and avenues for people to experience the world in which we live. It has the power to educate, entertain and engage. A well-produced documentary that speaks to the personal and collective experience of a community can extend its reach to become a catalyst for discussion and inquiry. Public television provides access and availability; community and educational screenings allow for interaction and discussion. Educational screenings targeted at youth offer an opportunity to re-discover the past, increase their knowledge of their history, and explore possibilities for the future. Tom Bradley’s story of coalitions and bridging barriers are as relevant today as they were 40 years ago, as evidenced through the 2008 presidential campaign of Barack Obama.

The viewership of our public television broadcast will be documented through the carriage reports that we will receive following the broadcast. The carriage reports will let us know how many stations broadcast the documentary, what dates and times it will air the program, and the number of viewers watching from each station. Carriage service is useful for producers, national underwriting and station relations.

We will evaluate the success of the documentary by how we are able to connect with different audiences who may experience the stories from different perspectives. Our focus on coalitions and multi-ethnic history provides an opportunity for audiences to see a perspective beyond their own experiences, which can provide the context for dialogue. Another measure of success will be the audience’s ability to see an issue, event, legislation or act of public policy from different points of view. A well-produced discussion guide that accompanies the film will raise questions, facilitating dialogue.

Our evaluation process has begun early. In January 2012, Liberty Hill Foundation hosted a meeting of stakeholders in which we showed a 20-minute work-in-progress cut of the documentary. We asked the stakeholders for their input on content that would be useful for their organizations, and asked them for

suggestions on what type of stories they would like for the film. This type of early input is very useful. We intend to work with Liberty Hill again at the rough cut stage of the film to continue to get input from stakeholders who will use the documentary in their work.

We will create partnerships and work with organizations, which represent diverse constituencies to create screenings of the documentary, and will document the Q&A and dialogue that will ensue following screenings. These are often moments when you are able to see what people have learned, what has surprised them, and if the film has changed their thinking. We can evaluate the power of the documentary through documenting this experience. Lyn Goldfarb developed an innovative model of evaluation with her Academy Award-nominated film *WITH BABIES AND BANNERS*. She partnered with organizations, community groups, local libraries, classrooms and unions to set up screenings. She designed a questionnaire, which the facilitator filled out, indicating the response of the audience during the film and the discussion points afterwards. We will adopt a similar model for *BRIDGING THE DIVIDE*. In addition, where appropriate, we will ask people to fill out a questionnaire after the screening. An easy to fill out, well-designed questionnaire can help us evaluate the film's impact.

Today, there are many ways to collect social media and digital distribution statistics. Google Analytics and other online tools will enable us to receive information about individual and social patterns of engagement. We will be able to compile and report unique website visitors, Facebook fans, Twitter users, and responses from our email blasts. We will know the demographics of who is visiting our social media sites and who is viewing clips on the film online. We will also set up a blog on our website and Facebook page for comments and dialogue. The number of stories submitted to our *SHARE YOUR TOM BRADLEY STORY* site will also help us evaluate the film's reach and impact.

By sharing the Bradley story with people of all ages, ethnicities, races and religions, we hope to bridge divides and encourage creative thinking and expression. The film and website can encourage and facilitate other media projects about the history of community and of overcoming obstacles to create change. We also hope to facilitate a multi-generational conversation between youth, parents and grandparents about our shared history, the importance of creativity, and living their dreams.

F. RIGHTS AND PERMISSIONS

BRIDGING THE DIVIDE will draw on a mix of commercial, public and private sources of archival photographs, footage and sound recordings. (For details, please see **M. Collections of Materials**.) We have already collected an extensive archive of visuals and public domain materials from various collections, including the National Archives. We are currently in negotiations with the City of Los Angeles and UCLA's Special Collections for the rights and licensing of materials in the Tom Bradley Administrative Archives, as well as the Los Angeles City Archives and the California African American Museum. Based on our discussions thus far, we will be able to obtain all the rights we need, and we will be able to negotiate a fair price. We have strong relationships with the Mayme A. Clayton Library and Museum and the Black Freelance Photographers Archive, at California State University, Northridge (CSUN). Both institutions are working with us and we do not anticipate any problems obtaining rights or negotiating reasonable licensing fees. We have also established trusting relationships with many archivists and directors of both private and public collections citywide – all of whom recognize the importance of this film and support it. We do not anticipate any difficulty securing permission from them.

We have begun discussions with the International Olympic Committee and the L.A. '84 Foundation for Olympics footage, which will be costly. We will also need to purchase footage from private archives, including television network and newsreel archives. We have used these archives in the past and know we can obtain the rights we need. Fees vary and are based on usage, but licensing archival footage will be costly, ranging from \$65.00 – \$150.00 per second, depending on how much we need. This rate does not

include costs for screeners, which can range up to \$300 each, and costs to transfer footage into a viewable format, which can range from \$35 to hundreds of dollars, depending on the total running time of footage transferred. (Some television archives also require a 30-second or one minute minimum and a flat rate of \$3,000 for the transfer and rights). The new fair use regulations will help mitigate some of these costs, but private archives do own much of the news footage we need to tell the story. Still photographic archives, such as the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Los Angeles Sentinel*, will license still photographs at a cost of about \$250.00 – \$350.00 each for use in all media, worldwide, in perpetuity. This rate, in some cases, does not include general research performed by archive staff, which ranges from \$25 – \$160 an hour at various collections, as well as photographic, digital reproduction/scanning, which costs about \$3.00 per photo at some archives. We expect archival images to comprise roughly 30% of the 90-minute film.

G. HUMANITIES ADVISERS

Raphael Sonenshein: Executive Director, The Edmund G. “Pat” Brown Institute for Public Affairs at California State University, Los Angeles

Sonenshein, the author of three books on Los Angeles’ political history, is serving as the film’s chief academic adviser. As a political scientist, his research on Tom Bradley, which spanned more than two decades, is multidisciplinary with a particular focus on history. Sonenshein has traced the historical roots of Bradley’s political coalition. His book, *Politics in Black and White: Race and Power in Los Angeles*, offers the best account of the Tom Bradley era. The book traces the evolution of Bradley’s biracial coalition in Los Angeles and the intersection of politics and race. Sonenshein can provide a unique perspective; he is the foremost scholar on Tom Bradley. Moreover, he knew Bradley and worked briefly in his administration. As our chief scholar, Sonenshein has been readily available for content review and analysis, discussion of issues, and suggestions for scholars and bibliographies. He has reviewed the themes and narrative and has co-written the treatment and script.

Susan Anderson: Curator, “Collecting Los Angeles,” UCLA

Anderson has extensively studied and written about Tom Bradley since she began her career as a commentator and historian of African American politics, history and culture in Los Angeles. In her role as curator of *Collecting Los Angeles* at UCLA, she oversees the Tom Bradley Administrative Archive, as well as other collections that will inform and enhance the documentary. Anderson traces the legacies of African Americans in Los Angeles and examines how black politics shaped California democracy.

William Deverell: Director, Huntington-USC Institute on California and the West

Deverell is a leading scholar on the history of Los Angeles. His research focuses on the broader crosscurrents of racial and ethnic politics from the mid-19th century forward. He co-edited the *Blackwell Companion to Los Angeles* and the *Blackwell Companion to California*. Deverell can advise the project on the historical issues, themes and events that shaped Los Angeles, California and western America.

Douglas Flamming: Professor, History, Georgia Tech University

Flamming specializes in the history of black Los Angeles and the political side of the struggle for civil rights. His books, *Bound for Freedom: Black Los Angeles in Jim Crow America*, and *African Americans in the West*, provide important background and insights into the Los Angeles African American experience. More broadly, Flamming can provide an understanding of why Tom Bradley and the story of black Los Angeles matter in a national context.

Lorn S. Foster: Charles and Henrietta Deto Professor, Government and Politics, Pomona College

Foster has written and lectured on the development of urban black politics, class and the Voting Rights Act. He can contribute to the film by examining and exploring many of the film’s major issues including civil rights, race and power, urban politics, black churches and fraternities, and issues of class.

Regina Freer: Professor, Politics, Occidental College

Freer is the co-author of *The Next Los Angeles: A Struggle for a Livable City*, which examines the 20th century history of progressive social justice movements in the city. Freer has written extensively on black political development in Los Angeles. Her contributions will include the historical context for progressive social justice movements, the legacy of black community activism that helped bring Bradley to power and historical and contemporary analysis of interracial and interethnic coalition building in the city.

Frank Gilliam: Dean and Professor, School of Public Affairs, UCLA

Gilliam's research focuses primarily on the influence of television news coverage and campaign advertising on the public's understanding of race, crime and politics. He is key to this project as he can discuss how race has played a prominent role in elections in Los Angeles and California, and can examine the trends of African American engagement in the electoral process.

Fernando Guerra: Director, Center for the Study of Los Angeles, and Associate Professor, Political Science and Chicano/a Studies, Loyola Marymount University

Guerra's research focuses on the city of Los Angeles as a living laboratory to better understand urban America. Guerra has written widely on urban ethnic and Latino politics in Los Angeles and California. He can examine how previously excluded ethnic groups gained political power in Los Angeles, California and the nation. Guerra is able to provide an analysis of ethnic participation in Los Angeles politics since the 1940s. Guerra can analyze Bradley's strengths and weaknesses as mayor and place him in a comparative perspective nationally to other urban mayors.

Melissa V. Harris-Perry: Professor, Political Science, Tulane University

Harris-Perry is a nationally renowned scholar and media commentator on race and politics. She is the author of many books and articles including: *Barbershops, Bibles, and BET: Everyday Talk and Black Political Thought* and "The Heart of the Politics of Race: Centering Black People in the Study of White Racial Attitudes" in the *Journal of Black Studies*. She hosts the weekend MSNBC program, *Melissa-Harris Perry*, an exploration of politics, art, culture and community beyond the beltway. Harris-Perry will be able to offer a national context to Tom Bradley's story and political career, and will be able to provide an important perspective on the importance of religion in the black community. She can establish the framework for a comparative analysis of the political careers of Tom Bradley and President Obama.

Scott Kurashige: Associate Professor, American Culture and Asian/Pacific Islander American Studies and History, University of Michigan

Kurashige offers a unique perspective on Tom Bradley in the struggle for racial equality and the transformation of Los Angeles into a multicultural "world city." He is the author of *The Shifting Grounds of Race: Black and Japanese Americans in the Making of Multiethnic Los Angeles*. His study of the role African Americans and Japanese Americans played in the social and political struggles that remade twentieth-century Los Angeles provides an important context to discussions of race in Los Angeles.

Christopher Jimenez y West: Assistant Professor, History, Pasadena City College

Jimenez y West can trace the racial and ethnic trajectories in Los Angeles, California and the nation. His dissertation, *More Than My Color: Race, Space and Politics in Black Los Angeles, 1940 – 1968*, examined the social and political dimensions of post World War II Los Angeles African American communities. As former history curator of the California African American Museum, he can explore the evolution of the African American experience in Los Angeles and California focusing on issues from religion to economics. He also provides insights about the often overlooked and misunderstood common ground between the country's two largest minorities: African Americans and Latinos.

Kyeyoung Park: Associate Professor, Anthropology and Asian American Studies, UCLA

Park's anthropological work draws on several fields of study, particularly inter-racial dynamics between

race, class, ethnicity and culture before and after the 1992 Los Angeles riots – the nation’s worst urban civil unrest, which tarnished Tom Bradley’s reputation and marked the end of his era. Park is currently completing a second book about racial relations among Korean, African and Latino Americans before and after the 1992 Los Angeles riots. Park’s research focuses primarily on the nature of social inequity in this contemporary multi-racial and transnational society.

Manuel Pastor: Professor, Geography and American Studies and Ethnicity, and Director, Program for Environmental and Regional Equity (PERE), USC Center for Sustainable Cities, USC

Pastor has written extensively about contemporary Los Angeles politics. He is the co-author of *Searching for the Uncommon Common Ground: New Dimensions on Race in America*, which analyzes issues dealing with race and social justice in America. Pastor can examine complex issues faced by Tom Bradley during his twenty-year tenure as mayor including: economic and racial inequality, community empowerment, demographic change, and the economic and social conditions facing low-income urban communities. Pastor offers the progressive activist critique of Tom Bradley.

David Perry: Director, Great Cities Institute, University of Illinois

Perry comes to this project with a unique, national perspective as professor of Urban Planning and Policy at the University of Illinois. Perry is the author of ten books and over 150 articles, chapters and reports on urban and regional economic development and policy, race and urban violence, spatial segregation and urban space. Co-author of the book, *The Rise of the Sunbelt Cities*, Perry can place Los Angeles and California in the context of American urban history. He provides a comparative analysis of the legacies of influential American mayors, including Tom Bradley.

Quintard Taylor: Scott and Dorothy Bullitt Professor, American History, University of Washington

Taylor is the leading authority on African Americans in the West and African American history. As an historian, he provides analysis, interpretation, and perspective on similarities and differences in the African American experience in Los Angeles, the West and the nation. His website BlackPast.org, an online resource center for African American history, houses 3,000 pages of information, has links to 600 websites, with contributions by more than 400 scholars. This will provide a wealth of material to draw upon to enhance our understanding of Tom Bradley in a rich cultural, political and historical context.

H. MEDIA TEAM

Lyn Goldfarb: Producer, Director, Writer

Lyn Goldfarb is an Academy-Award nominated and award-winning filmmaker with 15 long form documentaries broadcast on national primetime PBS and major cable. She is a Producer, Director and Writer on two major historical series which received NEH production grants and were broadcast on PBS: THE GREAT DEPRESSION (Blackside) and THE GREAT WAR (KCET-BBC). THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE FIRST CENTURY (4 hours-PBS), which she produced and directed with Margaret Koval, received NEH scripting funding. She is the producer and director of BRIDGING THE DIVIDE: TOM BRADLEY and the POLITICS of RACE, which received an NEH development grant, and is currently seeking funding for production and post-production. She is the Producer, Director and Writer of THE NEW LOS ANGELES (1 hour-PBS), JAPAN: MEMOIRS OF A SECRET EMPIRE (3 hours-PBS), PEOPLE IN MOTION (2 hours-PBS), and WITH BABIES AND BANNERS (45 minutes -PBS). She is the Executive Producer of CALIFORNIA AND THE AMERICAN DREAM (4 hours-PBS). Her awards include: an Academy Award nomination; two Emmy Awards; Peabody; two du-Pont Columbia Awards; Golden Mike; CINE Golden Eagle; IDA Distinguished Documentary Award; three Bronze Telly Awards; Blue Ribbon, Emily Grand Prize, American Film Festival; Gold Ducat, Mannheim Int'l Film Festival; and Outstanding Film of the Year, London Int'l Film Festival.

Alison Sotomayor: Producer, Research Director, Writer

An East Los Angeles native, Sotomayor is an award-winning filmmaker with 22 years of experience working in video and film. Her work often explores a multi-representation of voices and points of view to better inform and better provide a fully dimensional truth in order to educate and encourage thoughtful reflection and dialogue. More so to bring to light people's histories and stories, especially those often discarded, unknown or forgotten. For ten years, she produced the critically acclaimed news and public affairs series, LIFE & TIMES, at KCET in Los Angeles. Some of her noteworthy stories include: FIVE YEARS AFTER L.A.'S 1992 RIOTS; BERT CORONA: THE LIFE & LEGACY OF A MEXICAN AMERICAN LABOR LEADER; FRANK TALK: BLACK AND LATINO RELATIONS; THE STORY OF THE DESEGREGATION OF THE L.A. CITY FIRE DEPARTMENT; SAL CASTRO & THE 1968 EAST L.A. WALKOUTS; HEROES IN THE HOOD: FATHER GREGORY BOYLE; COACH JOHN WOODEN: THE LEGEND, THE LEGACY, THE WISDOM; A NEW VISION FOR THE IOC: ANITA DEFRANTZ; WOMEN AIR FORCE SERVICE PILOTS WW II; and OUT OF THE PICTURE: MINORITIES IN NETWORK TV. Sotomayor was Associate Producer for the PBS film THE NEW LOS ANGELES. She has two Emmys and five Golden Mikes and a B.A. in Sociology from UCLA.

Lillian Benson: Editor

Benson is an accomplished editor of award-winning documentary and feature films. In 1990, Benson received an Emmy nomination for the award winning PBS series, EYES ON THE PRIZE. Her editing credits include: BEYOND THE STEPS – ALVIN AILEY AMERICAN DANCE THEATER (WNET/NBPC 2006); SHARED HISTORY (ITVS 2004); TRUMPETISTICALLY CLORA BRYANT (NBPC 2004); CONSCIENCE AND THE CONSTITUTION (PBS 2000); A CENTURY OF LIVING (HBO, 1999); DEATH BY HANGING (HBO, 1998); OUT AT WORK (HBO, 1998); MOTOWN 40th, A RETROSPECTIVE (ABC, 1998); THE MASSACHUSETTS 54th COLORED INFANTRY (WGBH, 1992); and numerous episodes of A&E's ANCIENT MYSTERIES and BIOGRAHY series. She is the first black female member of the American Cinema Editors (ACE) and is an ACE board member.

Michelle Crenshaw: Cinematographer

Michelle Crenshaw is one of the most successful African American women cinematographers, featured in the documentary WOMEN BEHIND THE CAMERA. She was a cinematographer for Tavis Smiley, working on his TAVIS REPORTS specials for KCET and broadcast nationally on PBS. Her PBS documentary credits include: HOMECOMING and THE MAN WHO DROVE WITH MANDELA. She has worked with award-winning DPs as a camera operator on features and episodic television such as AMERICAN DREAMS, LOVE JONES, THE WATERMELON WOMAN, GRUMPIER OLD MEN, and the PBS documentary series EYES ON THE PRIZE II.

I. PROGRESS

WORK ACCOMPLISHED: We began the groundwork for BRIDGING THE DIVIDE while working on the PBS documentary, THE NEW LOS ANGELES. In order to include a seven-minute segment on Tom Bradley in that film, we pursued a substantive amount of original research and collected a strong foundation of resources.

Since a scholarly biography of Tom Bradley does not exist, we have worked closely with our scholars – along with former Bradley administrative staff members, colleagues, family and journalists – to shape the narrative of the Bradley story. In the early stages of fundraising, we received grants from the W. K. Kellogg Foundation and the Cal Humanities, which funded the project's initial historical research. The producers collaborated with chief academic adviser Dr. Raphael Sonenshein and adviser/historian Susan Anderson to prepare the historical foundation for the film. We created the first substantive chronology of Bradley's life and work; a Political History Timeline from 1850 when L.A. became an incorporated city

to 1998, the year of Bradley's death; and an LAPD chronology from 1940 – 1961 during the time Bradley was a police officer.

We have identified more than 400 potential interviewees, and have conducted 130 preliminary interviews with key Bradley staff, close advisers, commissioners, department heads, colleagues, family, and journalists who covered Bradley's mayoral era. Most of those preliminary interviews have been transcribed. We also filmed 27 high-definition, two-hour interviews for the documentary with key people able to tell the Bradley story, some of whom are in their eighties and nineties.

We received a National Endowment for the Humanities Research and Development grant in May of 2011. This grant enabled the producers to continue primary and secondary research, including locating and reading numerous newspaper articles, 90 books, dissertations, chapters and scholarly essays to help shape the story. (Please see **Attachments** for a shortened Bibliography). The grant also enabled us to meet and dialogue with our humanities scholars. We hired a full-time production assistant, conducted additional preliminary interviews, continued our audio-visual research, and wrote the script for the documentary. Also in 2011, we were awarded a grant from the Ralph M. Parsons Foundation, which allowed us to continue scholarly and visuals research, conduct more preliminary interviews, and film most of the interviews needed for the film.

In total, we have conducted three scholars meetings to discuss themes, issues and perspectives of the film. The meetings, recorded and transcribed for continued study and reflection, provided an insightful and provocative exchange of ideas and information, which broaden and illuminate the humanities context of the film. The first two scholars meetings were funded through a Cal Humanities grant. These meetings focused, at length, on the humanities context of Los Angeles, the West and Tom Bradley's significance to a national audience. The second scholars meeting specifically focused on important historical themes and issues related to black Los Angeles and the context in which Tom Bradley rose to power. In the third scholar's meeting (funded by the NEH development grant), we reviewed our research, observations and discussed the themes and questions for the script. We conducted a phone conference with three of our scholars located outside of Los Angeles. We are also consulting with advisers not on our advisory board such as LAPD scholar Edward Escobar at Arizona State University, historian John Buntin, historian Joe Domanick, and journalist and noted biographer Lou Cannon.

We have begun research in more than three-dozen archives in the Los Angeles-Southern California area, and have developed close relationships with some archivists at key collections useful to the film. These archivists have reached out to us when they uncover new materials on Bradley. We were also invited to conduct a video presentation and Q&A about the film at USC's 2010 Archives Bazaar, attended by Southern California archivists, librarians and scholars. The event allowed us to meet with others archivists who are now aware of the film and who continue to assist us in research and in locating additional visuals.

We also produced a 20-minute fundraising video, which we have screened to various groups and individuals. We launched our website (www.MayorTomBradley.com), which has become the primary public source of information about Tom Bradley. The documentary, even in its research and development stage, has received significant and regular press coverage in the *Los Angeles Huffington Post* and *L.A. Observed*, and a feature, front-page article in Cal Humanities' 2011 summer newsletter, which can be located at: www.calhum.org/downloads/newsletters/newsletter_summer11web.pdf.

WORK REMAINING: An NEH 2013 production grant will allow us to complete the remaining interviews for the film, including our scholars' interviews, as well as film key re-enactments and atmospherics. It will also allow us to re-write and complete the script, edit the documentary, finish our visuals research and license the stills and footage. We will hire a composer who will score the film and hire an actor to record narration. We will prepare the visuals, do color correction, online edit, sound

design, mix and complete all delivery requirements for a 2014 broadcast and DVD home video/educational distribution.

Please note: We do plan to interview President Barack Obama, who attended Occidental College in Los Angeles from 1979–1981 during the time Mayor Bradley reached national and international prominence. We hope to answer the question: *Can we understand Obama by understanding Bradley?* Kerman Maddox, who served on Bradley’s staff and was a member of the National Finance Committee for Obama’s 2008 run for president, has assured us he will arrange an interview with President Obama. We would also like to add a clarification on the visuals for the script. We are in the middle of our visuals research, and therefore, we have not yet located all visual materials, which would have enabled us to include more detailed, visual descriptions in the script. The production grant will enable us to complete the visuals research, and locate additional sound bites from Bradley, which will enhance the storytelling.

J. WORK PLAN

May 2013: Media team convenes to review interviews already conducted and review archival materials collected. Confirm schedules with Cinematographer and Editor. Organize full Scholars Meeting.

June 2013: Locate and pre-interview additional, key people for the film. Prepare questions for scholar interviews. Meet with key scholars to review script and questions for scholars’ interviews. Hold Scholars Meeting to review script and discuss questions for scholars’ interviews.

July 2013: Film scholars’ interviews, conduct remaining interviews, continue archival research.

July 2013 – August 2013: Write editing script. Assistant Editor logs and organizes materials for editing.

September 2013 – April 2014: Edit the documentary. Film re-enactments and pick-up interviews. Continue visuals research and work with visuals editor to create animation and effects, clear rights and license footage/stills, hire composer and narrator.

April 2014 – May 2014: Composer creates score and records narration. Final effects work on stills and footage, sound design, mix, color correction, online, and complete all PBS delivery requirements.

K. FUNDRAISING PLAN

We have raised \$230,000 for the documentary from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Cal Humanities, the Ralph M. Parsons Foundation, the California Community Foundation, the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, the Eli and Edythe Broad Foundation, and individual donors. These grants have covered our archival research, pre-production, the beginning of filming, and script development. The NEH production grant will enable us to complete the documentary and deliver the film for broadcast on PBS. For our additional media projects, we will be applying for additional grants from the (b) (4) and the (b) (4), as well as the (b) (4), the (b) (4), (b) (4), the (b) (4), (b) (4), (b) (4), and other national and local foundations. The Ford Foundation provided \$300,000 for Goldfarb’s last series CALIFORNIA AND THE AMERICAN DREAM; CPB and PBS provided \$1,000,000. Our fundraising strategy also includes a targeted campaign to wealthy individuals in Los Angeles and in the Jewish, Latino and African American communities.

L. ORGANIZATION PROFILE

OUR LA is a 501(c)(3) non-profit corporation established in California in 2009. Its mission is to increase public awareness of the people and stories of Los Angeles and other cities, both historical and

contemporary, through audio-visual and new media projects, and through education, preservation, and outreach. It is the sponsor of BRIDGING THE DIVIDE. The website is: www.OUR-LA.com.

M. COLLECTIONS OF MATERIALS TO BE USED

During the research and development stage of this project, we have acquired the most complete collection of footage and stills of the life and legacy of Tom Bradley, all of which will enrich the documentary. We have gained full access to several untapped archives in Southern California rich with diversity of images, documents and memorabilia of Tom Bradley.

1. Tom Bradley Administrative Archive, UCLA Special Collections

Most promising is this collection housed at UCLA. We have begun the arduous process of sifting through the archive, which consists of 4,200 boxes that remain mostly uncatalogued. However, we have worked out special arrangements with the L.A. Mayor's office, UCLA and the City of Los Angeles to gain special access to this collection. Susan Anderson, one of our humanities advisers and the curator of UCLA's *Collecting Los Angeles*, has been a tremendous asset during this process. The Bradley archive contains memorabilia collected during Bradley's years as Los Angeles mayor, including but not limited to: his political papers, stills, historical newspaper and magazine clippings, posters, personal objects, and memorabilia given to Bradley by kings, queens, presidents and other officials. The collection also holds extensive campaign literature, materials from the organizing committee for the 1984 L.A. Summer Olympics and the Bronzeville-Little Tokyo Collection. UCLA also houses a 1979 oral history of Bradley that has been key in our research.

2. Black Freelance Photographers Archive, California State University, Northridge (CSUN)

This archive of nearly 1,000,000 negatives and photos is still in the early stages of being catalogued. Yet, our initial research has already uncovered hundreds of well-preserved, high quality negatives, and some scanned stills of Tom Bradley. Among the images: Bradley in the L.A. City Council, with various legendary entertainers and artists, campaigning for L.A. mayor in 1969 and 1973, and in his early years as L.A. mayor. The untapped collection features work of more than 20 black photographers, many of whom were freelancers for the L.A.'s black newspapers, *The California Eagle* and the *Los Angeles Sentinel*, both of which frequently covered Bradley. These photographers also covered key events, controversial issues, and prominent figures that crossed paths with Bradley, including Martin Luther King Jr., Jackie Robinson, Robert F. Kennedy, and Cesar Chavez. These photographs were published only once in the area's newspapers in the 1950s – 1970s, and have not been seen by the general public since. We have developed a trusting relationship with the director of the archive, who has allowed us unlimited access.

3. Los Angeles City Archives

We have had open access to this archive and have established great relationships with its staff. We have unearthed a rather large collection of old 3/4", VHS and beta and 1" videos, as well as film reels, audiocassettes of Bradley's press conferences from 1969 – 1992, and 22,000 feet of 16 mm footage of Los Angeles from the 1930s – 1960s. They had been misfiled. The work of transferring a majority of the collection into a viewable format has already begun. The collection, which came from Bradley's City Hall office, includes footage of Bradley's campaign commercials when he ran for L.A. mayor and California governor, interviews, press conferences, and various news reports about Bradley or issues he was concerned about. Once catalogued, it will be made available to the public. The archive also has a large collection of LAPD scrapbooks containing original newspaper articles ranging from 1948 – 1966, when Bradley was an LAPD officer. We have combed through these already.

4. The Los Angeles Police Department Archive

We are working with the City of Los Angeles and the L.A. Police Commission to gain access to the LAPD's extensive audio-visual collection. We have a strong relationship with the Vice President of the

L.A. Police Commission, John Mack, whom we have already interviewed for the film. He will facilitate access to the LAPD archive.

5. Mayme A. Clayton Library and Museum, Los Angeles

This collection, surprisingly untapped by filmmakers, is the largest private collection of African American culture in the western United States. We have obtained special access to it, and our initial research has uncovered never-before-seen photographs of Bradley campaigning for mayor in 1969 and 1973 among diverse ethnic, Anglo and Jewish communities. We have also located early images of Los Angeles, South Los Angeles, and East Los Angeles, some as early as the mid-1800s. We have found stills of Downtown Los Angeles, including City Hall under construction in the 1930s. The collection, also in process of being fully catalogued, holds scrapbooks of Martin Luther King Jr., memorabilia and other items from the Civil Rights movement, the black church and fraternities – all themes central to the film.

6. The Lou Cannon – Rodney King Papers, ca. 1965 – 1997 [Bulk Dates 1991 – 1995], UCSB

We have begun working with the director of Special Collections at the University of California at Santa Barbara, which houses this comprehensive social history archive. The collection includes audio-visual materials, recorded and transcribed interviews, significant research on the 1991 Rodney King beating and the 1991 L.A. riots, federal trial transcripts, reports, books and internal affairs documents. We have good relations with Lou Cannon, presidential biographer and former White House correspondent, who provided the collection materials. Cannon interviewed Mayor Bradley two years after the riots on audiotape; he also interviewed many other elected officials and community leaders connected with Bradley.

7. The California African American Museum (CAAM), Los Angeles

The California African American Museum exists to research, collect, preserve and interpret the history, art and culture of African Americans with additional emphasis on California and the western United States. We have met with the Director of CAAM and have received permission to use several dozen photographs from its Tom Bradley archive and other visuals.

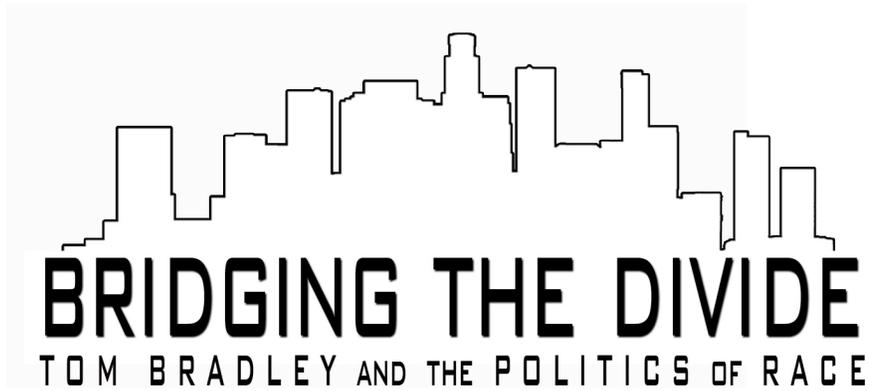
8. Kappa Alpha Psi National Fraternity Archives, Philadelphia, PA

Another resource for our research is the archive of the Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, the fraternity to which Tom Bradley belonged for sixty years, also serving for a time as its national president. We are working with the fraternity's former Province Polemarch to access it.

9. Other Important Collections

We have established working relationships with archivists and librarians of other collections citywide who have been useful in obtaining additional visuals. They are: USC Special Collections, which houses the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* newspaper archives of stories (1930s-1950s); the L.A. '84 Foundation, which consists of stills of the L.A. 1984 Summer Olympics; the LAPD Historical Society, which includes over 2,000,000 negatives of early Los Angeles; the First A.M.E. Church archive; UCLA's Walter Gordon photo collection, which includes stills of early black L.A.; UCLA's Film and Television Archives, which houses the KTLA-TV Newsfilm Collection (1955-1981), the TV News Collection (1973-1975) and The Hearst Metrotone Newsreel Collection (1915-1977); UCLA's Chicano Studies Research Center Library and Archive, which houses the Papers of Bradley ally U.S. Congressman Edward R. Roybal; the Roybal Foundation Archive; Loyola Marymount University, which includes the Rebuild L.A. Collection, and the L.A. City Clerk's office, which has already given us permission to use stills of Bradley. We are working with the A.C. Bilbrew Library's Black Resource Center, Occidental College, the L.A. Public Library, California State University Los Angeles, the Jimmy Carter Library, the Tom Bradley Legacy Foundation at UCLA, the Southern California Library, the Tom and Ethel Bradley Foundation, and the Tom Bradley family. Lastly, we will work with *History Makers*, an online archive of interviews of well-known and unsung African American leaders and heroes. Ethel Bradley, Tom Bradley's wife, did a filmed interview with the producers and we will be contacting them to explore the possibility of using excerpts for the film.

*NEH America's Media Makers
Production Grant Application Part (3)*



SCRIPT

Written by: Lyn Goldfarb and Alison Sotomayor

and

Raphael J. Sonenshein, Ph.D.

Please note: A documentary film script is a road map for production. The sound bites in the script are a combination of final interviews for the film, and pre-interviews with people we have not yet filmed. The scholars' and journalists' quotes are a combination of pre-interviews and discussions during scholars meetings, as well as excerpts from the authors' books. All will approximate what the interviewees will say on camera. The script represents the footage, stills and newspaper article research we have done to date, and we will be continuing our in-depth audio-visuals research. We have just begun our search for news footage with interviews or coverage of Tom Bradley, so we intend to include more sound bites of him in the final production. Lastly, we are continuing our search for more in-depth interviews of Bradley.

PROLOGUE:

WE SEE A PACKED AUDITORIUM AT THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION CENTER IN PHILADELPHIA. THE CROWD IS QUIET WITH ANTICIPATION. STANDING AGAINST THE BACKDROP OF AMERICAN FLAGS, SENATOR BARACK OBAMA, CANDIDATE FOR U.S. PRESIDENT, DELIVERS AN IMPASSIONED, INCISIVE AND SWEEPING ANALYSIS OF RACE IN AMERICA:

“Race is an issue that I believe this nation cannot afford to ignore right now... Contrary to the claims of some of my critics, black and white, I have never been so naïve as to believe that we can get beyond our racial divisions in a single election cycle, or with a single candidacy - particularly a candidacy as imperfect as my own...”

TO ENTHUSIASTIC APPLAUSE, SENATOR OBAMA DECLARES:

...But I have asserted a firm conviction – a conviction rooted in my faith in God and my faith in the American people – that working together we can move beyond some of our old racial wounds and that in fact we have no choice if we are to continue on the path of a more perfect union.”

Narrator: An African American candidate making history, seeking a major office that cannot possibly be won without crossing racial boundaries, with the great majority of votes to be cast by whites. It was foreshadowed decades before...in Los Angeles.

ARCHIVAL FOOTAGE OF VIOLENCE AND UNREST. RIOTS SWEEP CITIES COAST TO COAST. ROBERT F. KENNEDY AND DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. ARE ASSASSINATED. THE BLACK PANTHERS AND POLICE CLASH IN DEADLY SHOOT-OUTS.

Narrator: It was in this charged atmosphere in 1969 that Tom Bradley, an African American former police lieutenant and liberal city councilmember, challenged conservative two-term Los Angeles mayor Sam Yorty.

“Just about every night, the television news was blaring the danger that blacks caused on campuses – clashes, demonstrations, picketing. The phrase ‘black militants’ was used almost all the time. So, there should be no doubt in people’s minds, Yorty made an accusation just about every day on television: Blacks posed a threat, and therefore, Tom Bradley posed a threat.”

- Maury Weiner, Bradley’s 1969 Campaign Manager and chief strategist

YORTY CAMPAIGN ADS TIE PHOTOS OF BRADLEY WITH SLOGANS: “TARGET CITY: LOS ANGELES”, “BRADLEY’S RECORD: ANTI-POLICE” AND “BRADLEY: SUPPORTED BY COMMUNIST PARTY”. FOOTAGE OF YORTY AND BRADLEY IN TELEVISED REPORTS.

“My opponent, councilman Thomas Bradley, is a turncoat policeman. He is being powered by black militants, white radicals, mercenaries and Communists. They put up a black man for the purpose of polarizing the community. If Bradley is elected, militants will come down and intimidate the city council, and then, what would the police do? Law enforcement will be undermined.”

- Mayor Sam Yorty in a 1969 televised speech

"It's utterly ridiculous – a scurrilous smear. Sam Yorty's racist style of campaigning has long since been ineffective. I don't believe the people of Los Angeles are going to buy it any longer."

