THE TOM BRADLEY PROJECT

Curriculum Designer: Sandra Line

11TH GRADE

A Curriculum Guide for 11th grade U.S. history classes
supported by Common Core standards designed
to accompany the educational documentary,
TOM BRADLEY'S IMPOSSIBLE DREAM.

TOM BRADLEY'S IMPOSSIBLE DREAM tells the story of the life and legacy of Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, the first African American mayor elected in a major U.S. city with an overwhelmingly white population. He was mayor for an unprecedented twenty years and transformed Los Angeles into a world class city. Tom Bradley laid the groundwork for multi-ethnic coalitions unsurpassed until the election of U.S. President Barack Obama.

TOM BRADLEY'S IMPOSSIBLE DREAM
Produced by: Lyn Goldfarb and Alison Sotomayor
www.mayortombradley.com

The Tom Bradley Project

STANDARD: 11.10.5

Discuss the diffusion of the civil rights movement from the churches of the rural South and the urban North, including the resistance to racial desegregation in Little Rock and Birmingham and how the advances influenced the agendas, strategies, and effectiveness of the quest of American Indians, Asian Americans, and Hispanic Americans for civil rights and equal opportunities.

COMMON CORE STATE STANDARDS

Reading Standards for Literacy in History/Social Studies 6-12

Writing Standard for Literacy in History/Social Studies 6-12

Text Types and Purpose

2. Write informative/explanatory texts, including the narration of historical events, scientific procedures/experiments, or technical processes.

B. Develop the topic with relevant, well-chosen facts, definitions, concrete details, quotations, or other information and expamples

ESSAY QUESTION

How were the civil rights movement and the struggle for equality reflected in Tom Bradley's early life up to his first run for Mayor of Los Angeles?

KEY TERMS AND CONTENT

civil disobedience
civil rights
equal opportunity
integration
non-violence
segregation
freedom of expression
judicial activism

LESSON OVERVIEW

Day 1
View Module 1 of Tom Bradley video.
Read Tom Bradley biography.

Day 2
Analyze housing segregation in Los Angeles during the 1950s and 1960s.

Day 3
Analyze Watts Riots and political and police response to the Riots.

Day 4
Write essay.

MATERIALS

Doc. A Anti discrimination law (edited)
Doc. B Lawes Case
Doc. C First mayoral run political cartoon
Doc. D Bradley biography
Doc E Watts riots
Doc F Watts riots
Doc G George Sanchez article on housing covenants(edited)
Doc. H Bradley response to Watts riots
Doc. I Chief Parker response to the Watts riots
Doc. J Human Rights Commission
Student Handout 1 Graphic organizer
Student Handout 2 Document analysis Worksheet
Student Handout 3 Cartoon analysis
Student Handout 4 Written document analysis worksheet
Student Handout 5 Writing Template
Student Handout 6 Writing rubric

Tom Bradley

Standards

11.10.5 Discuss the diffusion of the civil rights movement from the churches of the rural South and the urban North, including the resistance to racial desegregation in Little Rock and Birmingham and how the advances influenced the agendas, strategies, and effectiveness of the quest of American Indians, Asian Americans, and Hispanic Americans for civil rights and equal opportunities.

Common Core State Standards

Reading Standards for Literacy in History/Social Studies 11-12

Integration of Knowledge and Ideas

7. Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g. visually, quantitatively, as well as in words) in order to address a question or solve a problem.

Writing Standard for Literacy in History/Social Studies 11-12

Text Type and Purpose

2. Write informative /explanatory texts, including the narration of historical events.
   B. Develop the topic thoroughly by selecting the most significant and relevant facts, extended definitions, concrete details, quotations, or other information appropriate to the audience's knowledge of the topic.

Materials

Document A Anti-discrimination law (edited)
Document B Lawes Case
Document C First mayoral run political cartoon
Document D Bradley biography
Document E Watts riots
Document F Watts riots
Document G George Sanchez article on housing covenants(edited)
Document H Bradley response to Watts riots
Document I Chief Parker response to the Watts riots
Document J Human Rights Commission
Student Handout 1 Graphic organizer
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Student Handout 5 Writing Template
Student Handout 6 Writing rubric

Lesson Overview: This lesson should be taught after the students have examined the national civil right issues and movement. The lesson and documents focus on some of the civil rights issues in Los Angeles during the late '50s and 60's and how they impacted the life and opportunities of Tom Bradley who later became Los Angeles' first African-American Mayor. It should be noted that this lesson is not meant to limit teachers in their presentation of this topic but to supplement their materials regarding local civil rights issues.

The culminating task for this lesson is a multi-paragraph essay which includes a thesis statement, evidence and citation, analysis of primary sources, and conclusion regarding the effect of the civil rights issues on the years prior to Tom Bradley's election as Mayor of Los Angeles.

Essay Prompt

How were the civil rights movement (with an emphasis on segregation in housing) and the struggle for equality reflected in Tom Bradley's early life up to his first run for Mayor of Los Angeles in 1969?

Day 1	
Teacher/Student Activities	**Helpful Hints**
Hook Open the class to discussion about issues they have studied which deal with civil rights. List these on the board and have the students rank the issues, in order of importance, they think may have existed in Los Angeles in the 60s. Explain to them that they will be looking at some of the civil rights issues which were evident in Los Angeles and the life of its first African-American mayor. *(Suggested possible answers: voting rights, segregated schools, busing, sit-ins, job opportunities, etc,)*	Time Suggestion: 5 minutes Be sure to ask the students if they have evidence for their choices. Illustrate again the difference between fact and opinion. As a way to connect this topic to the present, the teacher could also list which civil rights are still abused today.
Introduction to Tom Bradley The opening activity is a reading of the biography of Tom Bradley. Have the students read **Document D** silently and complete the three short questions at the end of the reading. Open discussion about the article by asking the students if they had heard of Tom Bradley before and in what context. Look closely at the pictures which accompany the biography and how they support the facts on the biography. Following a short discussion of the reading, and a review of the questions, ask the students to complete **Student Handout1** with as much detail as possible at this time. This activity is followed by the viewing of Module 1. Have the students follow the video while paying most attention to the categories on **Student Handout 1** and taking notes on the handout. At the end of the video, ask the students to circle the information from the biography and the video that match.	20 minutes for article 21 minutes-Module 1 This article can be broken into sections and students can pair/share the information.
Exit Slips On a separate piece of paper, ask the students to respond to the following question: *Which issue to you think was the most difficult for Tom Bradley? What is your evidence?* Cite evidence from the biography or the video for your decision.	Collect exit slips as the students leave class. Exit slips are a quick way to check for understanding the day's material.

Day 2	
Teacher/Student Activities	**Helpful Hints**
Opening activity Review the material covered the day before. Discuss some of the issues	5 minutes

which faced Tom Bradley during his early years. Tell the students that they will be examining the issue of housing segregation in Los Angeles in the 60s.	A possible opener to this activity is to poll the students as to the issue they thought was the most significant and why as indicated by their exit slips from the day before..
<u>Lawes Case</u> Introduce the reading on the Lawes case**, Document B.** Students read and discuss. This activity can be done independently, in pairs or in triads. Have them complete the content questions which follow the article. When the students have finished, discuss the following as a class: *Why did this case have to be resolved by the court?*	15 minutes
<u>Document Analysis</u> Divide students into groups of four. Two students will work together on **Document A** and the other two students will work on **Document G** . Each pair will complete the content questions at the end of the documents. After the students have read the articles, the pairs will compare and share the information with the other pair of students and complete an information chart on housing issues using **Student handout 2**	30 minutes These readings are very dense and may take more time. Consider having the students complete this as a homework assignment. If it is given as a HW assignment, allow time on the following day to share answers in the group.
<u>Exit slips</u> On a separate piece of paper, ask the students to respond to the following question: *How did the housing issues affect Tom Bradley\?(* remind them to refer to their notes from day 1's video)	

Day 3	
Teacher/Student Activities	**Helpful Hints**
<u>Review</u> Review the housing problems focusing on Proposition 14 and the Rumford act. In a group discussion, summarize the key facts in each and how Proposition 14 was repealed	5 minutes
<u>Document Analysis</u> Divide the students into triads: In groups, the students will read and analyze the **Documents E, F, H, I, J** about the Watts riots completing **Student Handout 2** and the analysis of the political cartoon, **Document C** prior to Bradley's first campaign. Have each student in the triad be responsible for two of the documents and then share out or rotate the documents.	40 minutes Teachers may want to reshow the portion of the Module 1 video on the Watts riots . Use the archives

After the students have completed the handout discuss the following question: *What do you think were Tom Bradley's chances for election as Mayor of Los Angeles during the 60's and why?*	sheets **(Student Handouts 3 and 4**)to analyze the political cartoons and the Bradley response if the students need more practice in citing information

Day 4	
Teacher/Student Activities	**Helpful Hints**
Review essay prompt *How were the civil rights movement (with an emphasis on segregation in housing) and the struggle for equality reflected in Tom Bradley's early life up to his first run for Mayor of Los Angeles in 1969?* Using **Student Handouts 1 and 2** and the answers to the content questions from the reading, notes from the video, and citations, lead the students through hints regarding the organization of the writing by referencing **Student Handout 5.**	20 minutes Be sure to discuss the written rubric, **Student Handout 6**
Written response	30 minutes

Document A

California's Anti-Discrimination Legislation, Proposition 14, and the Constitutional Protection of Minority Rights

By David B. Oppenheimer

Fifty years ago, in 1959, the State of California outlawed racial discrimination in employment. But it took the California Legislature four more years to prohibit racial discrimination in private housing, and the immediate response was a successful campaign by the real-estate industry to repeal the law through a voter initiative. This essay tells the story of that campaign and the courageous judicial decisions that nullified the initiative. I address four related events in California's civil rights legal history. They are (1) the adoption of the Fair Employment Practices Act (FEPA), the Hawkins Act and the Unruh Act by the California Legislature in 1959; (2) the subsequent passage in 1963 of the Rumford Fair Housing Act; (3) Proposition 14, the 1964 initiative campaign that nullified the Rumford Act and parts of the Unruh Act, creating a California Constitutional right to discriminate against members of racial minority groups; and (4) the judicial decisions that rejected that nullification. I will conclude that our courts acted with great courage, defying the will of the voters, to protect minority rights.

What happened in California that led to the passage of civil rights legislation on April 16, 1959? The 1958 election brought a dramatic change in the makeup of the California Legislature. By the late Fifties, the Democratic Party across much of the United States, although not in the South, was becoming a pro-civil-rights party. The California Democratic Party swept the 1958 legislative elections and Pat Brown was elected Governor of California, in a campaign in which part of his platform was to pass the FEPA.

During this same period there was a social movement for civil rights running parallel to the legal movement. The social movement, led by Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and others, was changing the way Americans looked at discrimination. Beginning with the Montgomery bus boycott in 1956, it was harder for Americans to defend segregation and discrimination. That gave license to white Democrats in the North and West to support civil rights.

These changes were possible in California despite the lack of a significant African-American vote in 1958. In the 1960 Census, 83% of the California population was listed as white, and 5% was listed as Negro. For black Californians in 1960, there was nearly total residential isolation. In the 1960 Census, the black population of Los Angeles County was listed as 461,000, but fewer than 4,000 lived in neighborhoods that were not majority black neighborhoods; the City and County of Los Angeles was, in essence, a 99% segregated city. Such segregation was common throughout the state, with housing discrimination then entirely legal. What were the consequences of living in a majority/minority neighborhood? The effects were similar in 1960 and 2009. There were fewer services, worse schools, less police protection, less public transportation, and less representation in government, which in turn leads to worse schools and fewer services and all of these related problems.

The original FEPA, passed in 1959, addressed only part of the problem. It prohibited discrimination based on race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry in employment, but not in housing. The Unruh Civil Rights Act, passed at the same time, prohibited discrimination based on race, religion, color, national origin and ancestry, by "all establishments" in access to

public accommodations, but its application to housing was uncertain. And the Hawkins Act, also passed in 1959, applied to housing, but only in "any publicly assisted housing accommodation." To complete the package, in 1963, the Legislature took up the Rumford Fair Housing Act, which prohibited discrimination based on race, religion, color, national origin and ancestry in private housing. It was to be the most controversial of the lot.

