

# THE TOM BRADLEY PROJECT

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Curriculum Designer: Sandra Line

**12TH GRADE**

A Curriculum Guide for 12th grade government 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.

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**TOM BRADLEY'S IMPOSSIBLE DREAM**  
Produced by: Lyn Goldfarb and Alison Sotomayor  
[www.mayortombradley.com](http://www.mayortombradley.com)

# THE TOM BRADLEY PROJECT

## STANDARDS:

12.6.6 Evaluate the rolls of polls, campaign advertising, and controversies over campaign funding.

12.6.6 Analyze trends in voter turnout.

### 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 did the election of Tom Bradley in 1973 reflect the building of racial coalitions in voting patterns in the 1970s and the advancement of minority opportunities?

### KEY TERMS AND CONTENT

elections  
shared power  
local responsibilities and authority

### LESSON OVERVIEW

#### Day 1

View Module 2 of Tom Bradley video.  
Read Tom Bradley biography.

#### Day 2

Analyze issues related to voter turnout in 2013 Los Angeles Mayoral Election and connections to the 1973 campaign for Mayor.

#### Day 3

Analyze issues in 1973 campaign.  
Analyze building of racial coalitions

among voters.

#### Day 4

Write essay.

### MATERIALS

**Doc. A** LA Times on Voter turnout, May 15, 2003

**Doc. B** Voter turnout spreadsheet May 15, 2003 (edited)

**Doc. C** Statistics May 15, 2003

**Doc. D** Tom Bradley biography

**Doc. E** Census, 2000

**Doc. F** 1973 Mayoral election

**Doc. G** Interview 1973

**Doc. H** Election Night speech 1989

**Doc. I** LA Times Bradley's first year 1974

**Doc. J** LA Times Campaign issues 1973

**Doc. K** LA Times articles 1973

**Doc. L** LA Times campaign issues 1973

**Doc. M** Political Cartoon 1973

**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

**12.6.3** Evaluate the rolls of polls, campaign advertising, and controversies over campaign funding.

**12.6.6** Analyze trends in voter turnout

### 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** LA Times on Voter turnout, May 15, 2003

**Document B** Voter turnout spreadsheet, May 15, 2003 (edited)

**Document C** Statistics, May 15,2003

**Document D** Tom Bradley biography

**Document E** Census, 2000

**Document F** 1973 Mayoral election

**Document G** Interview, 1973

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**Lesson Overview:** This lesson should be taught after the students have considered the organization of local government. The lesson and documents focus on the analysis of voter turnout and how building voter coalitions facilitated the campaign and election of Tom Bradley as Los Angeles' first African-American Mayor. It should be noted that this lesson is not meant to limit teachers in their presentation about local government but to supplement their materials by using a local case study.

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 voting coalitions on Tom Bradley's campaign for Mayor..

### Essay Prompt

How did the election of Tom Bradley in 1973 reflect the building of racial coalitions in voting patterns in the 1970s and the advancement of minority opportunities?

Day 1	
Teacher/Student Activities	Helpful Hints
<p><b>Hook</b></p> <p>Open the class to discussion about issues they have studied which deal with campaigns, polling and voter issues nationally. 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 70s. Explain to them that they will be looking at some of the campaign issues which were evident in Los Angeles when Tom Bradley ran for Mayor of Los Angeles.</p> <p><i>(Suggested possible answers: campaign funding, smear techniques, divisive issues, etc.)</i></p>	<p>Time Suggestion: 5 minutes</p> <p>Be sure to ask the students if they have evidence for their choices. Illustrate again the difference between fact and opinion.</p> <p>As a way to connect this topic to the present, the teacher could also list which campaign issues are still relevant today.</p>
<p><b>Introduction to Tom Bradley</b></p> <p>The opening activity is a reading of the biography of Tom Bradley. Have the students read <b>Document D</b> 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 <b>Student Handout 1</b> with as much detail as possible at this time.</p> <p>This activity is followed by the viewing of Module 2. Have the students follow the video while paying most attention to the categories on <b>Student Handout 1</b> and taking notes on the handout.</p> <p>At the end of the video, ask the students to circle the information from the biography and the video that match.</p>	<p>15 minutes for article</p> <p>This article can be broken into sections and students can pair/share the information.</p> <p>26 minutes- Video- Module 2</p>
<p><b>Exit Slips</b></p> <p>On a separate piece of paper, ask the students to respond to the following question: <i>What do you think was Tom Bradley's most significant contribution as Mayor? What is your evidence?</i> Cite evidence from the biography or the video for your decision.</p>	<p>Collect exit slips as the students leave class.</p> <p>Exit slips are a quick way to check for understanding the day's material.</p>

