



BRIDGING THE DIVIDE

TOM BRADLEY AND THE POLITICS OF RACE

THE DOCUMENTARY

DISCUSSION GUIDE

a Film by

Lyn Goldfarb and Alison Sotomayor

www.mayortombradley.com



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Tom Bradley



BRIDGING THE DIVIDE

TOM BRADLEY AND THE POLITICS OF RACE



I HAVE A DREAM
BRADLEY
FOR MAYOR



THE DOCUMENTARY

Thirty-five years before Barack Obama's election as President, the question of race and the possibility of bridging racial barriers were put to the test in an overlooked story in American politics: Tom Bradley's 1973 election as Mayor of Los Angeles: the first African American mayor of a major U.S. city elected with an overwhelmingly white majority. It was a remarkable political first in the history of race and politics in America.



BRIDGING THE DIVIDE tells the story of how Bradley's coalition of African Americans, Jews, white liberals, Mexican Americans and Asian Americans united a divided city, brought inclusion and access, and set the foundation for sustainable inter-racial coalitions that later encouraged the elections of minority candidates nationwide, most notably President Barack Obama. At the same time, the film examines the complexities and contradictions of Bradley's career as a bridge builder.

The film brings into sharp focus the issues of police brutality in minority communities and the challenges of police reform, as well as shows how Tom Bradley, a former police officer whose political aspirations were shaped by the Watts Rebellion, could not break the cycles of poverty and despair that would ultimately spark the 1992 Los Angeles civil unrest, and mark the end of his era.

BRIDGING THE DIVIDE is the story of multi-ethnic Los Angeles finding its voice and identity in the face of discrimination and political disenfranchisement. And it is the story of the challenges of diversity facing cities across the nation, and the decisions we all must make.



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BRIDGING THE DIVIDE was produced and written by Lyn Goldfarb and Alison Sotomayor, and celebrated its national PBS broadcast premiere in February 2016 during Black History Month. The documentary is 57 minutes long, and is available for purchase and streaming on our website www.mayortombradley.com. A home/community screening guide is also available as a download.

This discussion guide was written by filmmakers Lyn Goldfarb and Alison Sotomayor, and Raphael Sonenshein, the film's chief scholar and executive director of the Edmund G. "Pat" Brown Institute of Public Affairs at Cal State Los Angeles, with contributions from Impact Media Partners. Design by Randy Kubaszak. **BRIDGING THE DIVIDE** is a project of OUR L.A., a 501(c)3 non profit.



"In a great city, City Hall must be a beacon to the people's aspirations, not a barrier."

Tom Bradley





BIOGRAPHY OF TOM BRADLEY

Thomas “Tom” Bradley (December 29, 1917 – September 29, 1998) was the five-term mayor of Los Angeles, California, serving in office from 1973 to 1993. The son of sharecroppers and grandson of slaves, he made history when he was elected mayor of Los Angeles and became the first African American mayor of a major American city with an overwhelmingly white population.

Born in rural Calvert Texas, Bradley’s family moved to Los Angeles when he was 7 years old. For more than a million African Americans who migrated West in the early 20th century, Los Angeles was considered the “Promised Land,” providing the hope of a better life – far from the lynchings, urban riots and Jim Crow laws of the South. Bradley grew up on Central Avenue in Los Angeles, the heart of the black community. It was a relatively small, close knit community, where neighbor helped neighbor, offering stability, optimism, and a sense of belonging. It was in this Los Angeles that Bradley could dream the impossible dream – a life of hope and an enduring belief that change is possible.



Raised by a single mother, Tom Bradley challenged every obstacle placed in his way. He was an ambitious student, attended UCLA, where he became a record-breaking track star and team captain. He was also a classmate of Jackie Robinson. At UCLA, Bradley joined the prestigious black fraternity Kappa Alpha Psi, which helped him learn how to negotiate the complexity of a predominantly white institution. It was through this important social network, that he made friends and created relationships, which became the foundation for his life. He was elected president of the University Negro Club, which represented UCLA’s black students when racial issues flared on campus.

BRIDGING THE DIVIDE

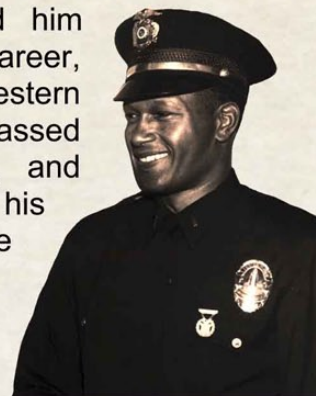
TOM BRADLEY AND THE POLITICS OF RACE



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Tom Bradley served as a Los Angeles police officer for 21 years, reaching the rank of Lieutenant – the highest position an African American could achieve at that time. When covert racism prevented him from advancing his career, Bradley attended Southwestern Law School at night, passed the bar the first time, and became an attorney. With his law degree in hand, he resigned from the LAPD.



While a police officer, Bradley became actively involved in politics, notably in the Democratic Minority Conference and the



California Democratic Council, a progressive liberal reform group with a racially mixed membership. In 1963, he was elected to the Los Angeles City Council in the racially mixed 10th District, supported by a multi-ethnic coalition led by African American civic and church leaders. He modeled his campaign after the campaign created by mentor and friend Mexican American L.A. City Councilman Edward Roybal in 1949. Bradley was one of three African American men elected to the Council in 1963. Nowhere else in America were blacks incorporated into the political structure to the degrees they were in Los Angeles. The victories demonstrated how an organized and united black community could overcome hostility and

indifference to win political representation. Los Angeles was a place where an innovative and powerful type of political coalition was being tested.



BRIDGING THE DIVIDE

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I HAVE A DREAM
BRADLEY
FOR MAYOR



In the 1960s, America was polarized by race and mired in increasing social and political turmoil. A conservative reaction led to the election of Sam Yorty as mayor of Los Angeles in 1961. Four years later in 1965, the Watts rebellion in South Central Los Angeles ignited a wave of large-scale unrests throughout the nation and signaled an alarm that change was needed. In 1968, Dr. Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. and presidential candidate Robert Kennedy were assassinated within months of each other; anti-Vietnam war and black power demonstrations escalated; and more than 20,000 students in five East L.A. schools walked out, protesting racial inequality and injustice. It was in this atmosphere that two-term City Councilman Tom Bradley decided to challenge Sam Yorty in 1969 for mayor of Los Angeles. It was a long shot.

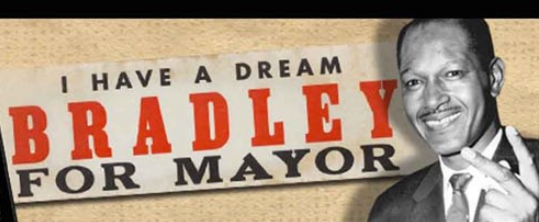


In 1969, African Americans were less than 18% of the population in Los Angeles and Bradley knew if he had a chance of winning, he needed to reach across racial and ethnic lines and create a strong coalition of African Americans, Jews, liberal whites, Mexican Americans, and Asian Americans. Bradley won the primary in a crowded field of 13, and then faced off against Sam Yorty. The 1969 election for mayor turned ugly as



Yorty ran an aggressive campaign infamous for its racism, exploiting fears and uncertainty. Yorty accused Bradley as being "anti-police" and asserted a majority of the police force would resign if Bradley were elected. He also implicated Bradley of running a campaign powered by "black militants, white radicals and Communists." Bradley played down race as an issue as Yorty fueled the flames, but to no avail. Bradley's message of hope and change was smothered in the ashes, and he lost the election. Despite the loss, Bradley came to symbolize the African American movement for political representation in Los Angeles, and at the same time, the election was considered a major step on the road to biracial coalition power in Los Angeles.

**Yorty Says Bradley Pawn of Leftists
'Militants Invading L.A.'**



Los Angeles Times

LARGEST CIRCULATION IN THE WEST, 1,026,499 DAILY, 1,210,526 SUNDAY

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BRADLEY DEFEATS YORTY IN LANDSLIDE

FAMILY JOY—City Councilman Tom Bradley is hugged by daughters Phyllis, 28, left, Lorraine, 29, rear, and wife Ethel after return showed him to be winner of mayor race over Sam Yorty. (Times photo by Bill Browne)

Pines Defeats Arnebergh for City Attorney

BY KENNETH REICH
Times Staff Writer

Thirty-four-year-old Burt Pines—a political unknown when he announced his candidacy six months ago—swept by 20-year incumbent Roger Arnebergh Tuesday to be elected Los Angeles' new city attorney.

In nearly complete vote totals in the municipal election, Pines ran ahead of winning mayoral candidate Tom Bradley, and got 58.3% of the vote to Arnebergh's 41.7%.

Even though Pines had emerged as the favorite in the last days, the size of his triumph was a surprise. It marked a stunning first victory for a man who may one day aspire to an important role in state politics.

With 3,168 precincts of 3,160 reporting, the results were:

Pines	418,856
Arnebergh	298,212

Booklet from his election night

L.A. Becomes Largest U.S. City to Elect a Black Mayor

BY BILL ROYARKS
Times Staff Writer

City Councilman Tom Bradley, son of a black sharecropper, was elected mayor of Los Angeles by a landslide Tuesday's election, driving Mayor Sam Yorty out of office after 12 tumultuous years.