It was in Birmingham in 1963 that Dr. King was arrested on Good Friday and, while in jail, wrote the "Letter From Birmingham Jail." It was in Birmingham at the beginning of May of 1963 that the "Children's Campaign" began, where tens of thousands of young black middle-school and high school students in Birmingham engaged in nonviolent demonstrations. These children were attacked by Birmingham's police dogs and with fire hoses. They were beaten and arrested, and their treatment shamed the nation. In response to the growing outcry, in mid-May the President directed his aides to draft a comprehensive civil rights bill.

As the voters of Berkeley debated the city's fair-housing law, Assemblyman William Rumford of Berkeley introduced a state fair-housing bill in the California Assembly. It was supported by Governor Pat Brown, Attorney General Stanley Mosk and Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh. It was opposed by the Chamber of Commerce, the construction industry and the real-estate industry. As Dr. King sat in a Birmingham jail, on April 25, 1963, the California Assembly passed the Rumford Fair Housing Act.

In May 1963, as the Rumford Act was stalled in the State Senate, a young black couple, Lincoln and Dorothy Mulkey, who lived in a segregated neighborhood in Orange County, attempted to rent a vacant apartment in the city of Santa Ana. But the landlord, Neil Reitman, refused to rent to them because of their race. The Mulkeys brought a lawsuit challenging Reitman's authority to deny them an apartment based on their race. As the case began to move through the Superior Court, the statutory law was moving too.

In response to the Rumford Act's passage, and bolstered by the defeat of the Berkeley fair-housing law at the polls, the real-estate industry funded an initiative campaign. They called their campaign committee the "Committee for Home Protection." The campaign slogan was: "A man's home is his castle." The initiative, Proposition 14, proposed an amendment to the California Constitution, to be determined by the voters on the November 1964 ballot. It provided that "[n]either the State, nor any subdivision or agency thereof shall deny, limit or abridge, directly or indirectly, the right of any person, who is willing or desires to sell, lease or rent any part or all of his real property, to decline to sell, lease or rent such property to such person or persons as he, in his absolute discretion, chooses." In effect, it proposed a constitutional right to discriminate on the basis of race, religion, ethnicity, national origin, ancestry or any other basis.

Proposition 14 divided the state:

On November 3, 1964, President Lyndon Johnson defeated Barry Goldwater in a landslide but lost in the formerly reliably Democratic South. In California, President Johnson received over sixty percent of the vote, while Proposition 14 passed by an even bigger landslide. By a margin of over 2 million votes, the people of California amended the California Constitution to provide for a legal right to discriminate. In Orange County, in the Superior Court, Neil Reitman moved for summary judgment. Relying on Proposition 14's constitutional right to discriminate, the court agreed and entered judgment. The Mulkeys appealed directly to the California

Supreme Court, which agreed to hear the case. In a 5-2 ruling, the California Supreme Court held that the California Constitution, as amended by the initiative, violated the U.S. Constitution's Equal Protection Clause. Proposition 14, the majority reasoned, required the state to become an agent of discrimination.

Similarly, the California Supreme Court reasoned, the purpose of Proposition 14 was not simply to provide property owners with economic liberty, but to assist them through the power of state action in discriminating against racial minority groups.

On review, the United States Supreme Court affirmed the decision of the California Supreme Court by a vote of 5-4. Justice White explained: "Here we are dealing with a provision which does not just repeal an existing law forbidding private racial discriminations. Section 26 was intended to authorize, and does authorize, racial discrimination in the housing market. The right to discriminate is now one of the basic policies of the State." On May 29, 1967, the Supreme Court's decision reinstated the Unruh Act and Rumford Act. Given the overwhelming vote in support of the initiative, it was undoubtedly a courageous decision by the California and United States Supreme Court Justices.

(Adapted from an article by David B. Oppenheimer: "California's anti-discrimination legislation, Proposition 14, and the constitutional protection of minority rights: The fiftieth anniversary of the California Fair Employment and Housing Act, 2009.")

Text Dependent Questions – Document A

1. What were the civil rights issues facing African Americans in California at the end of the 1950s?

2. What bills were proposed to end racial discrimination in housing at the time?

3. How was Proposition 14 connected to housing discrimination and who supported the proposition?

4. How were these issues resolved?

Document B

Henry and Texanna Laws built their dream home in what was then a whites-only area near Watts. Then the court battle began.

Los Angeles Times | L.A. Then And Now | December 03, 2006

By Cecilia Rasmussen

Henry and Texanna Laws literally lived on the wrong side of the street -- near Watts, where grant deeds barred all but white residents.

The African American couple challenged these restrictive covenants, triggering a grass-roots crusade for civil rights that led to a 1948 U.S. Supreme Court decision declaring racial covenants unenforceable.

From the simple red-tile roof home they built in 1944 and fought to keep, the Lawses tasted both the bitter and the sweet in a city settled largely by white Southerners and Midwesterners. But they were determined to protect their rights.

"The only way they will ever get me out of this house is to shoot me with a Gatling gun and throw my dead body on the other lot," Henry Laws testified in a 1944 trial testing the validity of the covenants.

Many of these details come from Los Angeles Times stories about the case, as well as from a 1960 book, "Forty Years: Memoirs From the Pages of a Newspaper," by Charlotta Bass, editor of the California Eagle. The Eagle, published from 1879 to 1964, covered the lives of black Angelenos, who were largely ignored by most daily newspapers.

Their story began in 1910, when the Lawses were in their early 20s. The young couple were cooking, washing and gardening for wealthy families in Rosenberg, Texas, southwest of Houston, when they heard there were better-paying jobs in beautiful Los Angeles. They packed up their meager belongings and their 3-month-old son, Nat, and took a train west.

But they soon learned that Los Angeles -- with a black population of less than 10,000, about 2.3% of the population -- was no paradise. Jobs were scarce, and much of the racism they thought they had escaped in Texas was in L.A. as well.

At first, Henry butchered sheep for meatpacking companies in Vernon. Later, he worked as a fry cook on Santa Fe trains.

Over the next two years, Texanna gave birth to two more children, Pauletta and Leroy. Another son and daughter, Alfred and Dolores, were born after World War I.

In 1919, the family moved to Gardena and later to the Imperial Valley, where they eked out a living in the cotton fields. In 1921, the family returned to Los Angeles. By then, the black population had grown by more than 50%, to nearly 15,600 -- but still constituted just 2.7% of the city's population.

Henry worked odd jobs, including gardening, while Texanna cleaned houses. With the money they saved, they bought two adjacent lots in a black community near Watts. While their house was going up on one lot, the family lived in a tent on the other.

At the time, Watts was middle-class and white. The Lawses lived just south, in a growing black area now known as Willowbrook.

"Watts was a little white town, north of where we lived," Pauletta Laws Fears, now 95, said in an interview. "The mayor was white, and all the schoolteachers and police were white. Imperial Highway was then called Lynwood Road, and it was the dividing line." Minorities lived south of Lynwood Road.

In 1936, as Central Avenue was becoming known as the "jazz thoroughfare of the West," the Lawses bought two more vacant lots, this time on 92nd Street. But blacks did not live in the neighborhood. The deed barred anyone who wasn't "Caucasian" from living there, but not from owning property.

"The man who sold my parents the property told them restrictive covenants didn't mean anything, and they believed him," Fears said.

Their lots would remain vacant for 13 years while they saved enough money to build a home. World War II brought relative prosperity to the Lawses, giving Henry and Texanna jobs in defense plants. With their children grown, it was time to build their two-bedroom, one-bath dream house at 1235 E. 92nd Street.

"It was a nicer neighborhood than where they were living," Fears said. "At the time, 92nd Street was the dividing line -- black families lived on the south side of the street but not on the north side," where the Lawses started to build.

Henry, 55, and Texanna, 56, moved into their new home in October 1944, along with Fears, whose husband had been wounded at Pearl Harbor but had returned to fight in the war.

"Another black family and a Mexican family moved into the neighborhood soon afterward," Fears said. All three families knew they were treading on dangerous ground.

"We were on the alert ..., " she said. "We were sitting around with our eyes wide open." Within weeks, white property owners filed suit in Superior Court to enforce the covenants.

The case went to trial in November, with the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People defending the Lawses.

"Why should I move?" Henry said in court. "I bought this property 13 years ago and I built this house.... I am a free-born American citizen. My sons are fighting ... in the South Pacific. I buy war bonds. I am working for a defense plant, and so is the rest of my family. No judge will ever put me out, and the United States government will never put me out."

But a Superior Court judge upheld the restrictive covenants, ordering the families to move by Dec. 1 or face a fine and five days in jail.

The other families cleared out, but the Lawses stayed.

The NAACP countersued to remove the racial covenants, despite long odds. But within days NAACP officials got nervous and offered the Lawses $750 to move, Fears said.

"My dad was stubborn; he refused," she said.

In December, sheriff's deputies arrested Henry and Texanna Laws. When Fears returned from work, she too was arrested and tossed in jail.

"But we were bailed out in three days" by the NAACP, she said.

Civil rights groups, churches and neighbors held rallies to defray legal fees. Friends and neighbors picketed in front of the house, protesting segregation. Bass, the Eagle's editor, publisher and owner, championed their cause and drummed up support among influential friends, including singers Lena Horne and Paul Robeson.

Civil rights attorneys John T. McTernan and partner Ben Margolis linked the Laws case with more than half a dozen similar cases in a class-action suit that went all the way to the state Supreme Court. In the meantime, the Lawses stayed in their home.

"People drove by and made threats, but there was never any violence," Fears said.
On May 3, 1948, the U.S. Supreme Court decided a similar case, Shelley vs. Kraemer, deeming restrictive covenants unenforceable. The ruling also applied to the Laws case.

Four months later, the California Supreme Court reversed eight lower-court judgments, including the one against the Lawses, clearing them to stay in their home.

Fears was working as a domestic when she heard of the U.S. Supreme Court decision. "I was ironing for the president of the local Farmers and Merchants Bank when the news came across the radio," she said. "I turned off the iron and walked home.

"We were jubilant! For a long time, people around the neighborhood would stop by and say, 'I'm glad your parents didn't give up.' It made all of us feel very proud."
Watts was being transformed by white flight.

"Black people bought up all the white folks' termite-eaten houses," Fears said. By 1950, more than 70% of Watts-area residents were black. Today, the area is more than half Latino. Fears still lives nearby.

In 1967, Texanna retired from domestic work to care for Henry, who died later that year of a heart attack. Texanna continued to live in the house they had built until her death in 1987, at age 99. Fears still owns the home, which she rents out.

"It should be designated a civil rights landmark," she said.

Text Dependent Questions – Document B

1. What were the reasons that the Laws were forced into a court case?

2. How had the lower courts decided?

3. What did the U.S Supreme Court decide and how did it affect the Laws case?

Document C

Bradley Victory Unleashes Bigots

Los Angeles Sentinel | 1969

Los Angeles Sentinel

"Education Will Lead to the Truth"

LEON H. WASHINGTON, JR.
Publisher and Owner

EDITORIALS and OPINIONS

Entered as Second Class Matter March 6, 1947, at the Post Office of Los Angeles, California, Under the Act of March 3, 1879. Established 1933

California Publishers Association

NATIONAL EDITORIAL ASSOCIATION 1962 SUSTAINING MEMBER

National Newspaper Publishers Association

Bradley Victory Unleashes Bigots

Councilman Thomas Bradley's stunning defeat of Mayor Yorty and 12 other opponents in the April 1st municipal primary election astouned the experts and convinced the skeptics.

His campaign concentrated on the issues and proved that corruption was more important than color to 42 per cent of the voters.

There is the intriguing possibility that Bradley might have won a clear majority in the primary if he had not been loudly trumpeted as "the man to beat" by the communication media.

It is a fact that if he had received a 95 per cent vote of a 95 per cent turnout in the black community, he would have won in the primary.

The fact that he did not achieve anywhere near such a turnout and vote makes a mockery of the sore-head charge by Yorty that he conducted a racist campaign in the ghetto.

Bradley no more conducted a racist compaign in the black community than Yorty apealed to the religious and ethnic special interests of the Catholic and Irish communiities.

Yorty's chagrin at such a whopping defeat in the primary election is understandable.

the bigots in Los Angeles by deliberately injecting racism into the runn-off election.

He set the tone for a campaign of fear and smear.

A campaign that will clearly exacerbate racial tensions in an already troubled city.