Day 2	
Teacher/Student Activities	Helpful Hints
<p><b>Opening activity</b> Review the material covered the day before. Discuss some of the issues which faced Tom Bradley during his campaigns.</p>	<p>5 minutes</p> <p>A possible opener to this activity is to poll the students as to the issue they thought was the most significant and why.</p>
<p><b>Document Analysis</b> Divide students into groups of four. All students will read Document A which reviews voter turnout issues in current and past elections.</p> <p>Two students will work together on <b>Document B</b> and the other two students will work on <b>Document C</b>. Each pair will complete the content questions at the end of the documents.</p> <p>After the students have read the charts, the pairs will compare and share the information with the other pair of students and complete an information chart on voting issues using <b>Student Handout 2</b>.</p> <p>Once the students have completed the questions on the statistical information, they should refer <b>Documents E and F</b>, answer the content questions and share conclusions about how ethnic groups had to join together to elect Tom Bradley in 1973</p>	<p>10 minutes</p> <p>20 minutes</p> <p>The information in <b>Documents B and C</b> could be done as a class activity if the students have not had experience reading statistical information. If more time is needed, this could be completed as a HW assignment. Allow time on the following day to share answers in the group.</p>
<p><b>Exit slips</b> On a separate piece of paper, ask the students to respond to the following question: How do these statistics reflect voter interest in local elections? What may influence voters to actually vote in local elections?</p>	

Day 3	
Teacher/Student Activities	Helpful Hints
Review voting statistics and census information examined the previous day. Compare the past voter turnout with the election Mayor in 2013	5 minutes
<p><b>Document Analysis</b> Divide the students into triads: In groups, the students will read and analyze the <b>Documents J, K, L, M</b> about campaign issues completing <b>Student Handout 2</b>.</p> <p>Use the archives sheets (<b>Student Handouts 3 and 4</b>) to analyze the political cartoons and news articles if the students need more practice in citing information.</p>	<p>20 minutes</p> <p>Teachers may want to reshoot the portion of the Module 2 video on the campaign for mayor</p>

Day 4	
Teacher/Student Activities	Helpful Hints
<p><b><u>Review essay prompt</u></b>  <i>How did the election of Tom Bradley in 1973 reflect the building of racial coalitions in voting patterns in the 1970s and the advancement of minority opportunities?</i></p> <p>Using <b>Student Handouts 1 and 2</b> 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 <b>Student Handout 5</b>.</p>	<p>20 minutes</p> <p>Be sure to discuss the written rubric, <b>Student Handout 6</b></p>
<b><u>Written response</u></b>	30 minutes

## Document A

# Forecast for L.A.'s mayor race: paltry turnout

*Los Angeles Times* | May 15, 2013



*In a city with more than 2 million eligible voters, roughly 400,000 may cast ballots in Tuesday's election. The low turnout is in keeping with historical trends.*

By Ben Welsh and Michael Finnegan

More than 2 million people can vote for mayor of Los Angeles. But if history is a reliable guide, as many as 1.6 million of them will skip Tuesday's election.

That low turnout could mean that the winner will garner fewer votes than any newly elected mayor since the pre-freeway era of the 1930's, according to a Times analysis of L.A. election records.

The city's next mayor will be hard-pressed to exceed the 233,427 votes that Fletcher Bowron won in 1938 when he ousted incumbent Frank Shaw in a recall spawned by rampant corruption. The population of Los Angeles has more than doubled since then. To avoid that 1938 milestone, it would take a surge in new voters or a lopsided win by one of the candidates.

The new mayor, City Controller Wendy Greuel or Councilman Eric Garcetti, will oversee nearly \$8 billion in spending each year on police, fire and ambulance services, street repairs, trash pickup, and the city's water and power systems, among many other things.

But in the March primary, turnout was a paltry 21%, and experts do not expect it to rise much Tuesday.

The Times analysis found sharp geographic disparities in the primary election turnout, and at least two-thirds of registered voters failed to vote in every neighborhood in the city. The highest turnout — 33% — was in the upper-income coastal enclave of Pacific Palisades. The lowest, only 7%, was in Watts.

Many of the communities with the lowest turnout are poor and also have large numbers of residents ineligible to vote, such as immigrants, further diminishing the clout of those neighborhoods at City Hall, experts say.

"You create this cycle where politicians tend to ignore council districts with lower turnout," said Matt Baretto, a political scientist at the University of Washington in Seattle. "When they get into office, regardless of who they are, they just provide less services, so voters feel like — why should I vote?"

Tawana Percy, a cashier who lives in the Gonzague Village complex in Watts, is one of many who don't see the point of choosing between Garcetti and Greuel.

"Everything will still be the same in my life," Percy, 32, said as she pushed her baby's stroller down the sidewalk of a Watts strip mall on her way to buy diapers.

The plunge in voter turnout is part of a long, nationwide trend, broken periodically as it was when Barack Obama was elected president. Low turnout in the city's March primary also reflected a failure by Garcetti, Greuel and their rivals to generate much public enthusiasm.

Edmund Edelman was on the City Council when voter turnout in Los Angeles elections peaked 44 years ago. He sees the sharp drop-off as a sign of "cynicism about government and a sense that elections don't matter."

"People have lost faith in elected officials," he said. "They see so many politicians putting ambition and personal need over the public good."



In 1969, the racially charged mayoral contest pitting white incumbent Sam Yorty against a black councilman, Tom Bradley, drew a record 76% turnout, with 856,174 voters casting ballots — more than double the 377,881 in this year's primary. Bradley lost, but ousted Yorty in a 1973 rematch, becoming the city's first black mayor.

Cleveland, Memphis, Chicago and other cities saw similar spikes in voter turnout as they elected their first black mayors, with voter fears and aspirations driving interest upward, said Zoltan Hajnal, author of "Changing White Attitudes toward Black Political Leadership."

"You see in these cases of racial transition, turnout typically goes up dramatically," he said.