Bradley's defeat of the 83-year-old Yorty exceeded the hopes of supporters who had been encouraged by favorable public opinion polls but remembered how Yorty came from behind to win four years ago. Bradley's victory margin was greater than Yorty's had been in 1969.

In the end, Yorty, who had survived scandals and the Watts riot, was a victim of his supporters' indifference. He said not enough voters in the white, blue-collar San Fernando Valley precincts that were Yorty strongholds showed up at the polls to vote.

But Pollster Mervin Field told The Times that even if Yorty's backers had turned out in the numbers they did in 1969, he would have had to get about 60% of their votes to win.

Helped by White Backlash
Bradley's aides said that the 55-

out city. Never before had a Negro been elected mayor of such a large city, one with a black population of only between 15% to 18% among 2.8 million residents.

In defeat, Yorty—always a hard scrapper—blamed his Valley supporters for his defeat and said of Bradley: "The change, if it takes place, will be a very radical one and there'll be a lot of people who wish they went out to vote. That's my prediction."

He did not concede, however, saying only: "The trend at the moment doesn't look very good."

"We want Bradley. We want Bradley," the happy crowds shouted at the Bradley headquarters, at a party that overflowed a large room at the Los Angeles Hilton.

Smile Happily at Crowd
Bradley and his wife, Ethel, smiled happily at the crowd. Nearly was a key man in his victory, City Councilman Joel Wachs, whose revelations of how Mayor Yorty had accepted an insurance policy financed by political funds was a major boost to the Bradley campaign in the last week.

In 1973, Tom Bradley would have another chance to defeat Sam Yorty four years later. By this time, the paranoia in America was no longer at a fever pitch as violent uprisings and protests subsided. Yorty's same old tired themes of race, for once, did not work. Voters put aside their fears and handed Tom Bradley a solid victory. In 1973, Tom Bradley made history as the first African American mayor of a major U.S. city with an overwhelmingly white majority. He was successful because he continued to build upon his multi-racial coalition – the most durable and significant in American modern history,



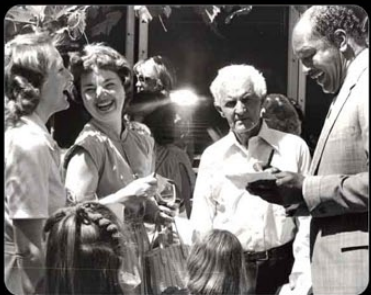
and unsurpassed until the election of President Barack Obama thirty-five years later. Bradley's victory set off a euphoria among blacks and liberals in Los Angeles and attracted national and international attention. It also came at a time when people gave up hope for coalitions between black voters and white voters, and when he won, it opened up a new future for race relations nationwide.

BRIDGING THE DIVIDE

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I HAVE A DREAM
BRADLEY
FOR MAYOR



Mayor Tom Bradley made a difference. He opened City Hall and city commissions to women, minorities and people with disabilities, largely for the first time. He transformed 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

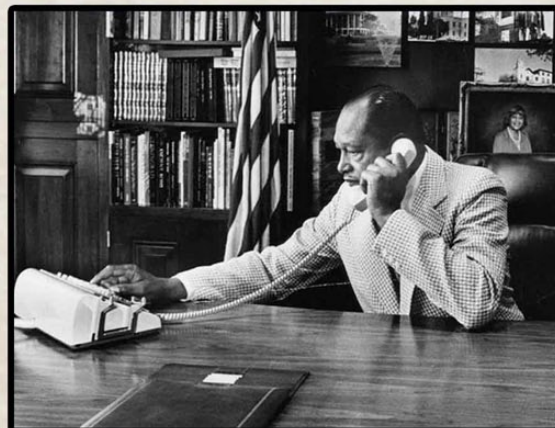


financial and business districts. He positioned the growing metropolis to take its place as an international trade center. He influenced two generations of policy makers and leaders. He brought the city a glowing spot on the world stage with the 1984 Summer Olympics – the first-ever profitable Games.

He enacted environmental reforms, powerful anti-apartheid business practices, and ordinances prohibiting discrimination against gays and lesbians and people with AIDS. He prevailed in his long struggle to reform

and bring civilian control to the LAPD. He twice ran for governor of California, losing by less than 1% the first time. If he had won, he would have been the nation's first popularly elected African American governor. He held office of mayor for an unprecedented five terms.

But Tom Bradley's political life was not without scandal, drama and controversy. His carefully constructed coalition frayed at the edges as the issue of forced busing erupted into a municipal war for Bradley, and a controversial speech by Louis Farrakhan, Minister of the Nation of Islam, strained relations between the black and Jewish communities. Black and Latino relations also fissured as the city was unable to neither prevent economic decline nor constrain police brutality.



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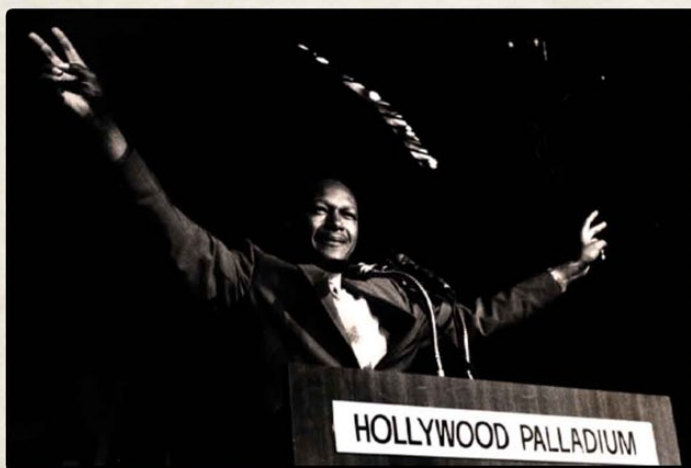
I HAVE A DREAM
BRADLEY
FOR MAYOR



In 1992, Los Angeles exploded into three days of civil unrest and shattered the illusion that a black mayor could end inequality and hopelessness. Bradley did not seek a sixth term and announced his retirement in 1993. Three years later, he suffered a stroke, which left him partially paralyzed and unable to speak for the rest of his life. In 1998, he died of a heart attack. Tom Bradley was 80 years old.

Tom Bradley's story is a classic American success story; the grandson of slaves and son of sharecroppers who fought prejudice and bigotry to transform a major U.S. city, and in the process, transcended the barriers of race to realize the American dream.

Yet, this film is far more important than a man and his dreams. This documentary resonates with the story of coalitions, which changed a city and set the stage for a realignment of politics and values, which on a national scale, led to the election of Barack Obama. It is the story of the challenges of diversity facing cities and nations, and the decisions that we all must make.





CHRONOLOGY OF TOM BRADLEY'S LIFE 1917-1998

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| 1917 | Born in Calvert, Texas to sharecroppers |
| 1924 | Moved to Los Angeles with a family of seven |
| 1937 | Elected president of the Boys League at the mostly white Polytechnic High School, and was the first African American in the Ephebian Honor Society |
| 1937 | Attended UCLA with a major in education, became a track star and classmate of Jackie Robinson, elected to represent black students when when faced with racial prejudice and discrimination |
| 1938 | Became a member of Kappa Alpha Psi, and later, the fraternity's 18 th Grand Polemarch (national president) |
| 1940 | Joined the Los Angeles Police Department for \$170 a month |
| 1941 | Married Ethel Mae Arnold, a beautician with her own shop |
| 1946 | Rose to rank of Sergeant in the LAPD, specializing in robbery cases as a detective, and later, specializing in the crackdown of gambling rings as head of detail for administrative vice division |
| 1949 | Volunteered for the successful L.A. City Council campaign for Mexican-American Edward R. Roybal |
| 1950 | Formed and headed the first ever LAPD Community Relations Department, worked with sixty human relations organizations citywide, and wrote a weekly newspaper column |
| 1956 | Graduated from Southwestern Law School and passed the California Bar exam |
| 1958 | Rose to rank of Lieutenant in the LAPD, promoted to the Wilshire Division as a uniform patrol watch commander, marking the first time an African American supervised white officers |
| 1962 | Retired from the LAPD and began to practice law |
| 1963 | Elected to the L.A. City Council representing the multi-ethnic 10 th District |
| 1967 | Re-elected to the L.A. City Council |

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I HAVE A DREAM
BRADLEY
FOR MAYOR



- 1969** Won L.A. mayoral primary, but lost runoff election against incumbent Mayor Sam Yorty
- 1971** Re-elected to the L.A. City Council
- 1973** Won L.A. mayoral primary and runoff against incumbent Sam Yorty and made history by becoming the first African American mayor of a major U.S. city elected with an overwhelming white population
- 1974** Became president of the National League of Cities
- 1976** Became co-chair of the Democratic National Convention
- 1977** Elected to a second term as mayor of Los Angeles
- 1979** Became president of the California League of Cities
- 1981** Elected to a third term as mayor of Los Angeles
- 1982** Won Democratic gubernatorial primary, but lost the general election to California Attorney General George Deukmejian
- 1984** Brought the Summer Olympics to Los Angeles, marking the height of his popularity
- 1985** Elected to a fourth term as mayor of Los Angeles
- 1986** Won Democratic gubernatorial primary, but lost the general election to incumbent George Deukmejian
- 1989** Elected to an unprecedented fifth term as mayor of Los Angeles
- 1992** Los Angeles civil unrest erupted and exploded for three days, the lowest point of his career
- 1993** Retired after five decades of public service as a police officer, L.A. City Councilman and mayor
- 1996** Suffered a stroke that left him partially paralyzed and unable to speak for the rest of his life
- 1998** Died at the age of 80 after suffering a heart attack



CHRONOLOGY OF KEY LOS ANGELES & CALIFORNIA EVENTS 1915-1998

1915-1960 The Great Migration was a mass movement of around five million southern blacks who fled the racism, violence and poverty of the south for the prospect of better life in the north and west.