- Tom Bradley in an NBC News televised story

FOOTAGE: A 6 FOOT 4, HANDSOME TOM BRADLEY, AGE 51, WEARING A GRAY SUIT AND WHITE TIE, SURROUNDED BY A SEA OF SUPPORTERS, ENTERS HIS CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS. WOMEN AND MEN, BLACK AND WHITE, YOUNG AND OLD, WEAR RED, WHITE AND BLUE HATS EMBLAZONED WITH HIS NAME. "BRADLEY FOR MAYOR" SIGNS ADORN WALLS. CAMPAIGN LITERATURE IS SCATTERED EVERYWHERE. THE CROWD STARTS CHANTING, "BRADLEY! BRADLEY! BRADLEY!" THE ATMOSPHERE IS ELECTRIC.

Narrator: In the late 1960s, less than 18% of L.A.'s population was African American. If Tom Bradley were to win, he would become the first black mayor of a major U.S. city with an overwhelmingly white majority. It would be a defining moment in America's political history.

"The race between Bradley and Yorty in 1969 was really a struggle for the soul and direction of Los Angeles and the future of race relations in the nation. Los Angeles would be the testing ground for the racial politics of a new America."

- Raphael Sonenshein, author, *Politics in Black and White*

MONTAGE OF FOOTAGE: BRADLEY CAMPAIGNING IN ETHNIC COMMUNITIES, AERIALS OF DOWNTOWN L.A., STREET SCENES IN L.A.'S BLACK NEIGHBORHOODS, EXTERIORS OF L.A. CITY HALL – FADING INTO SHOTS OF BARACK OBAMA CAMPAIGNING FOR PRESIDENT.

Narrator: The story of Tom Bradley is the story of a black community mobilizing to create a new, urban liberal coalition in the city of the future – Los Angeles. Tom Bradley's model of a substantial and durable multi-racial coalition would play a major role in transforming American politics – a change that reverberated on a much larger stage in the election of President Barack Obama.

ACT ONE: ROOTS OF CHANGE

BLACK LOS ANGELES

RE-ENACTMENT: IN A COTTON FIELD, BLACK SHARECROPPERS ARE BENT OVER, PICKING COTTON, SUPERVISED BY A WHITE OVERSEER ON HORSEBACK. PUSH INTO A CLOSE-UP OF THE SMALL HANDS OF A YOUNG, BLACK BOY LIFTING AND DRAGGING A HEAVY COTTON SACK ACROSS A VAST FIELD. THE SUN GLARES OVERHEAD. HE WIPES THE SWEAT OFF HIS BROW WITH A THREADBARE RAG. HIS WORN SHOES ARE STUFFED WITH CARDBOARD. THE LOWER THIRD READS: CALVERT, TEXAS, 1922.

"My parents struggled to keep body and soul together for me and the five children in our family. One day, I went out with a child's bag and tried to pick 50 pounds of cotton. I couldn't even fill the bag. I decided right there, this was not the life for me."

- Tom Bradley (an actor reads from Bradley's oral history)

CLOSE UP OF RAIN DROPS POUNDING ON A TIN ROOF LAYERED WITH ARCHIVAL STILLS OF BRADLEY'S FAMILY.

"I can remember clearly the corrugated tin roofs where the rain pounded – you couldn't sleep. I remember my father and mother complaining they were in debt to the store, from

one end of the month to the last. And finally, they had it. They said, 'The family is going to move to California.'"

- Tom Bradley in a 1987 interview on *America's Black Forum*

DISSOLVE TO 1920s FOOTAGE: AFRICAN AMERICANS IN OLD JALOPIES, BOARDING TRAINS, BUSES, CARRYING SUITCASES. YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN WALK DOWN DIRT ROADS HAULING BUNDLES OF THEIR BELONGINGS. 1920s MUSIC IS HEARD ON AN OLD PHONOGRAPH RECORD.

"The Great Migration brought millions of African Americans out of the South into cities in the North, Midwest and West. From a trickle at the turn of the 20th Century, to a large stream during the Great Depression, and then a flood during and after World War II, Los Angeles transformed into a western outpost for the American black community."

- Douglas, Flamming, author, *Bound for Freedom: Black Los Angeles in Jim Crow America*

COLOR POSTERS AND MAGAZINE ADS OF PALM TREES, SUNSHINE AND OCEAN BREEZES, PROMOTE THE GOOD LIFE IN LOS ANGELES. OLD PHOTOS OF THE BRADLEY FAMILY.

Narrator: Tom Bradley was seven years old in 1924 when his family made the journey west from Calvert, Texas, fleeing the hopelessness of sharecropping, lynchings and Jim Crow racism of the South. Los Angeles was considered the "promised land" for African Americans and the Bradleys settled in South Central Los Angeles, not far from Central Avenue, the cultural center of the black community.

FOOTAGE OF LIFE IN SOUTH CENTRAL L.A.: KIDS PLAYING HOPSCOTCH; UNIFORMED DOMESTICS CLIMBING ONTO STREET CARS. MODEL-T's DRIVING PAST STREET VENDORS.

"We're still segregated. There were still areas you couldn't go to. But because you lived in this tight-knit community, you never had to worry about yourself or your back because everybody else was in the same condition you were in."

- Lorraine Bradley, Tom Bradley's eldest daughter

STILLS OF L.A.'S CENTRAL AVENUE – HEART OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY. FAMILIES STANDING ON PORCHES OF NICE, SINGLE FAMILY HOMES. FAMILIES IN CHURCH.

"Even though they lived in segregated neighborhoods in the 1930s and '40s, the African American community of Los Angeles relative to their northern and southern urban counterparts, were more likely to be homeowners, educated and accomplished professionals with access to a rich collection of social and political institutions. This context gave a young Bradley tangible models of success."

- Christopher Jimenez y West, Assistant Professor, History, Pasadena City College

STILLS OF JAPANESE AND BLACKS IN NEIGHBORHOODS, ON STREETS, IN STORES.

"The neighborhoods where black people lived in South Central Los Angeles were not all black. Bradley would have had Japanese neighbors. Blacks and Japanese lived in close quarters and shared a common front in the battle against white racism and segregated neighborhoods."

- Scott Kurashige, author, *The Shifting Grounds of Race*

OLD PHOTOS OF THE BRADLEY FAMILY. FOOTAGE OF BLACK BOYS SELLING NEWSPAPERS ON STREET CORNERS. PICTURES OF YOUNG BRADLEY WITH HIS MOTHER.

Narrator: When Bradley was ten years old, his father Lee, a cook and railroad porter, deserted the family. This forced even more poverty and instability on the family. Young Bradley helped make ends meet delivering newspapers. His mother Crenner, a devout Baptist, worked as a domestic worker, and was determined to nurture her son's desire to succeed through education.

"At a very young age, Daddy had profound inner strength. He always knew how to go into a difficult situation and find a solution because life was so hard on him. He could see the other side, and so going to school, studying, was a break from a different, harsh reality."

- Lorraine Bradley, Tom Bradley's eldest daughter

ARCHIVAL FOOTAGE OF L.A.'S BLACK COMMUNITY, ROWS OF TRACT HOMES, PLYMOUTH AND OLDSMOBILE CARS LINE THE STREETS, CHILDREN PLAYING IN FRONT YARDS.

Narrator: Even though African Americans seemed better off in Los Angeles than in some other cities, there were still big obstacles to upward mobility.

STILLS OF LAFAYETTE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL: MEXICAN AMERICAN, BLACK, ASIAN AMERICAN, AND WHITE STUDENTS, WITH AN ALL-WHITE TEACHING STAFF.

"At any point in my life, every step was a struggle. I wanted to go to college, so in junior high school, I wanted to take college prep courses. My counselor lied to me and said, 'You need to take commercial courses so you can get a job, if there's one available, as soon as you get out of high school – if you get that far.' And she was serious."

- Tom Bradley in a 1985 filmed interview

1934 POLY YEARBOOK PHOTOS: MOSTLY WHITE FACES, SOME ASIANS AND MEXICAN AMERICANS, ONLY A HANDFUL OF BLACKS.

"This was a turning point in Tom's life. He decided not to attend Jefferson High, a school most of his black classmates attended. Using the address where his mother worked as a maid, he chose to enroll in Polytechnic, a predominantly white high school well known for its high academic standards. This intentional decision reflects a very early desire to distinguish himself from others and strive for academic excellence, even at the cost of losing direct contact with the neighborhoods and people of his youth."

- Christopher Jimenez y West, Asst. Professor, History, Pasadena City College

YEARBOOK PHOTOS SHOW BRADLEY STANDING TALL AND PROUD IN A WHITE, POLY TANK TOP AND MATCHING SHORTS, RUNNING TRACK AND IN A FOOTBALL UNIFORM; SMILING BROADLY TO CAMERA AS THE POLY BOYS LEAGUE PRESIDENT.

Narrator: Bradley excelled in sports: He played football and ran the 440-yard dash, breaking the city record. He was the first black member of the national honor society, Epehians, and the first African American elected president of the Poly Boys League. He was an ambitious student and a leader.

"Even then, he was self-contained and supremely controlled. Those who knew Bradley then described him exactly as others would decades later: 'You could know Tom Bradley for a hundred years and you still wouldn't know him.' The only indications he'd ever give of being upset were a narrowing of eyes, a twitch of his right cheek, and a tightening of his lips."

- Joe Domanick, author, *To Protect and to Serve*

STILLS OF A CHURCH'S EXTERIOR: WOMEN WEARING ELABORATE HATS GATHERED OUTSIDE, OTHERS KNEELING ON PEWS, EXUBERANT IN PRAYER.

Narrator: For Bradley and many African Americans, the church was central to everyday life.

FOOTAGE OF BLACK CONGREGATIONS, BLACK PASTORS IN PULPITS PREACHING. BLACK CANDIDATES FOR POLITICAL OFFICE SPEAK TO CHURCH MEMBERS. CAMPAIGN LITERATURE ADORN WALLS AND TABLES. A 20-MEMBER CHOIR SINGING WITH SOUL AND EMOTION. SPIRITED CHURCH MEMBERS WORSHIP, DANCE AND SING ALONG.

“Organizationally, the church often served as a place where blacks learned important civic skills. Candidates, parties, and organizations went to black churches to find voters, campaign workers and community organizers. The church also served as a place where blacks developed psychological resources of self-esteem and efficacy. Black Americans reaffirmed their intrinsic worth as human beings and used those psychological resources to bolster their capacity to engage with an often hostile American state.”

- Melissa Harris-Perry, Professor, Political Science, Tulane University

UCLA YEARBOOK PHOTOS OF A TALL, VERY LEAN 21-YEAR OLD BRADLEY RUNNING TRACK; BRADLEY SURGING AHEAD DURING AN 880-YARD RACE, TRIUMPHANTLY CROSSING THE FINISH LINE. YEARBOOK CAPTION READS: *SPEEDY TOM BRADLEY*. PHOTOS OF JACKIE ROBINSON – NUMBER 28 – RUSHING THE FOOTBALL DOWN 82-YARDS TO A TOUCHDOWN. PHOTOS OF UCLA'S CAMPUS DURING THE 30's AND 40's.

Narrator: In 1937, Bradley attended UCLA on a track scholarship, becoming the team's top quarter-miler. He was one of about 100 black students out of a student body of more than 9,000, and was a friend and classmate of another historic barrier breaker, baseball player Jackie Robinson. Los Angeles, with its more fluid society, nurtured dreams that seemed impossible elsewhere for African Americans. But while UCLA welcomed gifted black athletes, racism was a fact of daily life.

PHOTOS OF SEGREGATED COMMUNITY OF WESTWOOD, BORDERING UCLA. A SIGN READING: “NO DOGS, NO JEWS, NO COLOREDS.”

“We couldn't live in Westwood. Segregation was the way it was and so all of the fraternities and sororities were segregated. The few blacks who went to UCLA had to carpool. There were no colored teachers. There were no colored administrators. Tom Bradley was head of the University Negro Club. He was the only colored person with any status. He had to represent all the colored kids who went to UCLA.”

- Arnett Hartsfield, retired Los Angeles firefighter and lawyer

IMAGES OF BRADLEY WITH A SMALL GROUP OF BLACK UCLA COLLEGE STUDENTS, WITH HIS FRATERNITY BROTHERS AT A MEETING, AND AT VARIOUS SOCIAL GATHERINGS.

Narrator: In 1937, Bradley joined Kappa Alpha Psi, the prestigious, national black fraternity that provided an important social network that would later benefit his political career. Twenty-seven years later, Bradley became the fraternity's grand polemarch – its national president.

“In Kappa and at UCLA, Bradley began to learn how to navigate power, race and politics. UCLA was in the very white Westside, and Bradley was building networks and long-term relationships with one foot in the white world and another in the black.”

- Christopher Jimenez y West, Asst. Professor, History, Pasadena City College

PHOTOS OF L.A.P.D. HEADQUARTERS IN 1940. OFFICER BRADLEY PROUDLY POSING WITH THREE FELLOW BLACK COPS.

Narrator: In 1940, while a UCLA junior, Bradley, on a whim, took the LAPD entrance exam, scoring 97%. The LAPD was the best-paying civil service job for minorities back then, paying \$170 a month.

STILLS OF BLACKS IN CIVIL SERVICE JOBS: POSTAL WORKERS, FIREFIGHTERS, POLICE.

“Civil service jobs were all we could get at the time because they did not discriminate. Private industry was closed to us blacks. Black kids were tickled to death to get those jobs, and a good salary, too.”

- Arnett Hartsfield, retired Los Angeles firefighter and lawyer

“And because there were so few in some of these capacities, many people viewed them as they were – trailblazers. They were people that broke down doors or concrete ceilings. Bradley was one of those individuals.”

- Bernard Parks, Deputy Chief, LAPD

WEDDING PICTURES OF BRADLEY AND HIS NEW WIFE ETHEL; BRADLEY IN A BLACK SUIT AND WHITE BOUTINEER, ETHEL IN A LONG, LACED WHITE GOWN – BOTH SMILING.

Narrator: With a good income, Bradley could marry his high school sweetheart, Ethel Mae Arnold from a more socially prominent family than his own. She was a beautician with her own shop whom he met at New Hope Baptist Church.

STILLS OF NEWTON POLICE DIVISION IN THE HEART OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY.

“The Newton Division, in which Bradley had to work, was built in 1925 for the purpose of segregating the police. Black and white officers could not ride in the same patrol cars. Black officers could only work together and worked at night. High-ranking black officers did not wear uniforms but plain clothes, so no white officers would have to salute them. That was the tone in which Bradley had to work. It was an insult to work like that every day.”

- William C. Beverly Jr., retired L.A. Superior Court Judge

STILLS OF OFFICER BRADLEY WITH FELLOW BLACK POLICEMEN, HIS COLT.38 REVOLVER RESTING IN HIS HOLSTER. BRADLEY IN PLAIN CLOTHES WORKING THE JUVENILE DIVISION. A HEADLINE FROM THE BLACK-OWNED LOS ANGELES SENTINEL NEWSPAPER: “A MAN FOR ALL SEASONS: THOMAS BRADLEY”.

Narrator: Officer Bradley was one of 103 blacks and 22 Mexican Americans on the force of roughly 4,000 officers. He first counseled mostly delinquents in the juvenile division as an investigator, and then in the vice squad, he cracked down on gambling rings, bookmaking and prostitution.

“When he would chase a bad guy, no one could outrun him. He would always catch them. And the thing about it, he never used his weapon. I don't even think he ever drew it. But he would always catch burglars, car thieves, purse snatchers because he was a quarter-miler at UCLA and he's pretty fast. Plus, he was 6' 4” and had long legs and he was young.”

- Bobby Adams, Bradley's Chief of Detail and security guard

ARCHIVAL FOOTAGE OF BRADLEY IN THE L.A.P.D AMONG FELLOW BLACK OFFICERS.

“One of the things I wanted to do as a police officer was to change the image of that department. I thought through my own conduct, my own work with the officers on the job, maybe I could change the way they dealt with people.”

- Tom Bradley in a 1985 filmed interview

NEWSREEL FOOTAGE OF ATTACK ON PEARL HARBOR. JAPANESE TORPEDO BOMBS DROP SEVERAL THOUSAND FEET, PENETRATING ARMORED DECKS OF BATTLESHIPS.

Narrator: On December 7, 1941, Japanese fighter planes bombed Pearl Harbor, and war hysteria seized the country.

STILLS OF WAR PLANTS, FDR, AFRICAN AMERICAN DEMONSTRATORS DEMANDING JOBS.

“When World War II began, most defense factories refused to hire blacks. So, black activists organized the ‘Double Victory’ campaign urging victory over fascism overseas and racism at home. Responding to pressure, President Roosevelt established the Fair Employment Practices Committee, which opened up wartime jobs for people of color. 5% of the federal contracts for war production went to factories in Los Angeles. And by executive order, the president integrated the assembly lines in defense plants.”

- Douglas Flamming, author, *Bound for Freedom*

NEWSREEL FOOTAGE OF EVACUATION AND MASS INCARCERATION OF JAPANESE, HALF OF WHOM ARE CHILDREN. CAMPS SURROUNDED BY BARBED WIRE AND ARMED GUARDS. STILLS OF BLACK FAMILIES SHARING CROWDED WAREHOUSE LOFTS AND APARTMENTS.

Narrator: At the same time, people of Japanese ancestry in Los Angeles and throughout the West Coast were evicted from their homes. 120,000 people, most of them American citizens, were forced into internment camps.

“80,000 African Americans, mostly migrants from the South, arrived in Los Angeles to seek employment. Many of these wartime workers ended up in the abandoned Little Tokyo. Severe overcrowding and slum conditions developed. It became known as Bronzeville.”

- Susan Anderson, Curator, *Collecting Los Angeles*

“Most blacks and Japanese Americans had little sense of how dramatically their lives were about to be changed. National unity on the home front would be defined by the total exclusion of Japanese Americans and the integration of blacks.”

- Scott Kurashige, author, *The Shifting Grounds of Race*

POLITICAL CHANGE

STILLS OF SGT. BRADLEY AT VARIOUS POLITICAL, FRATERNAL AND SOCIAL EVENTS.

Narrator: During the war, Officer Bradley received a military deferment, keeping him on the streets of Los Angeles, mostly working with juveniles. Bradley was promoted to Sergeant in 1946. In his off-duty hours, he set up a citywide youth-sports program and became politically active, joining the NAACP, the Los Angeles Urban League, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He also worked with Mexican American leaders to increase minority political empowerment.

FOOTAGE AND STILLS OF WORKING CLASS MEN AND WOMEN IN EARLY COMMUNITY SERVICE ORGANIZATION ACTIVITIES IN EASTSIDE NEIGHBORHOODS. STILLS OF EDWARD

ROYBAL IN AN OLD 1920s FORD MODEL-T WITH A LARGE SIGN ON ITS SIDE WHICH READS: "WE NEED A NEW MODEL: VOTE FOR ROYBAL".

"Bradley volunteered to work on the 1949 city council campaign of Mexican American activist Edward Roybal. It was a different kind of campaign. Roybal teamed up with community organizer Fred Ross to form the Community Service Organization, a multi ethnic organizing campaign, working with political, religious and labor organizations, to conduct voter registration drives, citizenship classes, and legislative campaigns to empower poor and working class Angelenos."

- Fernando Guerra, Director, Center for the Study of Los Angeles, LMU

FOOTAGE OF ROYBAL'S SUPPORTERS WALKING PRECINCTS, REGISTERING VOTERS, AND CONDUCTING GET-OUT-THE-VOTE DRIVES. ROYBAL SPEAKING TO HUNDREDS OF VOTERS FROM THE BACK OF A SOUNDTRUCK.

Narrator: Roybal's massive grassroots effort reached beyond his coalition of Latino and Jewish voters in Boyle Heights on the Eastside, to Japanese who returned to Little Tokyo, Chinese Americans in Chinatown, whites in Downtown, and blacks in South Central.

NEWSREEL FOOTAGE OF ROYBAL'S HISTORIC 1949 VICTORY, CELEBRATIONS AMONG MEXICAN AMERICANS IN THE EASTSIDE. STILLS OF BRADLEY, ROYBAL.

Narrator: Roybal's cross-ethnic activism proved successful. He was elected to the all-white L.A. City Council in 1949, becoming the first Latino councilmember in 68 years and the only minority member in the 20th century.

"I don't think that Bradley would've been possible had it not been for Roybal. The things that were put in place with the rise and the service of Ed Roybal were a foundation for all of us."

- Bob Farrell, reporter, *The California Eagle*, and former L.A. City Councilman

STILLS OF SIGNS: "NO NEGROES ALLOWED", "THIS TRACT IS EXCLUSIVE AND RESTRICTED". STILLS OF ARCHIVAL REAL ESTATE CONTRACTS. MAP OF SEGREGATED HOUSING AREAS. FOOTAGE OF CROSS BURNINGS ON LAWNS, ATTACKS ON MINORITIES.

"One of the most galvanizing civil rights issues of the post war years was the struggle to end segregated housing. As late as the 1950s, racially restrictive covenants still existed in an estimated 85% of Los Angeles. Real estate contracts explicitly prohibited blacks, Japanese, Mexican Americans and Jews from buying homes in white neighborhoods. It wasn't until 1967 that racial discrimination in housing was declared unconstitutional in California."

- Quintard Taylor, Professor, American History, University of Washington

"Banks were not going to loan to a black family in an area of restrictive covenants. Banks were part of the resistance. Secondly, you'd have trouble having a broker who will show you the property. And if that's not enough, then you could face physical violence or things that they would do to your home. Neighbors could attack you – and they did."

- Elbert Hudson, former chairman of the board, Broadway Federal Bank

"As middle-class professionals, upper class, and entertainment elites wanted to move into better neighborhoods, they still had to contend with segregated housing, and in many cases, signs saying 'Whites only.'"

- Christopher Jimenez y West, Asst. Professor, History, Pasadena City College

ARCHIVAL STILLS OF BRADLEY IN THE LAPD; FOOTAGE OF THE ALL-WHITE, MIDDLE-CLASS NEIGHBORHOOD OF LEIMERT PARK. NICE CARS ALIGN TREE-LADEN STREETS. STILLS OF L.A.'S OLDEST BLACK CONGREGATION: FIRST A.M.E. CHURCH.

Narrator: By 1950, Sgt. Bradley's salary was good enough to move his family into Leimert Park, a better neighborhood west of Central Avenue. But the entire housing tract was restricted to "whites only." In order to purchase his home, Bradley asked a white friend to be his "straw buyer." For the Bradleys, the move meant more than upward mobility.

"Mother and Daddy were both focused on moving us into an integrated area. He always thought that unless people got to know you as a person, they would always think of you differently. The only way to change that is to live among or work among or be among them."

- Lorraine Bradley, Tom Bradley's eldest daughter

"When black families integrated white neighborhoods it provided new opportunities, but at the same time, indicated potential class divisions. Being a police sergeant meant Bradley was now part of the rising professional class. Appropriately, when he changed neighborhoods, he changed churches, moving to the most prestigious of African American churches – First A.M.E. Church. This was emblematic of Bradley's self-directed plan for upward mobility."

- Susan Anderson, Curator, *Collecting Los Angeles*, UCLA

FOOTAGE OF CHIEF PARKER BEING SWORN IN. CLIPS FROM THE 'DRAGNET' TV SHOW. FOOTAGE OF PARKER WITH RANK-AND-FILE, BRADLEY AND PARKER, POLICE BRUTALITY.

Narrator: In 1950, William Parker became L.A.'s new police chief. His mission was to clean up and professionalize a historically corrupt Los Angeles Police Department. His arrival would have major consequences for Sgt. Tom Bradley.

"Parker had a fearsome reputation as the most powerful man in L.A. and leading the best department in the nation – glorified by the 1950s TV show 'Dragnet.' His central goal was police autonomy. He wanted the police to police themselves. He did nothing to stop police brutality, police misconduct."

- Ed Escobar, Associate Professor, Transborder Chicano/a Studies, ASU

"Parker was a bigot, a flat-out dictator. He ran the department like J. Edgar Hoover ran the FBI – with an iron clad fist. Parker never said the word 'Negro.' He always used the word 'Nigger' when he talked about us blacks."

- Felix Bell, retired LAPD officer and member of Bradley's 1951 Vice Squad

STILLS OF SGT. BRADLEY AND OF VARIOUS CLIPPINGS OF *POLICE-EYE VIEW* COLUMN; BRADLEY'S ARTICLES ON DRIVING ETIQUETTE, SHOPLIFTING, DELINQUENCY CONTROL.

Narrator: Chief Parker placed minority officers in positions that did not impact departmental power and control, such as community liaisons responsible for easing tensions in minority communities. Sgt. Bradley was assigned to the LAPD's new Public Information Division, where he would meet with 60 community organizations citywide concerned with race and human relations. His column, *Police-Eye View*, appeared in the black weekly, *The California Eagle*.

"Why did Bradley defend the LAPD? He had a choice to make. It's somewhat of a survival issue."

- Bernard Parks, Deputy Chief (1988-1992)

"I would regularly report to the chief through my captain about the state of affairs in the community, whether there was hostility or tension, whether there was expression of lack of respect for the department. All of these things that I thought ought to be changed – like integrating patrol cars. I developed a reputation of being what they call a troublemaker."

- Tom Bradley (an actor reads from Bradley's oral history)

L.A. SENTINEL HEADLINES READ: "NAACP DEMANDS END OF POLICE BRUTALITY", "COURT ORDERS POLICE CHIEF TO TELL ALL" AND "POLICE VIOLENCE IS SYSTEMIC".

"The black weeklies began criticizing Parker, running negative stories about the department's alienation and racism, segregation and aggressive proactive policing of minorities. And it was happening under Tom Bradley's watch. Parker decided Bradley committed the cop's cardinal sin – that his loyalty lay to the black community, not the LAPD. He'd gone bad. Crossed over. So Bradley was branded a traitor, banished and sent into isolation into the graveyard shift. Then Parker instructed his intelligence division to put Bradley under observation as he did with many other black cops in the department."

- Joe Domanick, author, *To Protect and to Serve*

A FRONT-PAGE PHOTO IN THE L.A. SENTINEL SHOWS A SMILING BRADLEY IN UNIFORM SHAKING HANDS WITH A WHITE POLICE COMMISSIONER AND WHITE POLICE CAPTAIN. HEADLINE READS: "TOM BRADLEY PROMOTED TO POLICE LIEUTENANT".

Narrator: Yet in 1958, Bradley rose to rank of lieutenant, the highest position an African American could reach at that time. With his stellar background and high oral and written exam scores, it was hard under civil service for Chief Parker to deny him the promotion.

PHOTOS OF LT. BRADLEY WITH BLACK AND WHITE OFFICERS.

"It was the first time a black lieutenant had an opportunity to actually supervise white officers. But when Bradley got close to the end of his career, that's when the issue about becoming a captain became evident. Parker had no stomach to promote a black to that level. Bradley was specifically told that he'd never be a captain of police."

- Bernard Parks, Deputy Chief, LAPD

"Several of us met with Parker, to solicit his support for the promotion of Tom Bradley. And Parker told us, 'Well, you know, you're way off base. We're not going to be promoting his kind!' Unmitigated manifestation of racism."

- Bill Elkins, Bradley's Special Assistant and lifelong friend

STILLS OF BRADLEY'S LAW SCHOOL GRADUATION, IN LAW FIRM WITH BLACK LAWYERS.

"Like other African Americans working in the racist LAPD or Fire Department, Bradley had an exit strategy. Facing discriminatory practices blocking his further advancement, he went to law school at night and passed the bar. When he qualified for his pension at 21 years, Bradley resigned from the LAPD."

- Christopher Jimenez y West, Asst. Professor, History, Pasadena City College

"Bradley was a survivor; his forte was working for change. Yet he had no choice but to leave the department. He would mask his feelings behind a flat stoicism, cataloguing the insults, stupid slights – yet he transcended them. But that didn't mean they were forgotten."

- Joe Domanick, author, *To Protect and to Serve*

STILLS OF PARKER, GATES AND BRADLEY IN FRONT OF LOS ANGELES' CITY HALL.

Narrator: The relationship between Tom Bradley, Chief Parker, and later Parker's protégé Daryl Gates, would become a defining theme of Los Angeles politics.

INSURGENCY IN LOS ANGELES

FOOTAGE OF VARIOUS SCENES OF L.A.'s BLACK, MIDDLE-CLASS COMMUNITY.

“Los Angeles had a vibrant black community with a solid and ambitious middle-class. But the city had no party organizations to bring minorities even a share of power. While blacks had won city council seats in New York City and Chicago years before, blacks were shut out by the conservative political power structure of Los Angeles.”

- Raphael Sonenshein, author, *Politics in Black and White*

A QUICK MONTAGE OF OFFICIAL PORTRAITS OF THE L.A. CITY COUNCIL FROM THE 1920s – 1950s. ALL FACES ARE WHITE. DISSOLVE TO A STILL OF THE COUNCIL IN 1960 WITH ONE MEXICAN AMERICAN AND NO BLACKS. STILLS OF HAWKINS AND ROBERTS.

“As of 1960, not one African American had been elected to the Los Angeles City Council. The only black politician representing Los Angeles was State Assemblyman Augustus Hawkins, a Democrat, in office since 1934 when he defeated the only other black elected official, Republican Frederick Roberts. Since then, other black candidates ran for office, but none prevailed. Black Angelenos felt disenfranchised.”

- Douglas Flamming, author, *Bound for Freedom*

STILLS OF ATTORNEY BRADLEY. A FRONT-PAGE L.A. SENTINEL HEADLINE READS: “COUNCIL FAILURE TO NAME NEGRO STUNS COMMUNITY”. ARCHIVAL STILLS OF WHITE CITY COUNCILMAN JOE HOLLINGSWORTH.

“When a 10th district city councilman resigned, a battle ensued for the appointment for this racially mixed area on the western end of the black community. Councilman Roybal pushed the Council to appoint an African American, and presented three qualified candidates, including attorney Tom Bradley. Instead, the Council appointed a wealthy white Republican real estate broker who later confessed he knew nothing about city government when he accepted the job.”

- Fernando Guerra, Director, Center for the Study of Los Angeles, LMU

L.A. TIMES HEADLINE READS: “3,500 SIGN PETITIONS FOR HOLLINGSWORTH RECALL”. L.A. SENTINEL PHOTO OF A SHOCKED HOLLINGSWORTH NEXT TO THE HEADLINE: “RECALL GROUP HEARS DR. REV. KING'S SPEECH – WE WON'T ABANDON FIGHT”.

“A recall effort was quickly organized but the signatures were declared invalid. The recall effort served to raise the political consciousness of black political activists, who felt double-crossed. They developed a bold, new strategy to win the next election.”

- Frank Gilliam, Dean, School of Public Affairs, UCLA

THE CAMPAIGN FOR CITY COUNCIL

STILLS OF FIRST A.M.E. PASTOR BROOKINS AND OF THE NOMINATING CONVENTION.

"We had the new leader at First A.M.E. Church, H. Hartford Brookins from Kansas who had the brilliant idea of saying, 'Look. What we need to do is get behind a single candidate. We need to hold a convention to select that candidate.'"

- Bob Farrell, reporter, *The California Eagle*

L.A. *SENTINEL* HEADLINE READS: "RECALLERS TO PICK ONE ASPIRANT". PHOTO OF BROOKINS MEETING WITH FIVE RECALL COMMITTEE MEMBERS AROUND A TABLE.

"I wrote down the names of every black organization I could think of in Los Angeles. I told them to send their candidates to this nominating convention whose sole purpose was to select one person to run for City Council. They responded. A great day to remember."

- Bishop H. Hartford Brookins, Pastor, FIRST A.M.E. Church

RE-ENACTMENT: A SCENE OF THE CONVENTION AT THE L.A. FURNITURE MART COMMUNITY ROOM. BLACK CLERGY, LEADERS AND BUSINESS PEOPLE WALK INTO THE SMOKE FILLED ROOM. WE SEE PARTICIPANTS RISING TO SPEAK, SHOUTING NAMES OF THEIR CANDIDATES OF CHOICE. SMALL GROUPS GATHER IN HEATED DISCUSSION. IT'S A SWIRL OF CHAOS AND DRAMA. WE CAN SEE THAT THERE IS A LOT AT STAKE.

Narrator: The first man to be nominated was Bishop Brookins. After declining, he rose to speak:

"I therefore nominate the man I think best qualified for this position – that is, Tom Bradley."

"It was not a cakewalk for Tom Bradley. There was a sentiment for many people that Bradley should not be the candidate representing our community because he was a policeman. There was a lot of political work done, so that he had the credibility to then say, 'I am the candidate of the black community.'"

- Bob Farrell, reporter, *The California Eagle*

A FRONT-PAGE L.A. *SENTINEL* HEADLINE READS: "ATTORNEY BRADLEY BACKED AS UNITY CANDIDATE FOR COUNCIL". STILLS OF BRADLEY AND BROOKINS SHAKING HANDS AT THE CONVENTION; BRADLEY WITH MAURY WEINER AT CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS.

Narrator: As a political activist and as a police officer, Bradley was actively involved in the Democratic Minority Conference and the California Democratic Council, both liberal reform groups with racially mixed memberships. He recruited Maury Weiner, a Jewish, left wing progressive whom he first met during Roybal's 1949 city council campaign to bring out voters in the largely Jewish, Asian and Black 10th district.

PHOTOS OF BRADLEY SEEKING SUPPORT: HANDING OUT FLYERS AND SHAKING HANDS WITH PEOPLE ON THE STREET, ON A BUS GREETING CITIZENS, ADDRESSING CHURCH AND TEMPLE CONGREGATIONS, AT COMMUNITY GROUP DINNERS AND GALA EVENTS.

"We had precinct workers coming in from all over the city. The Bradley campaign for council in the 10th district helped form a coalition of people of all colors, all races, all ethnic groups."

- Maury Weiner, Bradley's 1963 precinct coordinator

NEWSREEL FOOTAGE: BRADLEY PROUDLY STANDS BEFORE A LARGE CROWD IN CITY COUNCIL CHAMBERS, TAKING THE OATH OF OFFICE, L.A. *SENTINEL* HEADLINE READS: "BRADLEY'S SWEEPING COUNCIL VICTORY HAILED". STILLS OF BRADLEY AND ETHEL SMILING WIDELY, TOM'S HAND FORMS A "V" FOR VICTORY SIGN.

Narrator: Tom Bradley took office in 1963 as Los Angeles' first elected African American city council member. With the appointment of Gil Lindsay and the election of Billy Mills, there were now three African Americans on the Council.

STILLS OF A NEW L.A. CITY COUNCIL IN 1963: BRADLEY, LINDSAY AND MILLS, ALL AFRICAN AMERICAN, POSE WITH THEIR WHITE COLLEAGUES. FOOTAGE OF BRADLEY BEING KISSED BY HIS MOTHER, CRENNER. MILLS AND LINDSAY BEING CONGRATULATED.

"Blacks get incorporated at the very moment that Democrats take over at the local and statewide level, and there's an opportunity that never existed before and in my mind doesn't exist later. In one year, a black gets elected to Congress; two are elected to the state legislature, and three to the Los Angeles City Council. To this day, blacks hold these three city council seats. When Edward Roybal resigned in 1963 from City Council and was elected to Congress, Latinos found themselves shut out of elective office for another 23 years."

- Fernando Guerra, Director, Center for the Study of Los Angeles, LMU

PHOTOS OF BLACK POLITICAL ACTIVISTS, CHURCH LEADERS GETTING OUT THE VOTE.

Narrator: The African American city council victories demonstrated how an organized and united black community overcame hostility and indifference by forming a unique, multi-racial alliance to win political representation. Los Angeles had become the place where an innovative type of coalition was being tested.

WATTS

ARCHIVAL FOOTAGE OF L.A.'s URBAN NEIGHBORHOODS IN THE 1950s AND 1960s. IMAGES OF TWO EXTREMES: PROSPERITY AND POVERTY.

"Bradley's success was heartening for the Great Migration generation, a sort of vindication for those blacks who believed that through hard work and determination – and when necessary, principled protest – blacks could achieve anything. But, as it had always been, the story of black Los Angeles continued to be one of simultaneous prosperity and poverty, progress and decline, hope and frustration. By the 1960s, the disparity between these extremes had become much wider, and the stakes much higher."

- Douglas Flamming, author, *Bound for Freedom*

ARCHIVAL FOOTAGE OF COUNCILMAN BRADLEY SPEAKING IN COUNCIL CHAMBERS.