In the era before term limits, Los Angeles voting rates dropped each time Bradley sought reelection — in 1977, 1981, 1985 and 1989. After the 1992 riots, turnout rose again to 45% when Richard Riordan was elected to succeed Bradley in 1993.

It dipped to 32% when Riordan won a second term and ticked up to 37% when James K. Hahn defeated Antonio Villaraigosa in the 2001 race that foreshadowed another ethnic breakthrough — the first Latino mayor of modern Los Angeles. Four years later, when Villaraigosa bounced Hahn from office, turnout was 34%.

After mayoral primaries, turnout has consistently increased for runoffs like the one coming Tuesday. Based on 100 years of L.A. mayor's races, an average turnout bump next week would mean 445,900 voters would cast ballots, up from 377,881 in the primary.

With that small of a total, Greuel or Garcetti would need a resounding victory to tally enough votes to exceed the counts that have carried every mayor into office since the 1930s. A more likely result, campaign strategists say, is a tight race — possibly even close enough to delay a definitive declaration of a winner for a few weeks.

March's dismal turnout prompted speculation about the cause. Was it a lack of charisma? Voter fatigue after the 2012 presidential race? The similar political profiles of the leading contenders? Whatever the reason, no one expects turnout to rise much Tuesday.

"You've got two liberal Democrats running, and it's hard for people to really tell them apart ideologically," said Parke Skelton, who was a top strategist in Villaraigosa's campaigns.

Both Greuel and Garcetti have suggested that the city might stimulate turnout by shifting mayoral contests to November. With the right confluence of circumstances, elections still can draw high interest regardless of the calendar. California's gubernatorial recall in

October 2003 had a 61% voter turnout.

"If they don't see that there's a real choice to be made there, or they're not really enthusiastic about one of the candidates, that can really have a corrosive effect on turnout," said Michael P. McDonald, a turnout expert and associate professor of political science at George Mason University in Fairfax, Va.

More than half a century ago, when Mayor Norris Poulson was seeking a second term, then-City Clerk Walter Peterson sounded an alarm about declining voter interest.

"It is almost unbelievable, but on Tuesday it is my prediction that only 4 out of 10 will cast votes," he said in a public service announcement broadcast on local radio.

In the end, it wasn't quite that bad. Turnout reached 52% — more than double what it was in March.

## **Text Dependent Questions – Document A**

1. What were some of the key issues that increase voter turnout? What factors lead to a low voter turnout?
2. How does voter participation affect the attention of a candidate in particular areas prior to the primary and after the primary?
3. What techniques could be used to increase voter turnout in cities like Los Angeles?

## Document B


# 100 years of Los Angeles mayoral turnout

*Los Angeles Times* | May 15, 2013

The percentage of registered voters who cast a ballot in L.A.'s mayoral elections peaked in the late 1960s and has declined to historic lows, according to a Times analysis of 100 years of city election results (edited for relevance).

Date	Type	Registered voters	Ballots cast	Turnout	Winner	Winner's vote total	New mayor elected
Mar. 5, 2013	Primary	1,817,074	377,881	20.80%	Garcetti	121,930	<input type="radio"/>
Mar. 3, 2009	Primary	1,596,165	285,658	17.90%	Villaraigosa	152,613	<input type="radio"/>
May 17, 2005	Runoff	1,469,296	498,729	33.94%	Villaraigosa	289,116	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
Mar. 8, 2005	Primary	1,474,186	420,570	28.53%	Villaraigosa	136,242	<input type="radio"/>
Jun. 5, 2001	Runoff	1,538,229	579,408	37.67%	Hahn	304,791	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
Apr. 10, 2001	Primary	1,525,350	511,521	33.53%	Villaraigosa	152,031	<input type="radio"/>
Apr. 8, 1997	Primary	1,339,036	424,653	31.71%	Riordan	250,771	<input type="radio"/>

Date	Type	Registered voters	Ballots cast	Turnout	Winner	Winner's vote total	New mayor elected
Jun. 8, 1993	Runoff	1,331,179	598,436	44.96%	Riordan	314,559	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
Apr. 20, 1993	Primary	1,403,364	488,578	34.81%	Riordan	158,527	<input type="radio"/>
Apr. 11, 1989	Primary	1,375,698	334,764	24.33%	Bradley	165,559	<input type="radio"/>
Apr. 9, 1985	Primary	1,371,499	476,485	34.74%	Bradley	313,318	<input type="radio"/>
Apr. 14, 1981	Primary	1,271,358	472,989	37.20%	Bradley	293,138	<input type="radio"/>
Apr. 5, 1977	Primary	1,174,439	498,315	42.43%	Bradley	288,536	<input type="radio"/>
May 29, 1973	Runoff	1,216,173	781,241	64.24%	Bradley	433,473	<input checked="" type="radio"/>
Apr. 3,	Primary	1,184,148	674,555	56.97%	Bradley	234,953	<input type="radio"/>
May 27, 1969	Runoff	1,127,224	856,174	75.95%	Yorty	449,572	<input type="radio"/>
Apr. 1, 1969	Primary	1,104,787	731,423	66.20%	Bradley	298,336	<input type="radio"/>

Date	Type	Registered voters	Ballots cast	Turnout	Winner	Winner's vote total	New mayor elected
Apr. 6, 1965	Primary	1,169,541	689,712	58.97%	Yorty	395,208	

\* Number not recorded. Estimated based on ballots cast and turnout percentage.