1941 December 8, the United States enters World War II following the attack on Pearl Harbor.

1941-1945 When World War II began, most defense factories refused to hire black workers. African American activists organized the Double Victory campaign, urging victory over fascism overseas and racism at home. Responding to pressure, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issues Executive Order 8802, forbidding discrimination based on race, creed, color or national origin, in defense industries. Los Angeles was a manufacturing center, and 5% of federal contracts for war production went to factories in Los Angeles. More than 200,000 blacks migrate to L.A. for good paying job in war production.

During this same time, 120,000 Japanese Americans (mostly American citizens) in Los Angeles and throughout the West Coast were evicted from their homes and forced into internment camps.

1945 September 2, World War II ends with the Japanese surrender. The demobilization of both the civilian and military populations intensifies. Thousands of African American soldiers are discharged from the armed forces, and tens of thousands of black defense workers are laid off. Thousands of Japanese Americans are released from the internment camps in 1944 and 1945, and return to the communities, where they had to begin their lives again.

1948 The U.S. Supreme Court bans restrictive housing covenants. Covenants were key to allowing residential segregation.

1949 Edward R. Roybal becomes the first Mexican-American elected to the L.A. City Council in 68 years.

1950 William Parker is appointed chief of police of the LAPD.

1954 The U.S. Supreme Court landmark decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* declares racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional.

1960 For the next five years, dozens of civil rights demonstrations will take place in cities throughout the West including Denver, Los Angeles, Berkeley, San Francisco, Oakland, Portland, Salt Lake City, Las Vegas, Reno, Seattle, San Diego, Houston, Dallas and San Antonio.

1961 Sam Yorty is elected mayor of Los Angeles.

1962 In November, California Assemblyman Augustus Hawkins is elected to Congress, becoming the first African American elected to Congress from the West.

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1963 Tom Bradley takes office as the first elected black councilmember in the Los Angeles City Council. In 1963, there are 3 African Americans serving in the Los Angeles City Council: Tom Bradley in the 10th District, Gilbert Lindsay in the 9th District, and Billy Mills in the 8th District.

Over 200,000 people assemble in Washington, D.C. for the March on Washington known for Dr. Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech.

The California Fair Housing Act of 1963, better known as the Rumford Act (AB 1240) is enacted, protecting the rights of blacks and other people of color to purchase housing without being subjected to discrimination.

1964 President Lyndon Johnson, in his first State of the Union Address, declares an unconditional war on poverty in America, thus initiating a broad array of government programs designed to assist the poorest citizens of the nation including a disproportionate number of African Americans.

The Civil Rights Act is passed by Congress and signed into law by President Johnson, who also signs the Economic Opportunity Act.

The California Real Estate Association (CREA) launches a repeal campaign against the Rumford Act. Proposition 14, which gave property owners the right to refuse to sell property to anyone and barred the state and any locality from adopting fair housing laws, is passed by a 2-to-1 vote.

1965 President Johnson signs the Voting Rights Act in response to the march from Selma to Montgomery, dramatizing the barriers to black voting: violence, grandfather clauses, literacy tests and poll taxes.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. travels to Los Angeles prior to the Watts rebellion, criticizing L.A. Mayor Sam Yorty's War on Poverty program as being unrepresentative of the poor and minorities. Along with Bishop H. Hartford Brookins of First AME Church and other civic and church leaders, Dr. King leads demonstrations outside the County Hall of Administration.

The Watts rebellion spreads over five days, August 11-16. Thirty-four people are killed and one thousand are injured. LAPD Chief William Parker publicly labels the rioters "monkeys in the zoo."

Dr. King travels back to Los Angeles post-Watts, meeting with L.A. Mayor Sam Yorty and L.A. Police Chief William Parker, and demanding Parker's resignation. Yorty blasts King for criticizing the LAPD, hinting that King has communist connections.

Mayor Sam Yorty is re-elected.

1966 The Rumford Act is restored when the California Supreme Court ruled that Proposition 14 was illegal. A year later, the U.S. Supreme Court strengthens the ruling by affirming the illegality of Proposition 14.

Ronald Reagan is elected governor of California.

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1968 Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is assassinated in Memphis, unleashing violence in more than 100 cities.

Four days after Dr. King's assassination, redlining and the practice of writing racial covenants into deeds becomes illegal under the Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, otherwise known as the Fair Housing Act.

Robert Kennedy Jr. is assassinated at the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles.

Thousands of East Los Angeles students protest racial discrimination in five high schools and walk out. The protest is known as the "blowouts," led by teacher Sal Castro.

1969 Tom Bradley challenges incumbent Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty to become mayor of Los Angeles. Yorty defeats Bradley in a campaign of fear, racism and red-baiting, and falsely accuses Bradley as a Black Panther Party supporter.

1970 Chicano Moratorium mobilizes 25,000 to protest the Vietnam War in Los Angeles. Police attack protesters and *Los Angeles Times* journalist Ruben Salazar is killed at the Silver Dollar Café.

1972 The LAPD creates its Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) teams.

1973 Tom Bradley is elected the mayor of Los Angeles, serving an unprecedented five terms over 20 years.

1978 California voters overwhelmingly pass Proposition 13, the initiative to limit property taxes.

Court-ordered crosstown busing is ordered to address racial segregation in schools. The plan is never carried out after being challenged in court by the group Bustop, Inc., made up of mostly white parents, including many Jews, in the primarily white San Fernando Valley.

Daryl Gates becomes chief of police for Los Angeles.

1979 Eulia Love, an African American woman, is shot during a confrontation with LAPD officers over an unpaid gas bill in South Los Angeles.

1980s-early1990s A major crack epidemic spreads in major cities throughout the nation, but is particularly concentrated in South Los Angeles. Crime increases dramatically in the area, and many low skilled workers lose their jobs as auto, steel, rubber and defense factories close down. Poverty and unemployment rise, while at the same time, a massive flood of immigrants from Mexico and Central America flood Los Angeles.

1982 California Attorney General George Deukmejian narrowly defeats Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley in a campaign for governor of California.

L.A. Police Chief Daryl Gates defends the use of chokeholds, a controversial policing technique that resulted in the deaths of 16 people, 12 of them black men.

1984 The City of Los Angeles hosts the XXIII Summer Olympic Games.

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FOR MAYOR



1985 Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan makes a controversial speech in Los Angeles before 12,500 people. Farrakhan calls for black self-determination and economic separatism, and makes anti-Semitic remarks, including a statement that Judaism was a “dirty religion.”

1986 Bradley loses his second gubernatorial bid to incumbent Deukmejian by a 61% to 37% margin.

1987 L.A. Police Chief Daryl Gates creates the Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE) program.

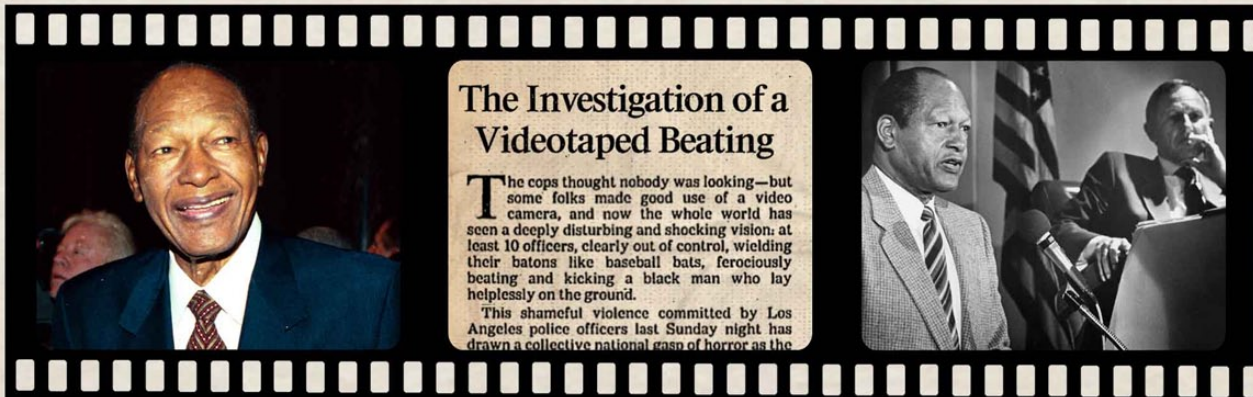
1991 March 3, Motorist Rodney King, a black man, is beaten by Los Angeles police officers, while a resident of a nearby apartment videotapes the incident.