We had thought Yorty was a bigger man, but defeat — especially defeat by black City Councilman Thomas Bradley — apparently brought out the real Yorty.

Bradley campaign workers have every right to savor their hard-won victory that resulted from an unprecedented precinct campaign in the white suburbs.

Such a whopping victory would ordinarily allow the winner to coast to victory.

Bradley is not an ordinary candidate. Yorty is capable and will conduct a gutter-type campaign in the best Nixon California style.

Bigots, with their time, energy, money and racist appeal, will be crawling out from under every rock.

Movies and television to the contrary, only a greater effort by the forces of decency and honor will forge victory.

The Bradley campaign has been projected into national and international significance by Yorty's in-

WATCH HIS SPITTER

Wash's Wash

STILL WAITING—FOR NEW AREA POST OFFICE

Col. Leon H. Washington Jr.

Several days ago while in Elsinore I had the opportunity to see the new $200,000 post office that is now near completion. It is quite eye-appealng and certainly enhances the area where it is located on Pone St.

But, mind you, this is not the worse thing yet; there is only one way out of the building for the postal workers to escape if a fire breaks out in the building. The back is completely out of the question.

I could hardly believe this condition of

Text Dependent Questions – Document C

1. Why did this editorial in the African- American newspaper, "Los Angeles Sentinel", warn that Mayor Sam Yorty would use unfair practices in order to win the election?

2. How does the cartoon support that view? Use the caption to help you understand the cartoon.

Document D

Tom Bradley Biography

Source: www.mayortombradley.com

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 without a black majority.

Born in rural Texas to a family of sharecroppers, Bradley's parents moved the family 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 poor near Central Avenue in Los Angeles, in the heart of a stable working-class community with strong foundations of family and church. 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, Bradley challenged every obstacle placed in his way. He was an ambitious student, attended UCLA in 1937 on a track scholarship, became a record-breaking track star and team captain, and was one of a small group of athletes that broke the color barrier in college sports. He joined the black fraternity, Kappa Alpha Psi, which provided an important social network that would later benefit his political career.

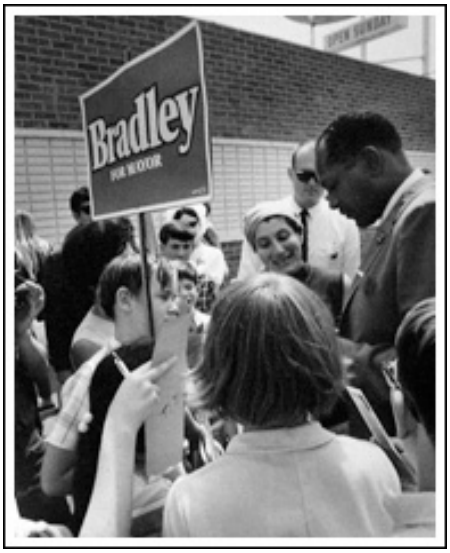
Bradley served as a Los Angeles police officer for 21 years, reaching the rank of Lieutenant – the highest position an African American could achieve at that time. When covert racism prevented him from advancing his career, Bradley realized that he had to make a change. He attended Southwestern Law School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

While he was a police officer, Bradley became actively involved in politics, notably the Democratic Minority Conference and the California Democratic Council – progressive, liberal reform groups with racially mixed memberships. In 1949, Bradley worked to elect Mexican American City Councilman Edward Roybal whose innovative and cross-ethnic model of coalition politics influenced Bradley when he later ran for city councilman and mayor.

In 1963, Bradley was supported by a multi-ethnic coalition, led by African American civic and church leaders, and was elected to City Council. It was the first time ever that an African American was elected to Los Angeles City Council, and historically that year, three African American men – Tom Bradley, Billy Mills and Gilbert Lindsey – joined the City Council. These victories demonstrated how an organized and united black community could overcome hostility and indifference to win political representation. LA was a place where an innovative and powerful type of political coalition was being tested.

In the 1960s, America was polarized by race and mired in social and political turmoil. Even though the civil rights movement fought to end racial segregation and discrimination throughout the nation, in 1965, the Watts Riots erupted in South Central and intensified unrest in Los Angeles. In 1968, Dr. Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. and presidential candidate Robert Kennedy were assassinated within months of each other; anti-Vietnam war demonstrations escalated; the Black Power movement intensified, and more than 20,000 students in five East LA schools walked out, protesting racial inequality. It was in this atmosphere that two-term City Councilman Tom Bradley decided that he was the man to change Los Angeles. In 1969, he ran for mayor of Los Angeles, challenging incumbent Mayor Sam Yorty. It was a long shot.

African Americans were less than 18% of the population, 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 runoff turned ugly as Yorty ran an aggressive campaign noted 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 accused 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's campaign came to symbolize the movement to gain political representation for the disenfranchised in Los Angeles, and the election was considered a major step on the road to biracial coalition power.



Tom Bradley would have another chance to defeat Sam Yorty four years later. In 1973, the paranoia in America was no longer at a fever pitch as violent uprisings and protests subsided. Yorty's same old tired themes of racism, for once, did not work. Voters put aside their fears and handed Tom Bradley a solid victory. Tom Bradley made history as the first African American mayor of a major U.S. city with a white majority. He was successful because he continued to build upon his trans-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 opened up a new future for race relations nationwide.

Mayor Tom Bradley made a difference. He opened City Hall and city commissions to women, minorities and the disabled. 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 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 (1982 & 1986), 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.

But Mayor Bradley also presided over a city that grew increasingly polarized between the rich and the poor, where drugs and gang violence were rampant, police abuse and unemployment were pervasive, and amenities like banks and supermarkets nearly non-existent in minority neighborhoods. His carefully constructed coalition between the Black and Jewish communities became strained over the years, and Black and Latino relations also fissured, as the city was unable to neither prevent economic decline nor constrain police brutality.

In 1992, as Bradley neared the end of his fifth term as mayor, 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 and 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. Three years later, he suffered a stroke, which tragically left him partially paralyzed and unable to speak for the rest of his life. In 1998, he died of a heart attack at the age of 80.

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. It is the story of the challenges of diversity facing cities and nations, and the decisions that we all must make.

Text Dependent Questions – Document D

1. What were some of the challenges Tom Bradley faced as he was growing up in Los Angeles?

2. What is a coalition and how did the Democratic Minority Conference reflect a coalition?

3. What was Tom Bradley's plan or strategy to win the election for mayor in 1969?

Document E

Watts Riots

Source: Civil Rights Digital Library, Digital Library of Georgia
Link: http://crdl.usg.edu/events/watts_riots/?Welcome&Welcome

The Watts Riot, which raged for six days and resulted in more than forty million dollars worth of property damage, was both the largest and costliest urban rebellion of the Civil Rights era. The riot spurred from an incident on August 11, 1965 when Marquette Frye, a young African American motorist, was pulled over and arrested by Lee W. Minikus, a white California Highway Patrolman, for suspicion of driving while intoxicated. As a crowd on onlookers gathered at the scene of Frye's arrest, strained tensions between police officers and the crowd erupted in a violent exchange. The outbreak of violence that followed Frye's arrest immediately touched off a large-scale riot centered in the commercial section of Watts, a deeply impoverished African American neighborhood in South Central Los Angeles. For several days, rioters overturned and burned automobiles and looted and damaged grocery stores, liquor stores, department stores, and pawnshops. Over the course of the six-day riot, over 14,000 California National Guard troops were mobilized in South Los Angeles and a curfew zone encompassing over forty-five miles was established in an attempt to restore public order. All told, the rioting claimed the lives of thirty-four people, resulted in more than one thousand reported injuries, and almost four thousand arrests before order was restored on August 17. Throughout the crisis, public officials advanced the argument that the riot was the work outside agitators; however, an official investigation, prompted by Governor Pat Brown, found that the riot was a result of the Watts community's longstanding grievances and growing discontentment with high unemployment rates, substandard housing, and inadequate schools. Despite the reported findings of the gubernatorial commission, following the riot, city leaders and state officials failed to implement measures to improve the social and economic conditions of African Americans living in the Watts neighborhood.

Text Dependent Questions – Document E

1. What were the costs of the Watts riots?

2. According to this article, what were the underlying causes of the riots and the event that triggered the riots?

3. What facts, included in Document F, are not included here?

Document F

Watts Riots, 40 Years Later *(Excerpt)*

Los Angeles Times | August 11, 2005

By Valerie Reitman and Mitchell Landsberg

[Watts Riots: Aug. 11, 1965]
The riots that summer were sparked by the arrest of a black motorist, Marquette Frye, for drunk driving. When Frye's mother intervened, a crowd gathered and the arrest became a flashpoint for anger against police. The deeper causes, as documented by the McCone Commission, which investigated the riots, were poverty, inequality, racial discrimination and the passage, in November 1964, of Proposition 14 on the California ballot. That initiative had overturned the Rumford Fair Housing Act, which established equality of opportunity for black home buyers.

After nearly a week of rioting, 34 people, 25 of them black, were dead and more than 1,000 were injured. More than 600 buildings were damaged or destroyed. Thriving business districts, their stores mostly white-owned, were burned to the ground. Eventually, the National Guard put a cordon around a vast region of South Los Angeles that ranged as far east as Alameda Street, as far west as Crenshaw Boulevard, and from just south of the Santa Monica Freeway to about Rosecrans Avenue

Text Dependent Questions – Document F

1. What were the costs of the Watts riots?

2. What were the boundaries of the neighborhoods involved in the riots?

3. According to this article, what were the underlying causes of the riots and the event that triggered the riots?

A note to teachers: Los Angeles City Councilman Tom Bradley's 1965 testimony before the McCone Commission can be referenced in Addendum A in the curriculum.

Document G

The History Of Segregation In Los Angeles: A Report On Racial Discrimination And Its Legacy *(Edited)*

George J. Sanchez
University of Southern California

…More importantly, realtors encouraged the widespread use of "corporate contract agreements" and "neighborhood protective associations" as mechanisms through which homeowners could continue to regulate the sale of properties in their neighborhoods. Realtors increasingly saw themselves as the first line of defense in maintaining a color line after these rulings. But they were not alone. Banks were unwilling to break the racial lines set up by white homeowners and real estate agents, often setting higher interest rates for racial minorities believing them to be a significant credit risk. Private developers intensified segregation by refusing to sell to blacks and other minorities in new tracts and subdivisions. The federal government continued to support the racial status quo, by refusing to create institutional mechanisms to prevent racial discrimination, even when involving FHA and Veterans Administration (VA) home loans. Out of the 125,000 FHA housing units build in Los Angeles County from 1950 to 1954, only 3,000 (or 2.4 percent) were open to nonwhites.

Yet, real estate agents continued to be the most vocal and influential voice in a widespread effort to maintain racial segregation in housing in southern California. Although the California Real Estate Association (CREA) in 1951 removed the specific section from their code of ethics prohibiting realtors from introducing "members of any race or nationality" whose presence would lower "property values in the neighborhood," realty boards continued to punish and expel members who violated agreed racial boundaries. …… The *Los Angeles Times* would only accept real estate listings from realtors affiliated with the Los Angeles Realty Board, maintaining a small section designated as "unrestricted" where racially integrated areas were listed through the 1950s. Despite numerous applications by black real estate brokers, the Los Angeles Realty Board in 1960 did not have a single African American among its more than two thousand members…..

It is not surprising, therefore, when State Assemblyman William Byron Rumford convinced his colleagues to pass A.B. 1240 in 1963, a "Fair Housing Bill" which prohibited discrimination in private housing financed by public sources, the California Real Estate Association (CREA) and its local affiliates would lead the effort to overturn the Rumford Act. Even though the Rumford Act covered only about 25 percent of the nearly 3.8 million single family homes in the state, the real estate industry decided to make a stand against the growing proliferation of "open housing" laws spreading across the nation. CREA organized a campaign for Proposition 14, which would appear in the 1964 ballot, whose purpose was to overturn the Rumford Act, as well as invalidating components of other civil rights legislation banning discrimination in public housing, apartment rentals, and housing construction. Their campaign was financed by a $10 assessment paid by all member realtors, and the self-named "Committee for Home Protection" took as their campaign motto that "a man's home was his castle." Despite the fact that almost every California politician of both parties opposed Proposition 14 and

California voters elected pro-civil rights Lyndon Johnson as president in a landslide in November 1964, the state's voters also approved Proposition 14 by a two-to-one margin. A to be in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment and reinstalled the Rumford Act. But the electoral power of the forces against integration was strong, and would be heard from again in the ballot box in California.