Sources: Los Angeles City Clerk

Credits: Ben Welsh

## Text Dependent Questions – Document B

***Examine the voting results for 1969 to 1993.***

1. How did the voting turnout change between the primary and runoff elections in 1969? In 1973?
2. Who won the primary in 1969 and 1973?
3. Who won the runoff in 1969 and 1973?
4. How did the percent of votes cast change?
5. What factors may have influenced this change?

***Examine the voting results in 1977, 1981, 1985 and 1989.***

1. How did these numbers compare to the elections in 1969 and 1973?
2. What might explain the low turnout for these elections?
3. Why weren't runoffs necessary for these elections?

## Document C

# Projecting the Runoff Bump

*Excerpt from "Forecast for L.A.'s mayor race: paltry turnout"*

*Los Angeles Times* | May 15, 2013

When L.A.'s mayoral races have gone to a runoff, the vote total has increased an average of 18% from the primary.

An average bump this year would produce the lowest total since 1941.

Year	Primary votes	Runoff votes	Change
2005	420,570	498,729	18.6%
2001	511,521	579,408	13.3%
1993	488,578	598,436	22.5%
1973	674,555	781,241	15.8%
1969	731,423	856,174	17.1%
1961	469,882	553,699	17.8%
1953	488,961	551,298	12.7%
1949	406,071	453,567	11.7%
1941	303,755	336,891	10.9%
1937	250,698	323,186	28.9%
1933	335,094	348,820	4.1%
1929	209,698	260,194	24.1%
1921	82,666	102,741	24.3%
1919	62,757	77,212	23.0%
1915	72,687	95,000	30.7%
1913	80,280	89,798	11.9%
<b>Average</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>18.0%</b>
<b>2013 actual</b>	<b>377,881</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>
<b>2013 projection</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>445,900</b>	

## Text Dependent Questions – Document C

1. In every year that there was a runoff election, the number of voters increased. What might have been some of the reasons for the increase in voter turnout?

## Document D

# Tom Bradley Biography

Source: [www.mayortombradley.com](http://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.

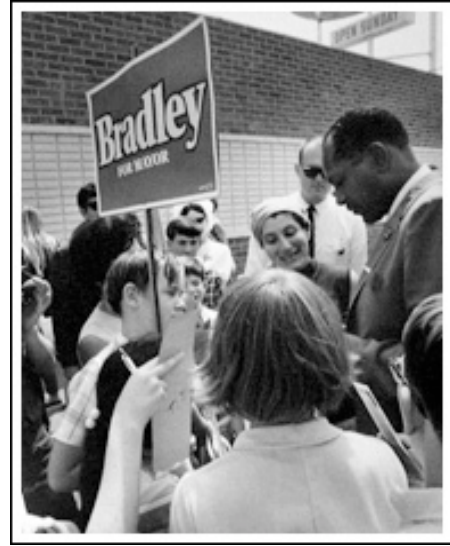


African Americans were less than 18% of the population, and Bradley knew if he had a chance of winning, he needed to reach across racial and ethnic lines and create a strong coalition of African Americans, Jews, liberal whites, Mexican Americans, and Asian Americans. Bradley won the primary in a crowded 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 is a coalition and why was it important to Tom Bradley in 1963?
2. What were some of the campaign issues in 1969 and 1973?
3. What were Bradley's accomplishments as Mayor?

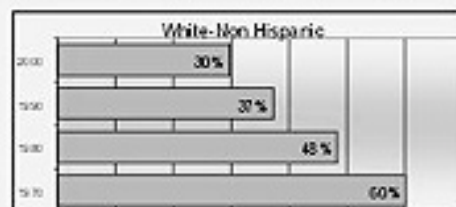
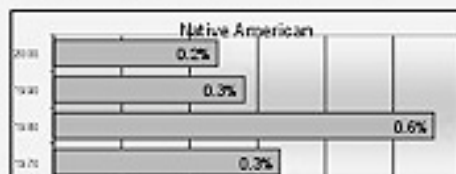
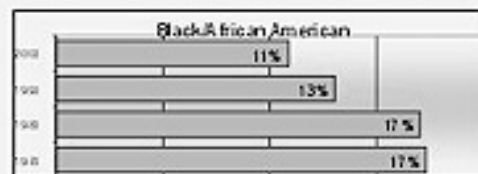
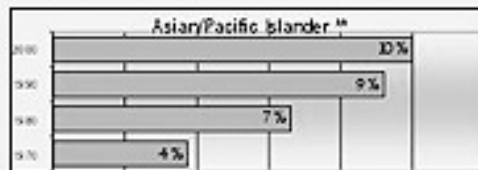
## Document E

# City of Los Angeles Census (2000)

## CITY of LOS ANGELES CENSUS 2000

### Race/Ethnicity Composition 1970 - 2000

Census year	1970	1980	1990	2000
Asian/Pacific Islander	104,937	195,997	320,668	369,334
Black/African American	486,674	504,674	454,289	401,986
Hispanic-Latino or other	519,842	816,331	1,401,063	1,728,138
Native American	9,350	16,594	9,774	8,897
White-non Hispanic	1,691,296	1,432,459	1,299,604	1,099,188
Multi-Racial (added in 2000) ***				87,277
<b>Total population</b>	<b>2,811,801</b>	<b>2,966,850</b>	<b>3,485,398</b>	<b>3,694,820</b>



- \* The category "Hispanic-Latino" was known as "spanish surname" prior to 1980.
- \*\* Asian and Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander is reported as combined prior to 2000.
- \*\*\* New category added in 2000.