Narrator: Councilman Bradley advocated for increased minority representation in city government and on the Los Angeles Board of Education.

"It was a turning point in this city. Sitting on the inside, making the decisions. And by your very presence, preventing some of the discussions that might have taken place."

- Tom Bradley during a 1985 filmed interview

MONTAGE OF IMAGES OF POVERTY IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY JUXTAPOSED WITH FOOTAGE AND STILLS DEPICTING POLICE BRUTALITY AGAINST MINORITY YOUTH: POLICE DRAG YOUNG BLACK MEN OUT OF CARS, JABBING THEM WITH THEIR BATONS.

Narrator: For Bradley, a liberal on a conservative-dominated city council, it was time to square off on serious issues plaguing minority communities - poverty, unemployment and police brutality.

FOOTAGE OF MAYOR YORTY IN CITY HALL CHAMBERS, PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S 1964 STATE OF THE UNION SPEECH AS HE DECLARES A "WAR ON POVERTY."

"Mayor Yorty and his conservative colleagues on the city council blocked the pursuit of federal anti-poverty funds, offered through President Johnson's 'War on Poverty.' Yorty claimed that anti-poverty programs represented federal interference and were a cost to the city in matching funds. So Los Angeles was one of the few urban areas in the United States that received little money to help reduce poverty."

- Raphael Sonenshein, author, *Politics in Black and White*

Narrator: Black and Mexican American leaders began competing for these federal crumbs.

ARCHIVAL FOOTAGE AND STILLs OF BLACK AND MEXICAN AMERICAN LEADERS, COMMUNITY-BASED ANTI-POVERTY GROUPS: THE WATTS LABOR COMMUNITY ACTION COMMITTEE, THE EAST LOS ANGELES COMMUNITY UNION.

"There were tensions between blacks and Latinos over who got the grants, who had more teen posts, who was running the show. It was a sense of 'What does it take for people to notice us?' The plight of the farm workers was not capturing America's imagination like the sharecropper in the South. Latinos were still riding in the back of the bus, and African Americans were driving it. That created a lot of anger, resentment."

- Alberto Juarez, Mexican American community activist

FOOTAGE OF POVERTY IN WATTS: UNEMPLOYED HANGING OUT ON STREET CORNERS, DILAPIDATED HOMES, CHAIN LINK FENCES, POLICE PATROLLING THE STREETS.

Narrator: But to Parker, these communities were one and the same: a threat to police power. Racial and economic disparities permeated the city, but some of the worst conditions were in the South Central Los Angeles community of Watts.

"The city's infrastructure – housing, employment and social services of the black community could not sustain itself against the flood of newcomers who had come to Los Angeles for war jobs, and stayed. Watts became a hard-core 'ghetto.' The overall effect was to shift the fortunes of working-class and poor blacks from a place of hope to one of broken dreams."

- Christopher Jimenez y West, Asst. Professor, History, Pasadena City College

NEWS CHOPPERS CAPTURE CHAOS: UNRULY MOBS STONE LAPD CARS, LOOT STORES, BEAT UP WHITE MOTORISTS. ARSONISTS FLING MOLOTOV COCKTAILS INTO STOREFRONTS. LITERATURE ATTACKING CHIEF PARKER CIRCULATES IN THE CROWD. NATIONAL GUARD CANNOT CONTAIN THE TIDAL WAVE OF TURMOIL AND VIOLENCE.

Narrator: On August 11, 1965, a routine traffic stop and arrest escalated into six days of destruction and rage – centered in Watts, but spilling into neighboring areas. Businesses, mostly white-owned, were burnt to the ground. When the smoke cleared, 34 people were dead, over 1,000 injured, 11,000 were arrested, and there was over \$35 million in property damage.

NEWS INTERVIEW WITH L.A. POLICE CHIEF PARKER RESPONDING TO THE UPRISING:

"One person threw a rock, and then like monkeys in a zoo, others imitated the behavior."

ARCHIVAL FOOTAGE AND STILLs OF THE MASS DESTRUCTION IN WATTS.

“Why did Watts happen? Like Harlem in ‘64 and Newark and Detroit in ‘67, most analysts agree police brutality was the primary reason. By this time, the LAPD had become the most virulently racist, brutally violent big-city police department in America –arresting blacks for no reason, concocting rationales for arrests, and brutally beating ‘suspects.’ But it was also Mayor Yorty’s indifference and acceptance of police brutality and racism.”

- Janet Clayton, reporter, *Los Angeles Times*

Narrator: Councilman Bradley had repeatedly warned Mayor Yorty and Chief Parker of the growing tensions between the LAPD and minority communities.

LOS ANGELES HERALD EXAMINER ARCHIVAL PHOTOS OF CHIEF PARKER ARGUING WITH COUNCILMAN BRADLEY AT A HEARING AFTER WATTS.

“You are trying to pin this uprising on the police. And I’ll go to the grave thinking this was your intention. This is not an inquiry! It’s an inquisition!”

- Chief Parker, infuriated, argues with Councilman Bradley at a hearing after Watts

“Every inquiry by Bradley, every suggestion of reform of the LAPD was met by Parker with the fierce, indignant, unyielding outrage of a parent defending his errant, spoiled child against the world. Bradley’s calls for reform made him a hero in South Central and among liberals, and despised among cops. At least he was speaking out, showing some balls, some sense of proportion. Henceforth though, Tom Bradley would be known as anti-police.”

- Joe Domanick, author, *To Protect and to Serve*

FOOTAGE OF MARTIN LUTHER KING AND BLACK, CITY LEADERS TOURING DESTRUCTION.

“Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. visited Los Angeles a week after the Watts riots to meet with local leaders, black and white. He had a three-hour conference with Mayor Yorty and Chief Parker, who steadfastly denied the existence of prejudice anywhere in Los Angeles, and called King’s visit ‘a great disservice to the people of Los Angeles and the nation.’ Viewing the devastation firsthand, and facing the criticism that civil rights leaders failed to reach out to urban blacks, led King to want to prove that nonviolence could work outside of the South. The Watts revolt and the War on Poverty fiasco in Los Angeles made key contributions in leading civil rights leaders to address publicly issues of economic justice in America. Watts directly connected the War on Poverty and the civil rights movement.”

- Robert Bauman, author, *Race and the War on Poverty: From Watts to East L.A.*

ACT TWO: POWER

THE BATTLE FOR CITY HALL

MONTAGE OF TV NEWS IMAGES OF WATTS RIOTS, VIOLENT UPRISINGS IN DETROIT AND NEWARK. WHITE MEN VIOLENTLY ATTACKING PROTESTORS WITH WATER HOSES, POLICE DOGS AND NIGHTSTICKS. ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATIONS. BREAKING NEWS REPORTS OF ASSASSINATIONS OF REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., SENATOR ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

“The Watts riots ignited a wave of urban rebellions that ravaged cities nationwide. The Vietnam War divided the nation. The national Democratic coalition that had ruled virtually nonstop since Franklin D. Roosevelt’s election in 1932 was tottering. American life was fast becoming a zero sum game, between old and young, rich and poor, black and white.”

- Melissa Harris-Perry, Professor, Political Science, Tulane University

“We were angry. Angry at police abuse, angry at the Vietnam War, poverty in our neighborhoods, and angry that civil rights activists were brutally attacked. Leaders like Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy are assassinated. All over the country, all across Los Angeles, there was fear, uncertainty, and protests.”

- Larry Aubry, consultant, L.A. County Human Relations Commission

FOOTAGE OF THOUSANDS OF CHICANO HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS WALKING OUT OF SCHOOLS EN MASSE.

“In East L.A., in protest of widespread academic prejudice and dire school conditions, twenty thousand Chicano students in five high schools organized – and walked out in 1968. It was the first major mass protest against racism by Chicanos in the history of the United States.”

- Esteban Torres, Founder, TELACU and retired U.S. Congressman

COUNCILMAN BRADLEY SPEAKS BEFORE A DIVERSE CROWD ON HIS CAMPAIGN TRAIL.

Narrator: In this charged climate in 1969, Bradley decided he would challenge Mayor Sam Yorty to become Mayor of Los Angeles.

“We are a divided city today. Divided on the basis of race, and religion, on the basis of neighborhood, on the basis of age. It’s about time we begin to pull together.”

- Councilman Bradley campaigning for mayor

FOOTAGE OF BRADLEY CAMPAIGNING, MAYORAL CAMPAIGNS IN GARY AND CLEVELAND. FOOTAGE OF AFRICAN AMERICAN MAYORS CARL STOKES AND RICHARD HATCHER.

“Bradley was confident that he could unseat Yorty, given his city council victory in a racially diverse community. But a citywide election where blacks were less than 18% of the population would be difficult. The first black mayors had broken the barrier, just two years before in Gary, Indiana, and Cleveland, Ohio, smaller cities with large black populations and they won with only a sliver of white votes. Winning the election in a historically conservative and sprawling, immense city with a much smaller black community was daunting.”

- David Perry, Director, Great Cities Institute, University of Illinois

NEWS FOOTAGE OF A DIVERSE COALITION OF PEOPLE SUPPORTING BRADLEY. A HEADLINE FROM *THE HERITAGE SOUTHWEST JEWISH PRESS* READS: “L.A. JEWRY ALL-OUT FOR BRADLEY”. FIRST A.M.E CHURCH HOLDS A SPECIAL MASS PRAYING FOR A BRADLEY VICTORY. MEXICAN AMERICANS CAMPAIGN FOR BRADLEY ON THE EASTSIDE.

“By the time Bradley came into politics, many people had given up hope for coalitions between black and white voters. In New York City, Jews and blacks, who were once allies in the civil rights struggle, were now political adversaries, and many people had given up hope they would come back together. So it came as a very great surprise to people that in Los Angeles of all cities Tom Bradley was putting together a coalition principally of blacks and whites and among them, principally Jews. He was doing what many thought was impossible.”

- Raphael Sonenshein, author, *Politics in Black and White*

NEWS FOOTAGE OF A MASS OF BRADLEY VOLUNTEERS CAMPAIGNING: AT CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS, ACTOR LLOYD BRIDGES MAKES “V” SIGNS, OTHERS STUFF ENVELOPES. TEENS OF DIFFERENT RACES DANCE TO ROCK ‘N ROLL MUSIC. THE SCENE IS ELECTRIC.

“The ‘69 campaign had the energy of the anti-war movement – activists, grassroots organizing, students of all ethnic groups coming together. There were so many volunteers, working together, breaking down barriers, working for change.”

- Manuel Pastor, Professor, American Studies and Ethnicity, USC

L.A. SENTINEL HEADLINE READS: “BRADLEY AND OTHERS VIE IN L.A. OPEN PRIMARY” AND L.A. TIMES HEADLINE READS: “BRADLEY VICTORY STUNS YORTY”. PHOTO OF A SMILING BRADLEY ON STAGE WITH BOTH HANDS IN THE AIR GESTURING “V” FOR VICTORY.

“In the primary election, the unexpected happened. Bradley captured the most votes and would face off against Mayor Yorty in the general election. Yorty was caught off guard. His political future was at stake.”

- Frank Gilliam, Dean, School of Public Affairs, UCLA

“For the general election, Yorty decided his best approach was to make it clear that this was a campaign between a black and a white and to say that if we elect Bradley, we’re electing not just a mayor, but we’re electing a group of blacks who were going to come take over City Hall.”

- Stephen Reinhardt, 1969 key campaign advisor

ARCHIVAL FOOTAGE OF BLACK PANTHERS IN FORMATION, ANGRY STUDENT PROTESTS.

“Every night, television showed another demonstration by black militants on a campus. So that was something Yorty repeated in his ads. He presented it as a threat to America.”

- Maury Weiner, Bradley’s 1969 Campaign Manager and chief strategist

“You ought to be afraid of anyone who had done the things that Bradley had done and who is endorsed by the Black Panthers.”

- Mayor Yorty in a 1969 NBC News interview

“Sam Yorty puts on a gut level fight. I never expected him to stoop so low. He’s now clearly made it a central theme in his campaign to deal with the art of fright and fear, and the appeal to racism.”

- Councilman Bradley in a 1969 NBC News interview

L.A. SENTINEL HEADLINE READS: “YORTY LAUNCHES SMEAR CAMPAIGN”. FOOTAGE OF YORTY CAMPAIGNING, SHAKING HANDS, AT CAMPAIGN STOPS WITH WHITE SUPPORTERS IN COWBOY HATS, AT A SENIOR HOME, WITH A GROUP OF BLACK YOUTH. YORTY BILLBOARDS READ: “WE NEED SAM YORTY – NOW MORE THAN EVER”.

“Even though Bradley had been a police officer for 21 years, Yorty asserted that thousands of police officers would resign if Bradley were elected. He ran newspaper ads with pictures of Tom Bradley declaring ‘Will your city be safe with this man?’ Bradley was branded. They were able to scare white people into thinking, ‘If you elect this black guy, he’ll eat your children, rape your daughter.’ It was real hysteria.”

- Roderick Wright, Outreach Coordinator, Bradley’s 1982 gubernatorial run

FOOTAGE AND STILLS OF YORTY CAMPAIGNERS IN THE MOSTLY WHITE SAN FERNANDO VALLEY, YOUNG BLACKS DRIVE BY WITH FISTS RAISED IN BLACK POWER SALUTES, HOLDING SIGNS THAT READ: “BLACK IS BEAUTIFUL – BRADLEY FOR MAYOR”.

“The largely white San Fernando Valley was the bedrock of Yorty’s support. In the three months between the primary and election, his attacks escalated to a feverish pitch. Yorty

knew that he had to scare the Valley, so he hired young black men to drive around with fists held high in the black power salute. He did this to heighten fears.”

- Kevin Roderick, author, *The San Fernando Valley: America's Suburb*

ARCHIVAL FOOTAGE OF YORTY IN A NATIONAL NEWS INTERVIEW AND CAMPAIGNING.

“Do you believe there's a power combine of black militants, white radicals, communists manipulating Bradley's campaign?”

- David Brinkley, NBC reporter in a 1969 television interview

“I don't believe it. I know it. It's very obvious here.”

- Mayor Yorty responding to Brinkley

“There was a lot of red-baiting going on. And Tom was rebaited continually, and any time anyone was called a communist, it was really like a pox on your house. It was very brutal.”

- Al Juarez, Mexican American community activist

IMAGES OF BRADLEY CAMPAIGNING WITH BLACK POLICE OFFICERS AS BODY GUARDS.

“The election was real, real lousy. Tom was threatened; he was getting death threats. So, black policemen formed a committee. We were his security. Normally the SWAT team in the department protects candidates. But hell, we knew that half of them were from the Ku Klux Klan. It's like having a wolf watch over sheep. We came in to protect Tom.”

- Felix Bell, retired LAPD officer and member of Bradley's 1951 Vice Squad

“All the while, Yorty campaigned against Tom alleging that he was 'anti-police.' Yorty's camp really didn't like Tom because he knew where all the skeletons were buried. Now, Tom was in a position to challenge them, but also to bring about some change.”

- Bobby Adams, Mayor Bradley's Chief of Detail and security guard

L.A. TIMES HEADLINE READS: “BRADLEY WILL DROP PERSONAL RESPONSES TO YORTY”.

Narrator: To detract attention from Yorty's racist appeals, Bradley distanced himself from issues related to race and portrayed himself as a candidate for all people.

“I pledge to preside over an honest, clean government, open to all, responsive to all, serving all. I have no sympathy for lawlessness, but even less for injustice, poverty, unemployment and slum housing. I call for an end to graft and corruption in city hall, vow to fight violence wherever it occurs, to represent this city better in Washington D.C. and Sacramento, and fight for a master plan for downtown Los Angeles and the entire city.”

- Councilman Bradley during a 1969 television interview

NEWS FOOTAGE OF DAVID BRINKLEY REPORTING, SENATOR TED KENNEDY AND FORMER VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY CAMPAIGNING FOR BRADLEY.

“Tomorrow, Los Angeles elects a mayor – Thomas Bradley, a city councilman, a Negro, is leading in the polls. He predicts victory. Mayor Sam Yorty, trying to be re-elected, is running behind a little, but lately, has been gaining. He predicts victory.”

- David Brinkley in a 1969 NBC network news television report

NEWS FOOTAGE OF BRADLEY SUPPORTERS OF ALL AGES AND ETHNICITIES ANXIOUS AND OPTIMISTIC IN A CROWDED BALLROOM. L.A. SENTINEL ELECTION NIGHT ARTICLE READS: "PACKED PALLADIUM CHEERS – FEARS FOR BRADLEY".

Narrator: In the ballroom of the Hollywood Palladium, nearly 6,000 anxious and excited Bradley supporters gathered, waiting for the vote count.

NEWS FOOTAGE OF ELECTION NIGHT AT THE HOLLYWOOD PALLADIUM, BRADLEY SUPPORTERS CHEER. ON STAGE, BRADLEY AND FAMILY WAVE TO THE MASSIVE CROWD.

"Yorty's racial tactics worked and voters who did not know Bradley believed the worst. Bradley suffered a devastating defeat with 47% of the vote vs. Sam Yorty's 53%. While Bradley monopolized the black vote, he performed reasonably but not spectacularly among Jews, some of whom were nervous about crime, and he lost the majority of Latinos. The coalition had come close, but it was not enough."

- Raphael Sonenshein, author, *Politics in Black and White*

L.A. TIMES HEADLINE READS: "YORTY WINS!" NEWS FOOTAGE OF BRADLEY CONCEDED. YORTY CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS, CROWD CHEERING, CONFETTI RAINING OVER YORTY, BRADLEY AT A PRESS CONFERENCE TWO DAYS LATER.

"We were not overconfident. We ran scared, we ran hard, and we didn't see how to approach the race issue any other way. I was careful to the black community to say, 'Don't vote for me because I'm black,' and to the white community, 'Don't vote against me because I'm black.'"

- Councilman Bradley during a City Hall press conference

"When the Yorty campaign went very negative in the last three weeks, there was no way for Bradley's campaign to rebut it. The Bradley camp had not defined Tom Bradley as being a 21-year cop, had not defined him on other basic issues. And so people could let their fears and biases take hold of them in the closing days of that campaign."

- Nelson Rising, Bradley's 1973 campaign manager

"I was so convinced that if we did our job of turning our vote that there was nothing Yorty could do to swing that election. That was simply a terrible mistake."

- Maury Weiner, Mayor Bradley's 1969 Campaign Manager and chief strategist

TV BROADCASTS OF YORTY WAVING TO A CHEERING CROWD UPON HIS VICTORY, BRADLEY IN HIS CITY COUNCIL OFFICE SIFTING THROUGH MOUNDS OF PAPERWORK.

Narrator: Despite the loss, the 1969 election was a major step on the path toward a powerful, multi-racial coalition in Los Angeles. Bradley had monopolized the black vote, but he did only moderately well with Jews, who were fearful of crime, and Yorty won the majority of Latinos. Bradley refused to accept defeat, and four years later, he would run again.

"I asked the question, I said, 'Boss, how were you able to turn it around. He said, 'The morning after I lost in 1969,' he said, 'I made it my business to go out all over the city of Los Angeles, so that all people would be comfortable with me.'"

- Wanda Moore, Mayor Bradley's Executive Assistant

"When Bradley first announced his candidacy in 1969, he consistently talked reform, but not enough people were listening. The message of reform looked much better in '73 than '69,

especially when the Watergate scandal, which was the hottest news story then, made the issue of government integrity highly salient.”

- Raphael Sonenshein, author, *Politics in Black and White*

NEWS FOOTAGE OF LIFE IN AMERICA IN 1973. U.S. TROOPS WITHDRAW FROM VIETNAM.

Narrator: Extreme political and cultural polarization began to dissipate in the early 1970s. As U.S. troops withdrew from Vietnam, the wave of violent uprisings and anti-war protests subsided. But race and racism remained burning issues.

NEWS FOOTAGE OF BRADLEY ENDURING A HECTIC CAMPAIGN SCHEDULE: IN A TUX AT A FUNDRAISING EVENT, SIGNING AUTOGRAPHS, MAKING PANCAKES AT A COFFEE SHOP.

CUT TO A NETWORK TELEVISION BROADCAST:

“Its like a re-run of the election four years ago – Sam Yorty trying to get reelected, and his opponent, just as in 1969 again, Councilman Tom Bradley.”

- Sam Drinkwater, reporter, CBS News

“This city is ready, not for a black man, not for a red man, not for a yellow man, not for a white man, it’s ready for the best man, and that is Tom Bradley.”

- Councilman Tom Bradley speaking to a crowd of supporters at a rally

ARCHIVAL FOOTAGE OF A BUSTLING, CROWDED BRADLEY CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS: YOUNG PEOPLE OF ALL ETHNICITIES STUFF ENVELOPES, ANSWER PHONES, WALK PRECINCTS, GET-OUT-THE-VOTE. MULTI-RACIAL UNION RALLIES WITH SIGNS THAT READ: “VIVA BRADLEY!” AND “WORKERS UNITE BEHIND BRADLEY”.

“I was brought in as deputy campaign manager to make sure what happened in ‘69 didn’t happen in ‘73. I hired the internal staff and influenced the United Auto Workers union, with large numbers of Black and Latino members to fund the grassroots, get-out-the-vote campaign, especially among Latinos, unions, and students. In ‘69, only the UAW and SEIU whose membership was mostly black janitors, endorsed Bradley. This time in ‘73, there was not a single union that did not support him.”

- Hank Lacayo, Bradley Campaign Manager in 1963 and UAW National Director

STILLS OF ROYBAL, BRADLEY, CESAR CHAVEZ HOLDING SIGNS READING: “CSO SAYS VOTE”; MEXICAN AMERICAN WORKERS, HOUSEWIVES, IMMIGRANTS, RETURNING SOLDIERS ORGANIZE REGISTRATION DRIVES FOR BRADLEY. COMMUNITY ACTIVIST BERT CORONA CAMPAIGNS FOR BRADLEY ON SPANISH-LANGUAGE TV AND ON THE EASTSIDE.

“The idea of working together in coalitions became more acceptable as Tom Bradley runs for office again. He’s a friend of Roybal, he’s gonna be a friend of ours. And certainly, Cesar Chavez was somebody that admired Tom Bradley and we knew that.”

- Alberto Juarez, Mexican American community activist

“Community Service Organization members went all out for voter registration. It would be the first time that they would be working for someone other than a Hispanic.”

- Grace Montañez Davis, Mayor Bradley’s first Latina Deputy Mayor

“Mexican Americans also had a vested interest in electing a non-white as mayor. Bert Corona, community activist and president of the Mexican American Political Association, was

a key political operator for Bradley. He campaigned heavily in Mexican 'barrios,' 'mercados,' and 'carnicerias,' and organized the Spanish-speaking campaign. I remember one time we were cruising through Ramona Gardens yelling out to people and says 'Señoras! No alimente tus maridos hasta que hayan votado!'" (In subtitles: Ladies! Don't feed your husbands until they've voted!)"

- Alberto Juarez, Mexican American community activist

FOOTAGE AND STILLS OF BRADLEY CAMPAIGNING IN WHITE NEIGHBORHOODS.

"White people really liked him. You'd go with him into a school or into a neighborhood and all these white women would hug him or have their picture taken with him. It just came together in the perfect campaign. And he was tough. He was black, but not too black. They may have had doubts about this mayor, but they liked him."

- Bill Boyarsky, political writer and city editor, *Los Angeles Times*

FOOTAGE OF BRADLEY CAMPAIGN COMMERCIALS, NEWSPAPER ADS, LITERATURE. TV SPOTS SHOW BRADLEY IN HIS POLICE UNIFORM, AS A UCLA TRACK STAR, WEARING A HARD HAT AT A CONSTRUCTION SITE, PLEDGING TO GET RID OF INCREASING TRAFFIC.

"In '69, Bradley surrounded himself with a loyalist-run crusade. In '73, he transformed his campaign into a modern media-driven operation run by seasoned professionals who portrayed Bradley as safe, smart, cosmopolitan, and fundamentally conservative. His new media team flooded the airwaves with radio and TV spots proclaiming his pledge to reform government, create jobs, ensure public safety, and protect the environment."

- Nelson Rising, Bradley's 1973 media campaign manager

A 15-SECOND BRADLEY CAMPAIGN TV SPOT SHOWS BRADLEY WALKING ON UCLA'S TRACK AND FIELD. A 30-SECOND SPOT SHOWS OIL DRILLING OFF THE COAST, BRADLEY IN THE WESTSIDE'S PACIFIC PALISADES OVERLOOKING THE OCEAN.

Narrator: In the new campaign, Bradley highlighted his local roots, with an ad showing him walking the UCLA track on which he had starred. He appealed to environmentalists by opposing oil drilling in the Pacific Palisades.

"If an oil company has its way, the Pacific Palisades will be one more victim of private greed. I don't think we can afford to lose one of our precious resources to private profit. I intend to be the kind of mayor who cares more about people than about profit."

- Tom Bradley in a 1973 TV campaign commercial

BRADLEY AND YORTY FACE OFF IN A 1973 TELEVISED DEBATE MODERATED BY TOM BROKAW AND LOCAL NEWS REPORTERS. L.A. TIMES HEADLINE READS: "YORTY, BRADLEY TRADE INSULTS".

"Bradley had been criticized in '69 for not going after Yorty. The theory being that it wouldn't be seemly for a black man to verbally attack a white man. I think it hurt him."

- Bill Boyarsky, political writer and city editor, *Los Angeles Times*

Narrator: This time, Bradley fought back against Yorty's fierce attacks in a televised debate.

"The mayor accused me of being anti-police. I contend that anyone who rose, as I did, to rank of lieutenant, is not anti-police. (TURNING TO YORTY) I remember when Bill Parker came into your office and threw that briefcase at you with incriminating evidence in it and you

said, 'Who does that S.O.B. think he is?' You haven't opened your mouth about the police department since."

- Councilman Tom Bradley

"Chief Parker and I were very good friends. We had great respect for each other. But, he had no use for Tom Bradley. (POINTING AT BRADLEY) Your claim is such a ridiculous lie."

- Mayor Sam Yorty

DEBATE FOOTAGE DISSOLVES INTO FOOTAGE OF BRADLEY IN A NEWS INTERVIEW.

"Four years ago, we went through this and there were people who said to me, 'You were too much of a gentleman in facing off against the nasty, vicious, mudslinging campaign Sam Yorty engaged in.' I think the people saw that Tom Bradley can stand up to anything Sam Yorty has to say and respond in kind, if necessary."

- Councilman Tom Bradley

"In this campaign, Bradley was more aggressive, highlighting Yorty's failures as mayor, and with racial polarization lower and with more people knowing who he was, he was less susceptible to racial attacks. The 1973 election was like 1969 except that the context had changed, and most of all, people knew him. That is critical for a black candidate."

- Raphael Sonenshein, author, *Politics in Black and White*

L.A. SENTINEL HEADLINE READS: "BRADLEY RUNS 440 ON YORTY AND BRADLEY WINS!" TV NEWS BROADCASTS SHOW BRADLEY AT CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS WITH ECSTATIC SUPPORTERS OF ALL RACES AND AGES.

Narrator: By 1973, the atmosphere of Los Angeles and the nation had changed. Racial and ideological divisions had lost some of their force. Voters handed Tom Bradley a solid victory with 46% of the vote. Bradley, 55 years old, made history becoming the first African American mayor of a major U.S. city without a black majority. He won a big majority of Jewish voters, and this time, Latinos came into his camp.

"This is a picture of the coalition of Los Angeles – a coalition of those people who reject the politics of irresponsibility, reject the politics of corruption, who are determined to see in this city, a government that extends justice and dignity to every man."

- Councilman Tom Bradley

ARCHIVAL FOOTAGE OF BRADLEY'S VICTORY PARTY: BRADLEY WALKING TO THE PODIUM WITH HIS FAMILY. ON STAGE HE IS FLANKED BY STAFF, SUPPORTERS AND FRIENDS. THE CROWD IS OVERJOYED; MANY WAVE "BRADLEY FOR MAYOR" SIGNS. AS BRADLEY BEGINS HIS VICTORY SPEECH, HIS WORDS ARE CHOKED WITH EMOTION:

"Tonight was the fulfillment of a dream – an impossible dream. I ask all people to move forward with me. The victory that comes tonight is not just a victory for Tom Bradley, not just a victory for the campaign, but a victory for progress, a victory for our children."

- Los Angeles Mayor-elect Tom Bradley at the Downtown Hilton Hotel

NEWS FOOTAGE OF BRADLEY AT THE PODIUM IN FRONT OF CITY HALL DURING HIS INAUGURATION. HE TAKES THE OATH OF OFFICE FROM U.S. CHIEF JUSTICE EARL WARREN AND BEGINS TO SPEAK TO THE CROWD OF 10,000 PEOPLE. DELIVERING HIS SPEECH WITHOUT NOTES, HIS VOICE RISES:

“This city has a rendezvous with tomorrow which will extend the horizons with the potential beyond anything that has happened in the past. And I promise to all the citizens of Los Angeles – from Watts to East Los Angeles to the San Fernando Valley to Downtown – you will find an ‘open door’ in city hall. I will be there to address your problems. If we are to save this city, the neglect must stop!”

- Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley

NEWS FOOTAGE OF THE CROWD ERUPTING INTO CHEERS, SHOUTING “RIGHT ON!” AMERICAN NAZI PARTY MEMBERS MARCHING IN PROTEST AT THE INAUGURATION. PROTESTORS CARRYING SIGNS THAT READ: “NO NIGGER MAYORS”, “BACK TO AFRICA”.

“We had gotten a lot of threatening letters, but we never really let the Mayor know about them unless they were serious enough. He didn’t want to wear a bulletproof vest because it was bulky. What we did, we taped the vest to the back of the podium, underneath where it was unseen. So we said, ‘If any shots go down, you just duck.’”

- Bobby Adams, Mayor Bradley’s Chief of Detail and security guard

NEWS FOOTAGE OF BRADLEY STANDING TALL AT THE PODIUM. IN THE BACKGROUND, AN AMERICAN FLAG SWAYS IN THE WIND.

“Bradley’s victory came at a time when people had given up hope for coalitions between black and white voters, and when he won, he opened up a new future of race relations in California and throughout the nation. He changed American politics from that time forward.”

- Patt Morrison, writer and columnist, *Los Angeles Times*

“Of all the victories of black mayors in the 70s and 80s, Bradley’s would remain the most remarkable. Andrew Young and Maynard Jackson in Atlanta, Wilson Goode in Philadelphia, Harold Washington in Chicago, Coleman Young in Detroit, and David Dinkins in New York, all would be elected with huge black votes in cities with huge black populations. Bradley’s victory in a city where blacks were a minority made American history and showed that nation that it was possible.”

- Quintard Taylor, Professor, American History, University of Washington

REFORM

FOOTAGE OF BRADLEY AS MAYOR: IN THE BACK OF A CAR READING PAPERWORK, WALKING DOWN A STREET WITH STAFFERS, IN CITY HALL CHAMBERS AT A PODIUM.

Narrator: Tom Bradley had performed a political miracle, and hopes for change were sky high. He had walked across the racial divide and created a bridge. His victory gave him great opportunities, but the nature of his coalition also meant that there might be limitations to how fully he could meet the expectations of those who put him in office.

“A black man who could walk comfortably in white neighborhoods – would he be able to meet the needs of the poorest residents whose mobility he had moved behind? The candidate with both labor and business support – could he build the city, expand the economy, and still help close the economic divide? The politician who projected strength without much talk – could he articulate his dreams for the city? The mayor who had reassured minority voters that he was tough enough to hold the police accountable – could he also reassure white middle class voters that he was not anti-police?”

- Raphael Sonenshein, author, *Politics in Black and White*

Narrator: These would be the questions that would have to be answered over the next two decades that Bradley stood astride Los Angeles. But at the beginning, it was all roses.

NEWS FOOTAGE OF EXTERIORS/INTERIORS OF CITY HALL, BRADLEY STAFF MEMBERS MOVE IN. PHOTO OF A SMILING BRADLEY CARRYING A LARGE BOX INTO HIS OFFICE.

“The day after he was elected, City Hall chambers were completely different. The furnishings were the same, the hallways were the same, but suddenly, there were no lobbyists. Lobbyists were previously standing or sitting in every hallway seat. So there was this immediate transformation from a lobbyists’ mayor to a people’s mayor.”

- Maury Weiner, Mayor Bradley’s 1969 Campaign Manager and chief strategist

“We’re here to serve all the people. We want no favoritism extended to anybody because of their power, their prestige, their influence, or their so-called connections.”

- Tom Bradley during his first televised speech as mayor in City Council chambers

NEWS FOOTAGE OF A LONG LINE OF PEOPLE OF ALL RACES AND AGES WAITING OUTSIDE THE MAYOR’S OFFICE. BRADLEY, WEARING A PRESSED SUIT AND A BLACK TIE, SHAKES THE HAND OF EACH PERSON AS THEY ENTER AND GREET THE MAYOR.

“Tom Bradley overcame the impersonal quality of urban leadership by holding ‘open house’ days on a regular basis where people would come to City Hall and spend five minutes with the mayor, offering anything from complaints to comments about city government. It was clearly a symbol that city government was going to be open, responsive and accountable.”

- Ezunial Burts, Los Angeles Harbor General Manager under Mayor Bradley

ARCHIVAL FOOTAGE OF WOMEN AND MINORITIES AT CITY JOBS AND UNION CONSTRUCTION SITES. STILLS OF ETHNICALLY DIVERSE COMMISSIONERS AND AN ENERGETIC OFFICE OF PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES TYPING, FILING, RUNNING REPORTS.

“From the outset, Bradley worked to make government and city institutions reflect the diversity of Los Angeles. He substantially integrated the city’s workforce, and appointed new commissioners so each commission included African American, Latino, Asian American, and women members, and representatives of both business and labor. He set up an office on disability – the nation’s first municipal department of its kind. Bradley broke the conservative, WASP stranglehold on the city’s levers of power. He brought his belief in coalitions from the campaign trail to every position in city hall and brought government to the people.”

- Regina Freer, co-author, *The Next Los Angeles: The Struggle for a Livable City*

STILLS OF BRADLEY’S NEW ADMINISTRATION: A WIDE VARIETY OF ETHNICITIES AND WOMEN. FOOTAGE OF BRADLEY SPEAKING BEFORE LARGE CROWDS, WITH CITY COUNCIL MEMBERS, IN HIS PRIVATE OFFICE MAKING PHONE CALLS.

“With Tom Bradley, when you talked about coalition politics, it was real. He believed in it with every core in his body. I go to work for Tom Bradley at city hall and all of a sudden, I’m meeting Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, Filipinos, Latino Americans, and Jews from the Valley. Bradley brought it all together.”

- Kerman Maddox, Mayor Bradley’s Special Assistant

STILLS OF BRADLEY WITH MEXICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY LEADERS AND LATINO DEPUTY MAYORS. NEWS FOOTAGE OF L.A.’S GAY PRIDE MOVEMENT AND PARADE: A CELEBRATION OF RAINBOW COLORS, MARCHING BANDS AND DANCE TROUPES.

“There’s a great story there with Bradley and Mexican Americans in the fact that they were not the main part of his coalition. They really didn’t add as much to his election in terms of votes, yet immediately, when he becomes mayor, he starts to incorporate them. During his whole tenure as mayor, he has two deputy mayors – one is always Latino. The first was Manuel Aragón, then Grace Montañez Davis who stayed with Bradley for 17 years.”

- Fernando Guerra, Director, Center for the Study of Los Angeles, LMU

“The mayor asked me to assemble a committee of gay organizations and people – a place for gays to come to address their problems, where we would get resources to them. When the gay community had their gay pride parade, the first Grand Marshall of the parade was Harvey Milk, the supervisor from San Francisco, who was later killed, and I was the second.”

- Grace Montañez Davis, Mayor Bradley’s first Latina Deputy Mayor

NEWS FOOTAGE OF BRADLEY LABORING OVER BUDGETS, UNDETERRED BY CAMERAS; A MOUNTAIN OF PAPERWORK COVERS HIS LARGE WOODEN DESK; THE SEEMINGLY TIRELESS MAYOR TOURS THE INNER-CITY, VALLEY AND EASTSIDE FROM DAWN TO DUSK.