Text Dependent Questions – Document G

1. How were neighborhoods in Los Angeles segregated by law and by tradition? (cite exact examples from the reading)
2. What was the Rumford Act and how did it try to eliminate housing segregation?
3. How did the real estate industry try to maintain segregated neighborhoods?
4. How did Proposition 14 violate the 14th amendment?

Document H

Bradley: 'U.S. Ignores Rioters' Misery Message'

Los Angeles Sentinel | September 21, 1967

Bradley: 'U.S. Ignores Rioters' Misery Message'

Poverty, misery and despair can no longer exist in America, but the nation has failed to get the message even through rioting from Watts to Detroit, Councilman Thomas Bradley said this week.

The councilman told the Beverly Hills Bar Assn. and the Beverly Hills Barristers leadership "should come from the City Hall" in every community in America to form a coalition of labor, religions and industry to solve the problem.

The nation "failed to get the message" of rioting. That message of "poverty, misery and despair can no longer live in peace in our society side by side with affluence," Bradley told the lawyers and judges.

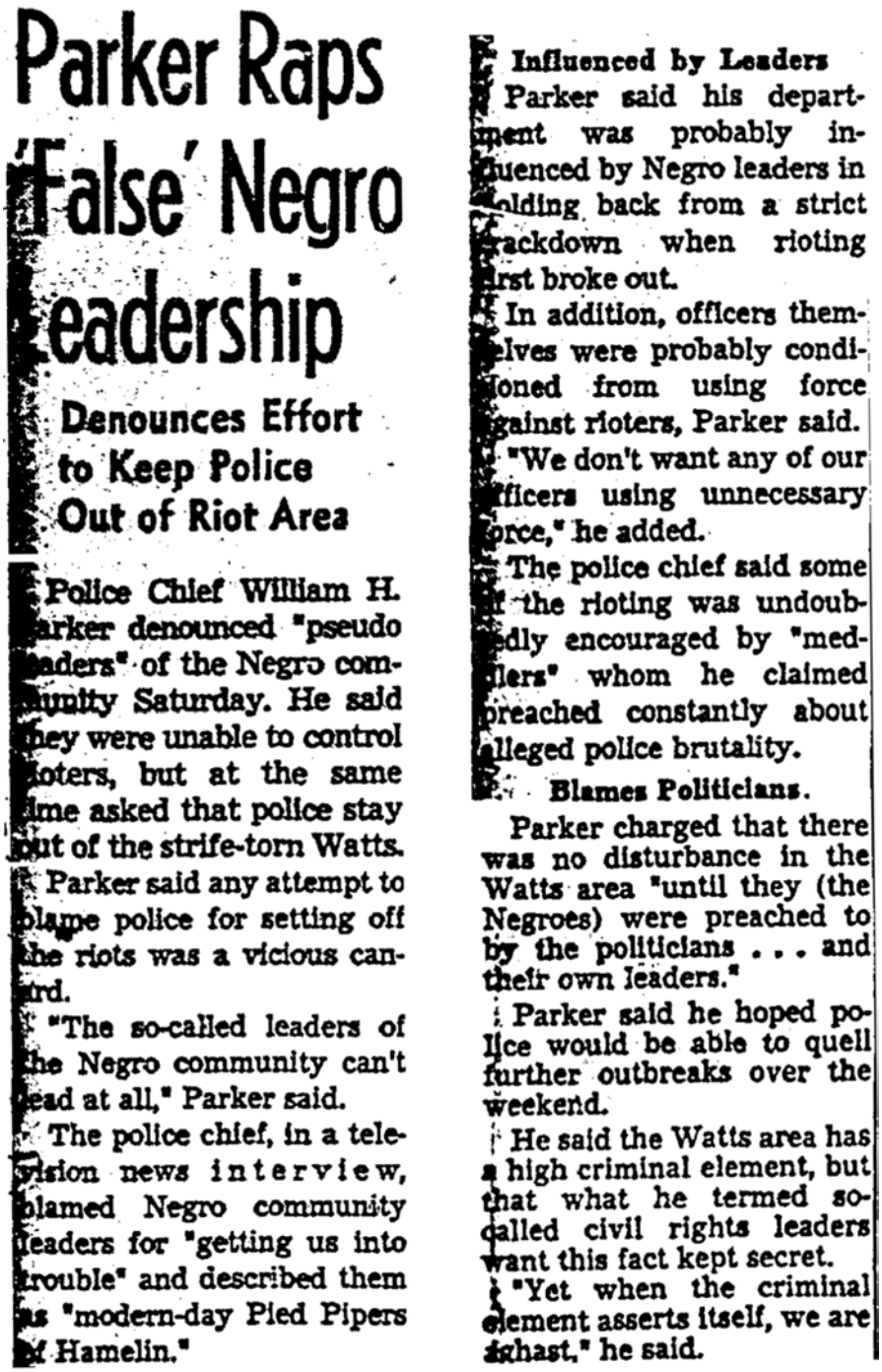
Numerous programs are failing, he noted, because there is no cooperation between interested parties.

Sporadic campaigns, like the recent "Job-a-thon" on KTTV-TV (Channel 11) indicated concern of a portion of society, but vacant lots left by the rioting two years ago in Watts indicate others are failing to meet the needs of the poor, it was noted.

Document I

Parker Raps 'False' Negro Leadership

Los Angeles Times | August 15, 1965



Parker Raps 'False' Negro Leadership

Denounces Effort to Keep Police Out of Riot Area

Police Chief William H. Parker denounced "pseudo leaders" of the Negro community Saturday. He said they were unable to control rioters, but at the same time asked that police stay out of the strife-torn Watts.

Parker said any attempt to blame police for setting off the riots was a vicious canard.

"The so-called leaders of the Negro community can't lead at all," Parker said.

The police chief, in a television news interview, blamed Negro community leaders for "getting us into trouble" and described them as "modern-day Pied Pipers of Hamelin."

Influenced by Leaders

Parker said his department was probably influenced by Negro leaders in holding back from a strict crackdown when rioting first broke out.

In addition, officers themselves were probably conditioned from using force against rioters, Parker said.

"We don't want any of our officers using unnecessary force," he added.

The police chief said some of the rioting was undoubtedly encouraged by "meddlers" whom he claimed preached constantly about alleged police brutality.

Blames Politicians.

Parker charged that there was no disturbance in the Watts area "until they (the Negroes) were preached to by the politicians . . . and their own leaders."

Parker said he hoped police would be able to quell further outbreaks over the weekend.

He said the Watts area has a high criminal element, but that what he termed so-called civil rights leaders want this fact kept secret.

"Yet when the criminal element asserts itself, we are aghast," he said.

Document J

Foresight: Councilman Bradley Calls for L.A. City Human Relations Agency

Los Angeles Sentinel | August 19, 1965

BEFORE THE CATASTROPHE

Foresight: Councilman Bradley Calls For L. A. City Human Relations Agency

Councilman Thomas Bradley's office has made available a statement prepared prior to previous City Council hearings calling for the immediate establishment of a Los Angeles City Human Relations Agency.

COUNCILMAN BRADLEY, currently investigating electric power plants overseas, has for a long time urged the establishment of a human relations unit designed to compile information and take action which would attempt to avoid such situations as that which exploded in the Watts area of Los Angeles.

The text of the statement follows:

The No. 1 domestic issue in the United States today is race relations. We are witnessing a social revolution expressive of the desire of all men to be accorded full freedom and equality of opportunity. These are human rights which are basic and integral parts of the fabric of our democratic society.

THE MORAL issues involved are so compelling, the legal basis so deeply ingrained in the Constitution which is the supreme law of the land, that temporizing, tokenism and gradualism can no longer contain the pent-up drive and determination to achieve these goals in all their fullness and majesty and without further delay.

It has become altogether too clear that no instrumentality of government, federal, state or local, can any longer ignore its responsibility to take affirmative, creative and enlightened action to insure domestic tranquility and to effectively promote understanding and harmony among various ethnic and cultural groups which make up the population and to implement the laws of our nation, state and city in the guarantee of equal opportunity to all persons regardless of race, creed, color or religion.

IT HAS BECOME abundantly clear that in the City of Los Angeles, despite the progress which has been made in the field of race relations, we have a long way to go.

It is also clear that in the absence of responsible leadership by elected city officials, agencies of government and community groups, disruptive forces often move into the vacuum and exploit the situation for their selfish purposes.

IN THE ABSENCE of an official agency dedicated to a constant and continuing effort in the field of race relations, preventive measures generally are not developed and emergency task forces must be called into play only after undue tension and conflict is threatened or has occurred.

It is unbelievable that Los Angeles has no official human relations agency.

OVER 40 CITIES throughout the United States, both large and small, have full-time staff devoted to this problem and numerous other cities have similar agencies, but without staff.

It is for this reason that a Human Relations Commission has been proposed.

Student Handout 1

Comparison Graphic Organizer

Directions: Compare the biography of Tom Bradley with the Module 1 video. Answer the questions using the information provided. Once the chart is complete, identify the similarities between the print material and video information by circling common or similar events.

Comparison Questions	Biography of Tom Bradley	Video-Module 1
How did housing segregation affect Tom Bradley's life?		
Which obstacles did Tom Bradley encounter in his education that indicated racial discrimination?		
How were Tom Bradley's opportunities to advance in the LAPD hampered by racial discrimination?		

Student Handout 2

Document Analysis Worksheet

As you analyze documents **A, B, C, E, F, G, H, I, and J,** complete the following chart:

Document	What kind of document? (photo, news article, political cartoon, chart, graph)	What are the key facts included in the document which refer to the **campaign issues** or **voter turnout**?	What questions does this document bring to mind? Write one question for each document
A			
B			

C			
E			
F			
G			

H			
I			
J			

Student Handout 3

Cartoon Analysis Worksheet

1. List the objects or people you see in the cartoon.

2. Which objects are symbols?

3. What do you think the symbols mean?

4. Identify the cartoon caption and/or title.

5. Locate three words or phrases used by the cartoonist to identify the objects or people within the cartoon.

6. Which words or phrases in the cartoon appear to be the most significant?

7. Describe the action taking place in the cartoon.

8. Explain the message in the cartoon.

9. Which groups would agree/disagree with the cartoon's message? Why?

Student Handout 4

Written Document Analysis Worksheet

1 Type of document: Newspaper, Letter, Press release, Report, Other (circle one)

i. Date(s) of the document.

ii. Author of the document. Position (title) of the author.

iii. For what audience was the document written?

iv. List three things the author said that you think are important.

2. Why do you think the document was written?

- Quote from the document: What evidence in the document helps you know why it was written?