## **Graph/Chart Dependent Questions – Document E**

1. What was the racial composition of Los Angeles in 1970 based on numbers? (list from the highest to the lowest)
2. If these numbers reflected voters who voted along racial lines, who would have won the mayor's election in 1973?
3. Based on this information, how was Tom Bradley able to win the mayor's election in 1973?
4. Between 1970 and 1980, how did the numbers for Hispanic and White –non Hispanic change? (be specific about the numbers)
5. What were the implications of these changes for the mayoral elections in the '80s?

## Document F

# ***Politics in Black and White: Race and Power in Los Angeles*** (Excerpt)

By Raphael Sonenshein

THE 1973 MAYORAL ELECTION 109

**TABLE 7.5**

Mayoral Vote in General Election in Four Key Council Districts, 1973

		<i>Bradley Vote (%)</i>	<i>Total Votes Cast (N)</i>	<i>Bradley Margin (N)</i>
5th	White liberal/Jewish	58	74,456	12,697
8th	Black	91	49,324	41,282
12th	White conservative	44	58,643	-6,396
14th	Latino/moderate white	44	30,705	-3,030

Source: Same as Table 7.3.

The two-track strategy had worked. The quiet mobilization of the Black community, conducted without citywide media coverage, had not generated a white counter-mobilization. In fact, Bradley received a remarkable 46 percent of the white vote, and a bare majority of the Latino vote (Halley, Acock, and Greene 1976). Since white votes include Jews, Latinos were significantly more pro-Bradley than white Gentiles. The council district analysis surely underestimates Bradley's Latino vote.

While there was plenty of evidence that a core anti-Bradley vote had come from lower-middle-class whites in the San Fernando Valley, the behavior of the Twelfth District shows that the most potent anti-Bradley conservative base comprised affluent white conservatives. In both 1969 and 1973, the strongest and most active base for Yorty was the Twelfth.

Where had Bradley's Latino votes come from? Hahn, Klingman, and Pacnon (1976:515) found that "in predominantly Chicano areas, as income and education increased, the vote for Bradley seemed to decline." The same pattern had emerged in 1969, as better-off Latinos had seemed less amenable to the coalition-of-minorities argument (Hahn and Almy 1971; Maullin 1971). Some evidence indicated that if a [Black-Latino coalition was emerging in Los Angeles, it was a class coalition of the economically dispossessed.

Among whites, the reverse effect appeared. To a greater degree than in 1969, the white vote for Bradley was associated with increasing income and education. Hahn, Klingman, and Pachon (1976:517) concluded that in 1969 "in white areas of the city Bradley appeared to draw relatively undifferentiated support that was only marginally related to social status. In 1973, however, this association was enhanced markedly as he became an increasingly legitimate and viable challenger to the incumbent mayor."

Halley, Acock, and Greene (1976) found evidence for the same conclusion, showing that even among non-Jews, there was more support for Bradley.

Sonenshein, Raphael. *Politics in Black and White: Race and Power in Los Angeles*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

## **Text Dependent Questions – Document F**

1. Which groups voted for Tom Bradley in 1973?
2. What percent of the white vote picked Tom Bradley for mayor?
3. According to the author, what were the qualities of the Bradley supporters who were white?
4. According to the author, what unified the Black-Latino coalition?
5. What does it mean to be "economically dispossessed"?

## Document G

# Interview with Tom Bradley, 1973

(During Tom Bradley's first term as mayor)

**INTERVIEWER:** What is it about you and about this city that enabled you, a black man to be elected mayor and the other cities where blacks have sort of just chief executives, the population of blacks is much, much higher than it is in Los Angeles, what is it about LA and you that makes this here and now for Tom Bradley?

**BRADLEY:** First of all I think that the people of Los Angeles are really a very special kind of people in this whole country. I think that uh the flexibility that we find here is in part attributed to the fact that so many people have come from other parts of the country and other parts of the world and uh they've not been hung up on some of the traditions and patterns former communities I think that's part of it. Furthermore I think they were willing to listen and uh I think lastly the fact that uh I served for ten years in public office and in all those ten years I've never served as though I were a black man or that the problems were black problems, I've tried to serve all the people of the city.

**INTERVIEWER:** Certainly those of us who live here know you, feel we know you fairly well but people across the country really don't yet, how would describe Tom Bradley, who are you, how did you get here?

**BRADLEY:** Well I'm a very complex man I think as most people are some people try to describe me as a liberal, others something else but I think its impossible to describe a man in one term. On fiscal matters I'm considered conservative, very careful about spending the tax payers dollars on uh human matters I'm uh considered liberal uh in other I'm a moderate so it's very difficult to describe me in one word. I believe that most of all I'm the kind of person who cares, who listens who, who tries to serve and uh I guess that has been a pattern in my life.

[End of first interview segment]

**INTERVIEWER:** In this city as virtually all the others in the country the catch phrase: Crime in the streets, people are very worried. So as a former policeman what are some of your answers to better law enforcement, better safety for citizens?