1992 April 29, LAPD officers are acquitted in the videotaped beating of motorist Rodney King, triggering three days of civil unrest in Los Angeles, resulting in more than 50 people killed, over 2,000 injured and 8,000 arrested.

In the aftermath of the civil unrest, Proposition F was passed, amending the city’s charter to limit the term of the police chief, and place the LAPD under civilian authority and accountability.

1993 Tom Bradley does not run a sixth term and retires from office.

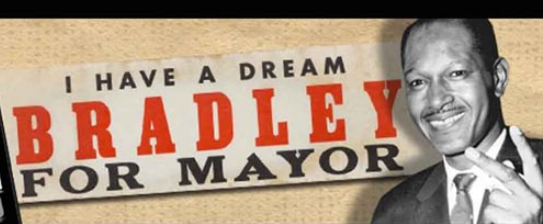
1998 Tom Bradley dies. He was 80 years old.



The Investigation of a Videotaped Beating

The cops thought nobody was looking—but some folks made good use of a video camera, and now the whole world has seen a deeply disturbing and shocking vision: at least 10 officers, clearly out of control, wielding their batons like baseball bats, ferociously beating and kicking a black man who lay helplessly on the ground.

This shameful violence committed by Los Angeles police officers last Sunday night has drawn a collective national gasp of horror as the



KEY THEMES

Race in America: Then and Now

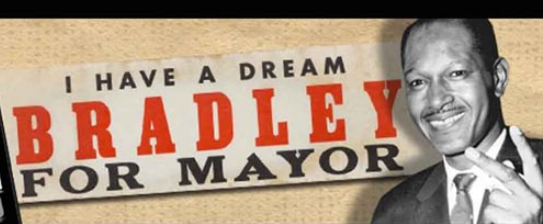
Tom Bradley's story began in the early twentieth century. He was born in the rural cotton town of Calvert, Texas in 1917, at a time when racial segregation was legal in the south, lynchings were widespread, and few opportunities for advancement existed for African Americans – no matter their talent and 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 2016, our understanding of race in America is very different than it was in Tom Bradley's times. The President of the United States is African American, integration is the law, and yet racism, both subtle and no-so-subtle still persist. Race and racial inequities are still at the center of many of the political, social and economic discussions, which define American society.

The Tom 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 persists year after year. 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.

Breaking Barriers: The Dynamics of “Firsts”

BRIDGING THE DIVIDE explores one of 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. In the years following Bradley's election, black mayors were elected in cities without black majorities, such as Detroit, Atlanta, Newark and Chicago. 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.



Tom Bradley did not rise on his own, though. His success, in large part, reflected the black community's capacity to maximize the strength of its numbers and build a winning coalition.

Bradley, however, 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 was elected to the U.S. Congress and served from 1963-1991.

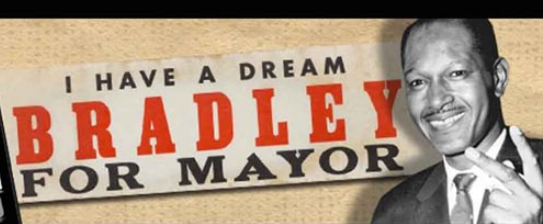
But Bradley was the most important in that his was the most visible and in the most competitive executive office, breaking the barrier for a black man to lead a largely white community. Tom Bradley was also the first African American elected to the Los Angeles City Council in 1963. That year, three African Americans joined the Los Angeles City Council. Gil Lindsay was appointed to succeed Edward Roybal (who was elected to Congress) and Billy Mills was elected to the 8th district in a runoff election; Tom Bradley overwhelmingly won the 10th district seat.

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.

The African American Experience in the West

Fleeing the segregation, racism, economic deprivation and racial violence of the South, millions of African Americans moved to the cities of the North, Midwest and West, in the hopes of a better life. The Great Migration began in the early decades of the twentieth century and continued throughout the Great Depression, and World War II. 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. At the same time, it is impossible to understand the African American experience without understanding the experience of African Americans in the west.

The long-term presence of minorities – African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans and Native Americans – adds to the distinctiveness of the western United States. 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 percentage of the population in western cities, they often lived in neighborhoods with other minorities, who also experienced residential segregation. In Los Angeles, blacks also found common ground with racial and ethnic minorities in the struggle to achieve racial justice, economic opportunity and political empowerment.

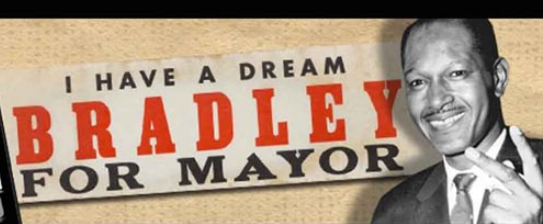
Bradley's story is a significant part of the African American experience in the West.

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 Asian Americans from buying houses in white neighborhoods, particularly new subdivisions built to keep Los Angeles "white." Housing discrimination continued to be legal in California until 1963 when the Rumford Fair Housing Act was passed to prohibit discrimination in housing, only to be overturned in 1964 by voters through Proposition 14. Three years later in 1967, the U.S. Supreme Court declared Proposition 14 to be unconstitutional, and the Rumford Fair Housing Act was restored, and finally in California, housing discrimination was illegal.

World War II created enormous economic and social transformation. When the war began, most defense plants refused to hire black workers. Outraged, black activists organized the "Double Victory" campaign, urging victory over fascism overseas and racism at home. Responding to the pressure, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued an executive order, which integrated defense plants and opened up wartime jobs for people of color. Los Angeles received 5% of federal contracts for war production, and more than 80,000 blacks migrated to Los Angeles to seek employment. The city was ill equipped to accommodate the newcomers, and a new black working-class developed.



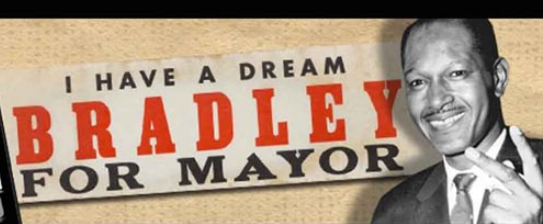
Another major factor that shaped the African American experience in Los Angeles was the Los Angeles Police Department. Persistent police abuse and brutality toward minorities, coupled with economic inequities, set off historic civil violence, leading to some of the nation's worst urban riots, the 1965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

Coalition Politics and the Transformation of the New Urban Agenda

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.

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 the civil rights movement 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.

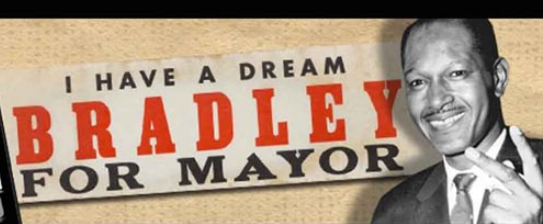


In 1973, Tom Bradley had performed a political miracle, and hopes for change were sky high. He had walked across the racial divide and created a bridge. His mayoral victory provided great opportunities, but the nature of his coalition also meant that there might be limitations to how fully he could meet 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.

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 is critically important, but it is often 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, among other things. 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 kinds 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 the entire twenty years that 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. Once in office, he 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.

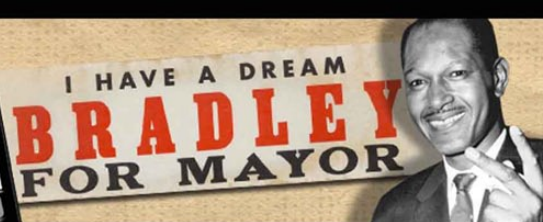
Police and Minority Communities

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, it is important to 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. Chief Parker ran the department in an authoritarian manner and brooked no challenge from either elected officials or minority communities angered over persistent police brutality, which set the stage for the 1965 Watts rebellion.

Tensions between the police and minorities accelerated in 1978 when Daryl Gates, Parker's driver and protégé, was appointed Los Angeles Police Chief, maintaining Parker's tough and inflexible approach. Gates' fourteen-year reign continued the increasingly and contentious rivalry between Bradley and the LAPD, exacerbated by excessive police brutality in minority communities, coming to a head in the 1992 Los Angeles civil unrest. And yet, in the end of his 5th term in office, Tom Bradley was finally able to force Daryl Gates to resign, and bring civilian control over the LAPD by the passage of Proposition F in 1992.

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, and how police reform was finally achieved in the LAPD.



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 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.



"Racism is America's greatest evil. We, in Los Angeles, must be first to slay that demon."

Tom Bradley



QUESTIONS FOR THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

Consider using these questions as topics for your social media posts, as guideposts for screening and discussion of the film, or as food for thought as you further explore the legacy of Mayor Tom Bradley.