3. Write a question to the author that is left unanswered by the document.

Student Handout 5

Essay Template

Paragraph 1	Historical Context: 1-2 sentence summary of topic			INTRO
	Thesis: Your main argument or idea that you will support.			
Paragraph 2	Main Idea	Topic Sentence		BODY
		Supporting Detail/Evidence		
		Supporting Detail/Evidence		
		Analysis		
		Concluding Sentence		
Paragraph 3	Main Idea	Topic Sentence		
		Supporting Detail/Evidence		
		Supporting Detail/Evidence		

		Analysis		BODY
		Concluding Sentence		
Paragraph 4	Main Idea	Topic Sentence		
		Supporting Detail/Evidence		
		Supporting Detail/Evidence		
		Analysis		
		Concluding Sentence		
Paragraph 5	Restate Thesis			CONCLUSION
	Review Main Points			
	Final Thought			

Student Handout 6

11th GRADE ESSAY RUBRIC

SCORE	INTRODUCTION and THESIS	CONTENT and EXPLANATION	CONCLUSION	CONVENTIONS and ORGANIZATION
	The Introduction and Thesis:	***The Body Paragraphs:***	***The Conclusion:***	***The Essay:***
4	€ Clearly relates to the prompt and provides a clear context. € Meets all the following: (1) directly relates to the prompt (2) takes a stand (3) provides a clear preview of evidence. € Demonstrates a thorough understanding of the content.	€ Are all accurate and relevant. € Are all clear and logical. € Demonstrate a thorough, strong understanding of the content.	€ Clearly restates the thesis € Clearly addresses the key pieces of evidence. € Demonstrates a thorough understanding of the content.	€ Has accurate punctuation, capitalization, and spelling. € Is well organized.
3	€ Relates to the prompt and provides a clear context. € Meets two of the following: (1) directly relates to the prompt (2) takes a stand (3) provides a clear preview of evidence. € Demonstrates strong understanding of the content.	€ Are mostly accurate and relevant. € Are clear. € Demonstrate a strong understanding of the content.	€ Wraps up the essay € Links to the thesis € Addresses the significance of the topic. € Demonstrates an adequate understanding of the content.	€ Has a few punctuation, capitalization, or spelling errors. € Is well organized.
2	€ Somewhat relates to the prompt and provide some context. € Meets one of the following: (1) directly relates to the prompt (2) takes a stand (3) provides a clear preview of evidence. € Demonstrates some understanding of the content.	€ Are somewhat accurate and relevant. € Are somewhat clear. € Demonstrate some understanding of the content.	€ Somewhat clearly wraps up the paragraph. € Somewhat links to the topic. € Demonstrates some understanding of the content.	€ Has some punctuation, capitalization, or spelling errors. € Is somewhat well organized.
1	€ Does not relate to the prompt or provide a context. € Meets none of the following: (1) directly relates to the prompt (2) takes a stand (3) provides a clear preview of evidence. € Demonstrates no understanding of the content. € No Counterclaim.	€ Are inaccurate or irrelevant. € Are unclear. € Demonstrate no understanding of the content.	€ Does not clearly wrap up the paragraph. € Does not link to the topic. € Demonstrates no understanding of the content.	€ Has many punctuation, capitalization, or spelling. errors € Is poorly organized.
% Value	**25%**	**60%**	**10%**	**5%**

Addendum A

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE
GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION ON THE LOS ANGELES RIOTS

Room 1070, New State Building
197 South Broadway
Los Angeles, California
Thursday, September 30, 1965
11:55 A.M.

***Retyped from copy of original document. No changes/corrections were made.

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE
GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION ON THE WATTS RIOTS

Room 1070, New State Building
197 South Broadway
Los Angeles, California
Thursday, September30, 1965
11:55 A.M.

TESTIMONY OF THOMAS BRADLEY

City Councilman

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION:

JOHN A. McCONE, Chairman
DR. SHERMAN M. MELLINKOFF
MRS. ROBERT C. BROADY
WARREN M. CHRISTOPHER
ASA V. CALL
REV. CHARLES S. CASASSA
REV. JAMES EDWARD JONES

Also Present:
THOMAS E. SHERIDAN, General Counsel, and Staff

Los Angles, California, Thursday, September 30, 1965
11:55 a.m.

****

VICE CHAIRMAN WARREN M. CHRISTOPHER: Councilman Bradley, we are very glad to have you here today. We especially appreciate your changing your schedule to accommodate us in coming over at this earlier hour; it's very nice of you.

THE WITNESS: Thank you.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: We have a problem that I sometimes hear about the City Council having, we have a quorum problem here this afternoon. We have been meeting almost every day for two weeks and it happened just by a series of coincidences that we are short in people today and in particular John McCone, the chairman, who wanted to have me tell you that he regretted not being able to be here for your testimony. All the commissioners who are absent at any time have been conscientiously not only reading the statements but the entire record.

In respect to your statement Mr. Bradley, you can be assured that we will all read your statement and you can be quite free to extemporize from it or add to or shorten it. It's really up to you as to how you want to proceed from this point on. We would like to end this session of your testimony along about 1 o'clock or shortly thereafter, and we would like to reserve a little time to ask you some questions, but with these general ground rules why don't you go ahead and start from there.

Would you swear the witness, please?

THOMAS BRADLEY,
A witness herein, having been first duly sworn by the Notary Public, was examined and testified as follows:

THE WITNESS: I want to apologize for being a bit late, but we had that problem of a quorum also. Two members were there early but one had to catch a plane and the

other for some other reason was not available, so that left me the tenth member and I couldn't break the quorum.

Gentleman, I have tried to be rather brief in this prepared statement and felt that perhaps in your question you would perhaps get more to the meat of whatever you want to hear from me.

Inasmuch as it's rather short, I think I will just read it.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: That will be fine.

THE WITNESS: Gentleman, I am please to cooperate with the Commission in the discharge of its assignment to make a thorough, objective and dispassionate study of the Los Angeles riots of August 1965.

In light of this regrettable tragedy which, in terms of the extent of its fury, loss of life and property damage has been classified as the worst riot in the history of this country; in view of the hysteria, charges and countercharges which have filled the news media, radio and television; in view of the confusion about the causes and in view of the cost of building and rebuilding a climate of genuinely harmonious race relations in our city and sate, it appears that you have an improving task. I believe that you all have a unique opportunity to render an unprecedented service to our city and state.

There are some who contend that the members of the Commission will not permit an objective, critical thorough inquiry. There are others who are skeptical and doubt that any Commission selected by any agency or representative of government will probe for evidence, which might embarrass those who, in their eyes, are the "symbols of the establishment."

I am an optimist; perhaps even an idealist. I have faith in our system; I have confidence in this Commission.

Any observation or recommendations, which I shall make, do not purport to be an "absolute" answer to a highly complex matter. They are offered for careful evaluation, along with many others, with the hope that they will help.

If this Commission is to inspire confidence, you and your staff must solicit all possible evidence and testimony. This process will require deviation from traditional techniques often employed in fact-finding agencies. You must use investigators who may not have college degrees or certain form investigation experience but who know

how to commiserate with a witness who is already suspicious, but has valuable information to offer. This kind of witness doesn't want to "get involved" because of fear of reprisal or personal inconvenience. Investigators and this Commission will have to stir from those air-conditioned quarters and go to the streets of Watts to hear the heartbeat and the message of the people who are qualified to tell the story.

Now, if I may deviate for just a moment from this prepared script, a number of people have spoken to me during the past couple of weeks and many of them have said that they were fearful of reprisals by the Los Angles Police Department and therefore would not testify before the McCone Commission.

Some of them have given me their names and addresses, and I have passed them along to your staff, where they have been willing to be interviewed.

Others have said to me that the investigators have not really gone out into the community and probed at the level where they would really get some information from the people who observed certain situations as they occurred.

I frankly don't know all what your staff has been doing, but in view of those observations which have been made, and in view of the statements which I've read not too long ago that witnesses were not coming forward as you had expected, it would seem to me that perhaps some attention should be given to, if it hasn't already, to this matter of finding somebody who has respect with the people or one who in fact can get statements from them and perhaps encourage them to come forward to give their testimony.

I am convinced that all the agencies that have been investigating this matter, that this Commission is the only one which has any real hope of developing the kind of balanced picture as to what were the abuses and what happened, and then what can be done about it.

Now, I say that because you have the staff, you have the funds with which to do this of all the agencies, including the City Council Committee, of which I am a member, we don't have the staff and frankly, I don't think we are going to be able find the money that it will take, nor the time, to really probe in depth and I think it would be a farce if we were to do only a superficial job in this very critical matter.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: If I could interrupt you, since you have interrupted yourself, Mr. Bradley, we certainly thank you for the confidence which you have expressed her privately and have expressed publicly in our Commission. We think we are moving to correct some of the matters to which you refer, and for that we thank you.

We have opened two offices in the Watts area and although we are disappointed in the early attendance at these offices, things are picking up and we are hearing more from the people in this area.

In addition, within the last few weeks, the last couple of weeks, we have gotten investigators in the area, having built up or investigative staff, so I think we are moving to correct the problem that you mentioned, although I wouldn't say by any means that they are completely solved, we have had the problem of putting together a staff on very short notice and trying to make sure of the objectivity of each member that we added to the staff, so we talked to a number of people for every one that we hired, and now I think we are underway.

Tom, is that a fair statement as to where we stand from the staff standpoint at the moment?

MR. THOMAS R. SHERIDAN: I would say it is, yes, sir.

THE WITNESS: Well, you can be assured that any help I can give you in this connection, I will be glad to do.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: Thank you very much.

THE WITNESS: The time for public speculation, finger pointing and searching for scapegoat should be over, so insofar as possible I will avoid charges or accusations. It appears that there were several factors, which led to the riots, rather than one. Part of the function of this Commission will be to determine the causes after weighing all the evidence produced.

The following are my recommendations for correction or preventative measures which relate to issues most often mentioned as probable contributing factors to the riots:

The first among those is employment. In spite of jobs now available under the Economic Opportunities Act, there is little known about the progress. Traditional appeals through newspapers will not work in this situation.

Just yesterday we talked with our representatives in the Planning Department and Mayor's office and Department of Building and Safety and the Department of Public Works and tried to find out what our city departments are doing to attract the men to these jobs which are available, and they indicated they had little success in really getting the maximum number of men to come forward.

It appears that as they went about the area that most people didn't even know about the jobs being available, nor where to go to apply, so that we are now making some adjustment to their staff and are hiring those who will go out and actually recruit some of the people who are eligible for this work. So that I think here, we have to avoid doing what is traditional, because I think we have a situation and circumstances here which are not typical of our other situations throughout the city, so I think we have to be creative about the manner in which we deal with the problem including recruiting for employment or searching for witnesses.

Realistic education and recruiting techniques must be employed, including using recruiters who live in the area and can communicate with the potential applicants.

Additional public works progress should be employed to provide jobs and at the same time create clean, well-kept neighborhoods where people can take a personal pride in their surroundings.

As examples, many areas have streets which are not properly cleaned because parked cars will not permit cleaning by mechanical device. Men and boys could be used to hand sweep such streets. Numerous alleys and streets need similar attention. Recreation and park areas are badly in need of attention. The variety of jobs is endless, and I won't spend time trying to remunerate all of them.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: Are there Civil Service problems in regards to these jobs that are overwhelming and prevent their being available on an immediate basis?

THE WITNESS: No, under the Economic Opportunities Act the City Council took action to make these positions exempt from the Civil Service, and it is now possible for us to take advantage of the Act and the money and to use our personnel to supervise and to use those who are in need for the actual work.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: Who is administering that work for the City Council?

THE WITNESS: That actually is being administered by separate departments: the Department of Public Works, the Department of Water and Power, the Department of Recreation and Parks, the Library.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: Do you have any rough measure of how many jobs this might provide, the funds available?

THE WITNESS: I believe the figure they gave me yesterday, there are something like 400 jobs which have already been made available in one department. There were 1500 jobs that were made available for the youth, and, and I recall, there are over 2,000 jobs that were made available to adults under another phase of he program. So there are a significant number of jobs available and we are asking for a new contract and for some different conditions, and also for an increase in the number of positions.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: All the testimony that we have heard points to the importance of moving in this area as soon as possible. Witnesses have said that even waiting until the report of our Commission, which is due at the early date of December 1st, may be a too long; that there is a feeling in this area of frustration and disappointment that nothing seems to be happening.

THE WITNESS: I agree to that opinion. I think that every effort must me made to give some immediate evidence of progress.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: I hope that you don't mind interruptions here.

THE WITNESS: Not at all.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: We try to have a conversation.

DR. SHERMAN M. MELLINKOFF: On that particular point, Councilman Bradley, could I ask a question, Mr. Christopher?

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: Yes.

DR. MELLINKOFF: Could you tell us who is the one person to whom one would go with a suggestion of the kind that you just made, or that group of suggestions, and expect implantation?

THE WITNESS: The men who has been responsible for this coordination in the city has been Robert Goo, who is executive administrative assistant to the Mayor. It may be possible that he will give some of these duties and responsibilities to Mr. Willard Murray, who was confirmed yesterday, but this is not clear at this point. So, I would suggest that the man to whom you should turn immediately would be Robert Goo, G-o-o.

DR. MELLINKOFF: And would he be in a position – I don't' mean this question in an ad hominem way, I am not talking about Mr. Goo, but is the program in your view adequately coordinated so that it is possible to go to any one person and expect prompt action?

THE WITNESS: Yes, I think Mr. Goo is that man.

DR. MELLINKOFF: All right, thank you.

THE WITNESS: There is a need for readily apparent progress in turns of job opportunities. The Public Works Program fills part of this need.

The long-range problems in the field of employment involve training for employable skills. It would be fruitless to deal only with temporary “make work” projects. The development of long-term employment skills is essential to any meaningful program to deal with one of the basic factors which led to hopelessness and despair that is borne in so many in the area.