“He made his own phone calls. When people would call he would pick up the phone and say, ‘Hello, Jimmy Jones, this is Tom Bradley.’ They’d say, ‘Yeah, right.’ ‘No, Jimmy Jones. This is Tom Bradley. You called because you had a problem,’ and they would realize they were talking to Bradley. That went over really well because everybody remembered that.”

- Bee Lavery, Mayor’s Bradley’s Chief of Protocol

“The Mayor was an incurable workaholic. He worked seven days a week, usually sixteen-hour days. And we, his bodyguards, were scheduled three days a week at sixteen-hour days. He was strong, enduring. I nicknamed him ‘The Iron Man’ because he went through four officers like it was nothing. When we got home we just collapsed. It was just tough.”

- Bobby Adams, Mayor Bradley’s Chief of Detail and security guard

VARIOUS ARCHIVAL STILLS OF BRADLEY PROJECTING A LOW-KEY, IN-CONTROL IMAGE.

“People said they couldn’t read his face, his expressions. He was just stoic. You have to be black to understand this, especially from that era. You couldn’t let people read your feelings because you didn’t want them to know what you’re thinking. You listened, but didn’t always comment. He was brought up that way. That’s how he survived during his time.”

- Wanda Moore, Mayor Bradley’s Executive Assistant

VARIOUS STILLS OF BRADLEY’S BLACK ADVISORS IN PRIVATE MEETINGS.

“There were a group of black advisors in the community that met and held off-the-record meetings at the Los Angeles Urban League offices, discussing issues most important to the mayor. We jokingly called it the ‘Black Pentagon.’ The goal of these private sessions was to fashion strategies on how to confront these issues and offer the mayor our candid advice and counsel. If the issues were controversial, extremely sensitive or serious, we would meet with him directly. We were the mayor’s allies whom he trusted.”

- John Mack, President, Los Angeles Urban League

NEWS FOOTAGE OF SCHOOL CHILDREN, MOSTLY WHITE, BLACK OR LATINO, BOARDING BUSES IN BOSTON, CLEVELAND, AND LOS ANGELES.

Narrator: In the early 1970s, Mayor Bradley faced many of the contentious issues affecting mayors nationwide. From Boston to Cleveland, courts ordered mandatory busing to integrate public schools. In Los Angeles, the Crawford vs. Board of Education court decision ordered 40,000 students, from elementary to high school, to be bused from the San Fernando Valley to the inner-city.

FOOTAGE OF SUBURBAN HOUSING, SWIMMING POOLS, CHILDREN WALKING TO SCHOOL.

“The largely white suburb of the San Fernando Valley was about to revolt. This was a part of L.A. that supported Yorty in ‘69. This was the area where white families moved to escape the city once the walls of segregation came down. It was also an area that attracted young, white families offering their vision of the American dream – new subdivisions, white picket fences, swimming pools, a good education. Families felt their children’s future was at stake.”

- Kevin Roderick, author, *The San Fernando Valley: America’s Suburb*

Narrator: But some issues, like busing, were not amenable to quiet leadership and bridge building, and here Bradley’s leadership was less bold.

“Tom didn’t feel that as mayor that was something he had direct legal authority to do anything about. Frankly, that frustrated some of us. He did have the moral authority as mayor of the city and the bully pulpit. I tried to keep in mind that he was not elected the civil rights leader of Los Angeles. He was elected the mayor of Los Angeles.”

- John Mack, President, Los Angeles Urban League

L.A. TIMES PHOTOS SHOW PARENT ORGANIZED BOYCOTTS PROTESTING SCHOOL DESEGREGATION. YOUNG KIDS HOLD SIGNS READING: “FORCED BUSING – THIS IS NOT THE FREEDOM I WANT FOR MY KIDS” AND “SPEND MONEY ON EDUCATION, NOT BUSES”.

“Bradley was caught in the middle. The Jewish community in the Valley thought he didn’t speak out enough about it. The issue split the Jewish community with racial overtones being flung by the Jewish parents who led the movement to destroy busing. Some of the leaders were from my congregation in the Valley. We had threats. It was ugly.”

- Rabbi Steven Jacobs, Temple Judea, San Fernando Valley

“He should have taken a position on a huge civic controversy that was dividing the city. I think if he had taken a position it probably would have been lose-lose. But that’s the cost of leadership, and you’re going to lose sometime. You have to have the courage to lose. But he was sort of absent and that was a real failure on his part.”

- Bill Boyarsky, political writer and editor, *Los Angeles Times*

NEWS FOOTAGE OF ANGRY TAX REVOLT ACTIVISTS CAMPAIGNING FOR PROPOSITION 13. VOTERS AT THE POLLS. BRADLEY SPEAKING OUT AGAINST THE MEASURE.

Narrator: Anti-busing activists, angered by skyrocketing property tax assessments, became a driving force in the citizen tax revolt movement known as Proposition 13 – a statewide measure placed on the California ballot in 1978. Mayor Bradley was concerned, that if it passed, the property tax rate in Los Angeles would plummet by 80%, leaving the city with insufficient funding for local government services. This time Bradley was not on the sidelines; he fought hard for its defeat.

“Proposition 13 invites economic and governmental chaos in California. It will drastically cut police and fire protection and bankrupt schools unless massive new tax burdens are imposed on taxpayers. It will take decision-making away from the local level and weaken home rule.”

- Mayor Bradley during a press conference

“Despite the mayor’s pleas, Prop. 13 passed overwhelmingly by tax-weary voters. Property taxes were capped at 1% of assessed value. City services were hit hard. Bradley was forced to cut back on schools, parks, libraries and the police department, especially in the poorest of areas. The city was in a fiscal crisis. Prop. 13 became a political earthquake for Bradley.”

- Patt Morrison, writer and columnist, *Los Angeles Times*

NEWS FOOTAGE OF GATES’ SWEARING IN AS LOS ANGELES POLICE CHIEF, HIS PROUD WIFE CHECKS OUT HIS NEW LAPD BADGE PINNED TO HIS PRESSED UNIFORM; GATES INSPECTS HIS TROOPS; AT LAPD HEADQUARTERS WITH INTERNAL STAFF.

Narrator: Three months earlier, Los Angeles selected its new police chief – Daryl Gates, a 26-year veteran of the LAPD, a conservative Republican, and the former protégé of Chief William Parker. The city charter, which then gave a preference to local candidates, gave Bradley little choice but to choose Gates, who had scored highest on the test. The police chief had civil service protection, which was unusual among big cities. From the start, the Bradley-Gates relationship was contentious. No mayor before Bradley had challenged the LAPD’s power, and no chief before Gates had to bend to the mayor’s will.

“Gates embraced the tough, principled and inflexible strategy of his mentor, Police Chief Parker. Fiercely loyal to his rank-and-file, he clashed frequently with elected officials, particularly when they slashed his budget and meddled in department discipline.”

- John Buntin, author, *L.A. Noir*

NEWS FOOTAGE OF OLD POLICE CARS WITH ARCHAIC EMERGENCY EQUIPMENT. AN *L.A. TIMES* HEADLINE READS: “BRADLEY-GATES RIFT: POLITICS AND PROP.13.”

Narrator: After Prop. 13’s passage, purchases of police cars and emergency communications equipment were deferred. Budget negotiations between Bradley and Gates were explosive.

“I have begun to put an end to the LAPD’s days of endless spending and unchallenged power. The chief asked for everything from a tank to a submarine to an airplane, and I took those out of the budget. LAPD’s era of semi-autonomy is over.”

- Mayor Bradley during a press conference

“We were already short-handed. Now, in order to conform with the mayor’s demands, I would have to dismiss 1,100 of our 7,500 officers. The first people that would be laid off would be those last hired – minorities. Here I am, a brand-new chief, and I’m being given a scalpel to slit my own throat. I have always had a chief’s dislike for the mayor. I think he does a lousy job. And he has said the same of me.”

- Daryl Gates during a local news interview

NEWS FOOTAGE OF GATES’ SWAT TEAMS RESPONDING TO HOSTAGE SITUATIONS, BARRICADED SUSPECTS, AND SNIPER ATTACKS; UNIFORMED OFFICERS SPEAK TO YOUNG PEOPLE IN SCHOOLS ABOUT THE DANGERS OF NARCOTICS USE.

Narrator: Controlling the LAPD was proving to be a formidable challenge for the mayor. Although Gates had won national attention for crime fighting and prevention – elite SWAT teams to handle crises and the DARE program to prevent drug use – he came under heavy fire over controversial remarks about African Americans and other minorities.

NEWS FOOTAGE OF OFFICERS APPLYING THE CHOKEHOLD TECHNIQUE. CUT TO THE L.A. TIMES TAPE-RECORDED INTERVIEW OF GATES MAKING THE CONTENTIOUS REMARK. A COMPOSED GATES AT A PRESS CONFERENCE DEMONSTRATING THE CHOKEHOLD.

CUT TO A KCAL-TV LOCAL NEWS REPORT:

“Police Chief Gates made a statement that blacks are more susceptible than ‘normal’ people to injury when officers apply a chokehold that blocks flow of blood in the arteries to the brain. Chokeholds had been responsible for 16 deaths – 12 of them blacks – since 1975. Mayor Bradley has ordered an unprecedented disciplinary investigation into Gates’ remarks.”

“We may be finding that in some blacks when the chokehold is applied, the veins or arteries do not open up as fast as they do in ‘normal’ people.”

- Police Chief Daryl Gates

CUT TO FOOTAGE OF MAYOR BRADLEY’S REMARKS AT A CITY HALL PRESS CONFERENCE WHERE TWO DOZEN BLACK ACTIVISTS CHANT: “GATES MUST GO! GATES MUST GO!”

“Whenever a disparaging remark is made by the chief of police or any other department head that might inflame the communities that are directly targeted by such remarks, as they have in the case of Jews on one occasion, Hispanics on another, and now blacks in this instance, it not only makes it more difficult for the LAPD to work with those particular ethnic or racial communities, it certainly makes the job of the officer on the street more difficult.”

- Mayor Tom Bradley responding to Gates’ remarks

L.A. TIMES HEADLINE READS: “POLICE CHIEF’S COMMENTS PROMPT BAN ON CHOKEHOLD AND “GATES REFUSES TO APOLOGIZE OVER CHOKEHOLD REMARK”.

“By the end of the ‘chokehold’ fiasco, Bradley forced the LAPD to eliminate it, and limited the department’s rampant intelligence-gathering program. However, police reforms under Mayor Bradley were quite modest compared to those established in other cities.”

- Patt Morrison, writer and columnist, *Los Angeles Times*

Narrator: Mayor Bradley’s attempts to reform and control the LAPD would be a constant source of tension in Los Angeles, but on the national and international stage, Bradley was a rising star.

RUNNING FOR GOVERNOR

STILLS OF BRADLEY SPEAKING AT DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION; WITH EDWARD KENNEDY; AT NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES MEETING; WITH PRESIDENT CARTER.

“L.A. was booming and Bradley had become a national phenomenon. He co-chaired the 1976 Democratic National Convention and was being considered as the vice-presidential candidate if Senator Edward Kennedy ran for U.S. President. ‘Teddy and Tom’ buttons were circulated by the California delegation at the Convention. Bradley was elected president of the National League of Cities – its first black president, and in 1977, he turned down a HUD cabinet post in President Jimmy Carter’s administration to run for reelection as L.A. mayor.”

- Frank Gilliam, Dean, School of Public Affairs, UCLA

A NEWS SPECIAL REPORT ON BRADLEY CAMPAIGNING FOR GOVERNOR: A SERIOUS FACE DURING A RADIO INTERVIEW, STILLS OF AN IMPROMPTU STRATEGY SESSION BEFORE A TV INTERVIEW SHOW, A QUIET BRADLEY DURING AN INFORMAL MOMENT ABOARD A CAMPAIGN PLANE. DEUKMEJIAN BLASTING BRADLEY’S RECORD ON CRIME.

Narrator: His popularity at a peak in 1982, Bradley decided to run for governor of California. His opponent was Republican California Attorney General George Deukmejian.

"I am running for governor because I want to revive the promise and opportunity of the American dream. The sagging economy is my number one issue in this campaign. I want to put Californians back to work. I'll be one governor who will make a difference."

- Mayor Bradley during a press conference announcing his candidacy

"Crime is the touchstone of my campaign. I charge that my opponent reduced the fiscal support of the LAPD at a time when crime and homicides were up in L.A. Police departments across the state have largely endorsed me. I'm the crime fighter for California."

- George Deukmejian, California Attorney General in a news report

CUT TO A NEWS REPORT ON BRADLEY'S SUPPORT FOR GUN CONTROL. L.A. TIMES EDITORIAL READS: "BRADLEY'S GUN CONTROL STAND - AN ACT OF POLITICAL COURAGE".

Narrator: Proposition 15, a handgun control initiative, was placed on the statewide ballot and was leading in the polls. Against the advice of his closest advisors, Bradley publicly endorsed it.

"I advised him not to support it because it would bring out every redneck from Yolo to Bakersfield, and when they do come out, they're not going to vote for the black mayor from Los Angeles. I have praise for Tom. He said, 'No, I can't do this. I was a cop. I saw what Saturday Night Specials can do.'"

- Nelson Rising, Bradley's 1982 gubernatorial campaign manager

"We must begin to stem the flow of this huge source of weapons that are part of the violence in this country. I look at handgun control through the eyes of a former cop who has seen too many law enforcement officers have their heads blown off."

- Mayor Bradley during a press conference

IMAGES OF BRADLEY TRAVELING STATEWIDE CAMPAIGNING: SIGNING AUTOGRAPHS AT AN EAST L.A. PARADE, MEETING WITH FARM WORKERS. A SMILING BRADLEY ON THE COVER OF *BLACK ENTERPRISE* THAT READS: "BRADLEY'S CALIFORNIA QUEST".

"We produced countless TV and radio spots, focusing on Bradley's career as mayor, policeman, and city councilman. Bradley's image and positive message were plastered across the state. Exit polls predicted a Bradley victory with a 10% point lead."

- Bruce Corwin, Mayor Bradley's Treasurer for all city council and mayoral races

NEWS FOOTAGE OF BRADLEY CASTING HIS VOTE; LIVE, ELECTION RETURNS DEPICT A DRAMATIC, CLOSE RACE; BRADLEY'S ELECTION NIGHT PARTY AT THE DOWNTOWN BILTMORE HOTEL BALLROOM, MASSIVE CROWDS, A SMILING BRADLEY ON STAGE.

"Election night was a cliff-hanger. At midnight, Bradley finally appeared on stage. The crowd went wild, screaming and chanting until Bradley raised his hands for silence. He didn't admit defeat or victory because the networks couldn't make projections yet. It was so close. The next morning, we were shocked to learn that Bradley lost by less than one percentage point."

- Maureen Kindel, President, Public Works Commission

L.A. TIMES HEADLINE READS: "BRADLEY NARROWLY LOSES GOVERNORSHIP". NEWS FOOTAGE OF BRADLEY, FLANKED BY HIS FAMILY, REASSURING A QUIET, CLEARLY DISAPPOINTED CROWD AT MIDNIGHT.

"Everybody was predicting a win. We had visions of what L.A. and the nation would be like. When the news came down that he lost, I can tell you – that man was bleeding inside."

- Bobby Adams, Mayor Bradley's Chief of Detail and security guard

"The emotion I felt most when I lost was emptiness. Then came the hurt."

- Mayor Bradley during a press conference weeks after his defeat

L.A. TIMES CARTOON BY PAUL CONRAD SHOWS A TALL, LINCOLNESQUE BRADLEY, HOLDING A BALLOT. ITS CAPTION READS: "GOVERNOR TOM BRADLEY: I HAD A DREAM".

"Bradley's fatal flaw was playing the game too cautiously. This wasn't a campaign. It was a lordly accession to the next level. This is a guy who had won nearly every campaign he ran and despised failure. Deukmejian ran an effective, aggressive media campaign. And what was Bradley doing? He was cruising around the state like Cleopatra on her barge saying, 'This is my moment.'"

- Raphael Sonenshein, author, *Politics in Black and White*

"Bradley's loss wasn't just about guns. Bradley faced attacks from the Los Angeles police union, a white dominated organization that backed Gates and charged that Bradley was anti-police. And because Bradley ran such a soft focus campaign to reach the broad electorate, he did not generate as much enthusiasm among African Americans."

- Patt Morrison, writer and columnist, *Los Angeles Times*

L.A. TIMES HEADLINES READ: "HIDDEN ANTI-BLACK VOTE A FACT OF LIFE" AND "DOES RACE MATTER?" NATIONAL NEWS COVERAGE OF OBAMA RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT.

"The loss gave rise to the 'Bradley effect,' which concluded that Bradley lost the campaign because many white Democrats told pollsters they were undecided, but in the voting booth, selected the white candidate. This presumed 'Bradley effect' became a central part of the narrative of candidate Barack Obama's 2008 presidential campaign."

- Janet Clayton, reporter, *Los Angeles Times*

"At that time, no other African American candidate had made a serious run for the governor anywhere in the country. A Bradley win would have made him a major contender for the Democratic nomination for president. In other words, had Bradley won the governorship, we might be talking about Bradley as the first black president, rather than Barack Obama."

- Quintard Taylor, Professor, American History, University of Washington

Narrator: But Bradley's greatest moment was still to come. Two years later, the eyes of the world would be on Los Angeles and its mayor.

THE OLYMPICS

LOS ANGELES: 1932. NEWSREEL FOOTAGE OF THE OLYMPICS – THE SCALE AND QUALITY ARE BEYOND ANYTHING THAT HAD COME BEFORE; A RECORD CROWD OF 10,000 PEOPLE ATTEND THE OPENING CEREMONIES; THE PARADE OF DELEGATIONS OF 37 NATIONS.

Narrator: During the Great Depression when Tom Bradley was 15 years old, he peered through the fence around the L.A. Memorial Coliseum to watch the 1932 Summer Olympic Games. Over five decades later, as mayor he would lead an intensive ten-year effort to bring the summer games to Los Angeles.

“After the ‘72 and ‘76 Games were financial disasters to their host cities, Bradley came up with a bold, unique idea that challenged the long-standing tradition of public financing for the Olympics. He proposed that the Games be privately financed. But to no one’s surprise, the International Olympic Committee rejected Bradley’s notion.”

- Raphael Sonenshein, author, *Politics in Black and White*

“We are convinced that we could put on the Games without a deficit, but we also believe that it is essential to assure our taxpayers that they will not foot the Olympic-size bill that other cities have incurred.”

- Mayor Bradley in a televised interview

NEWS FOOTAGE OF BRADLEY ON THE PHONE NEGOTIATING IN HIS OFFICE, MEETINGS WITH THE IOC ABROAD, AND AT VARIOUS PRESS CONFERENCES.

“After months of intense negotiations, Mayor Bradley gave the IOC the city’s last offer – the Games would be privately funded. He would not budge. If the IOC refused, it would be over.”

- Peter Ueberroth, organizer of L.A.’s 1984 Summer Olympic games

“I now feel that I have exhausted all possible options for arriving at a proposal mutually agreeable to the IOC and the citizens of Los Angeles. We must withdraw our bid.”

- Mayor Bradley during a press conference

“Bradley’s bold threat to withdraw, in the end, broke the back of IOC resistance, and they accepted his terms. In a staring match with Tom Bradley, the IOC blinked.”

- Raphael Sonenshein, author, *Politics of Black and White*

“He was very tough and he could be very stubborn. When he thought he was right, when he thought he was being taken advantage of, he would stand up. And it almost always worked.”

- Maureen Kindel, President, Public Works Commission

NEWS FOOTAGE OF BRADLEY MEETING WITH REPORTERS AT CITY HALL, FLASHING A BIG SMILE, CLAPPING HIS HANDS OVER HIS HEAD AND YELLING: “YEAH-HHH!”

Narrator: Tom Bradley prevailed. The IOC accepted his condition that the Games be privately financed. The 1984 Olympics tied together Bradley’s greatest strengths: his ability to project the community’s interest, his close ties to business, his ability to exercise power behind the scenes.

FOOTAGE OF JAMMED CITY FREEWAYS AND THE MUNICH TRAGEDY. L.A. TIMES HEADLINE READS: “OLYMPICS: A MIXED BAG FOR REGION”.

“There was dire speculation that since most of the two-week competition would take place at the downtown Coliseum, monumental traffic jams could turn the city into a vast parking lot. Others warned of a potential invasion of terrorists, and a possible repeat of the Munich tragedy in 1972. There was fear and trepidation. But, none of that ever did occur.”

- Harold Meyerson, Editor, *L.A. Weekly*

FOOTAGE OF UEBERROTH AND WOLPER WORKING BEHIND THE SCENES AND IN PUBLIC.

Narrator. The region's business leaders came together under the leadership of a relatively unknown travel company executive, Peter Ueberroth, to organize the Games. Ueberroth aggressively recruited major global companies to pay huge fees as sponsors, and Hollywood producer David Wolper negotiated an unprecedented and lucrative contract of \$225 million for its broadcast.

FOOTAGE OF THE OLYMPIC TORCH RELAY; BRADLEY SHAKING HANDS WITH RUNNERS; IN A DRAMATIC MOMENT AT THE COLISEUM, RAFAEL JOHNSON RUNS UP A LONG FLIGHT OF STEPS AND WITH HIS TORCH'S FLAME, LIGHTS THE OLYMPIC LOGO, IGNITING FIVE RINGS.

"Tom Bradley recognized the real value and meaning of sports. He wanted to bring people together in the city through individual excellence, no matter the color of your skin. That's why the Olympics meant so much to him."

- Rafer Johnson, Olympic Gold medalist

FOOTAGE OF BRADLEY WAVING THE OLYMPIC FLAG BEFORE MILLIONS WORLDWIDE.

"The eyes of the world are upon us and we are ready."

- Mayor Bradley proudly speaks during the televised opening ceremonies

MONTAGE OF IMAGES OF BRADLEY AND THE GAMES; TRACK AND FIELD, SWIMMING, GYMNASTICS, ROWING, BASKETBALL, AMERICANS WINNING THE GOLD. FOOTAGE OF THE YOUTH SPORTS ORGANIZATION, L.A. '84. CHILDREN AND TEENAGERS PLAYING SPORTS.

Narrator: The Olympics succeeded on a grand scale and was a public relations triumph for Bradley. They produced an unheard surplus of \$232 million dollars for Los Angeles, which still continues to fund youth sports organizations today. It was the most profitable sporting event in world history.

"If I were giving out medals for leadership, the mayor would get the Gold. He did not back down against the intimidating IOC. I believe Tom Bradley saved the Olympic movement."

- Peter Ueberroth, organizer of LA's 1984 Summer Olympic games

FOOTAGE: PLANES LANDING AT LAX; L.A. PORT: CONTAINERS LOADED ONTO SHIPS, CRUISE LINERS DOCKED AT HARBOR, TERMINAL OPERATORS ON DIESEL SHIPS.

"Bradley was determined to establish the city as an international trade center. In preparation of the Olympics, he expanded the LAX and the Port of Los Angeles, and frequently went abroad to promote business. He successfully positioned Los Angeles as the unofficial capital of the Pacific Rim for burgeoning trade."

- Scott Kurashige, author, *The Shifting Grounds of Race*

L.A. TIMES HEADLINE READS: "OLYMPICS BOOST BRADLEY'S IMAGE". BRADLEY TRAVELING IN EUROPE, SIGNING AUTOGRAPHS, SHAKING HANDS; LISTENING TO JAZZ.

Narrator: Across the globe, Mayor Bradley was often seen as a celebrity. Newspapers in many countries carried front-page stories about Los Angeles and its "charismatic mayor."

"Berlin is our sister city, and the mayor was invited to give the opening speech for the 750th Anniversary of Berlin. One day, Tom wanted to go to a jazz club. So, we walked into this smoky dive when all of the sudden, a woman, the jazz singer, said excitedly, 'Why, Tom

Bradley! What are you doing here? Everywhere the mayor went he was like a rock star.”

- Bee Lavery, Mayor Bradley’s Chief of Protocol

“On the weekends when he came into City Hall and went through all that paperwork, he had his music going on in his little office, and he’s blowing this jazz up. He loved it.”

- Wanda Moore, Mayor Bradley’s Executive Assistant

FOOTAGE OF NELSON MANDELA’S ELECTION AS PRESIDENT. STILLS OF FRANKLIN SONN’S MEETING WITH MAYOR BRADLEY IN LOS ANGELES.

“One example of the powerful impact Bradley had worldwide was, shortly after Nelson Mandela had not only been freed from prison but elected President of South Africa, Franklin Sonn, his first Ambassador to the U.S. came to Los Angeles. At one point during his speech, he looked at Bradley and said, ‘Mr. Mayor, I’m so honored to see that you’re here because when we were in prison you were an inspiration to us. Your example, to have been elected the first African mayor of the City of Los Angeles, is one of the things that kept us going.”

- John Mack, President, Los Angeles Urban League

NEWS FOOTAGE OF A 1985 RIVER RAFTING TRIP WITH BRADLEY AND STAFF. 67-YEAR OLD BRADLEY WEARS GREEN KNIT WALKING SHORTS, MESH SHOES, A BASEBALL CAP AND A LIFE JACKET. PHOTO OF BRADLEY IN THE FRONT OF A NINE-PERSON PADDLE RAFT, EYES SHUT, OAR IN HAND, FIGHTING THE FOAMY RAPIDS.

“After the Olympics, there was a huge boost in Bradley’s popularity statewide. It peaked after heavy publicity on a rafting trip. It was the mayor’s new ‘activist image.’ At 70, he felt young, robust. It was so strange for the staff to see him wear what he wore. We just couldn’t picture him out of his tailored suits, roughing it in a sleeping bag. The punch line of this story was that he couldn’t swim an inch, but he was still river rafting 11 miles down the Kern River.”

- Tom Houston, Bradley’s 1985 Deputy Mayor and Chief of Staff

Narrator: There was nothing in the world that could stand in Tom Bradley’s way – or so it seemed.

TROUBLES

MONTAGE OF IMAGES OF L.A.’s BURGEONING TRADE AND FINANCIAL DISTRICTS.

Narrator: It was growth and development that brought Bradley’s strengths and liabilities into conflict. From the outset as mayor, Bradley had embarked on transforming Los Angeles into a “world-class” city of global trade and finance.

“You can’t talk about the United States as a global power without talking about Los Angeles. You also can’t talk about the politics of cities without talking about models of collaboration and bridge building, which was the Bradley model. His politics of inclusion, cultural diversity and collaborative place-based policymaking became the model for the nation.”

- David Perry, Director, Great Cities Institute, University of Illinois

“We are now able to look forward with confidence and optimism to Los Angeles’ best days, which still lie ahead of us.”

- Mayor Bradley during a press conference responding to Downtown construction

LOS ANGELES SKYLINE IN THE 70s AND 80s; CONSTRUCTION OF DOWNTOWN BUILDINGS, WORKERS IN HARD HATS, CRANES AND HEAVY EQUIPMENT ARE UBIQUITOUS. A TIME

LAPSE VIDEO OF L.A.'S DOWNTOWN SKYLINE RAPIDLY GROWING. NEWS FOOTAGE OF BRADLEY TRAVELING BY PLANE AND CAR; CONSTRUCTION OF THE METRO RAIL.

Narrator: Forging a powerful coalition of big business and the building trades unions, Bradley would preside over the greatest construction boom in the history of downtown Los Angeles, at the same time, creating construction jobs for minorities and women. When Bradley took office in 1973, there were only three buildings that were 50 stories or taller. Over the next two decades, that number increased to almost 50. He frequently traveled to Washington D.C. to secure federal funds for projects that would benefit Los Angeles.

“Bradley knew the Metro rail plan inside and out and we did in fact get billions of dollars for federal funds for metro rail. And a lot of it had to do with Bradley's persona and the willingness to show up in D.C. and meet with decision makers and say, 'I'm not here just as the mayor of Los Angeles. This is a project that is a personal importance to me.'”

- Tom Houston, Bradley's 1985 Deputy Mayor and Chief of Staff

“I literally saw him speak dozens of times and I never saw him refer to a note. He understood the budget. He understood how block grant money worked. He understood the mechanics of government. He understood how council offices work. He understood how department heads worked. He understood how government in the city should perform.”

- Bernard Parks, Deputy Chief, LAPD

Narrator: Bradley also prided himself on fiscal conservatism.

“He was a cheapskate. He was plain, old stingy and cheap. He didn't want to raise taxes unnecessarily, so he was tight-fisted. He was very conscious about the dollar and that's why I think he balanced so many city budgets.”

- David Cunningham, Los Angeles City Councilman

SCENES OF URBAN POVERTY AND CITY GROWTH: LONG LINES AT COMMUNITY FOOD BANKS AND UNEMPLOYMENT OFFICES; CONSTRUCTION OF SKYSCRAPERS, STORES. NEWS FOOTAGE OF AUTO, RUBBER, STEEL PLANTS CLOSING DOWN IN LOS ANGELES.

Narrator: But optimism of the 80s turned to despair as the demands of commerce and business growth clashed with community need, and the gulf between rich and poor grew greater. Middle class residents began to feel the press of traffic and smog in their neighborhoods, and soon rebelled against the dynamics of growth. In time, Bradley could neither please the poorest neighborhoods that were starved for growth, nor the more affluent ones that were choking on it.

“President Reagan's conservative economic policies hit Los Angeles hard. Cutbacks in federal funding for urban social and community development programs kept neighborhoods in a state of disrepair. Waves of new immigrants brought stresses on already dwindling city services. And then, the manufacturing base of the economy dried up.”

- Harold Meyerson, Editor, L.A. Weekly

THE L.A. SKYLINE IN THE 1980s. SOUTH CENTRAL L.A. IN DECLINE. DRIVE BY OF VACANT LOTS AND STOREFRONTS, EMPTY HOMES, POVERTY, PEOPLE WITHOUT JOBS.

“While city resources were absorbed in financing the corporate renaissance of Downtown, South Central Los Angeles was markedly disadvantaged even in receipt of anti-poverty assistance, coming in far behind West Los Angeles and the Valley in access to vital human services and job-training funds. Black businesses withered for lack of credit or attention from

the city, leaving behind only liquor stores and churches. Bradley neglected his fellow blacks to serve the cause of growth and the white business establishment.”

- Mike Davis, author, *City of Quartz*

“When I ride down Central Avenue, it breaks my heart to see the condition. People think that if they don’t see me that I’m not involved. Just because I don’t get on a platform and wave my hands in the air doesn’t mean that I’m not part of solving the problem.”

- Mayor Bradley during an audiotaped interview with an L.A. *Sentinel* reporter

“Could he have done more? Yes. Would I have liked for him to push a little harder? Yes. But people have to understand Tom’s style, too. He did a lot of things behind the scenes, whether it is appointments, and/or picking up the telephone, making sure there was funding that was going to support programs in South Los Angeles that you never read about. I think his role was under-appreciated. Tom didn’t speak publicly about some of the things he did. Not enough people fully appreciated what he did do in that regard.”

- John Mack, President, Los Angeles Urban League

FOOTAGE AND STILLS OF BRADLEY PLANTING A TREE WITH THE TREE PEOPLE ORGANIZATION, SPEAKING AT AN ANTI-APARTHEID DEMONSTRATION, MEETING WITH GAY AND LESBIAN COMMUNITY LEADERS, VISITING AIDS HOSPICES AND PATIENTS.

Narrator: At the same time, Mayor Bradley enacted progressive legislation from environmental to social issues that brought Los Angeles in the forefront of change.

“Bradley was sympathetic to the gay community because they were suffering from prejudice and discrimination much like the black community. So the city council and the mayor adopted a city ordinance that banned discrimination against people with AIDS. That was very controversial because it was at a time when the causes of AIDS were very unclear. I took a lot of calls from people who said, ‘What in the hell is Bradley doing? This is a very dangerous thing. He is wading into uncharted territory and this could be the end of his political future.’”

- Tom Houston, Bradley’s 1985 Deputy Mayor and Chief of Staff

BRADLEY AT A UCLA STUDENT RALLY; ANTI-APARTHEID PROTESTORS CHANT “*DIVEST OR DIE!*” AND HOLD SIGNS THAT READ “*APATHY KILLS*”. FOOTAGE OF L.A.’S PRIVATE SOCIAL CLUBS: ITS BEAUTIFUL FACILITIES – GYMS, RESTAURANTS, MEETING ROOMS.

“The Mayor also took a strong stand against apartheid in South Africa and called for L.A.’s businesses to cut economic ties with South Africa. We were one of the first major cities to do that and it became a shot across the bows for the rest of the country and other municipalities picked up on it. We had some interesting times and worked on a lot of hot button issues.”

- Kerman Maddox, Mayor Bradley’s Special Assistant

“At the same time in Los Angeles in 1984, here was the mayor of the city of Los Angeles, a black who was prohibited from membership in the two old private social clubs in California, the Jonathan Club and the California Club. Those clubs did not allow blacks or Jews or Asians or women, and that’s where the key business leaders would meet and do functions.”

- Tom Houston, Bradley’s 1985 Deputy Mayor and Chief of Staff

“I don’t think he ever went into the Jonathan Club even when they dropped the barrier. He didn’t like it. But also when he was invited to go as the guest of someone, he refused.”

- Wanda Moore, Mayor Bradley’s Executive Assistant

NEWS FOOTAGE OF FARRAKHAN'S VISIT TO L.A., JEWISH AND BLACK LEADERS REACT.

Narrator: One of Bradley's greatest strengths had been his ability to link together blacks and Jews, unlike in New York City, where the two groups were often in conflict. In L.A., he brokered private conversations when there was a crisis between the groups over the resignation of U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young in 1979 over pro-Palestinian remarks. But it was not to last. In 1985, Bradley found himself caught between his Black and Jewish coalition allies when Louis Farrakhan, the controversial leader of the Nation of Islam came to Los Angeles to deliver a speech.

"Farrakhan's entrance into the city provoked a firestorm, and it really split our communities. The Mayor was caught between the sensitivities of Jews and the sensitivity of the black community just the way he was caught with bussing. Louis Farrakhan was a symbol to the black community for black power and taking ownership of their own destiny. For the Jews it was only one issue: anti-Semitism."

- Rabbi Steven Jacobs, Temple Judea, San Fernando Valley

"Bradley was heavily pressured by his Jewish allies to denounce Farrakhan before the speech. Although we, his black advisors, had a serious difference of opinion with Farrakhan about some things he preached against Jews, we advised Bradley not to denounce him."

- John Mack, President, Los Angeles Urban League

"The Mayor took a very public position that he was sure, based upon his personal conversations with Farrakhan, that no anti-Semitic comments would be made. I met with him the night before and said, 'Boss, are you sure about this? This is very risky and nobody has ever shut down Farrakhan.' Bradley paid dearly for that mistake. But it stemmed from Bradley's image of himself as bigger than life – that as Tom Bradley he could do extraordinary things and he was willing to put political and personal capital on the line."

- Tom Houston, Bradley's 1985 Deputy Mayor and Chief of Staff

FOOTAGE OF FARRAKHAN SPEAKING AT THE L.A. FORUM BEFORE A LARGE CROWD:

"When you talk about the Holocaust, don't push your six million down our throats when we lost 100 million to slavery. We weep for Jews, but who weeps for us? Israel is a wicked hypocrisy!"

L.A. TIMES HEADLINES READ: "FARRAKHAN SPEECH: POLITICS AND UPROAR" AND "BLACKS-JEWS WORK ON RIFT". STILLS OF BLACK AND JEWISH LEADERS, FARRAKHAN.

Narrator: After remaining silent, Bradley finally condemned Farrakhan. But it was too little, too late.

"I repudiate racism, hatred, violence and bigotry, wherever it occurs and whoever utters or practices it against any race, any religion, any group or any individual. I make no exception. This includes Minister Farrakhan."

- Mayor Bradley during a television news report after Farrakhan's speech

"The coalition was tested and shaken to the core, no doubt about it. I think for many years, that coalition was the glue that kept the city together. The success of the coalition centered around the development of real relationships based upon mutual respect and mutual trust – even when you may have some serious differences, you can get through tough times."

- John Mack, President, Los Angeles Urban League

NEWS STORY ON OCCIDENTAL PETROLEUM'S INTENTION TO DRILL IN THE PALISADES.