1. What are the parallels between Tom Bradley's experience running for and serving as mayor of Los Angeles, and what we know of President Obama's experience running for and serving as president?
2. Why do you think Los Angeles was able to elect an African American mayor before so many other large cities (even ones with larger African American populations)?
3. What does it mean to have a coalition and how do you think it helped Tom Bradley bring about change in Los Angeles and in politics in America?
4. After watching the film, what do you think is most important about Mayor Tom Bradley's legacy?
5. Do you think the political tactics of Sam Yorty would be accepted today? Why or why not? Do you see any parallels between Sam Yorty's tactics and those being used by candidates today?
6. Tom Bradley was mayor of Los Angeles for 20 years. His tenure began shortly after the Watts rebellion of 1965, and ended shortly after the 1992 civil unrest, sparked by the beating of motorist Rodney King and the subsequent verdict acquitting the LAPD officers. What lessons, if any, can we learn from this important period in the history of race relations in Los Angeles?
7. Tom Bradley worked hard to stop police brutality and misconduct, from the time he was a police officer through his tenure as mayor. But police brutality against minority communities remained intractable for many years, and was one of the inciting factors leading to the 1992 civil unrest. Mayor Bradley fought hard to bring about police reform, and succeeded only in the wake of the civil unrest. Given the examples from Los Angeles, how have the basic problems and challenges changed with respect to policing and race, and how have they remained the same?
8. On balance, do you think it would be easier or more difficult for an African American man or woman to be elected mayor of a majority white city today than it was for Tom Bradley in 1973? Why? Why not?
9. How do you think that leaders like Tom Bradley or Barack Obama, who overcame important barriers including bridging a broad racial divide, contributed to our overall understanding of race in America?

BRIDGING THE DIVIDE

TOM BRADLEY AND THE POLITICS OF RACE



I HAVE A DREAM
BRADLEY
FOR MAYOR



THE FILMMAKING TEAM

Written and Produced by:
Lyn Goldfarb & Alison Sotomayor

Director: Lyn Goldfarb

Research Director: Alison Sotomayor

Narrator: Alfre Woodard

Composer: Stephen James Taylor

Editors: Stosh Jarecki and Lillian E. Benson, ACE

Cinematographer: Michelle Crenshaw

Motion Graphics Designer: Randy Kubaszak

Production Manager: Patricia Cunliffe

Researcher: Toni Achebe Bell



Filmmaking team at the 2015 Los Angeles Film Festival from left to right: Randy Kubaszak, Toni Achebe Bell, Alison Sotomayor, Lyn Goldfarb, Patricia Cunliffe, Stephen James Taylor, and Stosh Jarecki. Not pictured: Lillian E. Benson, ACE, and Michelle Crenshaw.

BRIDGING THE DIVIDE

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FOR MAYOR



About the filmmakers:



Lyn Goldfarb, Director, Producer, Writer: Lyn Goldfarb is an Academy Award®-nominated and award-winning filmmaker specializing in historical and social issue documentaries for PBS and major cable. Her series and documentaries include: *The New Los Angeles, California and the American Dream, Japan: Memoirs of A Secret Empire, The Roman Empire in the First Century, With Babies and Banners*, and she was a producer, director and writer of documentaries for the major PBS series *The Great War, The Great Depression* and *People in Motion*. Goldfarb also produces short documentaries for museums, exhibitions and non-profits, including: the J. Paul Getty Museum and Guadalajara International Book Fair. She was selected as a film expert to represent the United States abroad, as part of the American Film Showcase in 2012 and 2013. She has received an Academy Award nomination; an IMAGEN nomination; two Emmy Awards; a George Foster Peabody Award; 2

duPont Columbia Awards; the Emily Grand Prize, the American Film Festival; Golden Mike; CINE Golden Eagle; 3 Bronze Telly Awards and many others. Her films have been featured in film festivals worldwide. She is a member of the WGA/w, the DGA, Academy of Television Arts & Sciences, the International Documentary Association, and the Alliance of Women Directors, among others. She has an M.A. in Women's Studies from the George Washington University.



Alison Sotomayor, Producer, Writer, Research Director: Alison Sotomayor is an Emmy®-Award-winning filmmaker whose work often promotes positive social change and meaningful community impact, as well as explores issues confronting people of color. She was a producer for the critically acclaimed, news and public affairs series, *Life & Times* at KCET in Los Angeles, working on the program for ten years. She produces short films on the contributions of Latino Americans for Latino-related, media advocacy and civil rights organizations. Some of her most notable television and independent works include: *Sal Castro & the 1968 East L.A. Walkouts; Out of the Picture: Minorities in Network Primetime Television; Heroes in the Hood: Father Gregory Boyle; The Story of the L.A. Fire Department Desegregation; A New Vision for the I.O.C.: Anita DeFrantz; Coach John Wooden: The Legend, The*

Legacy, The Wisdom; Museum of Tolerance: Confessions of a Skinhead; Women Air Force Service Pilots, WWII; Different Strokes: Guerilla Artist Robbie Conal; Five Years After L.A.'s 1992 Riots and Revolving Door: California's Mentally Ill. Sotomayor participated in the inaugural CPB/WETA News Academy in Washington D.C. and is a member of the Academy of Television Arts & Sciences, National Association of Latino Independent Producers, California Chicano News Media Association, and Latino Public Broadcasting. She has two Emmy Awards and five Golden Mikes and has a B.A. in Sociology at UCLA.



WHO'S WHO IN THE FILM

LORENZO "BOBBY" ADAMS



Bobby Adams was a police officer in the LAPD for 28 years, working as a patrolman and in the Public Disorder Intelligence Division. As part of his job, he maintained surveillance on organizations thought to be radical and communist inspired, including the Black Panthers. While an officer, Adams was assigned to protect Tom Bradley from potential harm and death threats during the 1973 campaign for Los Angeles mayor.

Subsequently, he became Bradley's chief of detail during his twenty years as mayor, working to protect Bradley during all of his mayoral and gubernatorial campaigns, including the 1992 Los Angeles civil unrest.

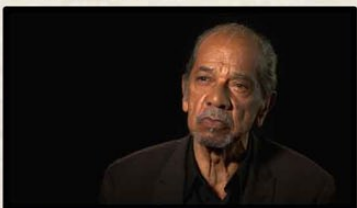
NAJEE ALI



Najee Ali is a political activist and community organizer in South Los Angeles. A former gang member, Ali is best known for being an outspoken critic of how the LAPD operates in minority communities. He is founder of Project Islamic H.O.P.E. of which Ali describes as an organization that fights poverty and social injustice. Ali has been involved in many peaceful protests, including several officer-involved shootings and the closure of

Martin Luther King Jr. Harbor Hospital in South Los Angeles. He organized a prayer rally in the aftermath of George Zimmerman's acquittal in the shooting death of African American, Florida teenager Trayvon Martin.

LARRY AUBRY



Larry Aubry is a veteran community activist and longtime columnist for the *Los Angeles Sentinel*, one of Los Angeles' leading African American publications. He has written extensively on issues in the African American community. Aubry is co-chair of the Black Community, Clergy and Labor Alliance, a Black United Front organization. He was also a consultant for the Los Angeles County Human Relations Commission for 32 years.

Previously, Aubry was a probation officer during the 1965 Watts rebellion.

FELIX BELL



Felix Bell (1922-2012) was a 27-year police officer in the LAPD. He served in the Army from 1941 to 1945, earning the rank of sergeant. In 1951, when the LAPD was still segregated, Bell became one of the first African American detectives. That same year, he worked under Tom Bradley in the LAPD's vice squad, an elite group of officers working to bust gambling, bookies and prostitution. On December 25, 1951, Bell was the only African

American police officer working in the LAPD jail who witnessed the beatings of seven prisoners in custody, including five Mexican Americans, on what became known as "Bloody Christmas".

BRIDGING THE DIVIDE

TOM BRADLEY AND THE POLITICS OF RACE



I HAVE A DREAM
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FOR MAYOR



LORRAINE BRADLEY



Lorraine Bradley is the eldest daughter of Mayor Tom Bradley. She started teaching at Bret Harte Jr. High in 1967, and then taught physical education and health at Louis Pasteur Jr. High (known as LACES). In 1979, Bradley transferred to Hollywood High School where she taught physical education, and for ten years coached the girl's basketball, volleyball and softball teams. After 17 years, she became an assistant principal at Henry Clay Middle School. She retired in January 2003 after almost 36 years in the LAUSD. Thereafter, she became president of the City of Los Angeles Human Relations Commission. Bradley is chair of the Tom and Ethel Bradley Foundation, and on the board of the Tom Bradley Legacy Foundation at UCLA.

PHYLLIS BRADLEY



Phyllis Bradley is Tom Bradley's youngest daughter. She is a former secretary for the City of Los Angeles, various private companies and a law firm. Bradley graduated from Dorsey High School and attended Los Angeles City College. In 1950, the Bradley family was the first African American family to move into the then all-white neighborhood of Leimert Park in Los Angeles. Bradley still lives in the Leimert Park family house.