Social Welfare Services: To those who require the assistance of governmental or private agencies in the whole filed of employment, training, relief, recreation, et cetera, there is a desperate need for combined services in a single facility close enough to the client to avoid the self-defeating obstacles of travel distance and multiple reference to widely separated officers for closely related needs.

If I may deviate for a moment, it has been my experience, and I have served on the board of the Avalon Carver Community Center, which is a settlement house in the Avalon area, and it was our experience that people living in that area suffer from many things, and they would go for an appointment to see their social worker in connection with relief from the county, and at the same time would find they had to go somewhere else to make an application for a job. They would have to go somewhere else for information dealing with a number of other problems.

We became convinced that a solution to this problem was to provide a central location for all of these facilities, for all of these services, and we made such space available in our center.

This concept, I believe, is now being recognized, certainty it has been approved by the State Department of Social Welfare, and we were told on Wednesday of this week that some effort is now being made to do the same in connection with the Watts area. They selected a site on 96th and Central. The city used some land there and they are going to make it available for some agency, not a city department, but some agency to set up a building and to provide centralized services.

I had a concern about that, because 96th and Central is not in the heart of this area. I would say it's quiet removed from what would be the core of the Watts area. It has the same obstacles that we are now talking about, and that is people are able to go that far, because of a transportation problem, and it appeared there was no real consultation with the people to find out where they would want such a center.

Now, they indicated to me that while this is going to be on a temporary basis and some study will be made to see where near 103rd Street such facility could be located, but I think it points out the very critical problem and that is the need to consult with people who are being served, those who are going to be the clients, and I have a comment here in my prepared remarks in relation to that.

DR. MELLINKOFF: Excuse me, Councilman Bradley, Mr. Sheridan has his finger over there on the map, and is that—

MR. SHERIDAN: 96th and Central.

DR. MELLINKOFF: 96th and Central. Now, I notice, is that not right on the line between county and city?

JUDGE BROADY: On one side of the street it is county, the other side of the street is city.

DR. MELLINKOFF: Yes.

THE WITNESS: This would be on the city side.

DR. MELLINKOFF: Right. But, I mean, if there is some local governmental facility that people thought they out to be in closer contact – and I certainly think that's a good idea, it sounds like a very reasonable suggestion – wouldn't it happen that there

would be some people on the other side of the street who would have certain other governmental agencies to go to that wouldn't be housed there because it was county instead of city?

THE WITNESS: Well, I think what we have in mind here is having some of these county agencies housed in the same building, county, state, this would be employment social welfare –

DR. MELLINKOFF: I see.

THE WITNESS: -- the whole gamut of services that usually are required in such a community.

DR. MELLINKOFF: And there is an effective liaison between those county and city agencies, is there?

THE WITNESS: Oh, yes. In the one experience that I know about at Avalon Center we have excellent results there in terms of cooperation. This has been very effective.

DR. MELLIKNOFF: Thank you.

THE WITNESS: There is also a critical need for a community coordinator on a full-time paid basis so as to prevent duplication of services, overlapping jurisdictions, wasted manpower and money.

It has also developed that there were agencies operating counter to each other, or duplicating or overlapping, and it also was apparent that nobody was fulfilling this role of coordinating these activities, and it seems to me that some professional – and I'm not sure at what level he ought to be hired – some processional assigned to one of the governmental agencies ought to have this responsibility on a full-time basis, so that each thing is put in its proper niche, and that maximum use in made of the money and talent and time that is put in there, and that we minimize waste in terms of money and resources.

I understand that our planning department is working on this mater now and may have some recommendations on it, but its one item which occurred to me and I think should be made note of.

Neighborhood community centers are ideal for serving the needs of the entire family. The invisible walls which circle local neighborhoods and prevent

movement to facilities only a few blocks away indicate a need for numerous such centers situated in many communities throughout Los Angeles. They need not be expensively built facilities such as are found in our traditional recreation departments. Instead, they could be separated in unpretentious buildings which are ideally located and could be leased and remodeled.

I had a couple of witnesses who testified before our committee who indicated they live east of Central Avenue, near 20th Street, and they pointed out to us that many people who live east of Central in that immediate area, don't even go west of Central, and many of them are confined, if not to such a limited area, many of them are confined to perhaps a little larger area, for almost their entire lives.

Youngsters never get out; they never know what is on the other side of town. And their theory is that in order to develop some kind of leadership in a neighborhood, in order to give pride in their own community, to provide a vehicle for self-help, that neighborhood centers out to be decentralized and ought to be located in many neighborhoods, and they could be on a small scale, they need not be very large and expensive buildings with a tremendous staff. It seems to me we might explore the possibility of some of the federal funds that are coming in, in such quantity now to see if there can be a cooperative program where various levels of government can become involved into community centers that are government sponsored. The private agencies have such a time of attracting staff and holding on to it because of the salary, because of the fund raising problems and all of the rest. So we may be in an area where financial support is necessary from an established governmental agency, and while it may appear to be costly, it seems to me that in the long run it's the cheapest kind of insurance that we can buy.

REV. CHARLES S. CASASSA: Tom, do you think that these so-called – and I use your phrase – "unpretentious buildings" would be satisfactory for people in those areas when they knew that in other areas there are other facilities, I mean, that would be creating a climate where they would be unhappy about it because they are beginning, so to speak, discriminated against?

THE WITNESS: I am satisfied that they would be content with these unpretentious buildings, and I say that out of experience.

If any of you have ever been to the Avalon Carve Center, you will know that that's not a very prodigious location, but the program there is the heart of the thing, and I think there is not going to be that much concern about the building itself, if they get the impression that somebody is concerned enough to provide the facility. That's the important thing.

REV. CASASSA: Thank you.

THE WITNESS: Then the last statement here deals with the impoverished expecting and demanding that they be involved in policy making, decision making, and I think this is one lesson that has come out of the riot; that wherever possible I think we ought to take advantage and apply this concept.

Police Department: It is readily apparent that there is a significant problem in terms of policy community relations with respect to the Los Angeles Police Department and the residents in the curfew area. And I would extend it even beyond that. For the sake of my discussion here, I have delineated this as the curfew area with appropriate recommendations.

Now, I know this may be a difficult proposal to sell to the administration, because it, just as any other agency, likes to feel that it has the answers and that it is doing an adequate job, it's a threat to them to have somebody come in and make a study of their operation.

DR. MELLINKOFF: What administration, Councilman Bradley?

THE WITNESS: I am talking about the Police Department now.

DR. MELLINKOF: The administration of the city police?

THE WITNESS: Well, Chief of Police William H. Parker, if you want to be quiet specific.

I think that that the things that are being done in industry today, even in other governmental agencies, where experts are hired to make studies, time and motion studies and all kinds of studies to determine whether the agency is doing an effective job, and to see how time and energy can be better spent, I think this is such a broadly accepted principle today that there shouldn't really be any hesitancy on the part of the law enforcement agency of this city to have such a study done here.

They are concerned about a shortage of personnel. Well, there are ways of digging out of that hole if they can make better sue of their personnel. This might be another part of the study, but the one I am talking particularly about and am concerned about is in the area of community relations, and there are recognized experts in this country today who I am sure would be willing to make such a study and to make appropriate recommendations.

Let me point out that as an example of part of the problem in our race relations or human relations training program in the Police Department. They use as instructors officers who for the most part have no real experience in this field. They may be white officers who have never really been exposed to the problem except for a six-week training course at some university. You can hardly be an expert in six weeks, and it would seem to us that with the number of real experts in this field, in our universities and colleges and some of our agencies, that we ought to take advantage of this kind of talent to help to do a better job in terms of our training program. This kind of thing has been rejected for the most part by the Police Department.

I do recall for at least a year, John Braggs of the County Human Relations Department gave some lecture at the Academy, but after about a year this was discontinued and they have gone back to their old practice of using their own personnel.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: How long were you with the Police Department?

THE WITNESS: 21 years.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: 21 years?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

DR. MELLINKOFF: Councilman Bradley, what about such practices in the Sheriff's Department, that is, courses in human relations or programs to develop better human relations? Have you focused any opinion about that?

THE WITNESS: I think the same principle applies to any law enforcement agency. When you are dealing with highly technical matters such as this, and where an expert is called upon for adequate instruction, I think that you should go outside the department for it.

The same thing is true of the Sheriff's Department. I recognize that they have within their training program a certain number of hours set aside for what they call

human relations or community relations training. I am also satisfied there is not enough of that included in the curriculum, and I am aware of the problem that we have only 13 weeks to teach an awful lot of material, but --

DR. MELLINKOFF: Buy my question, Councilman, I was trying to find out, is there any difference between the community relationship to the police on the one hand and to the sheriff's men on the other, or are they both the same, and if there is a difference, what is the reason for it?

THE WITNESS: Well, I don't 'have any factual information which would permit me to make the kind of statement I would like to make for you in response too that question, but I will say, speaking somewhat from speculation and somewhat from observation and somewhat from statements that have been made to me, more complaints, there is greater dissatisfaction in terms of community relations with the Los Angeles Police Department than has been evidenced so the as the sheriff's department is concerned.

Now, there may be many reasons for that. One of the reasons may be there is a greater degree of contact in the Negro community on the part of the Police Department than there is on the part of the Sheriff's Department. I think there is definitely a greater attitude, at least expressed attitude on the part of the Sheriff, Peter Pitchens, in the case of community relations, than we find existing with the Chief of Police Parker, so I think this may have some bearing on it.

MR. MELLINKOFF: Thank you.

THE WITNESS: It is proposed that the Police Department re-establish the Deputy Auxiliary Police Program, or a similar youth program.

Now, if I may explain for the moment this particular program for those of you who are not familiar with it. Up until about 10 years ago, the department had a very effective youth program which dealt in the field of recreation and social activity, and some training. Each division had a unit and the youngsters from 10 to 17 were permitted to participate. There were adults from the community participating and serving as advisers in the program.

They had a summer and a winter camp; they had interdivision competition in athletics; they had a social program, and it was a tremendous project and one which

involved many youngsters who would not go to our established playgrounds or other social welfare agencies, and their theory was that there was something unique about that program, they liked the association with police officers, for one thing, and they said that if they had feared to go to some of these other facilitation they would have gone before, but they didn't and the relationship which was developed between these youngsters who because DAP's and the police officers use, I think, a very healthy one. They came to know each other so human beings and came to have mutual respect. This not only was two with respect to those who were actually involved in the program as coordinators but it had the effect of developing attitudes on the part of these youngsters toward other policeman. It also had the effect of exposing some police officers to Negro youngsters, where under ordinary circumstances they would never see them exempt under an integration situation or incarceration situation, so it had, I think, a highly beneficial effect.

The Police Chief felt this was engaging in he field of social work and was inappropriate for a law enforcement agency, and he attempted to discontinue the program one year and the parents and friends of the youngsters put up such a howl a the Mayor's office that the Chief retreated and they put the money back in the budget for that year.

Well, the following year the Chief simply didn't make a request for a budget for this program it slipped through without anybody noticing it. The chief, after the budget was adopted by the Council, said, "Well, we don't have any money for the program, we will have to discontinue." That was the end of the DAP program.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: How long ago was this?

THE WITNESS: This was about 10 years ago. I have talked with some young men since the riot who – Some who were coordinators and other who were involved in the program as participants, and some of them were active in trying to stop the looting and the other unlawful activity, and they have said that it was shame that the DAP program had been discontinued.

Their theory was that any kid who gets to know a cop under these circumstances is not likely to throw rocks a them under these riot situations.

So I think this is the essence of the program and the reason I think that it or some similar program to be started again.

I know the Mayor has made some recommendations about a youth conference based upon a program which was used in the San Fernando Valley and where I think once every three or four months they call to the leaders from various schools, leaders appointed by the school administration.

Well, I think if this is the only thing they are going to do, that it is a waste of tie, because they are not reaching, those who are likely to give us trouble.

First of all, these may be leaders that the administration has selected, but they are not leaders that the kids select, and we have had this experience that maybe you have to entirely different animals, and they usually are. We have got to deal with all of these youngsters and w have got provide some means of an engaging continuous program that will bring about his kind of exposure, and if it isn't the DAP program, than I think there ought to be some suggestion, but some movement in that direction I think would be beneficial.

The last item dealing with the Police Department relates to the whole issue of allegations of police misconduct; personal complaints that are made.