Narrator: In that same year, an already strained coalition faced another serious rift. This time, it centered on Pacific Palisades, the affluent, largely white Westside community. Bradley had opposed a plan to allow oil drilling in the Palisades during his 1973 election campaign. But to the dismay of his closest advisors and coalition allies, he reversed himself in 1985, and agreed to the ordinance, arguing that the company had met the environmental requirements he had demanded.

FOOTAGE OF WEALTHY BEACH COMMUNITIES AND PRISTINE COASTLINE. *L.A. TIMES* HEADLINES READ: "BRADLEY APPROVES OIL DRILLING OFF PALISADES" AND "BRADLEY LOSES BACKING OVER OIL DECISION". NEWS CONFERENCE FOOTAGE ON OIL DRILLING.

"I made a conscious effort to be fair. But I can't weigh and judge my decisions as the mayor based on whether or not it's popular or unpopular. Whatever the consequences, that was my judgment and I feel comfortable with it."

- Mayor Bradley during a press conference

"The uproar among environmentalists was extremely intense. This decision helped make Bradley and his allies the focus of resentment over the city's declining 'quality of life.' Many Westsiders felt deeply betrayed by Bradley. It was no longer possible for him to be pro-development on downtown and pro-environment on the coastline; his two worlds collided."

- Regina Freer, co-author, *The Next Los Angeles: The Struggle for a Livable City*

FOOTAGE OF HIGH-RISE CONSTRUCTION ACROSS THE CITY; HEAVY CONGESTION ON STREETS AND FREEWAYS. NEWS STORY ON BRADLEY RUNNING FOR GOVERNOR AGAIN.

Narrator: In time, Bradley could neither please the poorest neighborhoods that were starved for growth, nor the more affluent ones that were choking on it.

"There seemed a crisis of leadership, a division between the older black leadership, and younger blacks who felt shut out from the political process. At the same time, these largely black areas of the city were becoming more Latino and Asian. New coalitions developed around social concerns of economic equity and access, the environment, and police abuse. Nationwide, there were fewer black politicians elected in areas that were not majority black."

- Lorn Foster, Professor, Politics, Pomona College

Narrator: Bradley ran for California governor again in 1986, and this time, he lost by a wide margin. His most loyal support in the city – black and Jewish voters – eroded in the election. To some, the defeat marked the beginning of the end of the Bradley administration.

"It seemed like he had lost that driving motivation. It seemed like he was a little down and a little defeated and he was starting to think, 'Maybe I'm on the downside of my career, rather than the upside.' It was just a different environment in the office. You could just feel it."

- Kerman Maddox, Mayor Bradley's Special Assistant

NEWS REPORTS ABOUT BRADLEY'S FINANCIAL SCANDAL, *L.A. TIMES* HEADLINE READS: "SCANDAL UNDER MAYOR DISPELS MODEL IMAGE", "THE MAYOR'S YEAR OF TURMOIL".

Narrator: Bradley faced the only serious political scandal of his career in 1989. Bradley was hired as a board member of a local bank, and was accused of steering city deposits to it. At least one elected official called for his resignation. Bradley was also found to have received, along with other political

leaders, preferential stock offerings. He never was indicted, but it was the first time such questions had ever been raised about Bradley, and his support hit its low point.

“Bradley had gone from high patron saint in Martin Luther King’s dream of integration to ambitious politician, to finally, a bored, quietly disgruntled power broker. The allegations played themselves out over several years. But the harm was cumulative, and by the end of the decade, Tom Bradley seemed weary, disengaged, his star tarnished, his light dimmed, unprepared for what was slowing building.”

- Joe Domanick, author, *To Protect and to Serve*

FOOTAGE OF BRADLEY ANNOUNCING HIS RUN FOR FIFTH TERM ON THE JOAN RIVERS SHOW; L.A. TIMES HEADLINE READS: “POLITICALLY BRUISED MAYOR NARROWLY WINS”.

Narrator: That same year, Bradley ran for a fifth term as mayor. But he was barely able to hold on and defeat the lesser-known candidate, African American city council member Nate Holden.

“I was asking everybody why he didn’t quit. And Willie Brown, then the California Speaker of the Assembly, said, ‘Nobody quits. You’re arrested. You’re indicted. You’re jailed. You lose. You die.’ The press got tired of him. The public got tired of him. He became old hat. The racial tensions in the city kept bubbling up. The police department was out of control. Bradley’s failures were his insistence for running a fifth, even a fourth term. He really should have known when to quit. The great ones know when to step down.”

- Bill Boyarsky, political writer and city editor, *Los Angeles Times*

BRADLEY DELIVERING HIS INAUGURAL SPEECH ON THE LAWN OUTSIDE OF CITY HALL.

“Los Angeles cannot permanently exist as two cities – one amazingly prosperous, the other increasingly poorer in substance and in hope.”

- Mayor Tom Bradley

“A slow, political downfall descended on the embattled mayor who seemed to be on the verge of becoming irrelevant to the new generation of minority youth. With a national recession hitting L.A. hard, Bradley’s growth agenda was stalled, and tensions were rising. The logjam between Bradley and Gates became a stalemate. The worst was yet to come.”

- Raphael Sonenshein, author, *Politics in Black and White*

ACT THREE: OUT OF THE ASHES

CIVIL UNREST AND POLICE REFORM

ARCHIVAL FOOTAGE OF POLICE BRUTALITY AGAINST MINORITIES, ANGRY RESIDENTS, DEMONSTRATIONS AND PROTESTS, AND LAPD OFFICERS PATROLLING THE STREETS.

“Police abuse was rampant. People were angry and they organized to protest the abuse. City officials took a see-no-evil, hear-no-evil stance on the allegations of police brutality and left it to the LAPD to investigate and police itself.”

- Earl Ofari Hutchinson, political analyst, *The Hutchinson Report*

NEWS FOOTAGE OF GATES CHRISTENING A STEEL BATTERING RAM ON AN ARMORED VEHICLE AND BREAKING INTO A PRIVATE HOME; GATES DURING OPERATION HAMMER.

Narrator: Chief Gates launched Operation Hammer in 1987, a series of massive sweeps in South L.A. ostensibly aimed at cracking down on the proliferation of illegal drugs and street violence.

“Up to 1,000 cops at any one time, backed by elite tactical squads, would sweep down and arrest suspected gang members and drug dealers. This lasted for over three years. Nearly 50,000 young blacks and Latinos were arrested, but were rarely charged with crimes. Critics blasted the sweeps as violent, destructive, and race-based harassment.”

- Kerman Maddox, Mayor Bradley’s Special Assistant

GRAINY BLACK AND WHITE IMAGES: A DEFENSELESS BLACK MOTORIST, RODNEY KING, STRUGGLING ON THE GROUND WHILE FOUR POLICE OFFICERS, NONE OF THEM BLACK, MERCILESSLY BEAT HIM WITH METAL BATONS FOR A FULL 19 SECONDS.

Narrator: March 3, 1991. The amateur video recording of Rodney King’s beating was played and replayed around the world, deeply embedding the images in the national consciousness.

“Daryl Gates continued a long tradition of the LAPD operating like an occupation force in the African American community. A very brutal, racist institution which, in my opinion, unofficially, if not officially sanctioned, ‘It’s alright to beat the hell out of black people, especially African American men.’ I say all the time, ‘Thank God for that video tape’ because there were a number of white people who lived in the Valley, on the Westside, who frankly didn’t really believe us. But the video provided indisputable evidence that I think changed the thinking and the mindset of a lot of people. And it helped us to be able to bring about changes.”

- John Mack, President, Los Angeles Urban League

Narrator: Facing the biggest challenge of his career, Chief Gates responded to the controversy:

“This is an isolated aberration and the police officers involved will be punished.”

- Police Chief Gates at a press conference following the King beating

“The people of this city have been slapped in the face by the attitude and bigotry of these officers. It is no longer possible for any objective person to regard the King beating as an ‘aberration.’ There appears to be a dangerous trend of racially motivated incidents running through at least some segments of our police department. This must stop.”

- Mayor Bradley during a KCAL-TV news report

GRAINY COLOR IMAGES FROM A MINI-MART SECURITY CAMERA SHOW A BLACK FEMALE TEENAGER ARGUING WITH A FEMALE ASIAN MERCHANT OVER A BOTTLE OF ORANGE JUICE. AS THE GIRL SETS DOWN THE JUICE AND TURNS TO WALK AWAY, THE MERCHANT RAISES A PISTOL AND FIRES A SINGLE SHOT INTO THE BACK OF THE TEENAGER’S HEAD.

“Thirteen days later, the dynamics shifted dramatically when Latasha Harlins, a 16 year old African American girl, was shot and killed by a Korean store owner, Soon Ja Du. That ignited tensions brewing over ten years between blacks and Koreans. It got ugly.”

- Bong-Hwan Kim, Korean American community activist

FOOTAGE OF MAYOR BRADLEY BEFORE TV CAMERAS; BLACK-KOREAN LEADERSHIP.

Narrator: The struggle over the police, now at its height, brought the fight back into Bradley.

"I share the sorrow and distress expressed by leaders in both the African American and Korean American communities in response to the tragic murder of Latasha Harlins. I am deeply concerned about the potential for this incident to divide our city along ethnic lines."

- Mayor Bradley during a press conference following the Harlins' incident

"Mayor Bradley made an attempt to discuss solutions to minimize the growing racial tensions between blacks and Koreans. He convened a private meeting with leaders of the Black-Korean Alliance, the L.A. County Commission on Human Relations and the NAACP, but the talks didn't work. Two days later, the Brotherhood Crusade, a black nationalist organization, held a demonstration demanding the closure of the store where Harlins was murdered."

- Kyeyoung Park, Associate Professor, Anthropology, UCLA

NEWS FOOTAGE OF BLACK PROTESTERS SHOUTING: "SEND KOREANS HOME!" "STOP MURDERING OUR YOUNG CHILDREN!" AND "WE WANT JUSTICE!" BANNERS ARE HUNG ON THE MINI MART THAT READ: "CLOSED FOR MURDER AND DISREPECT OF BLACK PEOPLE".

"We are here to demand respect from any person who seeks to do business in the black community, and that means Koreans, blacks, Jews. The killing must stop and there must be a change in the way business is done in our community."

- Danny Bakewell, President, Brotherhood Crusade (during a televised protest)

IMAGES OF KOREAN MERCHANTS AND BLACK CUSTOMERS; LIQUOR STORES ON VIRTUALLY ON EVERY BLOCK IN SOUTH CENTRAL. CUT TO LYRICS OF A SONG WRITTEN BY BLACK RAPPER, ICE CUBE. LYRICS APPEAR STARKLY ON A BLACK SCREEN:

*"So don't follow me up and down your market
Or your little chop-suey ass will be a target of the nationwide boycott
So pay respect to the black fist or we'll burn your store right down to a crisp
And then we'll see ya 'cause you can't turn the ghetto into black Korea."*

Narrator: Ice Cube's 1991 song, *Black-Korea*, released after Harlin's death, was evidence that tensions were so high that race and conflict transcended into popular culture. At the time, it was painful for Bradley, so skilled at building bridges, to find that he could not help the two communities find common ground. He had long cultivated ties to Asian Americans, back to his 10th district council race, and had saved Asian American representation on the council in 1986.

L.A. TIMES HEADLINE READS: "BRADLEY QUICKLY VETOES CITY COUNCIL'S REDISTRICTING PLAN". FOOTAGE OF COUNCILMAN WOO IN COUNCIL CHAMBERS.

"When the City Council voted on the redistricting plan, which would have eliminated the seat of Michael Woo, the only Asian American city councilmember, Bradley vetoed it. From his earliest days in politics, Bradley was close to the Asian American community. By saving Woo's seat and taking on the Council head on, he repaid that long mutual loyalty, but the conflict erupting between blacks and Koreans was just too deep rooted and hard to resolve."

- Raphael Sonenshein, author, *Politics in Black and White*

NEWS FOOTAGE OF DU'S COURT SENTENCING, BLACKS PROTESTING VERDICT. ARCHIVAL FOOTAGE OF BLACKS BOYCOTTING KOREAN STORES IN CITIES ACROSS U.S.

"Before Harlins was killed, Black-Korean conflicts in New York City were considered more serious than those in L.A. In fact, emerging tensions between them date back to the early '80s, when blacks boycotted Korean shopkeepers in New York City, Chicago, Washington

DC, Atlanta and Los Angeles. Black boycotts and individual acts of anti-Korean or anti-Asian violence paved the way for massive destruction of Korean businesses that was yet to come.”

- Kyeyoung Park, Associate Professor, Anthropology, UCLA

NEWS FOOTAGE OF BLACK-KOREAN DISPUTES, PHOTOS OF GATES AND BRADLEY.

Narrator: While black and Korean tensions escalated, the conflict between the mayor and police chief intensified.

“It was a well-known secret that Bradley and Gates hated each other. Shockingly, they didn’t talk for 13 months. Here, in a city of this size, the mayor and chief aren’t talking? They were so prideful in themselves, both convinced each were dogmatically right that they didn’t try once to communicate.”

- Lou Cannon, author, *Official Negligence*

“I’m the mayor’s liaison to the police. This is how we communicated between the mayor’s office and chief of police: I would go and talk to the deputy chiefs. Then, they would talk to the chief. The chief would talk to them. The deputies would come talk to me. Finally, I’d talk to the mayor. We’d pass along information like that. That’s a difficult way to run a city.”

- Kerman Maddox, Mayor Bradley’s Special Assistant

“Tremendous pressure arose from an enraged black community for Bradley to take a strong stand to oust Gates. But through the City Charter, Gates had the equivalent of lifetime protection in his job, which meant Bradley couldn’t fire him. In most other cities, a chief who’s completely in the outs with the mayor isn’t going to last long. Bradley’s hands were tied.”

- Patt Morrison, writer and columnist, *Los Angeles Times*

NEWS REPORTS, INTERVIEWS WITH BRADLEY’S APPOINTED POLICE COMMISSION.

Narrator: As tensions escalated, Bradley set up the Christopher Commission to investigate the LAPD. Led by former U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, the 10-member commission called for police reform, demanding an end to excessive force and racism by the police force. These reforms, which included the removal of the police chief’s civil service protection, comprised one of the greatest governmental transformations in Los Angeles history.

ARCHIVAL NEWS FOOTAGE OF WARREN CHRISTOPHER BEING INTERVIEWED BY MEDIA.

“The foundation of our report came from audiotapes of police officers in their patrol cars. We heard graphic examples of racism, references like ‘In the projects, we need to piss off the natives,’ ‘Sounds like monkey-slapping going on,’ and ‘gorillas in the mist.’”

- Warren Christopher, Chair, Christopher Commission

“I say to those who would block the road to change: stand aside or we will leave you behind. We will not rest until the Christopher Commission has changed the way we police our city.”

- Mayor Tom Bradley during a press conference

ARCHIVAL FOOTAGE OF THE BRADLEY-GATES FEUD CLIMAXING WHEN BRADLEY PUBLICLY CALLS ON GATES TO RESIGN. GATES DEFIANTLY REFUSES.

“For the good of the LAPD and the welfare of all Los Angeles, I demand you resign, Chief Gates.”

- Mayor Bradley during a 1991 live televised address

"I said I was going to retire at the end of June and my feeling is now, 'Screw you. I'll retire when I want to retire.' The Los Angeles Police Department is now in the hands of crummy little politicians who are now manipulating the promotional process."

- Police Chief Daryl Gates during a 1991 press conference

LIVE NEWS FOOTAGE OF THE RODNEY KING BEATING VERDICTS BEING READ IN COURT. THE DATE, APRIL 29, 1992, APPEARS ON THE SCREEN.

Narrator: As the battle for the soul of the city played itself out between Bradley and Gates, the officers who beat Rodney King were brought to trial in Simi Valley, a conservative, predominantly white city on the outskirts of L.A. The legal verdicts brought widespread shock: *NOT GUILTY*.

FOOTAGE OF MANY TROUBLED CITIZENS, MOSTLY BLACK, AT FIRST A.M.E. CHURCH. FOOTAGE OF BRADLEY IN THE PULPIT BEING BOOED BY A LARGE CROWD.

"I was with the mayor at First A.M.E. Church. There were thousands of people there. Large video screens were set up inside and outside. There was a ton of reporters. When the verdicts came down, it was like you were at a funeral – real quiet. It was an abysmal pit."

- Bobby Adams, Mayor Bradley's Chief of Detail and security guard

"I was in the pulpit behind the mayor when he attempted to speak. People booed and some even heckled him. One woman yelled, 'Sit down! What the hell are you going to do?' And you could see him just physically shrink. It was something he'd probably never thought he'd ever see or hear in his life – coming from people he had devoted much of his life to making their lives and community better. He simply lost touch with the people."

- Joe Hicks, Co-Chair, Black-Korean Alliance

NEWS FOOTAGE OF PANDEMONIUM AS THE MAYOR TRIES TO LEAVE THE CHURCH.

"We had to force our way to get into the car. People started banging the windows, banging the car. I don't know what they were saying, but it wasn't pleasant. The only thing that I remember the mayor saying was, 'Let's go to City Hall.' On the police radio, we heard parts of the city were erupting, starting with Florence and Normandie."

- Bobby Adams, Mayor Bradley's Chief of Detail and security guard

HELICOPTER-MOUNTED CAMERAS HOVERING ABOVE FLORENCE AND NORMANDIE CAPTURE WHITE MOTORIST REGINALD DENNY BEING YANKED OUT OF HIS 18-WHEELER. ANGRY YOUNG BLACK MEN BRUTALLY BEAT HIM. HE LAYS UNCONSCIOUS IN THE STREET, BLOOD IS SEEN EVERYWHERE AND POLICE NEVER APPEAR.

"There was enough time to deploy police officers to the streets. But neither Mayor Bradley nor Chief Gates had a unified plan when the riots erupted. How could they when they didn't speak for a year prior?"

- Lou Cannon, author, *Official Negligence*

LIVE NEWS FOOTAGE ON THE GROUND: AN ANGRY DREADLOCKED MAN YELLS AT A LINE OF POLICE OFFICERS: *"NO JUSTICE, NO PEACE! NO MURDERING POLICE!"* A YOUNG BOY WALKS THROUGH THE CHARRED WRECKAGE OF A STORE, HAULING BAGS OF GROCERIES. A MOTHER HOLDING A CHILD WEEPS. KOREAN AMERICAN SHOPKEEPERS ON ROOFTOPS, DEFEND THEIR STORES WITH SHOTGUNS.

"I was shocked. I was stunned. I was outraged. Today the system failed us. The jury's verdict will never blind us to what we saw on that videotape. The men who beat Rodney King do not deserve to wear the uniform of the LAPD. What we saw was a crime."

- Mayor Bradley, uncharacteristically angry, criticizes the verdicts in a TV address

POV OF A HELICOPTER'S CAMERA: LOOTING, VANDALISM AND FIRES CLAIM MARKETS, DRUGSTORES, LIBRARIES. GRAY SMOKE FILLS THE SKY. IT LOOKS LIKE A WAR ZONE.

"The next day, the Mayor and I flew in a helicopter over the city and it seemed like all of Los Angeles was on fire. I know it cut him deep when he saw the city burn like that. I got the vibe. All his hard work, all the 18-hour days, all the things he had done, and it just hurt him, tore him up. He was just too proud to cry. And he just got real quiet. I felt so sorry for him."

- Bobby Adams, Mayor Bradley's Chief of Detail and security guard

NEWS FOOTAGE OF MILE UPON MILE OF DEVASTATION; BRADLEY, GATES AND THE LAPD.

Narrator: After the ashes settled and smoke cleared, 58 people were killed, thousands injured and property damage neared one billion dollars. And the damage to Mayor Tom Bradley was irreparable. Bradley was unable to reach the young people who were in the streets, and yet his outrage at the verdict alienated white voters. The canyon once crossed over the bridge had become a chasm.

"The civil unrest was a low point for the Bradley administration because Bradley prided himself on bringing diverse communities together. He thought that it could never happen under his watch. He did everything he could, but I just don't know that he really understood the depth of the anger that was resonating at the grass roots level in the city of Los Angeles."

- Kerman Maddox, Mayor Bradley's Special Assistant

"But even in the ashes of the violence, Bradley achieved his last victory when Proposition F, embodying most of the Christopher Commission recommendations, received a resounding majority vote. After decades of battling discriminatory practices within the LAPD, and challenging the department's untouchable authority, Bradley finally implemented civilian control and accountability for the LAPD. This meant that any new police chief now had a term limit, and it removed the police chief's civil service protection. This unparalleled reform finally led to the ouster of his longtime nemesis, Chief Daryl Gates."

- Raphael Sonenshein, author, *Politics in Black and White*

A BLACK AND WHITE PHOTO OF A YOUNG TOM BRADLEY AND DISSOLVE TO A RE-ENACTMENT OF BRADLEY, BACK TOWARDS THE CAMERA, LEAVING CITY HALL, ALONE.

Narrator: It had been a long road from the cotton fields of Texas to the climactic battle with an insular, arrogant and contemptuous LAPD. It was the end of the Bradley era.

STEPPING DOWN ... THE FINAL YEARS

"The April unrest tore at my heart. I will not be at peace until we have healed our wounds and rebuilt our neighborhoods."

- Mayor Bradley at a televised new conference following the civil unrest

FOOTAGE OF BRADLEY AND UEBERROTH WALKING THROUGH DEVASTATED AREAS. L.A. TIMES HEADLINES READ: "WE'VE GOT TO MAKE THIS CITY WORK" AND "BEYOND THE ANGRY RHETORIC: AN OVERLOOKED STORY OF L.A. DEVELOPMENT". IMAGES OF REBUILD L.A. MEMBERS, MEETINGS, ITS CRITICS AND SUPPORTERS SPEAK OUT.

Narrator: Desperate to rebuild the businesses and lives devastated by the riots, Mayor Bradley recruited Peter Ueberroth, former Baseball Commissioner and architect of the '84 Olympics, to head up Rebuild L.A., an initiative that looked to the private sector to redevelop riot-damaged areas.

“What had once worked brilliantly in the Olympics, now fell far short. What had once been a partnership between a popular mayor and an effective business leader now seemed like an abdication of governing authority. Rebuild L.A. was widely considered a failure, raising and dashing expectations of private investment to create jobs and build supermarkets, stores and businesses in the inner-city, and lacking public investment either federal, state, or local.”

- Raphael Sonenshein, author, *Politics in Black and White*

“What destroyed Rebuild L.A.’s credibility? Bitter infighting among its board members, racial discord and constant criticism from local politicians. The group overpromised and underachieved. There were so many competing groups that wanted Rebuild L.A. to wave a magic wand and solve all their problems. Rebuild L.A. quickly became an empty slogan.”

- Manuel Pastor, Professor, American Studies and Ethnicity, USC

“We haven’t lived up to everyone’s expectations, but the reality is that nobody ever tried to do what we did, and under extremely difficult circumstances. We have accomplished much, but the problems are immense. We estimated that it would take a \$6 billion dollar fix. Face it, Rebuild L.A. became the whipping boy for the failure of our society to deal with the problem.”

- Bernard Kinsey, Co-Chair, Rebuild L.A.

PRESS CONFERENCE FOOTAGE AT CITY HALL: CHAMBERS IS PACKED WITH REPORTERS AND ANGELENOS OF ALL RACES. L.A. TIMES HEADLINE READS: “MAYOR CALLS IT QUILTS”.

Narrator: At 75 years old, after three decades of political victories and defeats in one of the nation’s largest cities, Tom Bradley announced that he would not seek a sixth term as mayor.

“The collective sigh of relief whooshed out of the city’s liberal establishment. It was over. Barely 38% of the people approved of the job he was doing, and it had been like that for a year. Daryl Gates had gone beyond his capabilities. Bradley, as he knew better than anyone else, had never been permitted to reach his. He’d let others dream about what might have been and view him as an American tragedy.”

- Joe Domanick, author, *To Protect and to Serve*

NEWS FOOTAGE OF COUNCILMAN MICHAEL WOO ON CITY HALL STEPS ANNOUNCING HIS CANDIDACY FOR LOS ANGELES MAYOR; A CROWD OF SUPPORTERS CHEER HIM ON.

“If we’re going to design the person expected to take Tom Bradley’s place as mayor, it would have been Mike Woo. A young, liberal Asian American city councilman, strong on police reform, able to take the Bradley coalition and make it multi-racial for a new age. Despite tensions between blacks and Korean Americans, Woo won the vast majority of black votes. But it was not enough. Whites were alienated enough to doom the Woo candidacy.”

- Raphael Sonenshein, author, *Politics in Black and White*

Narrator: Wealthy Republican businessman Richard Riordan defeated Woo for L.A. mayor in 1993, running on the campaign pledge that he was “tough enough to turn L.A. around.”

NEWS FOOTAGE OF YOUNG MULTI-ETHNIC ACTIVISTS PROTESTING, IN MEETINGS.

“Riordan’s election marked the end of the Bradley regime. Bradley’s interracial coalition became fragmented and weakened. By the late ‘80s, new alliances had emerged – multi-ethnic coalitions of young, progressive activists who focused on the struggles of the working poor – immigrant rights, a living wage, labor rights, housing, health care and environmental issues. These new coalitions demanded change and began to reshape the city.”

- Manuel Pastor, Professor, American Studies and Ethnicity, USC

NEWS FOOTAGE AND STILLS OF A LEANER, FRAGILE BRADLEY DURING HIS FINAL YEARS.

Narrator: After retirement, Bradley returned to the practice of law. But in 1996, a paralyzing stroke left him unable to speak. For the last two years of his life, he still moved around the city, his presence wordlessly reminding people of his unparalleled legacy.

“Much of his staff still visited the ‘Boss,’ including me. What was ironic was he would sing songs and you would completely understand him. But when he tried to talk normally without music, we couldn’t understand a thing. All he could utter out of his mouth was, ‘boo, boo, boo, boo.’ After I left him, I sat in my car and cried. It was just heart-breaking.”

- Valerie Fields, Mayor Bradley’s education advisor and Jewish community liaison

NEWS FOOTAGE ANNOUNCING BRADLEY’S DEATH FROM A HEART ATTACK AT 80 YEARS OLD, HIS FUNERAL PROCESSION, SERVICES AND INTERNMENT. THOUSANDS TURN OUT.

“Look around you: the downtown skyline, the expansion of the airport, opening up trade to the Pacific Rim, environmental advances, a greater appreciation for the arts, City Hall youth councils that mentored young leaders of all races, powerful city jobs for women, minorities, people with disabilities, gays and lesbians, and programs like L.A.’s Best that keep kids in school and off the streets. These were just some of the legacies of Mayor Tom Bradley.”

- Connie Chappell, Mayor Bradley’s Secretary

“His legacy that he left was hope, a legacy of hope. For our young people to never give up. That anything is possible. He gave people here something to believe in.”

- Wanda Moore, Mayor Bradley’s Executive Assistant

A MONTAGE OF POWERFUL, MOVING IMAGES OF BRADLEY’S 51-YEAR POLITICAL CAREER.

“The Bradley story is a milestone – both uplifting and terrifying – of the continuing role of race in American life. The people who become bridges between the two communities still differ from the many who are most comfortable on only one side of the divide. And the complexities of that bridge role are just as striking today as then. If a person is a bridge, how can people be encouraged to use that bridge to walk across and back again to gather sympathetic knowledge of the other community and use it to build a new coalition? How can a politician nurture community-based leadership to carry on the vision?”

- Raphael Sonenshein, author, *Politics in Black and White*

“Those who lived through the heart of the Bradley era in Los Angeles have a special perspective on the historic presidency of Barack Obama. They have seen this story play out with each generation. And unlike most stories, there is no neat ending. America will continue to grow and evolve in racial matters, will stumble and then move forward, and sometimes backward. But one hopes that the Bradley story reminds us that in history ‘the arc of history bends toward justice.’”

- Melissa Harris-Perry, Professor, Political Science, Tulane University

*NEH America's Media Makers
Production Grant Application Part (5)*



Producers: Lyn Goldfarb & Alison Sotomayor

Institution: OUR L.A.

IMAGES

1. Key Neighborhoods in the Script
2. Key Locations Referenced in the Script
3. Poster

KEY LOCATIONS REFERENCED IN THE SCRIPT



**BRIDGING THE DIVIDE:
TOM BRADLEY AND THE POLITICS OF RACE**



Tom Bradley wins the election for Los Angeles mayor in 1973.

NEH America's Media Makers Production Grant Application Part (7)



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Racial, Ethnic, Electoral, Coalition & Urban Politics & Identities

- Alston, Denise; Pettigrew, Thomas. "Tom Bradley's Campaigns for Governor: The Dilemma of Race and Political Strategies." Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies, 1998.
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- Underwood, Katherine. "Pioneering Minority Representation: Edward Roybal and the Los Angeles City Council, 1949 – 1962." *Pacific Historical Review*, 1997.

Race & Culture in America & the West

- Kurashige, Scott. *The Shifting Grounds of Race: Black and Japanese Americans in the Making of Multiethnic Los Angeles*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Pastor, Manuel; Glover Blackwell, Angela; Kwoh, Stewart. *Searching For The Uncommon Common Ground: New Dimensions on Race in America*. New York: Norton & Co., 2002.

African American History & the Black West

- Flamming, Douglas. *African-Americans and the Politics of Race in Progressive-Era Los Angeles*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994.
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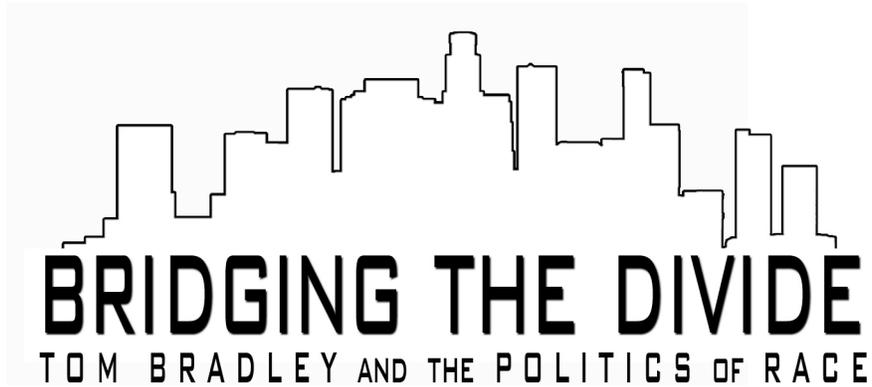
Los Angeles History & its Future

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- Deverell, William; Hise, Greg, eds. *The Blackwell Companion to Los Angeles*. Malden: Blackwell, 2010.
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- Gottlieb, Robert; Freer, Regina; Vallianatos, Mark; Dreier, Peter, eds. *The Next Los Angeles: The Struggle for a Livable City*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

Los Angeles Police Department History

- Broome, Homer, Jr. *LAPD's Black History, 1886 – 1976*. Norwalk: Stockton Trade Press, 1977.
- Buntin, John. *LA Noir*. New York: Crown Publishing, 2009.
- Cannon, Lou. *Official Negligence: How Rodney King and the Riots Changed Los Angeles and the LAPD*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1999.
- Domanick, Joe. *To Protect and to Serve: the LAPD's Century of War in the City of Dreams*. Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2003.
- Escobar, Edward. "The Dialectics of Repression: The Los Angeles Police Department and the Chicano Movement, 1968-1971." *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 79, No. 4, 1993.
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- Parker, William. Edited by O.W. Wilson. *Parker on Police*. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, 1957.
- Woods, Joseph. "The Progressives and the Police: Urban Reform and the Professionalism of the Los Angeles Police." Ph.D. dissertation, UCLA, 1973.

*NEH America's Media Makers
Production Grant Application Part (8)*



RESUMES & LETTERS

A. Media Team Resumes

B. Resumes and Letters of Commitment from Humanities Advisers

A. MEDIA TEAM BIOGRAPHIES

1. Lyn Goldfarb	Producer/Director/Writer	Pg. 76
2. Alison Sotomayor	Producer/Research Director/Writer	Pg. 78
3. Lillian Benson	Editor	Pg. 80
4. Michelle Crenshaw	Cinematographer	Pg. 83

LYN GOLDFARB

WWW.DOCUMENTARY-FILMS.TV 323 669-1106

SELECTED TELEVISION PRODUCTIONS

Director, Producer, Writer: BRIDGING THE DIVIDE: TOM BRADLEY and the POLITICS of RACE (in progress)

Director, Producer: THE NEW LOS ANGELES, National Primetime PBS Broadcast, 2006

Executive Producer: CALIFORNIA AND THE AMERICAN DREAM Series (4 hours). National Primetime PBS Broadcast, 2006.

Executive Producer, Director, Producer, Writer: JAPAN: MEMOIRS OF A SECRET EMPIRE (3 hours). National Primetime PBS Broadcast, 2004.

Executive Producer, Director, Producer: THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE FIRST CENTURY (4 hours). National Primetime PBS Broadcast, 2001.

Director, Producer, Writer: *TOTAL WAR*
THE GREAT WAR: AND THE SHAPING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY Series.
KCET AND BBC, 1995. National Primetime PBS Broadcast, 1996.

Director, Producer, Writer: PEOPLE IN MOTION Series I & 2. WNET. National Primetime PBS Broadcast, 1996 & 1995.

Director, Producer, Writer: *WE HAVE A PLAN*
THE GREAT DEPRESSION Series. Blackside Inc. National Primetime PBS Broadcast, 1993.

Senior Producer, Director: DANGER: KIDS AT WORK,
VU Prods. LIFETIME TV National Primetime Broadcast, 1991.

Producer: A TASTE OF FREEDOM Lightmotive Inc., TNT National Primetime Broadcast, 1991.

Producer, Historian: WITH BABIES AND BANNERS: STORY OF THE WOMEN'S EMERGENCY BRIGADE. Academy Award nomination. Theatrical release. International theatrical and television broadcast. National Primetime PBS Broadcast, 1981.

TEACHING POSITIONS (SELECTED)

Film Envoy

American Film Showcase (U.S. State Department and USC)
Burundi, 2012

Instructor

Documentary Film Production Workshop
American Center, Yangon, Myanmar, 2010

Faculty

Fundamentals of Cinema Techniques
School of Cinematic Arts, USC, 2005

Museums, Universities and Exhibitions (SELECTED)

Director, Producer: MUSEUMS WITHOUT BORDERS

American Association of Museums Annual Meeting, Los Angeles, 2010

Director, Producer: L.A. WORKING/TRABAJAMOS LOS ANGELES

GUADALAJARA INTERNATIONAL BOOK FAIR, Guadalajara, Mexico, 2009

Director, Producer, Writer: Major Campaign Fundraising Documentaries
STANFORD UNIVERSITY, 2012, 2008, 2001

Producer: PUBLIC BROADCASTING IN PUBLIC PLACES: Interactive kiosks.
Funded by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, 2007

Director, Producer: HOLY IMAGE, HALLOWED GROUND: ICONS FROM SINAI
J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM, Los Angeles, 2006

MAJOR AWARDS AND FESTIVALS (SELECTED)

Academy Award nomination; 2 Emmys; 2 du-Pont Columbia Awards; Golden Mike; George Foster Peabody Award, CINE Golden Eagle; 3 Bronze Tellys; IMAGEN Award nominee; Blue Ribbon, Emily Grand Prize, American Film Festival; Gold Ducat, Mannheim Int'l Film Festival; Outstanding Film of the Year, London Int'l Film Festival; Golden Plaque for Best Interactive Visitor Center Presentation, Chicago Int'l Film Festival INTERCOM Competition; New York Film Festival; Telluride Film Festival; Nosotros American Latino Film Festival; Pan African Film Festival; San Diego Latino Film Festival; Festival Int'l de Cine de Monterrey. Aluta International Film Festival (South Africa); and the Black Maria Film and Video Festival.

ALISON SOTOMAYOR

Résumé

10/08-Present PRODUCER/WRITER/RESEARCH DIRECTOR, OUR L.A., Los Angeles, CA.

- Co-producing *Bridging the Divide: Tom Bradley and the Politics of Race*, a 90-minute, feature-length documentary currently in production; co-established the non-profit, OUR L.A. (www.mayortombradley.com)

2001-Present INDEPENDENT DOCUMENTARY PRODUCER/DIRECTOR/WRITER, Van Nuys, CA.