BISHOP H. HARTFORD BROOKINS



Bishop H. Hartford Brookins (1925-2012) was the former pastor of First AME Church, for thirteen years. As a leading spokesman for the black community, Brookins prodded city leaders on issues like segregated housing, education, reapportionment, and law enforcement. He worked closely with Dr. Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., holding demonstrations on the structure, control and implementation of Los Angeles' War on Poverty, and also helped form the biracial United Civil Rights Committee. Brookins testified before various commissions and committees on the 1965 Watts rebellion. He was a longtime supporter, trusted friend and key advisor to Tom Bradley on his campaigns for city council and mayor. Brookins is considered an architect of Bradley's rise to power..

YVONNE BRATHWAITE BURKE



Yvonne Brathwaite Burke was the first black woman elected to the California legislature (1966), the first black woman elected to Congress from California (1972), and the first black woman on the L.A. County Board of Supervisors (1979). She received her B.A. from UCLA in 1953, a J.D. from USC School of Law in 1956, and joined the same law firm as Tom Bradley. In 1965, Burke was an L.A. Police Commission hearing officer and an attorney for the McCone Commission, which investigated the Watts rebellion. Burke was involved in all of Bradley's city council, mayoral and gubernatorial campaigns. Mayor Bradley appointed Burke as vice chair of the 1984 L.A. Olympics Organizing Committee.

EZUNIAL BURTS



Ezunial Burts was deputy mayor to Mayor Bradley from 1973 to 1984, responsible for overall city department services. Thereafter, he became general manager for the Port of Los Angeles from 1984 to 1997. He was responsible for the overall operation of the port including administration, marketing, engineering strategic planning, and the port's multimillion-dollar capital development program. Burts then served five years as president of the Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce, and became a high net worth financial advisor to Merrill Lynch. Prior to his retirement, Burts became president of Burts and Associates, providing advice on strategic planning, capital financing, market strategies and business expansion.

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MARCIA CHOO



Marcia Choo is the vice president of community development at Wells Fargo. In that role, she focuses on the revitalization of low-income communities. Previously, she was the executive director of the Asian Pacific American Dispute Resolution Center from 1990 to 1998, and was placed at the forefront of race relations conflict resolution. For three years, she helped facilitate policy initiatives between the city of Compton and the Samoan

community following a double police shooting. Choo was also engaged in training and community building efforts around boycotts, protests and public policy disputes in the aftermath of the 1992 civil unrest in Los Angeles.

JANET CLAYTON



Janet Clayton is senior vice president of corporate communications for Southern California Edison and its parent company Edison International. She leads internal and external communications, corporate and brand positioning, community relations and philanthropic programs. Prior to joining Edison, Clayton had a distinguished career at the *Los Angeles Times* where she held numerous positions, including editor of the editorial pages, where she determined the *Times'* official

opinions, and California section editor. Clayton has received many accolades for excellence in her profession, including recognition as the editor of two Pulitzer Prize-winning series. She holds a bachelor's degree in journalism from the University of Southern California.

BRUCE CORWIN



Bruce Corwin is chairman and CEO of Metropolitan Theatres Corporation. He was a close friend and advisor to Tom Bradley, and treasurer for all of Bradley's city council, mayoral and gubernatorial campaigns. Corwin was also head of the Young Professional Democrats for Bradley in the 1969 L.A. mayoral race. In 1973, he was appointed president of the Los Angeles Fire Commission, serving for three years. Corwin is known as

one of Los Angeles' major philanthropists and is an ardent supporter of Jewish and progressive organizations. Corwin served as president of Temple Emanuel of Beverly Hills in 1970 and 1990. He is on the board of the Martin Luther King Hospital in South Los Angeles. (In DVD Extras section).

DAVID S. CUNNINGHAM JR.



David S. Cunningham Jr. served on the Los Angeles City Council from 1973 to 1986, representing the 10th District, succeeding Tom Bradley. He worked closely with Mayor Bradley in creating legislation to aid small businesses; pioneered the use of government grants to restore public buildings; created a system of community senior citizen's centers; and served as chairman of the Grants, Housing and Community Development Committee.

Cunningham served as state chairman of the Carter California Delegation to the Democratic National Committee in 1976. He was the senior vice president of the investment banking firm, Cranston Securities. He heads the consultant firm of Dave Cunningham and Associates, advocating for clients in the public and private sectors.

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GRACE MONTAÑEZ DAVIS



Grace Montañez Davis was deputy mayor for Mayor Tom Bradley from 1975 to 1990. She established the city's Department of Justice, Department of Aging, Office of Volunteers and Office for Youth. She also advocated for the homeless, children's and women's rights, and increasing higher education opportunities for Latinos. Montañez Davis became politically active in the early 1950s working with the Community Service Organization, teaching citizenship and voter registration classes. She was involved in Edward R. Roybal's successful campaigns for L.A. City Council and U.S. Congress. With Robyal, Montañez Davis co-founded the Mexican American Political Association and served on the Democratic Party Minority Committee of Los Angeles.

JOE DOMANICK



Joe Domanick is an award winning investigative journalist and author, and associate director of the Center on Media, Crime and Justice at John Jay College of Criminal Justice at City University of New York. He is the West Coast editor of The CrimeReport.org, and editor and host of CMCJ's Juvenile Justice New Network forum. He is the author of several books on policing, including: *Blue: The LAPD and the Battle to Redeem American Policing*, and *To Protect and to Serve: The LAPD's Century of War in the City of Dreams*, winner of the 1995 Edgar Allan Poe Award for "Best True Crime" non-fiction book.

BILL ELKINS



Bill Elkins (1920-2010) was Mayor Tom Bradley's close advisor, confidant and best friend for 40 years. They met as teenagers attending Lafayette Middle School in South Los Angeles. Elkins earned a B.A. in political science at UCLA where he and Tom Bradley pledged Kappa Alpha Psi together. He worked for the county as a probation officer, and like Bradley, earned a law degree from Southwestern Law School. In 1967, Elkins became director of Teen Post, a county program that targeted poverty-stricken neighborhoods. He later became Mayor Bradley's special assistant, working on issues pertaining to African Americans, affirmative action, and apartheid. Elkins was also the mayor's liaison to Washington D.C.

MARK FABIANI



Mark Fabiani is a lawyer, political strategist and crisis management expert. He was former deputy mayor and chief of staff to Mayor Tom Bradley, managing political strategy, media relations and the mayor's staff. He was special counsel to President Bill Clinton and legal spokesperson for the Clinton White House from 1994 to 1996, as well as head of communications and strategy for the 2000 Al Gore presidential campaign. Fabiani also served in senior positions at the Department of Justice and at HUD. Since 2002, he and his partner Chris Lehane have managed their own crisis management firm.

ROBERT C. FARRELL



Robert C. Farrell was a member of the Los Angeles City Council from 1974 to 1991, representing the 8th Council District in South Los Angeles, and governing as a member of Mayor Tom Bradley's team. As a student at UCLA in the summer of 1961, Farrell was a Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) Freedom Rider, challenging segregationist laws in the South by traveling on public transportation. He was also the first civil rights activist of his generation elected to serve at Los Angeles City Hall. A veteran of the U.S. Navy, he was a newspaper reporter at the *California Eagle* and *Los Angeles Sentinel*.

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DOUGLAS FLAMMING



Douglas Flaming is a professor of history at George Institute of Technology, specializing in the history of modern America with a focus on American regionalism. He is the author of *Bound for Freedom: Black Los Angeles in Jim Crow America*, and *African Americans in the West*. His first book, *Creating the Modern South: Millhands and Managers in Dalton, Georgia 1884-1984*, won the Philip Taft Labor History Prize in 1992. He was also

awarded a prestigious Guggenheim Fellowship in 2012. Flaming's current research explores the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

ART GASTELUM



Art Gastelum is president of his firm, Gateway Science & Engineering, Inc. He worked for the Tom Bradley Administration, including working on Bradley's mayoral and gubernatorial campaigns. Gastelum was the liaison for numerous city departments, including the DWP. In 1984, Gastelum was appointed Mexico's attaché to the Olympics, while also serving as Olympic President Peter Ueberroth's envoy to Mexico. Gastelum's

last assignment under Mayor Bradley was director of economic development for the City of L.A. After 18 years with Bradley, Gastelum formed Gastelum & Associates, a government relations/business consulting firm which represented Fortune 500 companies doing business with the City of Los Angeles and Mexico.

DARYL GATES



Daryl Gates (1926-2010) was a former police chief of the LAPD from 1978 to 1992. Gates began his police career in 1949 as a patrolman. He was appointed chief in 1978. As chief, Gates was criticized for allowing the excessive use of force in minority communities, but won national attention for organizing the Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) teams, and creating the Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE) program. Fiercely

loyal to his rank and file, he frequently clashed with his critics, including Mayor Tom Bradley with whom he had a fractious relationship. In 1992, he was forced to resign in the wake of the Los Angeles civil unrest sparked by the acquittal of the police officers who beat motorist Rodney King a year before.

FERNANDO J. GUERRA



Fernando J. Guerra is director of the Thomas and Dorothy Leavey Center for the Study of Los Angeles at Loyola Marymount University. He also serves as assistant to the president for civic engagement. He is a professor in both the Department of Chicana/o Studies and the Department of Political Science. He previously served as chairman of Chicana/o Studies for eight years. Guerra both teaches and conducts research in ethnic and urban politics and state and local politics. He has been appointed

to city commissions by four mayors and to state commissions by two governors. Guerra earned his Ph.D. and M.A. in political science from the University of Michigan and his B.A. from the University of Southern California.