Now, I have provided you with a set of recommendations which I came to the Commission based upon many complaints that have come to my office, which I incidentally, refer to the Commission for action, many of which were mentioned tome without being made official for the record, and I think at the heart of the whole thing, if I may summarize that 9 or 23 page document, the heart of the whole thing is the contention that there is no adequate machinery for a person making a complaint having it fairly and objectively investigated.

The Commission is, I think, a unique setup in terms of Police Departments around the country, and they are the heed of the departmental and they in fact I think, I have the authority to do a great deal to remedy this problem. Part of their problem is that they didn't have enough time, they meet once a week, they are involved in hearing applications for entertainment permits or for pool halls and a whole gamut of things that take all their time, they have little time for the administration of the department, they have to rely almost entirely upon what the administrative general manager says to them.

I think that either one member of the Commission could be assigned the full-time responsibility of riding hard on the complaint procedure,, reviewing all complaints that came in so that they know day by day what complaints are in there and what is happening with it, hold hearings, public hearings where necessary, and then based upon their findings make recommendation to the full Commission, and the Commission could then act upon his recommendations, or, if necessary, held additional hearings, but I think this would be a great deal to give the people the confidence that somebody other than a police officer is actually looking at their complaint, and has an interest in it and is going to do something about it.

I have a whole streak of letters her, and I don't know if we are going to have the time for it, but if we do after the questions are over I would like to just need two or three at random to give you an idea of some of the complaints that are lodged, and you will recognizes immediately that there are not that we generally think of when we talk about police brutality, but I think this misnomer creates problems. The complaints that are mad deal with the whole range of conduct of officers, and it may range from anywhere from discretionary to the other extreme of physical violence.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: Mr. Bradley, if it doesn't interrupt your presentation I think it's very important we hear those, and right now would be a good time. Will you be able to permit our staff to examine all those, Mr. Bradley?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: Good. Then why don't you pick some out that the Commission could be in particularly interested in and then we will have our staff examine them all.

THE WITNESS: If it meets with your approval, they are rather long, as this letter is, and I will try to except from it.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: Please do that.

THE WITNESS: This is a complaint from a woman whose son had been stopped by the police. Her son was driving the family car and a squad car trailed him for a mile or so, pulled him over to the curb and asked, "What are you doing driving this car, where did you steal it," and the boy explained that the car belong to his sister and he had been driving for more than a year.

After showing his identification card the policeman turned to the son and said, “What is your name?”

Evidently, she said, the son did no answer fast enough to be believed, “Do you hear me talking to you, what is your name?”

“Now, if my son reacts being spoke to like a criminal, then he would be resting that would give the cop an opportunity or excuse to go into another usual routine, beating, dragging, kicking, et cetera.”

There are other comments in here, but the content really is not the important thing, I want to tell you something about the police procedure.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: That’s what we would be more interested in.

THE WITNESS: This letter was sent to the Chief of Police, and she called me and also sent me a copy.

I then sent a letter to the Police Commissioner indicating that this letter was coming to their attention and asked that they supply me with a copy of their findings in the mater.

She got this letter back from the Police Commission: “This will acknowledge” – no, I’m sorry, that’s not it. They said, “This will acknowledge your letter of July 10, 1966 relating to Mrs. Browning’s complaint.

“Mrs. Browning was advised by our department: that in order to intimate a personal complaint, it is necessary to talk directly to the person involved, in this case her son.

‘She was also advised to contact that office either is person with her son or by phone.”

Here is a letter that I sent in reply to that one:

“Gentleman:

“On July 10 I sent you a letter received from Mrs. Browning complaining about the treatment of her minor son received at the hands of the police. Your reply to my letter indicated that it would be necessary to contact the police in person or by phone. It was also indicated that the complainant must be the on directly involved.

"This attitude on your part seems to be incongruous, in view of your published directives indicating that complaint may be filed by writing to the Commission on the department. This is precisely what Mrs. Browning has done in this case.

"Insomuch as her son is a minor, it seems that she is the proper party to lodge a complaint. It in suggested that if the department is interested in pursuing this matter in good faith it would send an investigator to follow through on this matter."

Now, when a complaint is made and they have set up their procedure and they say you can do it by letter or you can come in person, here is a case where the woman sent it by letter, the mother of this minor child, and instead of responding to that by sending an investigator out there to talk to her, as you would do in ordinary circumstances, why make it difficult by saying, "Well, you will have to come in or you will have to bring your son."

Now, the average person would have stopped at that, but she didn't she pursued it.

Her letter was Jen the 30th, 1964. On April the 16h, 1965 they sent a letter to Mrs. Browning:

"An investigation of your complaint has been completed. Although an extensive investigation has been made, we have been unable to determine the identity of the officers involved from the information submitted to us.

"We regret the incident occurred and it is hoped that any further contacts with members of the his department will be favorable."

Now, in this case they failed to exhaust – I think they failed to exhaust the means of attempting to identity. There are only so many officers out of the division, there are only so many that work on a certain date, they know the date and the time, it would have been at least easy enough to provide pictures of those officers so the boy could try to identify them. Apparently the officers in this case didn't make out a field interrogation card or follow the normal procedure, so there is no record of it.

Here is an obstacle thrown in the path of the complainant, and secondly an inadequate investigation and an answer to the party that, "Well, we can't identify the officers." It's frustrating to anybody who wants to make a complaint.

Let me read the whole thing here:

"We are Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Jackson, Jr., and we are parents of six children ranging in age from 7 to 18. Arthur is our oldest child.

"On Friday, May 7, Arthur was picked up by two uniformed police officers at the location of 47th and Vermont. He had been to a house party at the home of one of his friends.

"At about 9:30 or 10o'clock as Arthur was leaving the party he was approached by two friends and acquaintance requesting a ride to their destination, which was on his way home.

"One of the boys worked at a liquor store at 47th and Vermont. Arthur stopped to let this boy out of the car. It was at this point where the police claim the boys were creating a disturbance and picked up two of the boys, and our son, and took them to University Police Station.

"Within an hour we understand the other boys were released, but our son was held until 7:00 p.m. Saturday following. My husband and I were told that several unsuccessful attempts were made to reach us while we were away from home.

"As soon as we got back home, we were told by second eldest son that he had received a call from the University Station and they were holding Arthur. We immediately went and identified ourselves and asked for an explanation of our son's arrest. We were told he was picked up for suspicion of robbery.

"We asked what were the properties involved and the officer said they were a set of license plates,' and in parenthesis they say, "(which are cars, belonging to a car in our garage, for which we have the necessary proof) a .38 caliber revolver listed in evidence, which proved to be a toy pistol belonging to one our younger sons, and tools, all of which my son uses to work on the car, as he does the car repairs.

"After explaining and clarifying these articles and offering to show proof the plates belonged to our car and we know of our son's whereabouts, we were still refused custody of the boy even though he had committed no wrong."

Well, they go on and on. To tell you something about the background of this boy, he is an outstanding boy in his community and in his school, but he has a very dim view of law enforcement as a result of this experience. It seems to me that in this case the preliminary investigation could have established ownership of those plates.

Very often this is done, I know this for a fact because I have worked as a watch commander where they were required to bring the prisoner to my office before approval of booking, and very of the they will make a very cursory investigation and if there is any shred of evidence they will often proceed with a booking, whereas if they have taken 15 or 20 minutes more to investigate thoroughly they would have determined that here was no real connection and that this person was not guilty nor could be reasonably charged with having don anything wrong.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOOPHER: I think that gives us a little flavor of those, Mr. Bradley, and if you could either leave them for our staff to examine or have our staff come to your office, we will be glad to do that.

THE WITNESS: Well, there is a whole stack of them and you are free to look any or all of them, and I may even have some more at the office.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: In that connection I wonder if you would tell us before it gets away from my memory what the people have said to you to indicate that they hesitate to appear before the Commission because of reprisal from the police.

THE WITNESS: I don't believe I understand the question.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: Earlier in your testimony I thought you indicated you had some contact with people who said they might have some information to give but they hesitated to appear before the Commission because of possible reprisals.

I was interested in two aspects of that: What information do they have, what type of information do they have, and what is they're concern about police action?

THE WITNESS: Well, turning to the first, I talked with some law enforcement officers who were involved in this policing of this situation who have said to me that there were a number of cases where in their judgment there was sound basis for shooting, and, in a word, they said it was murder.

Now, these officers I think underhandedly don't want to put their jobs on the line, and this is exactly what they would be doing if they were to come forward and testify.

They made the comment, for instance, that here it appeared that some of the attitudes, some of the hostility which had been building, I don't know how long, was

given an opportunity for venting these feelings, and they were just taking advantage of a situation.

There was on officer who himself was stopped by the police. He was in plain clothes. He was stopped and he was beaten, but again he is afraid to come forward and make this complaint to anybody of fear that it would jeopardize his job.

There is an officer right now ho testified in the Michael Halleren case who is coming to see me next week because he has been under tremendous pressure because of having testified about some of the things that went on. He was simply trying to relate the facts.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: The beatings and shooting were at the hands of police.

I talked with a women just a couple of days ago and I am still working on her because I think that either I can get her to come forward to testify, or to find other witnesses that she has told me about. She hasn't given me their names yet.

JUDGE BROADY: Is she a policewoman?

THE WITNESS: No.

JUDGE BROADY: Have you talked to Vivian Strange?

THE WITNESS: Yes, I have. And, incidentally just for the record, I didn't get this information about the beatings and shootings from her. I talked with this woman who said that she was in a building and observed the officers actually shooting at people without any justification when they were not under attack, and she believes that some of these people were killed but she doesn't know for sure.

CHAIRMAN CHIRSTOPHER: Just to keep the record clear, these woman to whom you are referring is not identified by you and this not Vivian Strange?

THE WITNESS: That's right. She is not a police officer, not connected with law enforcement at al.

JUDGE BROADY: In many of those cases where the Coroner's jury has cleared them, that will end that.

You see, the Corner's jury ruling justifiable homicide – and there are many squawks and complaints from the community – the fact the Coroner's jury rules them justifiable just about sets it, I think.

THE WITNESS: Well, I don't' know if this Commission is the appropriate place for inquiry into the procedure of the Coroner's Inquest, but it seems to me that when there is not adequate opportunity for cross examination you are hardly likely to get a complete story.

JUDGE BROADY: They don't have it over there, no cross-examination at all.

THE WITNESS: That's what I mean. Now, I am informed that they are considering some change in the procedure because they recognize that it's defective, but thus far no change has been made, and this was raised when I was involved in the John Grudt shooting, so I think this an appropriate item for someone to check, because there were cases involving these deaths where the attorneys attempted to challenge statements made by witnesses but were unable to cross examine them.

JUDGE BROADY: You see, with the Corner's jury voting justifiable homicide, it would be very unusual for the District Attorney to inquire into the mater any further. So, they are closed cases.

DR. MELLINKOFF: May he inquire?

JUDGE BROADY: He may, it's not controlling the Coroner's jury's verdict, is not controlling, but I can think of no case where a Corner's jury has voted justifiable homicide where the District Attorney's office has gone behind it.

DR. MELLINKOFF: Would it not be appropriate, Mr. Chairman, for Mr. Sheridan and his staff to look into these specific cases?

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: It they can be identified it would be. He was been following the Coroner's inquests carefully.

MR. SHERIDAN: Do I understand one thing, Judge Broady, that the legal function of a Coroner's inquest right now is merely to give the authority to sign the death certification, and beyond that it has no legal freedom at all?

JUDGE BROADY: Well, yes, I think they have the authority to sign the death certificate. Without the verdict of the jury, it really serves no purpose. It's just an inquiry made into the cases of death, circumstances surrounding a death, but it has no standing as a matter of law that I know of. But the District Attorney just doesn't go behind the Coroner's jury's verdict, very rarely do they go behind it.

THE WITNESS: Let's speculate for a minute: Let's assume we could get four witnesses who would come forward and say, "I saw a given incident, and would produce testimony to the contrary of that given at the Coroner's inquest." Would it be possible then that the District Attorney would go behind it?

JUDGE BROADY: Well, in that case he would investigate it, but I would suggest that they be taken to the District Attorney's office rather than have the District Attorney's investigators go to them.

THE WITNESS: I am going to continue to work on this particular witness who thus far has not identified.