- Produced short documentaries, social change community projects, fundraising and lifetime achievement award films for the National Hispanic Media Coalition and other Latino non-profit/for-profit organizations
- Researched visuals for the upcoming PBS documentary, *¿Más Bebés?*, directed by Academy-award nominated filmmaker Renee Tajima-Peña (2011)
- Researched content and visuals for a documentary on former L.A. County Supervisor Ed Edelman (2011)

5/04-9/05 ASSOCIATE PRODUCER, California & the American Dream, PBS, Burbank, CA.

- Conceptualized story ideas and content for one of four films (*The New Los Angeles*) in a primetime, national documentary series exploring the dynamics of culture, community and identity in California
- Conducted all research including historical research, archival photographs and footage, and music
- Located and pre-interviewed principal characters, booked interviews, wrote final interview questions
- Produced and directed a few key film shoots and conducted interviews which ultimately ended up in the film

2/01-2/03 COMMUNICATIONS DIRECTOR, National Hispanic Media Coalition, Los Angeles, CA.

- Engaged in negotiations between the National Hispanic Media Coalition and ABC, CBS, NBC & FOX network executives to diversity their workforces in front and behind camera, as well as in the area of procurement
- Coordinated press conferences, wrote press releases and fundraising proposals; communicated to the press
- Organized the annual fundraiser, the Impact Awards Gala, including producing short films for the events

2/97-7/2000 PRODUCER, LIFE & TIMES, KCET-TV Public Television, Los Angeles, CA.

- Produced hard and light news reports, serious and light features, town hall specials, and half-hour documentaries for the award winning, nightly news magazine series, *Life & Times*; coached program hosts
- Conceived, developed and researched story ideas, wrote all scripts and supervised the editing process

8/94-2/97 ASSOCIATE PRODUCER, LIFE & TIMES, KCET-TV, Los Angeles, CA.

- Conceived and developed story ideas and conducted all research for all five *Life & Times* shows per week (live and pre-taped), pre-interviewed studio guests, and recruited and supervised interns

11/91-8/94 NEWS ASSOCIATE/WRITER, NEWSLINE, KCET-TV, Los Angeles, CA.

- Produced two, live nightly cuts-ins, including wrote headline news and late breaking reports, Prepared rundowns, operated chyron and teleprompter, and selected and created graphic elements

3/91-12/91 PRODUCTION & DESK ASSISTANT, KCOP-TV, Hollywood, CA.

5/91-12/91 ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY, Human Resources, KCET-TV, Los Angeles, CA.

5/90-10/91 ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT, California Chicano News Media Association, L.A., CA.

EDUCATION

UCLA, Bachelor of Arts degree, Sociology, June 1989

MEMBERSHIP AFFILIATIONS

Academy of Television Arts & Sciences, California Chicano News Media Association, International Documentary Association, Latino Public Broadcasting, National Association of Hispanic Journalists, National Association of Latino Arts and Culture, and the National Association of Latino Independent Producers

ALISON SOTOMAYOR

Filmography

SHORT FILMS PRODUCED FOR THE NATIONAL HISPANIC MEDIA COALITION (Selected):

Producer, Director, Writer:

Twenty-five years of Media Advocacy: The National Hispanic Media Coalition, 2011
Slim Means, Big Dreams: The Los Angeles Theatre Center, 2010
A Champion for Literacy: Rubeen Martinez of Librería Martinez Bookstore and Art Gallery, 2008
Writing for Social Change: Josefina Lopez, 2008
The Life and Times of Actor and Activist Edward James Olmos, 2007
Orange County Weekly Columnist Gustavo Arellano: Wit, Race and Stereotypes, 2007
NHMC's Minority Television Writers Program, Parts 1 and 2 (2 hours), 2007
Spanish-Language Radio DJ's and Immigrant Social Justice, 2006
Out of the Picture: Minorities in Network Primetime Television, 2006
Vikki Carr: A Biography, 2004
Bert Corona: The Life and Legacy of a Mexican American Labor Leader and Community Activist, 2001

TELEVISION PRODUCTIONS (Selected):

Associate Producer: *The New Los Angeles*. National Primetime PBS Broadcast, 2006

Producer: *Life & Times*, KCET-TV Public Television, Los Angeles & California broadcasts, 1994-2000:

From Pads to Palette: A Profile of Neo-Mannerist Artist Ernie Barnes, 2000
UCLA Basketball Coach John Wooden: The Legend, the Legacy, the Wisdom, 2000
Astronaut John Glenn: A Second Time Around in Space, 1998
LA's Miniature Museum: Full of Big Ideas, 1999
I Speak With My Brush: East Los Angeles Painter and Muralist George Yepes, 1998
Self Help Graphics: Chicano Art in East Los Angeles, 1997
Five Years After LA's 1992 Civil Unrest: A Town Hall Meeting (90 minutes), 1997
The Opening of the J. Paul Getty Museum: A Half Hour Documentary hosted by Patt Morrison, 1997
Charlton Heston: Political Activism and the NRA
Frank Talk: African American and Latino Relations, 1997
Walter Cronkite: A Reporter's Life (30 minutes), 1996
Gender Warriors in Sport: The New Women's Basketball Association (WNBA), 1996
A Jazz Biography: Buddy Collette, 1996
A Portrait of Environmental Justice In Los Angeles, 1995
The Jr. Philharmonic Orchestra of California: A Short Documentary Narrated by Ed Asner, 1995
The Museum of Tolerance: Confessions of a Skinhead, 1994

MAJOR AWARDS

1999 Golden Mikes: Best News Reporting, *Dying For A Home: Crisis in LA's Animal Shelters, Life & Times*; Best Light Feature Reporting, *Women Air Force Service Pilots, WWII, Life & Times*; Best Hard News Serious Reporting, *Revolving Door: California's Mentally Ill, Life & Times*; **1998 Golden Mike:** Best Serious Feature Reporting, *LA City Fire Department Desegregation, Life & Times*; **1997 Los Angeles Emmy:** Producer, Best Public Affairs series, Studio-based, *Life & Times*; **1997 Golden Mike:** Best Sports Feature Reporting, *A New Vision for the IOC: Anita DeFrantz, Life & Times*; **1996 Los Angeles Emmy:** Producer, Best Public Affairs series, Studio-based, *Life & Times*

FELLOWSHIPS

Participated in the inaugural CPB/WETA News Academy, Washington D.C., April 2006

LILLIAN BENSON

Editor

LILLIAN E. BENSON, A.C.E.

AVID / Final Cut Pro Editor

(b) (6) (b) (6) /www.lillianbenson.com

Awards/Nominations Eyes on the Prize - Emmy nomination -Outstanding videotape editing 1990

SELECTED EDITING CREDITS

Narrative/Documentaries

EYES ON THE PRIZE (PBS series) (2 episodes)

THE MITCHELL 20 (Feature doc)

GOD IN AMERICA (PBS series) (2 episodes)

WE SHALL REMAIN: WOUNDED KNEE (PBS series)

BRING YOUR "A" GAME

ALEX IN WONDERLAND (MOW)

ONE BAD CAT- THE ALBERT WAGNER STORY

(Feature doc)

CRAFT IN AMERICA (Peabody-award winner 2008)

WIRED SCIENCE (PBS SERIES)

LIFE IS NOT A FAIRY TALE: THE FANTASIA

BARRINO STORY (MOW)

BEYOND THE STEPS- ALVIN AILEY AMERICAN DANCE THEATER

TROOP 1500- GIRL SCOUTS BEHIND BARS

CELEBRATE! CHRISTMAS WITH MAYA ANGELOU

***SHARED HISTORY** (segment producer & co-writer)

AU PAIR CHOCOLAT (Feature)

***ALL OUR SONS: FALLEN HEROES OF 9/11** (also producer & co-writer)

***TRUMPETISTICALLY CLORA BRYANT** (co-writer/editor)

THE MEANING OF FOOD (PBS series)

ROOTS 25TH ANNIVERSARY SPECIAL

THE SILENT CRISIS- DIABETES AMONG US

ASTHMA-FIGHTING TO BREATHE (2 episodes)

SOLILOQUY (Feature)

SMOTHERED-THE CENSORSHIP STRUGGLES OF

THE SMOTHERS BROTHERS COMEDY HOUR

THE OLD SETTLER (MOW)

SOUL FOOD- THE SERIES (episodic)

ALL ABOUT YOU (Feature)

A CENTURY OF LIVING

DEATH BY HANGING

OUT AT WORK

BUILDINGS: GOING UP (3 episodes)

Director

Jacqueline Shearer

Andrew Benson

Greg Barker/Julie

Powell

Stanley Nelson

Mario Van Peebles

Debbie Allen

Tom Miller

Hillary Bingham

Karen Hunte- series
exec

Debbie Allen

Phil Bertelsen

Ellen Spiro & Karen
Bernstein

Imre Horvath

Felicia Dryden
Benson McGrath
Lillian Benson

Zeinabu I. Davis

Karin Williams,
Julie Dash

Judy Leonard
Deidre Dix-Hunt

Jacques Zanetti
Maureen Muldaur

Debbie Allen
Felicia Henderson
Christine Swanson
Imre Horvath
Kimi Zabiyan

Tami Gold & Kelly
Anderson

Kurt Sayenga

Producer/Network

Blackside, Inc

Randy Murray Productions

Silverbridge Productions

Firelight Media

21st Century Foundation

KCET

Tesseract Films

Carol Sauvion, Kyra Thompson/
KCET

KCET

Lifetime

WNET Dance In America

Mobilus Media/PBS

Rainbow Media/Hallmark
Channel

Furman Films/ PBS

Off Centre Theater

Lightwave Pictures

Wimmin' With A Mission

Shannon Gee

NBC

Edge of a Dream Prod./

Discovery Channel

Inside Out Films

Muldaur Media/ Bravo/PBS

KCET

Paramount/Showtime

Faith Filmworks

Rainbow Media/HBO

HBO/America Undercover

HBO/America Undercover

Arcwelder Films/Discovery

BRIDGES- REACHING OUT TUNNELS- DIGGING IN		Channel
MOTOWN 40TH: A RESTROSPECTIVE	Hart Perry	de Passe Entertainment/ABC
CONSCIENCE & THE CONSTITUTION	Frank Abe	Shannon Gee/Independent Lens
CRIMES IN TIME (<i>Feature doc</i>)	Maureen Muldaur	FilmRoos/ A&E
I WITNESS VIDEO (<i>reality series</i>)	Terry Landau	NBC
SING FASTER-THE STAGEHANDS' RING CYCLE	Jon Else	PBS
THE GREAT DEPRESSION- A JOB AT FORD'S (<i>PBS series</i>)	Jon Else	Blackside, Inc
DANCING: NEW WORLDS, NEW FORMS (<i>PBS series</i>)	Orlando Bagwell	Roja Productions/WNET
ALMA'S RAINBOW (<i>Feature</i>)	Ayoka Chenzira	Red Carnelian Films
THE MASSACHUSETTS 54TH COLORED INFANTRY	Jacqueline Shearer	Real Deal Productions/ The American Experience
ASTRONOMERS (<i>PBS series</i>)	Chris Wiser	KCET
KEEPERS OF EDEN	Richard Wells	KQED
TWISTED (<i>Feature</i>)	Adam Holender	Hemdale Film

Ms. Benson serves on the board of directors of American Cinema Editors, is a member of the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences and the IDA.

July 5, 2012

Lyn Goldfarb
Bridging the Divide: Tom Bradley and the Politics of Race
2454 Lyric Avenue
Los Angeles, CA 90027

Dear Lyn,

I am happy to participate in your next production, BRIDGING THE DIVIDE: TOM BRADLEY AND THE POLITICS OF RACE, either as an editor or an editorial consultant. In this changing political landscape, it is important for us to acknowledge the accomplishments of our forbearers as we press toward present day change.

Tom Bradley was a remarkable man and politician, whose story is an important part of American history.

Thanks for asking me to join the team. It will be a pleasure to help shepherd this man's story to fruition.

Sincerely,

Lillian E. Benson, A.C.E.

Michelle J. Crenshaw

Film/Digital

Director of Photography | Camera Operator

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

Director of Photography:

THE NEW BLACK. An HD documentary feature. Director Yoruba Richen.
(In Progress)

BRIDGING THE DIVIDE: TOM BRADLEY AND THE POLITICS OF RACE.
(In Progress) A 90-minute feature-length documentary for a national PBS
broadcast. Producer/Director Lyn Goldfarb and Producer Alison Sotomayor.

THE LOST SHEPHERD. An HD dramatic short. Producer/Director Maurice Poplar.

L.A. WORKING. A video documentary short. Producer/Director Lyn Goldfarb.

TAVIS SMILEY REPORTS. Secretary of State: Hillary Rodham Clinton at 2009 NATO
conference. Director Allen Palmer. Broadcast on PBS.

MY NEW SWEETHEART. A dramatic film short. Writer/Director Joseph Calta.

HOMEcomings. Director Charlene Gilbert. Distributed by California Newsreel.
Broadcast on PBS.

THE MAN WHO DROVE WITH MANDELA. Director Greta Schiller. Broadcast on
PBS. "Best Documentary" in Berlin and Milan International Film Festivals.

THE WATERMELON WOMAN. Director Cheryl Dunye. Focus Features.

Camera Operator:

WIGS, an original web series created by Jon Avnet and Rodrigo Garcia for
YouTube.

XELERATE, a 3D short

PRETTY LITTLE LIARS, additional camera, ABC Television

CSI: NY, additional camera, season six, CBS Television

HEROES, additional camera, season four, NBC Television

BEHIND THE PLAYER, an Ace Frehley and Dan Jacobs music video

NO ONE ISLAND, a dramatic short

EXTRA ORDINARY BARRY, an independent feature

THE HOUSE THAT JACK BUILT, an independent feature

Teaching Positions and Training:

Tom Bradley Leadership Summit and Video Training Program, Summer 2012.
Conducted video production workshops.

Hollywood Cinema Production Resources, a vocational training program with
West Los Angeles College. Camera department instructor part-time, 2008 –
present.

Camera Assistant:

Assisted numerous cinematographers managing motion picture camera
equipment and supplies.

CREDITS LISTED AT: www.imdb.com/name/nm0187410/

Michelle Crenshaw

(b) (6)

August 2, 2012

Lyn Goldfarb

Producer

BRIDGING THE DIVIDE: TOM BRADLEY AND THE POLITICS OF RACE

2454 Lyric Ave.

Los Angeles, CA. 90027

Dear Lyn:

I am very pleased to work with you as the Cinematographer for your documentary BRIDGING THE DIVIDE: TOM BRADLEY AND THE POLITICS OF RACE. It is an incredibly important subject and I am honored to be part of the team who creates a documentary which brings to light the life and legacy of Tom Bradley, and the important issues about race and coalitions that it raises. I have had the pleasure of filming the interviews with several of the older interviewees and was honored to film the interview with the late Bill Elkins, one of Bradley's closest friends and colleagues, the last and possibly only interview with this important man.

I know that you are applying for a production grant and want to let you know that I am ready to work with you when you start filming again.

Thank you.

Michelle Crenshaw

B. RESUMES AND LETTERS OF COMMITMENT FROM CONSULTANTS

1. Raphael Sonenshein	Cal State University, Los Angeles (Chief Academic Adviser)	Pg. 87
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3. William Deverell	Huntington Library - USC	Pg. 92
4. Douglas Flamming	Georgia Institute of Technology	Pg. 95
5. Lorn S. Foster	Pomona College	Pg. 98
6. Regina Freer	Occidental College	Pg. 101
7. Franklin D. Gilliam, Jr.	UCLA	Pg. 104
8. Fernando J. Guerra	Loyola Marymount University	Pg. 107
9. Melissa V. Harris-Perry	Tulane University	Pg. 110
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13. Manuel Pastor	USC	Pg. 122
14. David C. Perry	Great Cities Institute	Pg. 125
15. Quintard Taylor	University of Washington	Pg. 128

RAPHAEL SONENSHEIN

Raphael J. Sonenshein is the Executive Director of the Edmund G. "Pat" Brown Institute for Public Affairs at California State University, Los Angeles. Previously, he was Chair of the Division of Politics, Administration, and Justice at CSU Fullerton where he taught political science for 29 years. He received his B.A. in public policy from Princeton, and his M.A. and Ph.D. in political science from Yale. His book *Politics in Black and White: Race and Power in Los Angeles* (Princeton University Press, 1993) received the 1994 Ralph J. Bunche Award from the American Political Science Association.

Dr. Sonenshein served as Executive Director of the City of Los Angeles (Appointed) Charter Reform Commission. Dr. Sonenshein's book, *The City at Stake: Secession, Reform, and the Battle for Los Angeles*, was published in 2004 by Princeton University Press. He has since advised charter reforms in Glendale, Burbank, and Culver City and served as Executive Director of the Los Angeles Neighborhood Council Review Commission.

Dr. Sonenshein served as the political consultant to the election-day *Los Angeles Times* Poll. His monthly column, "The Jewish Vote" in the *Jewish Journal* was nominated in 2005 for the best editorial by the Los Angeles Press Club.

Dr. Sonenshein was named Best Educator by Associated Students and Distinguished Faculty Member by the School of Humanities and Social Sciences. In 2005, Dr. Sonenshein received a \$20,000 Wang Family Excellence Award. In 2006, he was named the first winner of the campus wide Carol Barnes Award for Teaching Excellence. He was one of two co-winners of \$25,000 awards from the John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation of the first and only Haynes Research Impact Awards. The League of Women Voters published his third book, *Los Angeles: Structure of a City Government*.

He was selected as the fall 2008 Fulbright Tocqueville Distinguished Chair in American Studies at the University of Paris 8. His current research, with CSUF geographer Mark Drayse, supported by the Russell Sage Foundation, explores the prospects for coalitions in Los Angeles.

In 2012, he received the Harry J. Scoville Award for Academic Excellence from the Los Angeles Chapter of the American Society of Public Administration.



Edmund G. "Pat" Brown
Governor of California
(1959-1967)

California State University, Los Angeles
5151 State University Drive
Los Angeles, CA 90032-8261

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June 14, 2012

Lyn Goldfarb and Alison Sotomayor, Producers
OUR L.A.
2454 Lyric Avenue
Los Angeles, CA 90027

Dear Lyn and Alison:

It has been a great pleasure to serve as Chief Academic Adviser for the documentary film project on Mayor Tom Bradley. Having studied and written about Tom Bradley and his historic coalition for more than two decades, I am delighted to see that you are filling this important gap in the historical record of American race relations. I have been gratified to observe your effort to hear from a broad range of scholars and activists, and I believe the result will be a great and invaluable resource.

As you know, I took the lead in writing the treatment for the movie, with the intention of joining together insights from scholars and activists. The goal has been to make the Bradley story both informative and illuminating, "warts and all." The plan to link Bradley's career to the broad story of American race relations from mid 20th century into the world we live in today brings a fresh meaning to the Bradley case. We have been trying mightily to bring Los Angeles into the story because the African American experience in the nation's second largest city has been generally overlooked. Finally, the relevance to the election of an African American president adds a special power to the story.

I am very committed to the completion of the project and have been available to assist on the development of a script and any additional steps necessary to bring the documentary to fruition. You can call upon me as needed both as an adviser and as a drafter.

I look forward to further work on this exciting project, and I am honored to be a member of the team.

Sincerely,

Raphael J. Sonenshein, Executive Director
Edmund "G" Pat Brown Institute of Public Affairs



(b) (6)

Telephone:

(b) (6)

Email:

(b) (6)

PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS

Curator, *Collecting Los Angeles*, UCLA Library, July 2009 – Present. Plans, organizes, manages, budgets, and assesses program goals and strategies. Identifies opportunities and implements plans for supporting existing collections, and acquiring new collections within the scope of the program; Works closely with department heads and colleagues to: identify fundraising opportunities, solicit monetary and in-kind donations, write grants, corporate sponsorship proposals, and initiate outreach to prospective donors; encourage visibility for collections; organize and manage exhibitions, programs, publications (both print and electronic); engage with campus and community to develop partnerships, training and collection development opportunities.

Managing Director, *LA as Subject*, University of Southern California Libraries, January 2007 – July 2009. Responsible for strategic leadership, visibility, community partnerships and university relations for regional association of 250 archival institutions, sponsor of highly successful annual “Los Angeles Archives Bazaar.” On my independent initiative, I raised \$200,000 in library donations to process the Yvonne Braithwaite Burke Collection, produce William Grant Still programming for the Provost’s “Visions & Voices” arts and humanities initiative, and sponsors for the Archives Bazaar.

Featured Blogger, *The Loop website*, August 5, 2008 – July 2010. Received the 2009 “Best Blogger on Ethnic Perspectives” Award from New America Media for weekly posts, “The Reparations Chronicles.”

Conference Chair, “100 Years Since Allensworth: Is California Living Up to the Legacy?” USC/California State Parks Foundation, May 4, 2009. Inaugural conference in a planned “Hidden Stories” series, co-convened with USC Libraries to bring together participants interested in preserving and disseminating knowledge about African American historic sites, events and figures in California.

Advisor, “Bridging the Divide: Tom Bradley and the Politics of Race,” December 2008 to Present, First-ever documentary film about the legendary Los Angeles mayor, in production, by OUR L.A.

Curator, “Allensworth: 100 Years of the California Dream,” Statewide, touring centennial exhibit February 2008 – February 2009 produced in partnership with California Parks Department, California Black Legislative Caucus, California African American Museum and the California Community Empowerment Foundation.

Visiting Professor, Pitzer College, Spring 2007. “African American Utopian Imagination, 1877 – 1917,” seminar course.

Consultant, The California Endowment, May 2005 – December 2007, Began as staff manager of editorial services, providing leadership within all areas requiring editorial content and internal and external

communications for one of the nation's largest foundations. Led research project examining national grant-making initiatives to improve the health of boys and men of color.

Founder and Principal, CivicArts, 1999 – 2005 –Communication, research, writing and strategic services. Clients include: The Virginia Waring International Piano Competition; The Los Angeles Urban Dance Festival at the Hollywood Palladium; The Italian Cultural Institute; Los Angeles Museum of Contemporary Art; Strategy Group/Coalition for an Informed California; Laufer Green Isaacs; Merrill Lynch Foundation; Senator Mark Ridley-Thomas; Community Development Technologies Center; Los Angeles Metropolitan Churches; Community Coalition.

Director of Special Projects, External Affairs, Local Initiatives Support Corporation, 1990 – 1998 – National team leader managed Western regional communications and public affairs office, responsible for high profile events in Washington, D.C. Generated major coverage of neighborhood revitalization, including helping bring President Clinton to tour projects in the South Bronx. Helped lead successful legislative campaigns, produced print and video collateral materials.

Media Manager and Consultant, 1983 – 1990 – Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Los Angeles Chapter – 1988 – 1990; Presidential Exploratory Committee To Elect Jesse Jackson – 1988; Elect Mark Ridley-Thomas to the LA Board of Education – 1987; People for the American Way, Washington, D.C. 1986 – 1987; General Manager, KPFK Radio 1985 – 1986; AFSCME; KCET TV; American Film Institute, 1984 – 1985; UCLA Department of Instructional Development, 1983 – 1984.

Journalist. 1975 – 1981 – Assignment Editor, Mid-morning news anchor, KHJ TV, 1980 – 1981; Producer, Assignment Editor, “28 Tonight with Clete Roberts.” KCET TV, 1980; Writer/Editor, KNX Newsradio, 1979 – 1980; News and Public Affairs Director, KPFK Radio, 1975 – 1979; Contributor, Front Page Q&A and Opinion sections, the Los Angeles Herald Examiner.

EDUCATION

M.B.A., UCLA Anderson School, 1983

Marketing/ Industrial Relations-Human Resources Management

Academic Achievement Award for original research on the history of race relations in the American labor movement

Thrifty Corporation Award

President, Black Graduate Students in Management

International Public Affairs Intern, AFSCME, Washington, D.C., Summer 1982

Inaugurated the Satellite TV Labor News Network

B.A., Scripps College, Claremont, California, 1975

Political science, third world economy, humanities, international art history

Editor, Southern Africa Relief Organization newsletter

Knowledge for Life student newspaper

August 7, 2012

Lyn Goldfarb
Producer
Bridging the Divide: Tom Bradley and the Politics of Race
2454 Lyric Ave.
Los Angeles, Ca. 90027

Dear Lyn:

I am glad to accept your invitation to serve on the advisory board for the documentary on the life and influence of Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley. I look forward to working with you to document and disseminate knowledge of this seminal figure in American politics and urban life. It's so important that scholars, students, young people and Americans of all varieties have access to this knowledge to help understand developments in the U.S. which are an outgrowth of the impact of Tom Bradley's little known legacy.

Feel free to contact me anytime to assist with this project.

Sincerely,

Susan D. Anderson
Curator, Collecting Los Angeles
UCLA Library
University of California Los Angeles

WILLIAM DEVERELL

History Department
University of Southern California
Los Angeles, CA 90089
(213) 740-1676

The Huntington Library
1151 Oxford Road
San Marino, CA 91108
(626) 405-2108 ex. 3

Education

Ph.D., Princeton University, 1989
M.A., Princeton University, 1985
A.B., Honors and Distinction, Stanford University, 1983

Academic Experience

University of Southern California

- Director, Huntington-USC Institute on California and the West, 2004-
- Professor of History, 2004-

California Institute of Technology

- Associate Professor of History, 1996-2004
- Faculty Coordinator, Mellon Foundation Minority Undergraduate Fellowship Program, 1999-2003
- Chair, Caltech-Huntington Library Committee for the Humanities, 1998-2004

University of California, San Diego

- Adjunct Associate Professor, 1996-
- Associate Professor, History and Program in Urban Studies, 1994-96
- Director, California History/Social Science Project, 1993-95
- Co-Director, Organized Research Project, The American Southwest, 1994-1996
- Chair, Environmental Studies, 1993-95
- Assistant Professor, History and Urban Studies, 1990-94
- California Institute of Technology/Huntington Library
- Instructor in American History, 1988-90

Other Appointments

- Frederick W. Beinecke Senior Fellow, Beinecke Library and Lamar Center, Yale University, 2009-2010
- Fletcher Jones Fellow, Huntington Library, 2007-2008
- Board Member, National Association of Olmsted Parks, 2006-
- Research Associate, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, 2004-
- Chair, California Council for the Humanities, 2002-2004
- Fellow, Los Angeles Institute for the Humanities, 2002-

- Fellow, John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation, 2002-2003
- Faculty advisor, Environmental Studies Program, Prescott College, 2000-2002
- Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, 1998-1999
- Visiting Scholar, Getty Research Institute, 1996-1997
- Fellow, Clark Library, 1993-1994
- Visiting Scholar, UCLA, 1993-1994
- Visiting Professor, California Institute of Technology, 1992-1993

Selected Bibliography

William Deverell, *To Bind Up the Nation's Wounds: The American West After the Civil War*, in preparation and under contract, Bloomsbury Press.

Peter Westwick and William Deverell, eds., *Blue Sky Metropolis: Aerospace and Southern California*, in preparation, "Western Histories" series, UC Press.

William Deverell and Greg Hise, editors, *The Blackwell Companion to Los Angeles*, Blackwell-Wiley, 2010.

William Deverell and David Iglar, co-editors, *The Blackwell Companion to California*, Blackwell-Wiley Publishers, 2008.

William Deverell and Greg Hise, editors, *Land of Sunshine: The Environmental History of Metropolitan Los Angeles*, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005; paperback edition 2006.

Co-author, *Call to Freedom* (United States history text for 8th grade), Holt Rinehart & Winston, 2005

William Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of Its Mexican Past*, University of California Press, 2004; paperback edition 2005.

William Deverell, editor, *The Blackwell Companion to the American West*, Blackwell Publishers, 2004; paperback edition 2007.

Tom Sitton and William Deverell, editors, *Metropolis in the Making: Los Angeles in the 1920s*, University of California Press, 2001; paperback simultaneous.

Greg Hise and William Deverell, *Eden by Design: The 1930 Olmsted / Bartholomew Plan for Los Angeles*, University of California Press, 2000; paperback simultaneous.

William Deverell and Anne Hyde, editors, *The West in the History of the Nation*, 2 vols., Bedford/St. Martin's Press, 2000.

William Deverell, *Railroad Crossing: Californians and the Railroad, 1850-1910*, University of California Press, 1994; paperback edition, 1996.

August 7, 2012

Lyn Goldfarb and Alison Sotomayor
Producers
Bridging the Divide: Tom Bradley and the Politics of Race
2454 Lyric Ave.
Los Angeles, Ca. 90027

Dear Lyn and Alison,

Please accept my thanks for the initial invitation to be included in an advisory capacity to your very important documentary project. It has been a privilege to be associated with the work, to engage in spirited, lively discussions with the team, and to see the project come to life in such dynamic form. It truly has been a pleasure to be associated with such a project. As you, and the entire team knows so well, the Bradley legacy is hugely important – in Los Angeles, in black America, in California, and in the nation – and I’m delighted to be in the company of scholars (and filmmakers) who both understand the critical role played by Tom Bradley across so many spectrums of American political and cultural life and are animated by a desire to make that importance come alive through film.

I’ve especially enjoyed the ways in which you all have aimed to get the particulars of the story right, to bore down into the social history of one man’s life and legacy, while at the same time making such a commitment to keep the lens at “wide angle.” Not only will the completed project “get the story right,” it will ask broad, and often difficult questions about Tom Bradley’s legacy, the city he’s forever identified with, and the ways in which his career touches upon myriad issues in the history of race, politics, and region in the United States.

I appreciate the opportunity to be part of all this, to play a role as an advisor on issues of western American, California, and Los Angeles history, and I am delighted to continue in my capacity as a member of the scholarly team you have so successfully assembled.

Best regards,

William Deverell, Director
Huntington-USC Institute on California and the West

DOUGLAS FLAMMING

Professor of History
School of History, Technology, and Society
Georgia Institute of Technology

Ph.D. Vanderbilt University, 1987
M.A. Vanderbilt University, 1983
B.A. University of Texas at Arlington, 1981

EMPLOYMENT

2006- Professor of History, School of History, Technology, and Society
Georgia Institute of Technology
2003-2006 Associate Professor of History, School of History, Technology, and Society
Director of Undergraduate Studies, School of History, Technology, and Society
Georgia Institute of Technology
1997-2003 Associate Professor of History; and Director, Center for the Study of
Southern Industrialization, Georgia Institute of Technology.
1994-97 Associate Professor of History, California Institute of Technology.
1993-94 Visiting Scholar, UCLA/Clark Library, Los Angeles, California.
1988-94 Assistant Professor of History, California Institute of Technology.
1987-88 Visiting Assistant Professor of History, Virginia Polytechnic Institute
and State University
1984-86 Head Teaching Assistant, Vanderbilt University
1982-84 Teaching Assistant, Vanderbilt University

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

Books

African Americans in the West (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO Press, 2009).
Bound for Freedom: Black Los Angeles in Jim Crow America (Berkeley: University of
California Press, 2005).
Creating the Modern South: Millhands and Managers in Dalton, Georgia, 1884-1984
(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

Articles and Essays

“In Tune with Innovation: The ‘West by Southwest’ Panel at the 2009 Western History
Association Meeting,” *California History* 87 (July 2010).
“Becoming Democrats: African American Politics in Los Angeles, 1920-1965” in
Lawrence B. de Graaf, Kevin Mulroy, and Quintard Taylor, eds., *Seeking El
Dorado: African Americans in California* (Seattle: University of Washington
Press, 2001): 279-308.
“*The Star of Ethiopia* and the NAACP: Pageantry, Politics, and the African American
Community of Los Angeles in the 1920s,” in William Deverell and Tom Sitton,
eds., *Metropolis in the Making: Los Angeles in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of
California Press, 2001): 145-160.

"A Westerner in Search of 'Negro-ness': Region and Race in the Writing of Arna Bontemps," in Valerie Matsumoto and Blake Allmendinger, eds., *Over the Edge: Remapping the American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999): 85-104.

"Race, Rhetoric, and Regional Identity: Boosting Los Angeles, 1880-1930," co-authored by William Deverell (50 percent), in Richard White and John M. Findlay, eds., *Power and Place in the North American West* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1999): 117-143.

"McCarthyism, Christian Radicalism, and Organized Labor in the post-World War II South: The Dalton, Georgia, Red Scare of 1955," in Gary Fink and Merl Reed, eds., *Race, Class, and Gender in Southern Labor History* (Tuscaloosa: Univ. of Alabama Press, 1994): 190-211.

"African American Politics in Progressive-Era Los Angeles," in William Deverell and Tom Sitton, eds., *California Progressivism Revisited* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1994): 203-228.

Current Research Project

A book on the Civil Rights Act of 1964

PRESENTATIONS

More than 35 conference papers and invited talks.

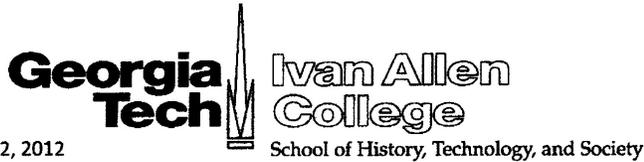
More than half a dozen interviews for television, radio, and documentary films.

SELECTED GRANTS AND CONTRACTS

- John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation, "A Model of Civic Engagement: African American Leadership in Los Angeles, 1890-1940" (2000) \$65,205.
- Historical Society of Southern California/Haynes Research Stipend (1998) \$500.
- Faculty Development Grant, Georgia Tech Foundation, Georgia Institute of Technology (1998) \$3,000.
- Haynes Fellow, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, 1996
- John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation Fellow (sabbatical grant at Caltech), 1994.
- Visiting Scholar, The Getty Center for the History of the Arts and the Humanities, 1997

HONORS AND AWARDS

- Lambda Sigma Teacher of the Month, September 2007, awarded by Lambda Sigma National Sophomore Honor Society, Georgia Tech, Alpha Kappa Chapter
- The Donald H. Pflueger Local History Award, 2006, awarded by the Historical Society of Southern California for *Bound for Freedom*.
- Georgia Tech Ambassadors, Most Interactive Teacher Award, Georgia Tech, 2005
- Philip Taft Labor History Award, 1992, for *Creating the Modern South*.



August 2, 2012

Alison Sotomayor
Producer
"Bridging the Divide: Tom Bradley and the Politics of Race"

Dear Ms. Sotomayor:

I am writing to reaffirm my enthusiasm for the "Bridging the Divide" project – and indeed to suggest that its significance for our current political and social crisis seems only to have grown. In America, political divides are dangerously sharp, and even the basic belief in the democratic process appears to be wavering. Globally, racial violence is tearing societies apart, including the social fabric of places that do not normally enter our consciousness as centers of racial conflict – namely, England.

In short, a first-rate analysis of Bradley's political career will be most welcome. On the positive side, Tom Bradley's political triumphs demonstrate that even the most serious divides *can* be bridged. On the negative side, his final years – especially the series of incidents related to the Rodney King beating and trial – offer a warning that due vigilance is needed if any democracy is to remain healthy.

As an advisory member of this project, I am confident that this documentary will indeed be a first-rate production. I have been most impressed by the excellent level of communication I have received. The email lines have been kept humming – an important point for me, because I live in Atlanta and it is nice to be kept constantly in the loop about what is happening with the L.A.-based group. The teleconferences have been a nice touch. I have to say that this is the best –managed large-scale project I have been a part of, and I want especially to compliment you and your administrative staff in L.A.

In my role as an academic advisor, I will continue to bring to the project my expertise in the history of black Los Angeles and the political side of the long struggle for civil rights. I wrote about a young Tom Bradley in my book, *Bound for Freedom: Black Los Angeles in Jim Crow America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005). He did not emerge as a political leader out of the blue. Rather, he emerged from a community that had long been active in political affairs at the local, state, and national level. Nor did he emerge alone. In 1963, he was one of three African Americans to be elected to the Los Angeles City Council. With President Obama fighting for re-election, Tom Bradley and his generation of black political leaders will once again be in the political spotlight. On this we can be certain.

So, again, I am excited about this documentary, not only because it will provide an important and exciting historical drama, but also because it has so much to tell us about our present-day challenges. This is history that will speak to the present; it will connect the past with our present and suggest possibilities for our future. I remain ready to help in any way, and I applaud all of the hard work you have been doing during the past year.

Sincerely,

Douglas Flamming
Professor of History
School of History, Technology, and Society

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Doug Flamming".