**BRADLEY:** Well we can never hire enough policemen to uh totally saturate communities and to thereby control crime so we have to do a number of things. One of them is uh developing a better uh sense of respect between law enforcement and the

community, getting the community involved in uh fighting crime. But I think beyond that uh finding the better priorities uh for assigned uh personnel is essential. Taking police officers uh away from non-police functions and civilianizing those jobs will permit us to put more policemen on the street. Finally I think we really have to look at the long term causes of crime if we're ever going to get a handle on this problem and that goes all the way back top uh preschool training, early psychological testing and some programs of education that are going to bring success to youngsters.

**INTERVIEWER:** How do you feel Watergate has effected the political climate in this country and the average citizens attitude towards the politician, towards you a politician even though you're of the opposition party, what has happened, what effect has this had?

**BRADLEY:** A tremendous impact on the people of this country and I think the young people in particular some of whom just feel that the system uh is no longer relevant that it's, it's filled with corruption and many have simply said I just don't want to have anything to do with it, they're all bad. Obviously we know that there are some good people in government and I think we need to encourage more to come in I think we need them in particular to encourage young people to come in. I think that maybe one of the bright spots of uh the election of Los Angeles because there are many people who felt uh encouraged by what happened here, here was a situation in which uh there was a clear contrast between the styles of the two candidates and between the records and the proposals of the two candidates and then the additional factor of race was injected and the voters cut through all that and made their choice uh without regard to race and without regard to a lot of other things that had turned people off I think that there is some hope in that and perhaps it can be duplicated around the country I think the whole question of morality in politics is very much on the minds of people now and if we can somehow learn from the Watergate experience and use that to launch a, a, a new direction a new, new thrust in terms of the quality, the kind of uh, ethics that we find in politics this country's gonna be better off for it.

## **Text Dependent Questions – Document G**

1. What factors did Tom Bradley think contributed to his election as Mayor in 1973?
2. What were some of the issues what were important in this election?
3. According to Mayor Bradley, how did the Watergate crisis affect the election?



## Document H

### **Speech by Tom Bradley on Election Night, 1989**

(When he was elected for his final term as mayor)

Thank you. Ethel and I thank you for your patience. We thank you for your confidence and we thank you for the help you've given over these last many months. Tonight you proved that you are the ones who make the difference you hung in there till the end. I've learned something in this election, I hope all of you my supporters out there, those who came to the polls and those who didn't, I hope they learned as well. My principle is never take anything for granted. I'm grateful to the people who voted for me and who gave us this victory. In all candor I have to tell you I made a mistake during the campaign I didn't wage the kind of vigorous all out effort I could have or should have but tonight I pledge this: during the next four years I will be a vigorous all out mayor. [cheering]

I come here tonight not simply to claim victory but to reaffirm my sense of affection and obligation toward the people of Los Angeles. [cheering] I've spent most of my life in service to you as a police officer as a member of the city council and now for a fifth time as mayor of Los Angeles. [cheering] Together we've done extraordinary things, we removed barriers to equal opportunity that's what, we've raised the Olympic flag, we've brought new jobs and prosperity, and prepared Los Angeles for the emerging new economy of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. [cheering] I intend to make the next four years the most active, the most productive and the most progressive in the long history of our city. I will fight to secure the safety of our streets and our neighborhoods. We have already begun the fight.

One thousand new police officers in the past five years and five hundred more starting this July. [cheering] We will make the Los Angeles police department just as big and as strong as it needs to be. We will enforce the ban on semi-automatic weapons, those weapons whose purpose is not hunting but the killing of human beings. This is the only, a beginning of our ideas for the future, we will bolster our anti drug task force which is already arrested over 14,000 drug dealers in the past year alone. We will knock down every crack house and gang haven we can find! [cheering] We will evict drug dealers from rental housing and throw them out of public housing. We will target the leaders of LA's gangs for arrest and prosecution, the tactics that have crippled organized crime on the east coast can disrupt organized gangs on the west coast. We will give every kid a chance to share in our city's prosperity, we've already begun. LA's Best after school education and childcare program has given children in ten schools in our city an alternative to gangs and drugs, now I'm fighting to expand LA's Best to every

elementary school in the city of Los Angeles and we're going to do it! [cheering]

We've also hired hundreds of disadvantaged youth to clean and green our city and we will continue to do it. and I want to give city employees time to participate in their children's education and I want private employers to follow that lead. And this is only the beginning of our ideas for the future. I will soon announce a literacy program that will mobilize every segment of our community to assure every citizen the basic right to read. And I will direct our cities department of water and power, our community redevelopment agency our harbor and our airport departments to hire and train disadvantaged youth to maintain city facilities and beautify our nearby neighborhoods. [cheering] We will protect and enhance our quality of life; many initiatives are already under way. We've ended the dumping of sludge into the Santa Monica Bay and we've started the most ambitious sewer improvement program in the nation. [cheering] We enacted America's toughest water conservation law, we're planting five million new trees, we're completing metro rail and light rail and I'm fighting to remove seventy percent of those big trucks from our city streets during rush hour. [cheering] Yes we're going to do it! And this only the beginning of our ideas for the future. [cheering] We're going to launch a major, a major effort to persuade the state to remove rush hour trucks from our freeways. We'll lead the effort to clean storm drains and protect our bay, we'll create an office of air quality to implement those sixty three points that I've offered as our air quality plan and we'll give upstanding support to the bold initiatives of the air quality management district. We'll work to make the LA river more than just a concrete ditch, along it's banks we'll create a huge recreational open space area laced with bike paths, hiking trails and picnic grounds and we'll implement the masons most extensive recycling law to bring trash separation to every home within three years.