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ARNETT HARTSFIELD JR.



Arnett Hartsfield Jr. (1918-2014) was an African American firefighter from 1940 to 1961 who spearheaded the battle to desegregate the Los Angeles Fire Department. He organized the black firefighters group, the Stentorians, to fight against racial discrimination in the department. He is author of *The Old Stentorians*, a book about the history of the department's struggle for integration. Hartsfield was a classmate of Tom Bradley's at

UCLA. Hartsfield was an army infantry lieutenant during World War II, and earned a law degree from USC. Appointed by Mayor Bradley, he served on the Los Angeles Civil Service Commission for 11 years. Hartsfield was the founder of the African American Firefighters Museum in South Los Angeles.

TOM HOUSTON



Tom Houston was deputy mayor and chief of staff for Mayor Tom Bradley from 1984 to 1987. His responsibilities included the development of citywide policies with oversight over all city departments. He also served as liaison to the City Council and other local and state government agencies. After leaving the Mayor's office, Houston was a partner in several major law firms, served as the founding president/CEO of the International

SeaKeepers Society, and as CEO of several green technology companies. He is a graduate of Princeton University and Stanford Law School. (In DVD Extras section).

ELBERT T. HUDSON



Elbert T. Hudson is a member of one of the legacy families in Los Angeles. He, his father (the late Dr. H. Claude Hudson), and son (Paul Hudson, Esq.) represent three generations of leadership in the NAACP, business (Broadway Federal Bank, successor to the Broadway Federal Savings and Loan Association, and Golden State Mutual Life Insurance Company), community, church and civic affairs. He was Tom Bradley's classmate at Polytechnic

High School, a World War II Army veteran who served as a Tuskegee Airman in the legendary 332nd Fighter Group, and a member of the Los Angeles Police Commission from 1963 to 1971.

ALBERTO JUAREZ



Alberto Juarez is an adjunct professor of Chicano Studies and Political Science at Pasadena City College. He graduated from UCLA and attended Glendale College of Law. While at UCLA, Juarez organized students, particularly Chicanos, in support of Tom Bradley's campaigns for mayor in 1969 and 1973. He served for 14 years on as deputy director of the Mayor Tom Bradley's Office of Small Business Assistance. Juarez also

served as president of the Los Angeles Civil Service Commission, having started his civil service career as an analyst with the Los Angeles Department of Health Services. He retired as an investigator for the Los Angeles Housing Department.

REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.



Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (1929-1968) was one of the most visible civil rights advocates of nonviolence and direct action as methods of social change. Over a public career from 1955 until his assassination in Memphis, Tennessee in April 1968, the co-founder of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) brought international attention to the plight of American blacks. The recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964, King and the SCLC led mass demonstrations throughout the United States

and influenced the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. He also traveled frequently to Los Angeles, pre and post 1965 Watts rebellion, to provide support for the movement and economic justice, as well as to denounce the city and county's government proposal on the War on Poverty as unrepresentative of the poor and minorities.

BRIDGING THE DIVIDE

TOM BRADLEY AND THE POLITICS OF RACE



I HAVE A DREAM
BRADLEY
FOR MAYOR



SCOTT KURASHIGE



Scott Kurashige is a professor in the School of Interdisciplinary Arts and Sciences at the University of Washington Bothell. Kurashige is the author of *The Shifting Grounds of Race: Black and Japanese Americans in the Making of Multiethnic Los Angeles*. Through its dissection of the struggles that members of both groups engaged while navigating the politics of race, class, and community, the book offers a window into the intersecting histories that produced the multiethnic metropolis. He is also co-

author with Grace Lee Boggs of *The Next American Revolution: Sustainable Activism for the Twenty-First Century*. He received his Ph.D. in history from UCLA in 2000 and has been a fellow at Harvard University and the Smithsonian Institution.

BEE CANTERBURY LAVERY



Bee Lavery was chief of protocol for Mayor Tom Bradley from 1973 to 1992. She was responsible for all dealings with foreign dignitaries for the Los Angeles and abroad, including European royalty, the emperor of Japan, presidents, and prime ministers, among many others. In 1992, Lavery opened and managed the U.S. Department of State Office of Foreign Missions in Los Angeles and served as regional director until 1994. That same

year, she began her own international consulting business, BCL International. She was also a press representative for NBC. Lavery is a cousin of former Secretary of State George Shultz, and a descendant of Presidents William Henry Harrison and Benjamin Harrison.

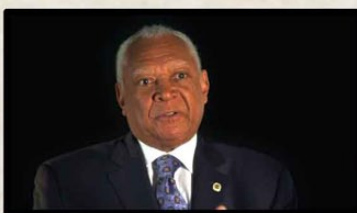
MARY M. LEE



Mary M. Lee is deputy director at PolicyLink, a national advocacy organization. Her parents, both civil rights activists, worked on Tom Bradley's city council and mayoral campaigns. As a child, Lee walked door-to-door campaigning for Bradley. In college she was an intern in Mayor Bradley's office. Lee is a practicing attorney with 30 years of experience in housing, land use, community economic development and civil rights. She began

her legal career at the Legal Aid Foundation of Los Angeles and then joined the Western Center on Law and Poverty. Lee is a graduate of Pitzer College in Claremont, California, and Boalt Hall School of Law, UC Berkeley.

JOHN MACK



John Mack is a longtime civil rights leader and a highly respected advocate for equal opportunities in education, law enforcement and economic empowerment for African Americans and other minorities. He was a close personal advisor to Tom Bradley throughout his tenure as mayor, advising him on various issues as part of the mayor's "kitchen cabinet." He was president of the Los Angeles Urban League for 36 years (Tom Bradley also served on the League's Board of Directors). In 2005, Mack was

appointed to the Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners and served for eight years, and as president for four years. Mack helped negotiate an end to the Federal Consent Decree and played a key role in helping to reform the LAPD.

BRIDGING THE DIVIDE

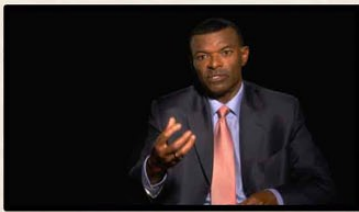
TOM BRADLEY AND THE POLITICS OF RACE



I HAVE A DREAM
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KERMAN MADDOX



Kerman Maddox is the managing partner of Dakota Communications, where he develops strategic communication programs for academic institutions, corporations, faith-based entities, government agencies and political entities. Kerman served as police liaison and special assistant to Mayor Tom Bradley from 1984 to 1988. Maddox served as a legislative aide to U.S. Congressman Maxine Waters, advisor and consultant to Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa, National

Finance Committee Member for President Barack Obama, At-Large (Super) Delegate to the Democratic National Committee, and television commentator for KCET/PBS & CBS/KCAL9 television in Los Angeles.

WANDA MOORE



Wanda Moore is the president of the Tom Bradley Legacy Foundation at UCLA, and president of Wanda Moore & Associates where she serves as a motivational speaker and a political/public affairs consultant. Moore authored her life story *Never, Never, Give Up! From a Woman's Perspective: South Central Los Angeles and the Seat of Power*. In 1971, she became executive assistant to L.A. City Councilman Tom Bradley, and

from 1973 to 1993, she served as chief administrative assistant for Mayor Tom Bradley, as well as his personal advisor. Moore was also a former Los Angeles television talk show host for the KTLA-TV public affairs programs *Weekend Gallery* and *Pacesetters*.

PATT MORRISON



Patt Morrison is a longtime *Los Angeles Times* writer and columnist whose coverage has ranged from presidential campaigns and the space shuttle to Britain's royal family. She shares in two of the paper's Pulitzer Prizes. For her long-running work hosting both a public television and a public radio program on KCET-TV and KPCC radio, she has been honored with six Emmys and eleven Golden Mike awards. She is the author of the

best-selling non-fiction book *Rio LA, Tales from the Los Angeles River*. And Pink's, the renowned Hollywood hot dog stand, has named its vegetarian hot dog "The Patt Morrison Dog" in her honor.

REV. DR. CECIL "CHIP" MURRAY



Reverend Dr. Cecil Murray was pastor of First AME Church (FAME), Los Angeles, for 27 years, and served as as Tom Bradley's pastor. Rev. Murray transformed FAME, increasing it's membership to 18,000, and bringing housing, jobs, and corporate investment to underserved communities. During the civil unrest of 1992, FAME became a center point for recovery and renewal. After retirement, Murray joined the faculty at USC, becoming co-

founder of the Cecil Murray Center for Community Engagement, training 800 pastors and leaders in civic engagement. He gives credit and devotion to the God who turns negatives into positives.