Atlanta, Georgia 30332-0345 U.S.A.
PHONE 404-894-3196
FAX 404-894-0535

A Unit of the University System of Georgia An Equal Education and Employment Opportunity Institution

LORN S. FOSTER

Charles and Henrietta Detoy Professor of Government and
Professor of Politics
Pomona College
Claremont, California 91711

Experience

Fellow, the David Bruce Centre for American Studies, Keele University, Keele, England, Fall 2005
Mellon Teaching Fellow, Amherst College, Fall 2004
ACE Fellow, Office of the Chancellor, California State University, 1995-96
Chair, Politics Department, 1993 - 1997
Professor, Pomona College, 1992 -
Senior Fellow, The Joint Center for Political Studies, 1984
Associate Professor, Pomona College, 1984-92
Assistant Professor, Pomona College, 1978-83
Acting Director, Institute of Ethnic Studies, University of Nebraska, 1977-78
Assistant Professor, University of Nebraska, 1976 - 1978
Assistant Professor, University of New Orleans, 1974-76

Universities Attended and Degrees Conferred

University of Illinois, Ph.D., 1976, Political Science
University of Illinois, A.M., 1971, Political Science
California State University, Los Angeles, B.A., 1969, Political Science

Areas of Teaching Interest

American National Government (Political Behavior)
Urban Politics/Race and Ethnicity
Public Policy (Civil Rights)

Awards and Honors

Haynes Foundation, 2007-08, "Preserving the Archives of the Second Baptist Church of Los Angeles"

Culpepper Foundation, 1998- "Revision of Politics 3 curriculum"

Ford Social Science Initiative, "Minority Incorporation in Los Angeles: 1969-1993," Summer research project conducted with Joe Wallerstein, 1994

Ford Social Science Initiative, A Faculty Seminar: "City of Angels, City of Quartz: Los Angeles and the Urban Landscape," 1994-95

Fellow National Endowment for the Humanities, Summer 1993, University of California, Berkeley, "Political Cultures"

Ford II Summer Grants to Improve Undergraduate Teaching, 1990 and 1991

Purdue University-Minority Fellow, Summer 1990

National Research Council, 1985 Post-doctoral Fellowship for Minorities

Haynes Foundation Summer Fellowship, 1981,1993 & 2008

Irvine Summer Grant Readings in Urban Economics and Public Finance, 1980

Fellow, National Endowment for the Humanities, Summer 1980

University of California at Santa Barbara, "Reapportionment in the 1980's and the Quest for Fair Representation"

Fellow, ICPR, University of Michigan, Summer, 1972

Ford Advanced Study Fellowship (for Black Americans), 1971-72, 1972-73, 1973-74

University Fellow, University of Illinois, 1969-70

Publications

"The Slippery Sands of Minority Voting Rights: Gomillion v. Lightfoot to Bush v. Vera." with Christina R. Rivers, *Southern Studies*, (Forthcoming Fall/Winter 2009)

"The Impact of Economic Conditions on Voting and Policy Opinions Among Black Americans," with Susan Welch, *Western Political Quarterly*, (Spring 1992), 221-236.

"Avenues for Black Political Mobilization: The Presidential Campaign of Reverend Jesse Jackson," in Lorenzo Morris, (editor), The Social and Political Implications of the Jesse Jackson Presidential Campaign, Praeger Special Studies, (1990).

"Class and Conservatism in the Black Community," with Susan Welch, *American Politics Quarterly*, (Fall 1987), 445-470.

"Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act: The Implementation of an Administrative Remedy," *Publius*, (Fall 1986), 17-29.

"Political Symbols and the Enactment of the 1982 Voting Rights Act," in Lorn S. Foster (editor), The Voting Rights Act: Consequence and Implications, Praeger Special Studies (1985).

August 3, 2012

Dear Lyn and Alison,

As someone who is studying the development of black politics in Los Angeles, the Tom Bradley project is a very important step for both scholars and lay people. The use of first person narratives, along with primary documents, make this project even more important. The recent death of William Elkins, Jr. should make us aware that the number of persons living that can speak with authority about Tom Bradley are decreasing day by day.

It is with high praise that I support this project.

Sincerely,

LSF

--

Lorn S. Foster
Professor of Politics
Pomona College
425 N. College Ave.
Claremont, CA 91711
(909) 607-2263 Office
(909) 607-1274 Fax
lfoster@pomona.edu

REGINA M. FREER

Department of Politics
Occidental College
1600 Campus Road
Los Angeles, CA 90041-3314

323-259-2924(office)
323-341-4977(fax)
rfreer@oxy.edu

Education

- 1999 Ph.D., Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Dissertation: "From Conflict to Convergence: Interracial Relations in the Liquor Store Crisis in South Central Los Angeles"
- 1993 M.A., Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
- 1988 B.A., Political Science, University of California, Berkeley

Academic Appointments

- 2009-present Professor, Department of Politics, Occidental College
- 2002-2009 Associate Professor, Department of Politics, Occidental College
- 2004-2007 Chair, Department of Politics, Occidental College
- 2005 Visiting Associate Professor, Summer Humanities Institute, Center for African American Studies, University of California, Los Angeles
- 1999-2002 Assistant Professor, Department of Politics, Occidental College
- 1996-1999 Instructor, Department of Politics, Occidental College

Teaching Areas

American Politics and Public Policy; Race and American Politics; Los Angeles History and Culture; Los Angeles Politics; Black Political Theory

Research Areas

Charlotta Bass: Race, Gender, and Progressive Political Activism
Black Political Development in California
Multiracial Political Activism in Los Angeles, California
The Impact of Racial and Ethnic Demographic Change on Urban Politics
Interracial Political Conflict and Cooperation

Fellowships/Awards (partial list)

Institute for American Cultures Post-Doctoral Fellowship, Center for African American Studies, UCLA
John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation Faculty Fellowship
Ford Foundation Pre-Doctoral and Dissertation Fellowships
American Political Science Association Ralph Bunche Fellow

Publications (partial list)

- 2011 "Black, Brown, Young and Together" (with Claudia Sandoval) in *Just Neighbors: Research on African American and Latino Relations in the United States* edited by Edward Telles, Mark Sawyer, and Gaspar Rivera-Salgado, New York, New York: Russell Sage. (Chapter)
- 2010 Stevens, Errol Wayne, *Radical L.A.: From Coxey's Army to the Watts Riots 1894-1965*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press 2009 in *Western Historical Quarterly* Winter 2010 Vol XLI, No.4. (Book Review)
- 2010 "Bass to Bass: Examining Womanist Leadership in Los Angeles from Charlotta Bass to Karen Bass" (with Melina Abdullah) in *Black Los Angeles: American Dreams and Racial Realities* edited by Darnell Hunt and Ana-Christina Ramon, New York, New York: New York University Press. (Chapter)
- 2008 "Towards a Womanist Leadership Praxis: The History and Promise of Black Grassroots/Electoral Partnerships in California" (with Melina Abdullah) in *Ethnic and Racial Politics in California Vol.3* edited by Sandra Bass and Bruce Cain, Berkeley: Berkeley Public Policy Press, Institute for Government Relations, University of California (Chapter)
- 2006 *The Next Los Angeles: The Struggle for a Livable City 2nd Edition* (with Robert Gottlieb, Mark Vallianatos, and Peter Dreier) Berkeley: University of California Press. (Book)
- 2006 "California Eagle" in *Encyclopedia of the Great Black Migration* edited by Steven A. Reich Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press. (Encyclopedia entry)
- 2005 "LA Race Woman: Charlotta Bass and the Complexities of Black Political Development in Los Angeles" in *American Quarterly-Special Issue* edited by Raul Homero Villa and George J. Sanchez Baltimore: John Hopkins Press (Chapter)
- 2004 "LA Race Woman: Charlotta Bass and the Complexities of Black Political Development in Los Angeles" *American Quarterly* September Volume 56, Number 3 (Article)
- 2004 Josh Sides, *L.A. City Limits: African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the Present*. Berkeley: University of California Press 2003 in *Southern California Quarterly* Fall 2004 Vol.86 No.3. (Book Review)
- 2004 *The Next L.A.: The Struggle For A Livable City* Co-author (with Robert Gottlieb, Mark Vallianatos, and Peter Dreier) Berkeley: University of California Press. (Book)
- 2004 "Charlotta A. Bass and the California Eagle" curated at Doheny Memorial Library, University of Southern California. (Exhibit)
- 1994 "Black Korean Conflict" in *The Los Angeles Riots: Lessons for the Urban Future*, edited by Mark Baldassare Boulder: Westview Press. (Chapter)



OCCIDENTAL COLLEGE
1600 CAMPUS ROAD
LOS ANGELES, CA 90041-3314

August 5, 2012

Lyn Goldfarb and Allison Sotomayor, Producers
OUR L.A.
2454 Lyric Avenue
Los Angeles, CA 90027

Dear Lyn and Alison,

It is a pleasure to confirm my willingness to serve as an Advisor to your documentary film, *Bridging the Divide: Tom Bradley and the Politics of Race*. This is such a worthwhile and long overdue project and I am excited about being involved.

Tom Bradley's story is central to my scholarly work. Whether it is my research on the historical political development of the Black community, or the mosaic of progressive social justice movements in Los Angeles, or the inter-ethnic and interracial conflict and cooperation that uniquely emerges in this diverse city, Bradley is a key figure. I/we need to know and understand him better and I believe your project will help accomplish this.

As you know, I am currently working on the political biography of Charlotta Bass, the owner and editor of one of Los Angeles' most prominent black newspapers, the *California Eagle*, and a candidate for Los Angeles City Council in 1945, Congress in 1950, and vice president in 1952. Her long career as an activist inside and outside the electoral arena offers an interesting prologue to Bradley's. Likewise, they both worked across racial lines to build progressive coalitions, surmounting serious challenges in the process. Materials in her archival collection reveal that they did in fact cross paths towards the end of her most active political life and the beginning of his. Both are complex figures who offer important insight into Los Angeles' political history and future.

As a scholar and teacher I've come to rely on your documentary work and so I am very excited about this collaboration!

Sincerely,

Regina Freer
Professor
Politics Department, Occidental College

Franklin D. Gilliam, Jr.

Dean, UCLA Luskin School of Public Affairs
3250 Public Affairs Building
337 Charles E. Young Drive, East
Los Angeles, CA 90095-1656
Tel: 310-206-3487
Fax: 310-206-5773
Email: fgilliam@publicaffairs.ucla.edu
Skype: fgilliamucla
Twitter: UCLAPubAffairs
Facebook/YouTube: UCLA School of Public Affairs
Website: www.publicaffairs.ucla.edu

for assistance contact:

Allison Morris, Assistant to the Dean
Tel: 310-206-8858
Email:
amorris@publicaffairs.ucla.edu

CURRENT POSITIONS:

Dean, Luskin School of Public Affairs, University of California, Los Angeles

Meyer and Renee Luskin Chair

**Professor of Public Policy, Department of Public Policy, School of Public Affairs,
University of California, Los Angeles**

**Professor of Political Science, Department of Political Science, University of
California, Los Angeles**

Senior Fellow, FrameWorks Institute

EDUCATION:

University of Iowa PhD, 1983, Political Science

MA 1978 Political Science

Dissertation: "An Examination of Voter Turnout for the 1978
Congressional Elections" under the supervision of Samuel C.
Patterson.

Drake University BA 1977 Political Science

ACADEMIC LEADERSHIP AND ADMINISTRATION:

Dean, Luskin School of Public Affairs, University of California, Los Angeles (2008-present)

- Raised \$50,000,000 Naming Gift

Associate Vice Chancellor, Community Partnerships, University of California, Los Angeles, 2002–2008.

Founding Director, Center for Community Partnerships, University of California, 2002–2008.

Founding Director, Center for Communications and Community, University of California, Los Angeles, 1999–2007.

Associate Director, Center for the Study of American Politics and Public Policy, University of California, Los Angeles, 1993–1998.

ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE:

Visiting Scholar (not in residence), Brandeis University, Heller School, 2001–2004.

Visiting Professor, University of Dar Es-Salaam, Tanzania, Department of Political Science, 1997.

Research Director, State of California, California, Commission on the Status of African–American Males, 1993–1996.

Associate Professor, University of California, Los Angeles, Department of Political Science, 1991–1995.

Chair, University of California, Los Angeles, Center for African–American Studies, BA and MA Programs, 1992.

Assistant Professor, University of California, Los Angeles, Department of Political Science, 1986–1991.

Assistant Professor, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Department of Political Science & Department of Afro–American Studies, Robert M. LaFollette Institute for Public Affairs, 1983–1986.

Assistant Professor, University of Wisconsin, Parkside, Department of Political Science, 1982–1983.

Visiting Lecturer, Grinnell College, 1982.

AWARDS AND HONORS:

University of Iowa Distinguished Alumni Award (2006–2007)

Drake University Double D Award (2006)

Mark O. Hatfield National Scholar Award (2004)

FRANKLIN D. GILLIAM, Jr., Ph.D.
Dean
Professor, Public Policy & Political Science
fgilliam@publicaffairs.ucla.edu
3284 Public Affairs Building
Los Angeles, CA 90095-1656
Office: 310-206-3487
Fax: 310-206-5773
www.publicaffairs.ucla.edu

August 7, 2012

Lyn Goldfarb and Alison Sotomayor
Producers
OUR L.A.
2454 Lyric Ave.
Los Angeles, California 90027

Dear Ms. Goldfarb and Ms. Sotomayor:

I am pleased to continue to serve as an academic advisor and board member for the documentary, "Bridging the Divide: Tom Bradley and the Politics of Race" the first documentary to be filmed on Tom Bradley.

In telling Bradley's story, the documentary is also the story of Los Angeles. Through a humanities lens, the film will examine race and coalition building, politics and governance, and the national historical significance of Los Angeles and Tom Bradley. I, along with a group of nationally recognized scholars, have helped shaped the themes that will be explored in the film.

You have done an amazing job thus far and I am satisfied with the progress.

Best regards,



Franklin D. Gilliam, Jr.
Dean, UCLA Luskin School of Public Affairs
Professor, Public Policy and Political Science

FERNANDO J. GUERRA, Ph.D.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Address: Loyola Marymount University
1 LMU Drive, University Hall 4119
Los Angeles, California 90045-8365

Phone: (Work) [310] 338-4565 (Fax) [310] 338-5970

E-Mail Address: fguerra@lmu.edu

EDUCATION

Ph.D.
(1990) **University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan**
Department of Political Science
Dissertation: "Ethnic Politics in Los Angeles:
The Emergence of Black, Jewish, Latino and Asian
Officeholders, 1960-1989."

M.A.
(1982) **University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan**
Department of Political Science,
Master's Thesis: "U.S. Foreign Policy and Central America:
Recurring Patterns Among U.S. Administrations."

B.A.
(1980) **University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA**
B.A. in Political Science and International Relations,
University Certificate in Latin American Studies,
Sophomore Semester abroad - International Institute,
Madrid, Spain.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

2009 to Present Professor, Department of Chicana/o Studies and Department of Political Science, Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, California

1996 to Present Director, Thomas and Dorothy Leavey Center for the Study of Los Angeles, Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, California

1992 to 1996 Assistant to the President for Faculty Resources
Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, California

1988 to 1996 Chairman, Department of Chicana/o Studies
Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, California

1991 to 2009 Associate Professor, Department of Chicana/o Studies and Department Political Science, Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, California

1993-1995 Director, American Cultures Program
Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, California

1989-1993 Director, Summer in Mexico Program, Cuernavaca
Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, California

1987-1991	Assistant Professor, Department of Chicana/o Studies and Department of Political Science Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles California
1984-1986	Visiting Lecturer, Department of Chicana/o Studies and Department of Political Science Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, California
Spring 1984	Lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

Articles

Guerra, Fernando J., Barreto, Matt A., Marks, Mara, Streb, Matthew. (2006). "Do Absentee Voters Differ From Polling Place Voters? New Evidence From California". *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 70, no. 6, pp. 224-234.

Guerra, Fernando J., Barreto, Matt A., Marks, Mara, Nuno, Stephen, Woods, Nathan D. (2006). "Controversies in Exit Polling: Implementing a Racially Stratified Homogenous Precinct Approach". *PS, Political Science & Politics*, Vol. 39, pp. 477-483.

Guerra, Fernando J. (1997). "Minority Electoral Representation Patterns During the Pat Brown Years". *California Politics & Policy*, Vol.1, No. 2, pages 93-99.

Guerra, Fernando J., (1987) "Ethnic Officeholders in Los Angeles County". *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. 71, No. 2, pages 89-94, January.

Book Chapters

Guerra, Fernando J., Barreto, Matt, Ramirez, Ricardo, Fraga, Luis. (2009). "Why California Matters: How California Latinos Influence the Presidential Election". In Rodolfo O. de la Garza, Louis DeSipio and David Leal (Eds.) *Beyond the Barrio: Latinos in the 2004 Elections*. South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

Guerra, Fernando J., Nuno, Stephen A. (2007). "Political Representation and Resident Perceptions of the City of Los Angeles". *Los Angeles, State of the City Report*. Pat Brown Institute of Public Affairs; Los Angeles, California.

Guerra, Fernando J. (2003). "Minority Electoral Representation Patterns During the Pat Brown Years". In Martin Schiesl (Ed.), *Responsible Liberalism: Edmund G. "Pat" Brown and Reform Government in California, 1958-1967*. Los Angeles, CA: Edmund G. "Pat" Brown Institute of Public Affairs, California State University, Los Angeles, CA.

Guerra, Fernando J. (1998). "Latino Politics in California: The Necessary Conditions for Success". In Michael Preston, Bruce Cain, and Sandra Bass (Eds.), *Racial and Ethnic Politics in California*. Vol. Two, Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Institute of Governmental Studies Press

Guerra, Fernando J., Fraga, Luis. (1996). "Theory, Reality, and Perpetual Potential: Latinos in the 1992 California Elections". In Rodolfo O. de la Garza and Louis DeSipio (Eds.), *Ethnic Ironies: Latino Politics in the 1992 Elections*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, pp. 253-277.

Guerra, Fernando J. (1995). "Ethnic Officeholders in Los Angeles County". In Antoinette Sedillo Lopez (Ed.), *Latinos in The United States- History, Law, and Perspective*. Garland Publishing, Inc. pp. 151-155.

Guerra, Fernando J. (1993). "The Career Paths of Minority Elected Politicians: Resemblances and Differences". In Shirley Williams and Edward L. Lascher Jr. (Eds.), *Ambition and Beyond: Career Paths of American Politicians*. Berkley, CA: Berkeley Institute of Governmental Studies Press, University of California, Berkeley. pp. 231-252.

The Leavey Center for the
Study of Los Angeles

University Hall
Suite 4119
Los Angeles, CA 90045-2659

Tel. 310-338-4565
Fax. 310-338-5970
www.lmu.edu

August 3, 2012

Lyn Goldfarb
Producer
Bridging the Divide: Tom Bradley and the Politics of Race
2454 Lyric Ave.
Los Angeles, CA 90027

Dear Lyn,

I would like to express my enthusiasm and praise for the admirable project, the *Bridging the Divide: Tom Bradley and the Politics of Race* documentary. Here at the Leavey Center for the Study of Los Angeles at Loyola Marymount University, we are more than aware of the importance of Tom Bradley's legacy as a significant part of the groundwork that made present-day Los Angeles possible. Bradley's significant stature within the movement of Latino inclusion in politics played a central role in the history of Los Angeles' diversity. In my career, I have specialized in Latino politics, especially in Los Angeles and the Leavey Center has done extensive research on minority inclusion. The documentation of the Bradley legacy is essential, even more so at this time in our nation when we are reminded that, amidst the boundaries and differences, unity is always fundamental. As was Tom Bradley's dream to heal a divided Los Angeles, I believe this documentary will be seen as a unifying force which will bring together people of all walks of life and instill a message of equality.

I would like to offer both my services and those of the Leavey Center for the Study of Los Angeles for any need related to the documentary. I support this grant application wholeheartedly, and I have every confidence that you and your team can accomplish this innovative documentary in an astonishing manner. Should you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at (310) 338-4565.

Regards,



Fernando Guerra, Ph.D.
Director, Leavey Center for the Study of Los Angeles
Loyola Marymount University

MELISSA VICTORIA HARRIS-PERRY

Professor of Political Science

Founding Director, Anna Julia Cooper Project on Gender, Race, and Politics in the South
Tulane University

melissa@melissaharrisperry.com

www.melissaharrisperry.com

EMPLOYMENT

Tulane University 2011-Present	Professor of Political Science Founding Director, Anna Julia Cooper Project on Gender, Race and Politics in the South
Princeton University 2006- 2011	Associate Professor, Politics and African American Studies Affiliate, Center for the Study of Religion Affiliate, Women and Gender's Studies Affiliate, Program in Global Health Policy
University of Chicago 1999- 2006	Assistant Professor of Political Science Affiliate, Center for the Study of Race, Politics, & Culture Affiliate, Department of Psychology Affiliate, Divinity School Affiliate, Center for Gender Studies
Meadville Lombard Theological School Spring 2005, Chicago, IL	Visiting Professor
North Carolina Central University 1996-1998, Durham, NC	Adjunct Professor of Political Science

PUBLICATIONS

Harris-Perry, Melissa. *Sister Citizen: For Colored Girls who've Considered Politics when Being Strong Isn't Enough*. 2011 Yale University Press.

Harris-Lacewell, Melissa. 2004. *Barbershops, Bibles, and B.E.T: Everyday Talk and Black Political Thought*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Winner:

- 2005 W.E.B Du Bois Book Award from National Conference of Black Political Scientists

- 2005 Best Book Award from the Race and Ethnic Politics Section of the American Political Science Association.

Harris-Lacewell, Melissa. 2010. Is the Tea Party the Birth of a Nation? *Dangerous Brew*. Laura Flanders (Editor)

Harris-Lacewell, Melissa. 2010. Obama and the Sisters. Chapter 8 in WHO SHOULD BE FIRST? Feminists Speak Out on the 2008 Presidential Campaign. Editor Beverly Guy-Shetfhall. SUNY Press.

Harris-Lacewell, Melissa 2010. Who Died and Made Tavis King? *Best African American Essays 2010*. Gerald Early and Randall Kennedy (editors)

Harris-Lacewell, Melissa. 2008. African Americans, Religion, and the American Presidency. Chapter 9 in *Religion, Race, and the American Presidency*. Gaston Espinosa (editor). Rowan and Littlefield Publishers: New York.

Harris-Lacewell, Melissa. 2008. Do You Know what it Means...Mapping Emotion in the Aftermath of Katrina. Chapter 11 in *Seeking Higher Ground*. Manning Marable and Kristen Clarke. (Editors) Palgrave MacMillan: New York.

Harris-Lacewell, Melissa. Talking about Race. Book Review Symposium. *Perspectives on Politics*. September 2008. Volume 6, Number 3.

Harris-Lacewell, Melissa. Political Science and the Study of African American Public Opinion. 2007. *African American Perspectives on Political Science*. Wilbur Rich: Editor. Temple University Press.

Harris-Lacewell, Melissa. 2007. Do You Know what it Means...Mapping Emotion in the Aftermath of Katrina. *Souls*. Volume 9, Number 1. [PR]

Harris-Lacewell, Melissa. 2007. Righteous Politics: The Role of the Black Church in Contemporary Politics. *Cross Currents*. Volume 57, Number 2.

Harris-Lacewell, Melissa and Jane Junn. 2007. Old Friends and New Alliances: How the 2004 Illinois Senate Race Complicates the Study of Race and Religion *Journal of Black Studies* 2007 38: 30-50

PUBLIC WORK

Host, MSNBC's *Melissa Harris-Perry*

Columnist for *The Nation* Magazine. Column Title: Sister Citizen

July 17, 2012

Dear Lyn and Alison,

I am pleased to serve as a member of the advisory board for the Tom Bradley Documentary Film Project. This project is critically important at this moment in our national history.

The United States made history when Barack Obama was elected to the presidency in November 2008. Many commentators remarked that this election had no precedent and no parallel in American elections. While the presidency is a unique accomplishment, the fact is that American political history does offer us some important precedent for understanding the Obama moment. Tom Bradley's is one of the lost stories of African American political executives that has lessons to teach contemporary observers. Bradley's is a story about the possibility of multiracial cooperation, the limitations of transforming electoral coalitions into governing ones, and the challenges faced by charismatic African American leaders who seek to make policy from the center. This is a story that we urgently need to tell and to share.

The Bradley project captures the reality that film has a unique role in our new media environment. Visual archives communicate to a broad public in a way that written archives rarely achieve. This project represents the best, and possibly last, chance to create a comprehensive visual archive of this extraordinary leader.

As a political scientist and media commentator on issues of race and politics, I am proud to be associated with this project and urge you to support it.

Sincerely,



Melissa V. Harris-Perry
Tulane University
MSNBC and The Nation

Christopher D. Jimenez y West, Ph.D.

(b) (6)
(b) (6) (home) ~ (b) (6) (cell)
cdjimenezwest@pasadena.edu

2007 University of Southern California Ph.D. in American History

Dissertation: *More Than My Color: Race, Space and Politics in Black Los Angeles, 1940 – 1968*

2002 University of Southern California, M.A. in American History

1991 University of California, Berkeley, B.A. in American History

Employment

Tenure Track Professor, Pasadena City College

Pasadena California August 2009 - present

History 7a, Colonial American History

History 27a, African History Antiquity – 1800

History 27b, African History 1800 - present

History 29a, African American History Africa – 1865

History 29b, African American History 1865 - present

History Curator, California African American Museum

Exposition Park, Los Angeles, California 09/2005 – August 2009

Evaluate, accession, preservation, interpretation and exhibition of artifacts and ephemera exploring the African American narratives of California.

Lecturer, Department of History, University of Southern California

Los Angeles, California Fall 2008

History 355, The African American Experience

Lecturer, Department of American Studies and Ethnicity, University of Southern California

Los Angeles, California Spring 2009

American Studies and Ethnicity, History of the Mexican American

Adjunct Faculty, Department of History Santa Monica City College

Santa Monica, California 09/2003 – 07/11

History 10, US History, Race and Ethnicity Comparative

History 11, US History Survey to 1865

History 12, US History Survey 1865 – present

History 16, African American History survey

Director, The Norman Topping Student Aid Fund, University of Southern California

Los Angeles, California 08/2000 – 08/2002

Responsible for the administration and programs of a scholarship fund targeted to first generation, low income students attending high schools or community college in a 5 miles radius of the University campus.

Adjunct Faculty, Department of History, California State University Dominguez Hills
Los Angeles, California 09/1999 – 05/2000
History 101, United States Survey

Teaching Assistant, Department of History University of Southern California 01/96 - 05/96;
08/96 – 05/97

Research Assistant, Stanford University Palo Alto and Los Angeles, California 06/1999 –
08/1999:06/2000 – 08/2000 Lead graduate student for a team of four undergraduate and graduate
students gathering materials for Professor of History Albert Camarillo's research on racial and
ethnic transition in the community of Compton, California 1950 - 1980.

Business Partner, Empower Perspectives Berkeley and Los Angeles, California
09/95 – 09/11/2001 Trainer, consultant, and facilitator to university, community, and corporate
organizations. Manage the financial operations of this Multicultural Organizational Consulting
Group, whose motto is to “ERASISMS”.

Co – Founder, Voices Los Angeles, California 09/93 – 09/95
Trainer, consultant, and facilitator to university, community, and corporate organizations ranging
from: the National Aeronautics and Space Administration; Ames Facility, Oklahoma State
University, Office of Residential Life, Western Washington University, Office of Residential
Life, University of California, Davis, Office of Residential Life, University of California, Santa
Cruz, Office of Residential Life, California Polytechnic University, Pomona, Campus wide
retreat, California State University, Los Angeles Office of Residential Life, Pepperdine
University Office of Residential and Greek Life.

Grants/Fellowships

Summer Writing Fellowship
Summer 1997
Department of History
University of Southern California

Dissertation Fellowship
2002 – 2003
American Studies and Ethnicity
University of Southern California

Publication

The Challenge of Intergroup Relations in Los Angeles: An Historical and Comparative
Evaluation of the Los Angeles City Human Relations Commission, 1966 – 1998” co - authored
with Philip J. Ethington Department of History and The Southern California Studies Center of the
University of Southern California February 9, 1999

August 2, 2012

Lyn Goldfarb
Producer
Bridging the Divide: Tom Bradley and the Politics of Race
2454 Lyric Ave.
Los Angeles, Ca. 90027

Dear Lyn:

Accept my praise for truly exceptional work in the last year: securing National Endowment for the Humanities grant, expanding and assembling an advisory board with scholars who review the American landscape and a carefully tailored script invigorating the Bradley story. And thank you for extending an invitation to continue my service on the advisory board for *Bridging the Divide: Tom Bradley and the Politics of Race* documentary film.

I look forward to the continued development of this important project.

Sincerely,

Christopher Jimenez y West Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of History
Pasadena City College

SCOTT KURASHIGE

Program in American Culture (AC)

University of Michigan, College of Literature, Science, and the Arts

505 S. State Street / 3700 Haven Hall

Ann Arbor MI 48109-1045

<mailto:kurashig@umich.edu>

Office: 734.647.3311

EDUCATION:

- 2000 Ph. D., History, University of California, Los Angeles
Dissertation: "Transforming Los Angeles: Black and Japanese American Struggles for Racial Equality in the 20th Century"
Examination Fields: Post-1865 U.S. history, urban history, comparative economic history, and Asian American studies
Committee: Eric Monkkonen (chair), Yuji Ichioka, Robert Brenner, and Kyeyoung Park
- 1996 M.A., History, University of California, Los Angeles
- 1996 M.A., Asian American Studies, University of California, Los Angeles
- 1990 B.A., History, *magna cum laude*, University of Pennsylvania
Minors in Afro-American Studies and Economics

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS:

- 2010–present Associate Professor of American Culture, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
- 2006–2010 Associate Professor of American Culture and History, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
- 2000–2006 Assistant Professor of American Culture and History, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
- 1997–1998 Teaching Fellow/Instructor, Department of History, University of California, Los Angeles
- 1996–1997 Teaching Associate, Department of History, University of California, Los Angeles
- 1994–1995 Teaching Assistant, University of California, Los Angeles
- 1998, Fall Instructor, Asian American Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles
- 1993–1994 Research Assistant, Asian American Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles
- 1993, Fall Teaching Assistant, Asian American Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles

ACADEMIC HONORS AND AWARDS:

- | | |
|---|------|
| History Book Award for 2008, Association for Asian American Studies | 2010 |
| For <i>The Shifting Grounds of Race</i> | |
| Albert J. Beveridge Book Prize, American Historical Association | 2008 |
| for <i>The Shifting Grounds of Race</i> | |
| (The award is given for a distinguished book in English on the history of the United States, Latin America, or Canada, from 1492 to the present.) | |
| Regents' Award for Distinguished Public Service, University of Michigan | 2003 |
| Association of Chinese Americans (OCA-Detroit), Volunteer of the Year | 2003 |
| Faculty Career Development Award, Office of the Provost, University | 2002 |
| Alexander Saxton History Award, <i>Amerasia Journal</i> | 2000 |

GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS (ABRIDGED):

Fellow and Visiting Scholar, Charles Warren Center for Studies in American History, Harvard University	2008–09
Citizenship Theme Year Grant, College of Literature, Science and Arts, University of Michigan (with Stephen Ward, \$2,000)	2006
Arts of Citizenship Grant, University of Michigan (\$7,500)	2005

PUBLISHED WORK:

Books

The Shifting Grounds of Race: Black and Japanese Americans in the Making of Multiethnic Los Angeles (Princeton University Press, 2008, paperback ed. 2010) in the "Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America" series edited by William Chafe, Gary Gerstle, Linda Gordon, and Julian Zelizer

Articles & Chapters

"Between the 'White Spot' and the 'World City': Racial Integration and the Roots of Multicultural Los Angeles,"

in eds. William Deverell and Greg Hise, *A Companion to Los Angeles History* (Blackwell, 2010).

"Organizing from the Margins: Japanese American Communists in Los Angeles During the Great Depression," in

eds. Sundiata Cha-Jua, Helen Neville, and Ted Koditschek, *Race Struggles*, (University of Illinois Press, 2009).

"Crenshaw and the Rise of Multiethnic Los Angeles," *Afro-Hispanic Review* 27: 1 (Spring 2008): 41-58.

"Rethinking Black History in Multiethnic Los Angeles," *Social History* 33:1 (February 2008): 1-11.

"Exposing the Price of Ignorance: Teaching Asian American History in Michigan," *Journal of American History*

(March 2007): 1178-85. Also reprinted in Gary J. Kornblith and Carol Lasser (eds.), *Teaching American*

History: Essays Adapted from The Journal of American History, 2001-2007 (Bedford/St. Martins, 2009)

"The Many Facets of Brown: Integration in a Multiracial Society," *Journal of American History* 91: 1 (June 2004): 56-

68.

"Detroit and the Legacy of Vincent Chin," *Amerasia Journal* 28: 3 (2002): 51-55.

"Beyond Random Acts of Hatred: Analyzing Urban Patterns of Anti-Asian Violence," *Amerasia Journal* 26: 1 (2000): 209-231.

"Pan-ethnicity and Community Organizing: Asian Americans United's Campaign Against Anti-Asian Violence,"

Journal of Asian American Studies 3: 2 (June 2000): 163-190.

"Interview with poet Amy Uyematsu" in King-Kok Cheung (ed.), *Words Matter: Interviews with Contemporary*

Asian American Writers (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000): 252-269.

Multiple entries in the Japanese American National Museum, Brian Niiya, ed., *Japanese American History: An A-To-Z Reference From 1868 To The Present* (New York: Facts on File, 1993).



Scott Kurashige
University of Michigan

July 2, 2012

Lyn Goldfarb and Alison Sotomayor
Producers

Dear Ms. Goldfarb and Ms. Sotomayor:

I am writing to affirm my continued commitment to serve as a scholarly advisor for your documentary project *Bridging the Divide: Tom Bradley and the Politics of Race*. Bradley's ground-breaking ascendancy to the mayoralty of Los Angeles and his two-decade tenure in office have long deserved the probing research and thought-provoking presentation that this project has begun to undertake. With the ascendancy of Barack Obama to the presidency and the prospect of nonwhites become the majority in the United States, this project helps us to put the new dynamics, opportunities, and tensions we are now confronting into important historical and social context.

I will continue to offer consultation based on my academic research. First, my experience as a historian of the twentieth-century United States provides me with a basis for situating the events of Bradley's rich life within a longer temporal context. Second, my work on Los Angeles has sought to understand the relationship between local, national, and global historical developments. Third, my research on comparative ethnic studies helps us to reframe discussions of black/white "race relations" within a multiethnic context more consistent with the rise of a new majority taking shape. I have included an update bio at the end of this letter.

Since the last grant cycle, I have provided consultation regarding the multiethnic history of Los Angeles with particular attention to the role of Japanese and Asian Americans and uniquely diverse neighborhoods such as Crenshaw. I have also identified potential interview subjects and additional consultants within the Japanese American community.

Sincerely,

Scott Kurashige, PhD
Associate Professor of History, American Culture, and Asian/Pacific Islander American Studies
University of Michigan

KYEYOUNG PARK

Ph.D., City University of New York 1990

Associate Professor; Department of Anthropology and Asian American Studies,
University of California, Los Angeles

Department of Anthropology
University of California, Los Angeles
3207 Hershey Hall
Box 951553
Los Angeles, CA 90095-1553
(310) 206-3363; 825-2055
fax: (310) 206-7833
e-mail: kpark@anthro.ucla.edu

(b) (6)
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EDUCATION

- 1990 Ph.D. Anthropology, City University of New York, Graduate School and University Center
- 1982 M.A. Anthropology, Seoul National University (Korea)
- 1979 B.A. Biology & Anthropology, Seoul National University (Korea)

PROFESSIONAL APPOINTMENTS

- 2000-present Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology and Asian American Studies, UCLA
- 1992-2000 Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology and Asian American Studies UCLA
- 1998-1999 Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, Princeton University
- 1997-1998 Fellow, Russell Sage Foundation
- 1990-1992 Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, UCLA
- 1987-1990 Research Anthropologist, Asian/American Center, Queens College, CUNY

HONORS AND GRANTS

- 06-11 The Academy of Korean Studies, Support for Korean Studies in Latin America and Strengthening Korean Studies at UCLA (Institutional Grant; Deputy Program Chair)
- 09-10 The International Institute at UCLA, "Korean Routes of Migration in the Americas" America (PI)
- 08 The Overseas Korea Foundation, Translation Grant for the Korean American Dream; Immigrants and Small Business in New York City; AAP (Academic Advancement Program) Faculty Recognition Award, UCLA
- 05-06 The Academy of Korean Studies, Research Grant (Investigator): Korean American Encounters with Other Ethno-Racial Groups in the U.S.