We'll continue to give neighborhoods more control over their destiny. Community planning boards and mobility action committees are empowering people to make important choices for themselves. We are restructuring the planning process to move growth out of overcrowded neighborhoods and into communities that need it. We'll cut development citywide by thirty percent, we are engaging in a vigorous campaign to move new business and new jobs into South Central and East Los Angeles. [cheering] And this is only the beginning of our ideas for the future. [cheering] Alright. [cheering] Alright I'll be here for four more. We have proposed LA's first ever comprehensive landscape ordinance to beautify this city. We'll start a new policy to reward development that combines residences and business so that people can live closer to where they work and so we can improve mobility and air quality. And I'll work to enhance regional cooperation on the key issues of pollution and traffic. I want to provide more affordable housing for our people.

We've started implementing the recommendations of the blue ribbon committee by creating housing partnerships, requiring new commercial developments to fund affordable housing, stopping the demolition of affordable housing and preserving federally subsidized housing units. And this, my friends, is only the beginning of our ideas for the future. I need your support for my plan to spend two billion dollars in redevelopment profit on affordable housing and homeless services. [cheering] This is the most aggressive municipal housing agenda in American history and with your help it will become a reality! [cheering] The next four years will be a time of ideas in Los Angeles, ideas that can change our city for the better. I want major corporations that profit from our prosperity to give something back by providing funding for housing and community services. I want to deliver comprehensive services at our housing project sites including job training and referral and counseling and family literacy centers, my friends I have a far reaching agenda, one that can take us to a future worthy of our past and equal to our potential. [cheering]

Someone tell that fellow the election is over but tonight I again ask the support of all of our people. [chanting Bradley] Alright. I ask your support in our effort to drive the gangs and the drugs and their violence off our streets and out of our communities. [cheering] I ask your support for a bold program that change that will make Los Angeles the most livable city in America. [cheering] I ask your support as we extend the frontiers of opportunity to every neighborhood and every family. I ask your commitment to a diverse city, a priceless mosaic of culture, tradition and hope bound together by its unlimited energy and a common vision. [cheering] And my friends with a full and grateful heart I pledge to do my best for the city I love serving you anew in the job I love as mayor of the city of Los Angeles. Thank you very much! [cheering]

## **Text Dependent Questions – Document H**

1. In the acceptance speech of 1989 (Tom Bradley's last election) what were the accomplishments of his administration that he identified?
2. What were his goals for the upcoming four years?
3. What were key issues that would help minority communities in Los Angeles?

## Document I

### **Bradley's First Year: Power in Mayor's Office Grows**

*(Excerpt)*

By Doug Shuit | *Los Angeles Times* | June 30, 1974

Bradley says he now feels like the “black mayor of Los Angeles” — a significant accomplishment in itself.

“I feel I’m still being washed, but I don’t feel with the same kind of critical, questioning eye that was there in the early stages,” he says.

“I think it was a normal, natural kind of thing: What kind of guy is he? What kind of mayor is he? Will he be fair to everybody? Will he keep his promises? I think those questions have pretty well been settled. I don’t think there is that kind of critical reservation that some may have had.”

Overall, he says, “I’m pleased with the progress we’ve made.”

Though he has moved in many areas, some stand out more than others. Accomplishments include:

Continuing pressure for an adequate mass public transportation system. Bradley played a role, directly or indirectly, in development of a Civic Center subscription bus service, in expansion of Dial-a-Ride service and in creation of a park-and-ride service. He also applied early pressure for a countywide, 25-cent bus fare that was later approved by the Board of Supervisors.

Bradley also was a prime mover in creating an exclusive bus lane on Spring St., in breaking loose highway tax funds for mass transit, and in opening up the city to a competitive taxicab system.

He has been a highly visible force in Sacramento and Washington on transit questions. Much of his activity has centered

on use of highway taxes for mass transit. He served as Southern California chairman of Proposition 5, the initiative approved by voters June 4 to break loose state taxes, and as president of the National League of Cities, he has used the power of that office to fight for the same thing on the federal level.

[...]

Even Bradley’s critics say the mayor won “well deserved praise” for his leadership in creating a carefully formulated and well thought-out energy conservation program when it looked as if the city’s Department of Water and Power would run out of fuel oil.

[...]

—The early and continuing improvement of city relations with state, federal and county governments. This was one of Bradley’s early goals—“We shall add two new sister cities—Washington and Sacramento”” he said in his inaugural address—and he has been successful.

He and his staff have worked closely with both the state and federal governments. And his staff has proven adept at grantsmanship, winning federal grants amounting to millions of dollars for programs involving senior citizens, youth, transportation and the criminal justice system.

## **Text Dependent Questions – Document I**

1. What were the accomplishments of the Bradley administration in his first term?
2. How did Tom Bradley view himself? How do you interpret this new view?

## Yorty, Bradley Sharply Divided in Stands on Major City Issues

Los Angeles Times | 1973

# Yorty, Bradley Sharply Divided in Stands on Major City Issues

Sharp differences on the major issues divide Mayor Sam Yorty and City Councilmen Tom Bradley.