The last recommendation which I would like to make deals with the Human Relations Department, and I have printed slips which I think contain the essence of my observations on this. I just think in spite of job that the County Human Relations Commission is doing, there is no complaint about it, the fact that the City of Los Angeles, which represents 40 per cent of the entire County of Los Angeles, which has within its boundaries the bulk of the problems connected with race relations, it seems to be that we are abdicating our responsibility if we say, "Let's turn it over to the county, let them do it."

There is a feeling that the City of Los Angles doesn't really care that we are not really concerned. We are able to wash our hands of it in this fashion either by giving money or by saying, "Well, it's the county's responsibility."

So for this and other reasons I think we ought to establish our own department, and this matter has been revived now that the riots are over and there is a considerable sentiment in support of a separate department. So I hope we will be able to get one. I think this can serve very effectively, to say to the total community of Los Angeles that here is a city that is concerned and wants to help.

Now, the last recommendation and then I will be through, and it deals with the conversation shows on the radio. Now, I am concerned about the kind of attitude and the kind of statements I have been hearing and have been reading, and some of the things coming over these radio shows and there is nobody – I shouldn't say nobody, but rarely is there anyone who comes forward to refute some of these wild and hysterical statements, and it would seem to me that some of the radio stations could be

urged to provide an opportunity for experts or well-represented leaders in the Los Angeles community to come forward and make some statements to counter some of this kind of comment which I think is destructive of good human relations in the City of Los Angeles.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: Thank you very much, Mr. Bradley, your statement is obviously a very thoughtful one and we appreciate your having given it.

I have asked a number of questions as you went along and I would like to give some of my colleagues an opportunity to question you now.

Father Casassa?

REV. CASASSA: As I understand it, Tom, in regard to this Human Relations Commission there is a battle going on. We already have a county commission and the county commission is perhaps interested in a joint city-county commission, but, as I understand your recommendation, it is for a completely distinct and separate commission; is that correct?

THE WITNESS: Yes. There are several problems. One of them relates to this issue of what is the county staff, if it comes over into the city, to talk with our city department. They were told by Chief Parker one time, “You are a runt group and you have no authority over here,” and he wouldn’t cooperate with them. And he was right, they didn’t have any legal authority.

A city department would have the authority and this is another reason for preparing a separate department.

REV. CASASSA: Then what gets a little bit confused on this is when you come to the welfare agency, social welfare services, you do recommend, it I understood you correctly, sort of a decentralized or a center for the services?

THE WITNESS: A center, but there would be separate departments; the county, the city, the state would have their representatives in this same building serving the needs of the people.

REV. CASASSA: There would be no common coordinator, though, of that building?

THE WITNESS: No.

RE. CASASSA: But there would be a coordinator of all of the services, didn't you suggest that there be a coordinator too?

THE WITNESS: Yes. This was more or less in the area of planning to see that maximum use is made of the talents and resources, and that there isn't an overlapping or duplication. This would not mean that they would be merged or there would be one agency doing all of this.

REV. CASASSA: No. In the area of human relations agencies would you suggest that there is a someone there, too, as a coordinator, if you had two separate ones?

THE WITNESS: Well, I think we try to provide for this problem that you are anticipating in the ordinance that we draw.

REV. CASASSA: I see.

THE WITNESS: Because we required, we set out there that our department should cooperate with the county department, and in talking with John Buggs and the Commission members it was very clear that that was our intention, and this was two years ago and they agreed that they could see no problem in our working together. So we had every reason to believe that this could be done harmoniously with a minimum of duplication.

REV. CASASSA: And Mr. Buggs himself would be happy with this agreement, would he, or does he have some misgivings about it at the point? I'm not sure. I haven't talked to him.

THE WITNESS: Well, two years ago John was supporting the idea. To be quite candid with you, I think today the attitude is not of John Buggs. The attitude of the commission would be that they think that a county-wide agency should be employed and that separate cities should not have their own department. This was a disagreement in philosophy.

REV. CASASSA: But your general approach is, I gather decentralization rather than one county agency, or, I don't mean county agency, but you would prefer to see that separate communities have their own human relations commissions?

THE WITNESS: Yes. And I think it would be a supplement to the county commission, because they would certainty be expected to work within the City of the Los Angeles as well.

REV. CASASSA: Fine. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: Mr. Bradley, we have had testimony here that it was suggested on Thursday afternoon that white officers be removed from the disorder area and Negro officers put in the area for that night to prevent further outbreaks. As a man with 21 years on the police force, how does the idea strike you?

THE WITNESS: I think that this could work, could have worked. Had there been enough Negro officers brought into the situation, I think it would have stabilized, or would have been a good chance of stabilizing, and I say this because of some experiences I have had.

You get into a situation where there is antagonism between a white officer and a crowd of Negroes. The minute the Negro officer arrives on the scene, suddenly their hostility is dissipated and he then begins to deal with them, and the problem in most cases suddenly disappear.

Now, I am not saying this will happen every time, but I think there was some real justification for at least trying that approach.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: Do you think a higher percentage of Negro officers ought to be assigned to these areas where the population is predominately Negro?

THE WITNESS: Well, I think you have a problem there. First of all, in terms of the number of personnel available, there just aren't enough Negro officers available to give this kind of attention, and I certainly would never subscribe to the practice that Judge Broady knows very well where we had a black watch at one of our divisions, all Negroes watch at one of our divisions. So I would not subscribe to that philosophy or principle, but I do believe that more Negro officers working with white officers, or separately, in a Negro community, can serve to stabilize some of the conduits we find.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: Judge Broady?

JUDGE BROADY: I have no questions.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: Dr. Mellinkoff?

DR. MELLINKOFF: Councilman Bradley, in your opinion why are there not more Negro officers on the Los Angeles police force, what are the reasons for that?

THE WITNESS: Well, there is quite a history and let me try to this in about three minutes.

I think that the bright young men today see opportunities in other fields, and this not only Negroes but white as well so that law enforcement is finding it difficult to get the caliber of men they want for law enforcement. It's a rough job. It's sometimes a dangerous job, and, let's face it, they suffer a considerable amount of disenchantment on the part of their friends when they become identified with law enforcement, so some avoid it for that reason.

I think that many of the Negro youngsters also are influenced by the fact that there isn't a kind of opportunity for advancement that they would have if they were white.

DR. MELLINKOFF: This is true in your opinion and in your experience?

THE WITNESS: Yes. We have never had a Negro captain on the Los Angeles Police Department. I am satisfied that there have been men there with the talent, intelligence and capability to rise to this level, all other things being equal.

I think that what has happened is that the pattern has been such that it has been difficult to rise to this level, and many men have become discouraged and just given up studying, and it takes a great deal of study to compete with the men who are now rising to captain and higher. Some having become discouraged, they give up, they stop studying and now we find – and I think the Police Department sincerely now would like to have a Negro qualified as captain, but they are going to have, I think, some period they will have to wait until they can get somebody ready for it, because those who had the ability have became disenchanted and stopped studying and now that there is the possibility, they are sort of out of practice or have left the job, so we are going to have to wait.

There is a no Negro lieutenant today. There is one on the lists who think is about four or five years away. So he will get an appointment, but he is the caliber of person that I think ultimately will be able to compete for this rank.

JUDGE BROADY: I'm not contending that things are all as they should be, but this is true, too: That it's much better, the probability of advancement in the department is much better than it was?

THE WITNESS: Oh, yes, that's why I say there is a long history to it. If I were to go back and relate some of the things that went on years ago, even as recently as four years ago when there was a policy of segregation in the department such as the average person wouldn't believe, no Negro and white officer could work together in a radio car, it was just an unwritten policy that they were not permitted to work together. Obviously, the white officer is going to regard this Negro officer as less than a first-class man.

Now, if he can't see the police officer with whom he works as being a first-class citizen, it's going to be difficult for him to see the Negro citizens as deserving of any kind of respect. So that this has changed and the Negro officers are assigned to, I think, 12 of the geographic divisions, they are assigned to many of the specialized units, so the opportunities today are so vastly superior to what they were four, five, ten years ago that there is just no comparison.

DR. MELLIKOFF: Then why aren't there lots of people, lots of Negro young man, trying out for these jobs. If the opportunities are better now, why aren't they flocking to the banner, so to speak?

THE WITNESS: Well, I think we still have the problem that if a man who has the intelligence and capability and the talent to compete and to rise to a high position in the Police Department, he has the talent to go up in industry or private business somewhere, or to rise in a professional rank, so he goes in that direction.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: Tom, do you have any questions?

MR. SHERIDAN: Just for the sake of the record, and not to imply or infer anything, were you in town Councilman Bradley, from August 11 through August 16th?

THE WITNESS: No, I was out of the country during that period of time.

MR. SHERIDAN: Is there any such organization such as the police athletic league, PAL. Is that still in existence?

THE WITNESS: We have never had such and organization in the City of Los Angeles. New York has one. This was similar to our deputy auxiliary program.

MR. SHERIDAN: The DAP program?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

MR. SHERIDAN: And one final thing, I happened to be at a football game at the Coliseum a couple of weeks ago in watch S.C. and they had all these city bands there including the Los Angeles Police Department Boys Band.

Is that the only one in existence, that one band has extensive activity? It was a mixed band.

THE WITNESS: Yes, about 40 per cent of that band, I believe is Negro.

MR. SHERIDAN: Is that a league-sponsored activity?

THE WITNESS: Yes, it is the one youth band, and this is an incongruity in the contention of the Chief; that we are only concerned and should be involved in enforcing the law and about the rest of the people sitting in jail, and yet they carry on the youth band. They carry on the scouting activities, so that they are not altogether divorced from it. It depends on how much you are going to get involved.

MR. SHERIDAN: Fine. I have nothing further, Mr. Christopher.

CHAIRMAN CHRISTOPHER: Councilman Bradley, thank you very much for giving us your lunch hour. It may well be that we will ask you to come back sometime at your convenience, but I do want to compliment you on your very thoughtful approach.

THE WITNESS: Thank you.

Communication

It is apparent that in spite of the progress made in many sensitive areas – such as equal employment opportunities, politics, etc, real communication and understanding is more façade than fact.

We must move quickly and well to develop many means of communication between races in our city.

Without repeating much of which have already been suggested or will be supplied by others, I would like to direct your attention to one possibility for effective action.

The radio conversation shows have been very popular listening recreation. Unfortunately, many of the comments and opinions offered on these shows often spread distorted views and generate additional hostility through some highly inflammatory remarks.

It is suggested that an appeal be made to such radio stations to occasionally use panels of experts to be interspersed from time to time to refute some allegations and to provide a reason where it is desperately needed. It would also be highly beneficial to use respected leaders of our community who may not be experts in human relations, but whose sound and objective statements could do much to mold positive and constructive attitudes.

I am confident that physical rehabilitation of the area will soon be achieved. The more critical problem of removing barriers to communication and social intercourse between all segments of our community is a more elusive goal – But, pursue it we must or we shall suffer an ever widening gulf between the races.

It is my hope that the work of the Commission will take a giant step in the direction of this goal.

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF
SUPPORT OF PROPOSED HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION

The No. 1 domestic issue is the United States today is race relations. We are witnessing a social revolution expressive of the desire of all men to be accorded full freedom and equality of opportunity. These are human rights which are basic and integral parts of the fabric of our democratic society.

The moral issues involved are so compelling; the legal basis so deeply ingrained in the Constitution which is the supreme law of the land; that temporizing, tokenism and gradualism can no longer contain the pent-up drive and determination to achieve these goals in all their fullness and majesty and without further delay.

It has become altogether too clear that government, federal, state or local agencies can any longer ignore the responsibility to take affirmative, creative and enlightened action to ensure domestic tranquility and to effectively promote understanding and harmony among various ethnic and cultural groups which make up the population and to implement the laws of our nation, state and city in the guarantee of equal opportunity to all persons regardless of race, creed, color or religion.

It has become abundantly clear that in the City of Los Angeles, despite progress which has been made in the field of race relations that we have a long way to go.

It is also clear that in the absence of responsible leadership by elected city officials, agencies of government and community groups, disruptive forces often move into the vacuum and exploit the situation for their selfish purposes.

In the absence of an official agency dedicated to a constant and continuing effort in the field of race relations, preventative measures generally are not developed and emergency task forces must be called into play only after undue tension and conflict is threatened or has occurred.

It is unbelievable that Los Angeles has no official community relations agency.