- The Korean American Economic Development Center, (Community) Research Grant
- 01-02 Institute of American Cultures and ISOP Faculty Research Award, UCLA: "Manufacturing Textile, Producing Differentiation: A South American Case of Korean Immigrant Textile Industry."
- 00-02 Ford Foundation, Service-Learning Affinity Groups, UCLA (participating faculty)
- 1998 **Outstanding Book Award in History and Social Science**, Association for Asian American Studies

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

Books and Special Issues of Journals

- In Preparation DISPLACEMENT/EMPLACEMENT: KOREA, LATIN AMERICA, AND BEYOND (Ed).
- In Submission MIGRANTS IN THE HOOD: 1992 LOS ANGELES CIVIL UNREST AND KOREAN, AFRICAN, AND LATIN AMERICANS
- 2009 KOREAN AMERICAN ECONOMY AND COMMUNITY IN THE 21ST CENTURY. Co-edited with Eui-Young Yu, Hyojoung Kim, & Moonsong Oh). Los Angeles: Korean American Economic Development Center.
- 2008 How Do AsianAmericans Create Places? Los Angeles and Beyond. Special Issue of AMERASIA JOURNAL (Ed).
- 2008 KOREAN AMERICANS ETHNIC RELATIONSHIP IN MULTIETHNIC LOS ANGELES (with Young-Kyun Yang, Okpyo Moon, Jeongduk Yi, and Suhong Chae); in Korean). The Academy of Korean Studies.
- 1999 Second Generation Asian Americans' Ethnic Identity. Special Issue of AMERASIA JOURNAL. Co-edited with Pyong Gap Min.
- 1997 THE KOREAN AMERICAN DREAM: IMMIGRANTS AND SMALL BUSINESS IN NEW YORK CITY. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Articles and Chapters

- 2010 Sources and Resources of Korean Immigrant Entrepreneurship. CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY 36 (6) November: 891-896.
- 2009 Introduction (Co-written with Hyojoung Kim, Moonsong Oh, & Eui-Young Yu). In KOREAN AMERICAN ECONOMY AND COMMUNITY IN THE 21ST CENTURY. Co-edited with Eui-Young Yu, Hyojoung Kim, & Moonsong Oh, 1-28. Los Angeles: Korean American Economic Development Center.
- 2009 Challenging the Liquor Industry in Los Angeles. In KOREAN AMERICAN ECONOMY AND COMMUNITY IN THE 21ST CENTURY, Co-edited with Eui-Young Yu, Hyojoung Kim, & Moonsong Oh, 1-28. Los Angeles: Korean American Economic Development Center.
Standing Review Committee, Anthropology
Awards Committee, Anthropology



Kyeyoung Park
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
341 HAINES HALL – BOX 951553
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90095-1553
PHONE: (310) 825-2055
FAX: (310) 206-7833
Website: www.anthro.ucla.edu

August 6, 2012

Lyn Goldfarb and Alison Sotomayor
Producers
TOM BRADLEY'S IMPOSSIBLE DREAM
2454 Lyric Ave.
Los Angeles, California 90027

Dear Lyn:

I am writing to confirm that I will be able to serve as one of your advisors to your very important project on Tom Bradley.

I am a cultural anthropologist, an expert on Korean/Asian culture, Asian American community, and Asian American women. I have conducted several researches in the Korean American communities of Los Angeles and New York City as well as in Seoul, Korea (and Buenos Aires, Argentina and Sao Paulo, Brazil). Currently, I am engaged in completing a book about racial relations/meanings among Korean, African, and Latino Americans before and after the 1992 Los Angeles Uprising. While I am an anthropologist and Asian Americanist, my research on Bradley drew on several other fields, particularly inter-racial dynamics before and after the 1992 Los Angeles Civil Unrest.

I feel very honored to serve on your Advisory Committee for the film, TOM BRADLEY'S IMPOSSIBLE DREAM. I hope to add a new and fresh perspective into the film being an urban anthropologist, woman and minority consultant.

I am interested in issues concerning "diversity," particularly, the role of culture as it affects the quality of life in the Asian American community and beyond.

I am looking forward to working with you

Sincerely,

Kyeyoung Park
Associate Professor
Anthropology and Asian American Studies

MANUEL PASTOR, Jr.

CURRICULUM VITAE

WORK:

University of Southern California
Program for Environmental and Regional Equity (PERE)
950 W. Jefferson Blvd, JEF 102
Los Angeles, CA 90089-1291
(213) 740-5604; FAX: (213) 740-0056; E-MAIL: mpastor@college.usc.edu

HOME:

(b) (6)

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TEACHING EXPERIENCE

2007-: Professor of Geography and American Studies and Ethnicity, University of Southern California (USC), Director of the Program for Environmental and Regional Equity, Director (previously co-Director), Center for the Study of Immigrant Integration

1996-07: Professor, Latin American & Latino Studies (LALS), UC Santa Cruz; Chair of LALS, 1996-1999; Director (2000-2003)/ Co-Director (2003-present), Center for Justice, Tolerance, and Community

1984-96: Professor (previously Assistant and Associate) of Economics & Director (1993-96), International & Public Affairs Center, Occidental College

1993-96: Visiting Associate Professor, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, University of California, San Diego

1991: Visiting Associate Professor, Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning, University of California, Los Angeles

ACADEMIC HONORS AND AWARDS

Professional: Visiting Presidential Scholar, Hofstra University, 2009
Bellagio Residency, Rockefeller Foundation, 2001
North-South Center Research Associate, 1996-97
MacArthur Foundation Grant for Research & Writing, 1993
Guggenheim Fellowship, 1989-90
Kellogg National Fellow, 1988-1991
Fulbright Fellow (Research) 1987, 1988, 1990
Haynes Foundation Summer Fellowship, 1986
Fulbright Fellow (Program: *South America Today*, 1985)

Graduate: Danforth Fellowship
Honors in History of Thought and Economic History Comprehensive Exams

Undergraduate honors: Highest Honors, Economics (B.A.)
Honors, English Literature (B.A.)
College Honors (B.A.)
Crown-Zellerbach Scholarship
Gemco Economics Scholarship

EDUCATION

- 1979-84: Ph.D., M.A., in Economics, University of Massachusetts, Amherst
- 1973-78: B.A. Economics, B.A. English Literature/Creative Writing, University of California, Santa Cruz

SELECTED GRANTS & RESEARCH CONTRACTS

(unless noted, served or serving as PI or co-PI)

- National Science Foundation, "Collaborative Research on the Correlates and Consequences of Risks from Airborne Toxics: Dynamic Spatial Analysis," collaboration with the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, and the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, USC portion: \$93,167, 2011-2013.
- Surdna Foundation, "A Roadmap to Green Manufacturing in Los Angeles: Planning, Policies, and Partnerships for Quality Jobs," \$330,000, 2011-2013.
- Evelyn and Walter Haas, Jr. Fund, "Next Steps to Deepen, Disseminate and Dialogue New Frameworks," \$100,000, 2011-2012.
- Ford Foundation, "Building Movement Scale," \$99,247, 2011-2012.
- California Community Foundation, "Immigrant Integration Initiative Council (Renewal)," \$141,000, 2011-2013.
- James Irvine Foundation, "Researching Change, Changing Research," \$350,000, 2011-2013.
- United States Environmental Protection Agency, Region IX, Regional Applied Research Effort (RARE) grant, "Academic Partnership With Environmental Agencies and Communities to Pilot Use of the Environmental Justice Screening Model (EJSM) Cumulative Impacts Tool," (with Jim Sadd and Rachel Morello-Frosch) \$75,000, 2011-2012
- Atlantic Philanthropies, "Bridging Progressive Research, Policy and Organizing," \$750,000, 2011-2013.
- California Community Foundation, "Data Clearinghouse for Research on Immigrant Integration," \$199,441, 2010-2012.

SELECTED ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

Just Growth: Prosperity and Inclusion in America's Metropolitan Regions (with Chris Benner), forthcoming, Routledge Press.

"Risky Business: Cap-and-Trade, Public Health, and Environmental Justice" (with Rachel Morello-Frosch, Jim Sadd, and Justin Scoggins), Christopher G. Boone and Michail Fragkias, editors, *Linking Ecology, Environmental Justice, and Global Environmental Change: A Framework for Urban Sustainability*, forthcoming, Springer Publishing.

"Struggling Over Strangers or Receiving with Resilience? The Metropolitics of Immigrant Incorporation," with John Mollenkopf, forthcoming (2011), Nancy Pindus, Margaret Weir, Howard Wial, and Harold Wolman, *Urban and Regional Policy and Its Effects, vol. 4: Building Resilient Regions*, Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

June 29, 2012

Lyn Goldfarb and Alison Sotomayor, Producers
OUR L.A.
2454 Lyric Ave.
Los Angeles, CA 90027

Dear Lyn and Alison,

It is a great pleasure to confirm that I will continue to serve as an Adviser to your film on Tom Bradley, *Bridging the Divide: Tom Bradley and the Politics of Race*.

As you know, I have written extensively about contemporary Los Angeles politics, and find that the amazing transformations of recent years are clearly rooted in the path-breaking coalitions that were formed in the Bradley era. This is a topic that remains understudied and underappreciated, and I am confident your work will fill an important gap and inform a ready audience.

Moreover, this is a set of issues that will have great relevance for the contemporary issues of race and politics, and the documentary will therefore find great interest at the national level.

I have long admired your work and treasured our past collaborations. I look forward to collaborating with you on this as well.

Best regards,



Manuel Pastor
Professor, American Studies & Ethnicity
Director, Program for Environmental & Regional Equity (PERE)
Director, Center for the Study of Immigrant Integration (CSII)

DAVID PERRY

David Perry is the Director of the Great Cities Institute and Professor of Urban Planning and Policy at the University of Illinois at Chicago. He is also the Associate Chancellor for the university's Great Cities Commitment. The Great Cities Institute is a University-wide research center built on community-university partnerships that bring engaged research to the great cities of the world, starting with Chicago.

The author or editor of ten books, including the forthcoming, *The University, The City and Land: Comparative Studies*, edited with Wim Wiewal, and over 150 articles, book chapters and reports on urban and regional economic development, policy, race and urban violence, spatial segregation and the production of urban space, planning and change. Perry is an equally experienced policy practitioner, having served on numerous national and local public boards and commissions, including, most recently, Chicago's Zoning Reform Commission, the Urban Land Institute's National Public Infrastructure Committee, the Chicago Council on Global Affairs and the Rudy Bruner Award Selection Committee.

Professor Perry received his Ph.D. from the Maxwell School at Syracuse University and went on to teach in the Government Department at the University of Texas in Austin. While at the University of Texas he published extensively in the areas of urban political economy, public administration and politics. Among his early books were *Police in the Metropolis* and *Violence as Politics*. In 1978 he and Alfred Watkins edited and co-wrote the book: *Rise of the Sunbelt Cities*.

In 1982 Perry was appointed Chair of the Department of Planning and Environmental Design at the University at Buffalo. He continued to publish in the areas of urban political economy and administrative practice as the Director of the Center of Regional Studies (CRS) and as Director of the Robert Moses Research Project. Under his direction, CRS built the region's first comprehensive industrial database and developed the metropolitan data profile for Western New York. Among his publications during this period were the books *Managing Local Government*, *Building the Public City: The Politics, Finance and Governance of Public Infrastructure* and *Spatial Practices*, a collection of essays on urban theory, edited and co-authored with Helen Liggett. He is also the co-editor of *Cleveland: A Metropolitan Reader*.

Along with Wim Wiewel, he has just completed writing and editing two volumes on the role of universities as anchor institutions of modern cities: the first volume, *The University as Urban Developer: Case Studies and Analysis*, was published by M.E. Sharpe Publishers in 2005 and the second volume, *Global Universities and Urban Development* was published in May 2008 as part of a project on urban universities and land development, sponsored by the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. At the moment Perry is co-directing a national study of urban anchor institutions that will conclude with a series of case-based monographs on the cities of America and their universities. He has just published a major review of the financing issues facing cities' infrastructure future with Michael Pagano titled "*Financing Infrastructure in the Twenty-First Century City*" and later this year will publish, in journals in the United States and in Europe, the first findings of a new comparative study of the role of higher education in the future of the global

economy, comparing the strategic practices of the major research universities of Europe and North America universities with the practices of global corporate capital.

Perry's work has appeared in such non-academic places as the *New York Times*, *The Nation*, and *Metropolis* magazine and he regularly speaks on his work and urban issues more generally to academic and public audiences in Europe, Africa, China and South East Asia, the Middle East as well as throughout the United States and North America. With geographer Sallie Marston of the University of Arizona, he was the Series Co-editor of the *Urban Affairs Annual Reviews* book series.

Perry is particularly interested in urban public infrastructure, new models of urban governance and regionalism and the production of contested space in urban areas. He is co-director of the international *Contested Cities Project* and is studying the ways public policies either exacerbate or ameliorate conditions of violence and ethno-religious contestation in Chicago, Berlin, Jerusalem, Belfast, Kolkata and Capetown. For his work on this project he was recently named Senior Fellow at The Queen's University, Belfast. He was one of the founding members of the International Conflict Prevention Consortium. He also coordinated the development of new computer-based communication technology and advanced models of database construction in building new housing data bases, as chair of the City of Chicago's Housing Forum on Information Infrastructure. He was a member of the Mayor of Chicago's Zoning Reform Commission, where one of the key tasks is the development of new electronic mapping systems and networks of land valorization.

Along with his Ph.D., Perry also earned a Masters in Public Administration from the Maxwell School at Syracuse University. He has held honorary research posts as Senior Faculty Fellow of the Rockefeller Institute, Albert A. Levin Endowed Chair and Visiting Fellow at the Maxine Levin School of Urban Affairs at CSU, and Visiting Senior Fellow at the Institute of Communication and Management Studies at SDSU.

August 11, 2012

Lyn Goldfarb
Producer/Director/Writer
2454 Lyric Ave.
Los Angeles, California 90027

Dear Lyn:

I am writing to strongly reaffirm my support and commitment to the project “Bridging The Divide: Tom Bradley And The Politics Of Race” One of the features of the project that I so much like is the way you have begun to include the members of the advisory team in its development. This is especially true for someone who is being asked to provide something of a national perspective—i.e. not only is my expertise contextual, but I am not first and foremost an “L.A. urbanist.” To this end, let me reassert something that I said in a previous letter to you: “Spending a great deal of my time working in Chicago, a city with a legacy of interesting and influential mayors, this project has special appeal to me.”

The career of Mayor Bradley is an important chapter in the history of U.S. mayors. His impact on the politics and development of Los Angeles deserves careful attention. After spending time with you and your team and other members of the advisory group in phone sessions, I can only say that the project is, for me, even more important. The ways in which mayoral leadership such as that provided by Tom Bradley engages the nation’s and city’s issues of race with the transformations in governmental policies of urban/racial change are instructive to all of us (in L.A. and throughout the country) and are directly and originally unpacked in this documentary. I am thrilled to be a part of this project and to help understand the pivotal role of Tom Bradley in all of this. As the mayor of Los Angeles, he stood at the cusp of important urban and national change. You have carved out a difficult and significant task for yourselves—but you have the experience, substantive understanding and collaborative abilities to make this a truly significant documentary.

To put the last point in the previous paragraph a bit differently, given your distinguished documentary career, I am thrilled to be included in what I think will be a truly seminal project on American urban governance and race.

Sincerely,

David C. Perry
Associate Chancellor, Great Cities Commitment
Professor of Urban Planning and Public Policy
University of Illinois at Chicago

QUINTARD TAYLOR

Scott and Dorothy Bullitt Professor of American History

Adjunct Professor of American Ethnic Studies

Department of History

Smith Hall, Room 316-A

Box 353560

University of Washington

Seattle, Washington 98195

Office Phone (206) 543-5698

E-Mail Address: *qtaylor@u.washington.edu*

University Web Page: *http://faculty.washington.edu/qtaylor/*

Public Web Page: *www.blackpast.org*

EDUCATION

Ph.D., History of African Peoples, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1977

M.A., American Urban History, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1971

B.A., American History, St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, North Carolina, 1969

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Scott and Dorothy Bullitt Professor of American History, University of Washington, Seattle, 1999-

Benjamin H. and Louise L. Carroll Visiting Endowed Professorship in Urban History, University of Oregon, Spring Term, 2006

Visiting Professor, Summer Term, Pepperdine University, Malibu, California, 2000

Knight Distinguished Professor of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of Oregon, 1998-1999

Professor, Department of History, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, 1990-1999, Department Head, 1997-1999

Visiting Professor, Summer Term, Pepperdine University, Malibu, California, 1997

Visiting Professor, Summer Term, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, 1995

Acting Director, Ethnic Studies Program, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, 1992-1993

Adjunct Professor, Folklore and Ethnic Studies Program, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, 1990-1994

Visiting Fulbright Professor of History, Department of History, University of Lagos, Akoka, Nigeria, 1987-1988

Professor, Department of History, California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo, California, 1977-1990

Assistant Professor, Black Studies Program, Washington State University, Pullman, Washington, 1971-1975

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

Books:

- Dr. Sam, Soldier, Educator, Advocate, Friend: The Autobiography of Samuel Eugene Kelly* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010)
- America-I-Am Black Facts: The Story of a People Through Timelines, 1601-2000* (New York: Tavis Smiley Books, 2009)
- From Timbuktu to Katrina: Readings in African American History, Vol. 2* (Boston: Thomson Wadsworth, 2008)
- From Timbuktu to Katrina: Readings in African American History, Vol. 1*, (Boston: Thomson Wadsworth, 2008)
- Shirley Ann Wilson Moore and Quintard Taylor, eds. *African American Women Confront the West, 1600-2000* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003)
- Lawrence B. de Graaf, Kevin Mulroy and Quintard Taylor, eds. *Seeking El Dorado: African Americans in California, 1769-1997* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001)
- In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the American West, 1528-1990* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998) *Nominated for a Pulitzer Prize in History*
- The Forging of a Black Community: A History of Seattle's Central District, 1870 through the Civil Rights Era* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994) *Fifth book selected since 1968 for the Emil and Kathleen Sick Series in Western History and Biography*
- The Making of the Modern World: A Reader in 20th Century Global History* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall-Hunt Publishing Company, 1990)

Website Publications:

- Schomburg Studies in the Black Experience: The Western Migration*, Joint Project of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library, and ProQuest Information and Learning Center, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 2005

Other Projects in Preparation:

- Urban Archipelago: African American Communities in the Twentieth Century American West* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, forthcoming)

Book Series Editor:

- Race and Culture in the American West*, University of Oklahoma Press
- Gary Zeller, *African Creeks: Estelivste and the Creek Nation* (2008)
- Kevin Mulroy, *Seminole Maroons in Indian Territory, From Removal to Oklahoma Statehood, 1837-1907* (2008)
- Robert Bauman, *From Watts to East L.A.: Race and the War on Poverty in Los Angeles* (2008)
- Shirley Mock, *Dreaming with the Ancestors: Black Seminole Women in Texas and Mexico* (2009)
- Matthew Whitaker, *Facing the Rising Sun: A History of African Americans in Arizona* (forthcoming)

July 8, 2012

Lyn Goldfarb and Alison Sotomayor
Producers of Bridging the Divide
OUR L.A.
2454 Lyric Avenue
Los Angeles, CA 90027

Dear Lyn and Alison:

I am writing to reaffirm my commitment to serving as a historical advisor to your documentary film, *Bridging the Divide: Tom Bradley and the Politics of Race*. I believe my expertise on African Americans in the West as reflected by thirty years of scholarship on the subject, will help provide a perspective on the role and significance of the Tom Bradley era on regional and national politics.

As you know, I have already participated in a two-hour conference call that allowed me to provide some of that expertise to you. The call was also helpful to me in putting into context the documentary's goals and objectives and in sharing ideas with other scholars of the Bradley era and of Los Angeles. I look forward to continued collaboration.

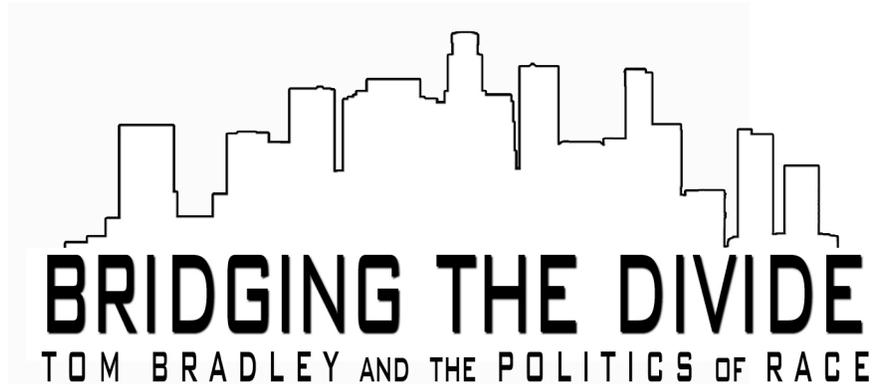
I firmly believe *Bridging the Divide* is a crucial documentary at this point on our nation's history. As the film will show, the politics of racial alliance and collaboration that Tom Bradley was instrumental in creating in the 1970s, has I believe, led to the rise of the political fortunes of President Barack Obama. While its a facile to argue that President Obama is simply a product of the political environment crafted in one major city, we cannot ignore how Bradley's own policies of hope and change inspired a city to transform and itself form a symbol of the urban racial divide during and following the Watts Riots to a place where all major groups had an opportunity to contribute to, and participate in, the reshaping of the city's political landscape. I believe much the same is happening now at the national level with the Obama presidency. For that reason alone, *Bridging the Divide* should be made.

Sincerely,



Quintard Taylor
Scott and Dorothy Bullitt, Professor of American History
University of Washington, Seattle

*NEH America's Media Makers
Production Grant Application Part (9)*



SAMPLES

Please note:

*The work sample from BRIDGING THE DIVIDE
and THE NEW LOS ANGELES
can be accessed on VIMEO and SNAGFILMS.*

Work Samples

BRIDGING THE DIVIDE: TOM BRADLEY and the POLITICS of RACE

The sample can be found on Vimeo: (b) (6) . The password is: (b) (6) . This is a 5:12 minute work-in-progress sample, which demonstrates the power of the complex subject matter we wish to explore and the engaging story we wish to tell in the documentary. It includes some of the footage and stills we will use for the documentary. The sample contains interviews that we conducted for BRIDGING THE DIVIDE, as well as interviews with Raphael Sonenshein and Kerman Maddox that we conducted for THE NEW LOS ANGELES. We will film new interviews with them for BRIDGING THE DIVIDE when we receive production funding.

This segment begins in the combustible atmosphere in 1969 Los Angeles in which incumbent Mayor Sam Yorty and City Councilman Tom Bradley face off in the election for mayor of Los Angeles. During this campaign, Bradley constructs the most substantial and durable biracial coalition in American urban history, principally between African Americans and Jews, with the involvement of liberal whites, Mexican Americans and to a lesser degree, Asian Americans. But as the race grows tighter, Yorty's campaign devolves into fear mongering and racially charged attacks. "Fright and fear and the appeal to racism," Bradley labels the strategy, but in a city still reeling from the 1965 Watts riots, it proves effective. White voters are influenced by Yorty's efforts to paint the moderate city councilman and former police lieutenant as a dangerous radical, even a black militant. In the end, fear beats hope and Bradley loses the election.

This sample also briefly explores the complexities of the issue of race. When Bradley runs for mayor again in 1973 against Sam Yorty, the populace throughout the city is more familiar with him as a person and a candidate. His multi-racial coalition has become stronger, and we learn that Latino involvement in this campaign is important. Mexican American leaders, including labor leader Cesar Chavez, support Bradley's campaign. The Community Service Organization (CSO) conducts voter registration drives; it is the first time the CSO campaigns for someone other than a Latino. When Bradley is able to transcend stereotypes and challenge misinformation, Los Angeles voters put aside their fears and hand him a solid victory. Tom Bradley becomes the first black mayor of a major American city without a black majority. History is made.

In the film, BRIDGING THE DIVIDE, we will examine the ebbs and flows of multi-racial coalitions, as well as the history, texture, nuance and depth of story, using a wider range of storytellers. There will be similarities stylistically as we will be using archival footage and stills, first person witnesses, newscasters of the times, and scholars who will place the story within the broad sweep of history. We will create stylized re-enactments and film location footage for historical segments for which there are no images. These re-enactments will be evocative and interpretive to dramatize events and emotions. The final narrator will be a high-profile actor, and not the narrator whom you hear in this work sample. We will also hire a composer to create an original score filled with emotion, drama and historical context.

This sample was directed by Lyn Goldfarb, and produced by Lyn Goldfarb and Alison Sotomayor. It was narrated by Patt Morrison (*Los Angeles Times* columnist, NPR commentator and KPCC radio host.) Morrison, Goldfarb and Sotomayor wrote the script. It was edited by Lillian Benson. It was filmed by Michelle Crenshaw and Sandra Chandler.

THE NEW LOS ANGELES

We also submitted the documentary THE NEW LOS ANGELES, broadcast on national primetime PBS in 2006 as part of the series CALIFORNIA AND THE AMERICAN DREAM. The sample can be found on Snagfilms: http://www.snagfilms.com/films/title/the_new_los_angeles. It is 54 minutes in length.

THE NEW LOS ANGELES begins with a 5-minute segment on Tom Bradley's 1969 mayoral campaign and his 1973 election, and concludes with the 2005 election of Los Angeles' first Latino mayor in more than 130 years, Antonio Villaraigosa. THE NEW LOS ANGELES examines how race, immigration and labor have shaped and reshaped the city's political life and landscape. The film begins in 1969, and presents a very different story than BRIDGING THE DIVIDE. There is a total of 7 minutes on Tom Bradley in THE NEW LOS ANGELES documentary.

Lyn Goldfarb is the Producer, Director and Writer of THE NEW LOS ANGELES. Alison Sotomayor was Associate Producer and Research Director. This documentary is an example of the story telling and the style of filmmaking of Goldfarb and Sotomayor. It is a fusion of an historical and contemporary story, with strong characters, interviews, contemporary and archival footage. The documentary has been very successful in the outreach, educational market and the film festival circuit.

BRIDGING THE DIVIDE:

TOM BRADLEY and the POLITICS of RACE

OUR L.A. 2012

Project Director: Lyn Goldfarb

	Computational Details/Notes		%	UNIT	YEAR 1 TOTAL
1. SALARIES & WAGES					
PRODUCTION					
Production: Sotomayor	10	weeks		(b) (6)	
Production: Goldfarb	10	weeks		(b) (6)	
Researcher	10	weeks		(b) (6)	
Production Coordinator	10	weeks		(b) (6)	
Production Assistant	10	weeks		(b) (6)	
PRODUCTION WAGES SUBTOTAL					\$63,500.00
NON SALARIED PRODUCTION					
Cinematographer	12	days		\$700.00	\$8,400.00
Sound	12	days		\$450.00	\$5,400.00
Gaffer/Grip	12	days		\$400.00	\$4,800.00
DIT	12	days		\$450.00	\$5,400.00
PA	12	days		\$150.00	\$1,800.00
Workers Comp			8%	\$25,800.00	\$2,064.00
Intern Stipend	10	days		\$15.00	\$150.00
Photographer	1	allow		\$2,000.00	\$2,000.00
NON SALARIED PRODUCTION WAGES SUBTOTAL					\$30,014.00
PRODUCTION SALARIES & WAGES SUBTOTAL					\$93,514.00
POST PRODUCTION					
EDITING					
Producer/Director/Writer: Goldfarb	36	weeks	80%	(b) (6)	
Producer/Writer: Sotomayor	36	weeks	80%	(b) (6)	
Post Production Assistant	36	weeks		(b) (6)	
Editor: Lillian Benson	32	weeks		(b) (6)	
Assistant Editor	12	weeks		(b) (6)	
EDITING WAGES SUBTOTAL					\$228,600.00
SALARIED POST PRODUCTION WAGES SUBTOTAL					\$228,600.00
NON SALARIED POST PRODUCTION					
TALENT					
Narrator	1	narration		\$15,000.00	\$15,000.00
Composer	1	score		\$25,000.00	\$25,000.00
TALENT WAGES SUBTOTAL					\$40,000.00
NON SALARIED POST PRODUCTION WAGES SUBTOTAL					\$40,000.00
P&W					
SAG/AFTRA P&W	1		15%	\$15,000.00	\$2,250.00
WGA P&W	2		15%	\$30,000.00	\$4,350.00
DGA P&W	1		15%	\$40,000.00	\$6,000.00
P&W SUBTOTAL					\$12,600.00
SALARIES & WAGES SUBTOTAL					\$374,714.00

	Computational Details/Notes		%	UNIT	YEAR 1 TOTAL
2. FRINGE BENEFITS					
Fringe Benefits-Production			18%	\$63,500.00	\$10,160.00
Fringe Benefits-Post Production			18%	\$228,600.00	\$41,148.00
FRINGE BENEFITS SUBTOTAL					\$51,308.00
3. CONSULTANT FEES/ SCHOLARS/ADVISORS					
Scholar 1-Raphael Sonenshein	4	days		\$300.00	\$1,200.00
Scholar 2-Douglas Flamming	2	days		\$300.00	\$600.00
Scholar 3-Melissa Harris-Perry	2	days		\$300.00	\$600.00
Scholar 4-Frank Gilliam	2	days		\$300.00	\$600.00
Scholar 5-Christopher Jimenez y West	4	days		\$300.00	\$1,200.00
Scholar 6-Manuel Pastor	2	days		\$300.00	\$600.00
Scholar 7-Kyeyoung Park	2	days		\$300.00	\$600.00
Scholar 8-Lorn Foster	2	days		\$300.00	\$600.00
Scholar 9- Fernando Guerra	2	days		\$300.00	\$600.00
Scholar 10- Scott Kurashige	2	days		\$300.00	\$600.00
Scholar 11-Quintard Taylor	2	days		\$300.00	\$600.00
Scholar 12- David Perry	2	days		\$300.00	\$600.00
Scholar 13-Susan Anderson	2	days		\$300.00	\$600.00
Scholar 14-Bill Deverell	2	days		\$300.00	\$600.00
Scholar 15-Regina Freer	2	days		\$300.00	\$600.00
CONSULTANTS FEES/SCHOLARS/ADVISORS SUBTOTAL					\$10,200.00
4. TRAVEL					
Interviewee/Scholar Travel	5	trips		\$1,200.00	\$6,000.00
TRAVEL SUBTOTAL					\$6,000.00
5. SUPPLIES & MATERIALS					
PRODUCTION					
HD Camera package	12	days		\$1,250.00	\$15,000.00
Audio equipment	12	days		\$100.00	\$1,200.00
Lighting Package	12	days		\$450.00	\$5,400.00
Additional Equipment	5	days		\$300.00	\$1,500.00
Grip Truck/Electric	5	days		\$650.00	\$3,250.00
Pee Wee Dolly and track	5	days		\$200.00	\$1,000.00
Jib Arm	5	days		\$500.00	\$2,500.00
Craft Services	12	days		\$200.00	\$2,400.00
Parking	12	days		\$40.00	\$480.00
Expendables	1	allow		\$1,000.00	\$1,000.00
Hard Drives and back ups-I TB	12	Drives		\$200.00	\$2,400.00
Mini dv tapes	30	tapes		\$5.00	\$150.00
DVD copies	60	DVDs		\$0.50	\$30.00
HD Deck rental	2	weeks		\$900.00	\$1,800.00
Re-enactor expenses	1	allow		\$6,000.00	\$6,000.00
PRODUCTION SUPPLIES & MATERIALS SUBTOTAL					\$44,110.00

	Computational Details/Notes		%	UNIT	YEAR 1 TOTAL
<u>POST PRODUCTION</u>					
EDITING					
Final Cut Pro Editing System	8	months		\$2,000.00	\$16,000.00
Footage/video transfers of old footage	1	allow		\$10,000.00	\$10,000.00
Misc Sound Costs	1	allow		\$2,000.00	\$2,000.00
EDITING SUBTOTAL					\$28,000.00
POST PRODUCTION SUPPLIES & MATERIALS SUBTOTAL					\$28,000.00
<u>ONLINE & DELIVERY</u>					
SR Master	3	hours		\$300.00	\$900.00
SR Tape-Master and Protection	2	tapes		\$300.00	\$600.00
HDCAM Master	1	allow		\$450.00	\$450.00
HDCAM Tape-Master and Protection	2	tapes		\$110.00	\$220.00
QC-HDCAM	12	hours		\$175.00	\$2,100.00
Textless Master (HDCAM)	1	allow		\$850.00	\$850.00
Misc tapes	1	allow		\$1,000.00	\$1,000.00
ONLINE & DELIVERY SUPPLIES & MATERIALS SUBTOTAL					\$6,120.00
SUPPLIES & MATERIALS SUBTOTAL					\$78,230.00
6. SERVICES					
ADMINISTRATION					
Production & Liability Insurance	1	allow		\$5,000.00	\$5,000.00
E&O Insurance	1	allow		\$5,000.00	\$5,000.00
ADMINISTRATION SUBTOTAL					\$10,000.00
POST PRODUCTION					
Transcription	40	hours		\$85.00	\$3,400.00
Teranex	10	hours		\$350.00	\$3,500.00
System to System Conversion	4	hours		\$150.00	\$600.00
SD capture	10	hours		\$100.00	\$1,000.00
HD capture	4	hours		\$150.00	\$600.00
Graphic Design	1	allow		\$3,000.00	\$3,000.00
Photoshop Artist	80	hours		\$40.00	\$3,200.00
Visual Effects Editor	150	hours		\$65.00	\$9,750.00
Color Correction	60	hours		\$150.00	\$9,000.00
VO Record-Narration	8	hours		\$300.00	\$2,400.00
Sound Mix	50	hours		\$250.00	\$12,500.00
Sound design and effects	1	allow		\$3,000.00	\$3,000.00
Title Design	1	allow		\$3,000.00	\$3,000.00
Closed Captioning	1	allow		\$2,000.00	\$2,000.00
Title Search	1	allow		\$695.00	\$695.00
PBS promos edit and finish	1	allow		\$6,000.00	\$6,000.00
POST PRODUCTION SUBTOTAL					\$63,645.00
SERVICES SUBTOTAL					\$73,645.00

	Computational Details/Notes	%	UNIT	YEAR 1 TOTAL
7. OTHER COSTS				
RIGHTS				
Footage and Photo Research	1	allow	\$8,000.00	\$8,000.00
Footage and Photo Licensing	1	allow	\$70,000.00	\$70,000.00
Music Rights	1	allow	\$3,000.00	\$3,000.00
RIGHTS SUBTOTAL				\$81,000.00
WEBSITE/SOCIAL MEDIA				
Web Strategy	1	allow	\$2,000.00	\$1,500.00
Website Design/graphics	1	allow	\$2,500.00	\$2,000.00
Website Development	1	allow	\$4,000.00	\$4,000.00
Maintenance	1	allow	\$2,000.00	\$2,000.00
Social Media Integration	1	allow	\$2,000.00	\$2,000.00
WEBSITE/SOCIAL MEDIA SUBTOTAL				\$11,500.00
OTHER COSTS SUBTOTAL				\$92,500.00
8. TOTAL DIRECT COSTS				\$686,597.00
9. TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS				
Indirect Cost Calculation:				
a. Rate:12% of direct cost per year		12%		\$82,391.64
TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS				\$82,391.64
TOTAL PROJECT COSTS				\$768,988.64
(Direct and Indirect costs for the entire project)				
11. Project Funding				
a. Requested from NEH	Outright:			
	Matching Funds:			
	Total Requested from NEH:			\$768,988.64
b. Cost Sharing	Applicant's Contributions			
	Third Party Contributions:			\$230,000.00
	Project Income:			
	Other Federal Agencies:			
	Total Cost Share:			
12. Total Project Funding				\$998,988.64