WILLIAM PARKER

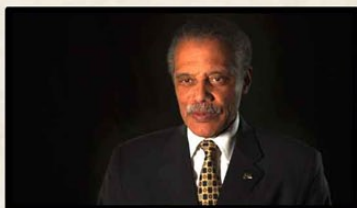


William Parker (1905-1966) was a former police chief of the LAPD from 1950 to 1966. He is credited with transforming the LAPD from notoriously corrupt into a world-renowned department by professionalizing the force – institutionalizing officers into an environment that was more answerable to administrative oversight than political influence. Under Parker, the LAPD faced heavy accusations of police brutality and racial animosity towards

the city's African American, Latino and Asian American communities. Parker supported the city's racist power structure. Parker also kept tabs on celebrities, and politicians, including Tom Bradley. Longstanding mistreatment towards the city's minority communities, which Parker allowed, eventually led to the 1965 Watts rebellion.



BERNARD C. PARKS



Bernard C. Parks was a former police chief of the LAPD from 1997 to 2002, and former Los Angeles City Councilmember from 2003 to 2015. Joining the department shortly after patrol cars were integrated, Parks was on duty during the 1965 Watts rebellion. He was also a deputy chief during the 1992 Los Angeles civil unrest. As police chief, Parks created the first cold case unit nationwide, and fired 130 problem officers, bringing crime down to record lows. As the City Council's Budget and Finance Chair, Parks initiated policies that steered the city clear of bankruptcy. His 8th Council District led the city in job creation six consecutive years. In 2006, Parks was inducted into the International Civil Rights Walk of Fame in Atlanta, Georgia.

MANUEL PASTOR



Manuel Pastor is a professor of Sociology and American Studies & Ethnicity at the University of Southern California. He currently directs the USC Program for Environmental and Regional Equity (PERE) and the Center for the Study of Immigrant Integration (CSII). Pastor's research focuses on movement building and the economic, environmental and social conditions facing low-income communities. He writes and speaks nationally on issues including demographic change, economic inequality, and community empowerment. Pastor holds the Turpanjian Chair for Civil Society and Social Change at USC. His latest book, co-authored with Chris Benner, is titled, *Equity, Growth, and Community: What the Nation Can Learn from America's Metro Areas*.

STEPHEN REINHARDT



Stephen Reinhardt is a judge on the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, appointed by President Jimmy Carter. Reinhardt was a longtime, unpaid advisor to Tom Bradley. In 1975, he was appointed to the Los Angeles Police Commission, which he chaired from 1978 until his judicial appointment in 1980. Reinhardt served as secretary of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee. He was as a member of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, California Advisory Committee from 1962 to 1974, and its vice chairman from 1969 to 1974. He also served on the executive committee of the Democratic National Committee. He graduated from Yale Law School.

RAY REMY



Ray Remy served as deputy mayor and chief of staff for Mayor Tom Bradley from 1977 to 1984. He was director of the state Employment Development Department and president of the Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce. Remy was also a former executive director of the Southern California Association of Governments and former assistant director of the League of California Cities. He served as the national president of the American Society for Public Administration. Remy is currently a member of the board of trustees and executive committee of Claremont McKenna College, president of RR Consulting, and commissioner of the California Fair Political Practices Commission.

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NELSON C. RISING



Nelson C. Rising is a prominent California developer, perhaps best known for his work on Mission Bay, the largest mixed-use development in San Francisco history, and home to UC San Francisco's biotech campus. He began his career at the Los Angeles law firm O'Melveny & Myers where he became a close friend of Warren Christopher (former Secretary of State under President Bill Clinton). That association helped launch his sideline career as a Democratic Party operative. Rising was a campaign manager for John Tunney's 1970 U.S. Senate bid, and chaired the mayoral and gubernatorial campaigns for Tom Bradley in the 1970s and 1980s. Rising is currently CEO of Rising Realty Partners, a real estate investment company he started with his son, Christopher.

RAPHAEL J. SONENSHEIN



Raphael J. Sonenshein is executive director of the Edmund G "Pat" Brown Institute for Public Affairs at Cal State L.A. He is a key academic advisor to the national PBS documentary, *Bridging the Divide: Tom Bradley and the Politics of Race*, and the educational film, *Tom Bradley's Impossible Dream*. Sonenshein is author of *Politics in Black and White: Race and Power in Los Angeles*, and two other books on Los Angeles politics and government. He was appointed executive director of the Los Angeles Charter Reform Commission, named Best Educator and Distinguished College Faculty Member at CSU Fullerton, and received a Wang Family Excellence Award. He was also one of two co-winners of the Haynes Foundation Research Impact award. Sonenshein was the fall 2008 Fulbright Tocqueville Distinguished Chair in France.

GEORGE TAKEI



George Takei is an actor, author, social media guru, and a social justice activist. He is best known for playing Mr. Sulu on *Star Trek*. Upon the outbreak of World War II, he and his family, along with 120,000 other Japanese Americans, were placed in internment camps. His activist parents held fundraisers and supported Tom Bradley in his political campaigns, dating back to the 1963 L.A. City Council race. Takei worked on Bradley's 1969 L.A. mayoral campaign, and in 1973, was chair of Bradley's Asian American campaign committee. He was appointed by Mayor Bradley to the board of directors of the Southern California Rapid Transit District (1973-1984), and was one of the driving forces behind the Arts in Transit program.

MAXINE WATERS



Maxine Waters is a U.S. Congressmember (D-CA), elected in 1990, representing a large part of South Los Angeles. She serves as the ranking member of the House Committee on Financial Services, member of the Steering & Policy Committee, member of the Congressional Progressive Caucus, and member and past chair of the Congressional Black Caucus. She was the second black female elected to Congress. Previously, she was a member of the California State Assembly from 1977 to 1991, eventually becoming majority whip. She worked on civil rights, women's issues, and helped establish the Child Abuse Prevention Training Program, the first in the nation. She has also been a frequent critic of the LAPD and its former police chief Daryl Gates.

BRIDGING THE DIVIDE

TOM BRADLEY AND THE POLITICS OF RACE



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MAURY WEINER



Maury Weiner (1930-2012) was a progressive activist, working for racial justice, gender equity, immigrant and worker's rights. He was a deputy mayor, chief of staff and key advisor for Mayor Tom Bradley. Weiner ran Bradley's Los Angeles mayoral campaign in 1969, and was chief strategist for Bradley's Los Angeles City Council campaign in 1963, later becoming his chief of staff. Previously, he volunteered as precinct coordinator for Edward R. Roybal's 1962 historic U.S. Congressional campaign. Weiner was actively involved in Californians for Liberal Representation, the California Democratic Council, and was twice elected president of Southern California Americans for Democratic Action. He was also president of the Tom Bradley Legacy Foundation at UCLA.

CHRISTOPHER JIMENEZ Y WEST



Christopher Jimenez y West is assistant professor of history at Pasadena City College (PCC). He is also curator of the Jackie Robinson Arts & Humanities Lecture Series at PCC, a key academic advisor to the national PBS documentary, *Bridging the Divide: Tom Bradley and the Politics of Race*, and the educational film, *Tom Bradley's Impossible Dream*. Jimenez y West served until July 2009 as the curator of history for the California African American History Museum in Los Angeles, California. He received a B.A. in American History from the University of California, Berkeley, and his M.A. and Ph.D. in American History from the University of Southern California.

SAM YORTY



Sam Yorty (1909-1998) served three terms as mayor of Los Angeles from 1961 to 1973. As mayor, he backed the building of freeways, the Los Angeles Zoo, and the Los Angeles Convention Center. Yet, his mayoralty was badly scarred by the 1965 Watts rebellion. Federal officials remarked later that Yorty's indifferent attitude toward police brutality and the social and economic problems in the inner city contributed to the uprising. In turn, Yorty criticized the federal government's anti-poverty programs for promoting false hopes for the poor. Yorty played upon racial fears and red-baiting to defeat Tom Bradley in the 1969 race for mayor. Four years later, Yorty was defeated by Bradley in the 1973 election for mayor of Los Angeles.

ANDREW YOUNG



Andrew Young is an ordained minister, a former U.S. Congressman, Ambassador to the United Nations, and mayor of Atlanta. Along with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Young was a key strategist and negotiator during the civil rights campaigns in Birmingham and Selma that resulted in the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. He traveled with Dr. King to Los Angeles to hold rallies and fundraisers for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and met with L.A.'s elected officials and black ministers after the 1965 Watts rebellion. As mayor, Young followed Bradley's model of using private funds to pay for Atlanta's successful 1996 Summer Olympics. President Jimmy Carter awarded Young the Presidential Medal of Freedom.



MAJOR FUNDERS AND SUPPORTERS

National Endowment for the Humanities
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L.A. City Council President Herb J. Wesson, Jr.
L.A. City Councilmember Tom LaBonge
L.A. County Supervisor Mark Ridley-Thomas
LADWP
Bruce Corwin
The Eli and Edythe Broad Foundation
Alan Sieroty
Craig Ehrlich
Mrs. Gene (Jackie) Autry
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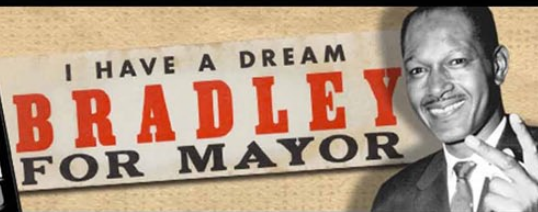


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California African American Museum

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Tom and Ethel Bradley Center,
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