**PLANNING**—Yorty approves of the policies of the City Planning Department and favors development more than Bradley does. Yorty, for example, favors clusters of high-rise buildings in the Santa Monica Mountains along with the proposed mountain park. Bradley just wants the park. Bradley is critical of City Hall plans for an eventual city population of 10 million, insisting population growth must be controlled. Yorty believes growth is necessary to keep the economy expanding.

**OIL**—Yorty favors Occidental Petroleum Corp.'s plan for test drilling for oil at the Pacific Palisades beach. Bradley opposes any drilling within a quarter of a mile of the beach.

**TRANSIT** — Yorty approves of Southern California Rapid Transit District efforts to build a rapid transit system. Bradley says such efforts have failed and insists the RTD should be replaced by an agency that would actually start building a system. Yorty says he has little power over transit because he has only two appointees on the 11-man RTD board. Bradley says he would use his political leadership to lobby in Washington and Sacramento for the funds needed for a rail rapid transit system.

**POWER OF THE MAYOR**—Yorty views his office as being limited by the City Charter and by the fact that the Los Angeles area is covered by many other government agencies — independent school boards, the transit district, other city governments and the like. He

Bradley says the mayorality is a much more powerful office than Yorty admits. He says he would change the direction of city government by appointing commissioners who share his views on planning and other issues. City departments are headed by boards of commissioners. Bradley says the mayor should also exercise political leadership by working with other governing boards, like the Los Angeles city Board of Education.

**PERFORMANCE OF CITY GOVERNMENT** — Yorty says Los Angeles is the best governed large city in the nation and praises each of the city's departments. Bradley says the city could be governed better.

One difference between the two in this area is the harbor. Yorty says the city-operated harbor is a success due, in part, to his

## **Text Dependent Questions – Document J**

1. How did the views of the mayoral candidates differ on oil, planning and the power of the mayor?
2. How was Bradley going to push forward the plans for rapid transit?

## Yorty, Bradley Level Heavy Charges as Election Nears

Los Angeles Times | 1973

# Yorty, Bradley Level Heavy Charges as Election Nears

### Councilman Characterizes Foe as 'Dirty'

BY CARL GREENBERG  
Times Political Writer

City Councilman Tom Bradley, holding his last news conference before Tuesday's mayoral election, said Wednesday that if he had to use one word to characterize Mayor Sam Yorty it would be "dirty."

The runoff contender for Yorty's seat made the statement in response to a reporter's question.

At another time during his press conference Bradley referred to Yorty as a "scurrilous politician" who has "no regard for the truth."

Discussing whether his chances Tuesday are any better than they were four years ago when he ran unsuccessfully against Yorty, the councilman said the people have been watching him (Bradley) for four years, "they're looking at Watergate every day" and can recognize Yorty's campaign tactics.

Glancing at a formal statement

### YORTY LETTER TO WHITES WARNS OF 'BLACK BLOC' VOTE

BY BILL BOYARSKY  
Times Political Writer

Mayor Sam Yorty, who has said he is not running a racist campaign, has signed letters mailed to Los Angeles voters warning of a massive "black bloc" vote from Watts that could turn the city over to "radical elements."

Voters in the predominantly white Reseda, Brentwood, Pacific Palisades, Sunland-Tujunga, Van Nuys, Hollywood and Highland Park areas reported receiving the letter Wednesday. Typed by a computer and signed "Sam Yorty," it is designed to look like a telegram.

Bill Walker, Yorty's press secretary, said Yorty signed the letter. Bob Gouty, his campaign director, said it was mailed by the campaign organization.

"It is not a racist appeal at all," Gouty said. "It is just a fact of the election."

At press conferences and in speeches, Yorty has strongly insisted that he is not conducting a campaign designed to inflame racial

### Mayor Calls His Opponent a Left-Winger

BY RICHARD BERGHOLZ  
Times Political Writer

Mayor Sam Yorty Wednesday labeled his mayoral election opponent, Councilman Tom Bradley, as a "radical left-winger" and "sort of a black nationalist."

In a sometimes dramatic shouting match with newsmen in his last regular City Hall news conference before next Tuesday's election, the mayor hammered hard at what he said was Bradley's identification with Black Panther supporters and said the voters ought to be concerned about Bradley's connections when they go to the polls.

Yorty charged that John Floyd, whom he identified as an organizer of the Black Panther Party here, currently is working in the Bradley campaign. And he repeated that Huey Newton, Black Panther defense minister, had endorsed Bradley's candidacy last Sunday.

Bradley has repudiated Newton's endorsement and said he is opposed



## **Text Dependent Questions – Document K**

1. How did these headlines and lead paragraphs reflect the intensity of the mayoral campaign?
2. What did the candidates accuse each other of doing?
3. How did Mayor Yorty try to influence voters to support him?

See full articles on the following pages

# Councilman Characterizes Foe as 'Dirty'

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Discussing whether his chances Tuesday are any better than they were four years ago when he ran unsuccessfully against Yorty, the councilman said the people have been watching him (Bradley) for four years, "they're looking at Watergate every day" and can recognize Yorty's campaign tactics.

Glancing at a formal statement summarizing his goals, Bradley said his "No. 1 priority will be the fight against crime" and to "get Los Angeles moving on a rapid transit system after 12 years of neglect and lackadaisical leadership from Sam Yorty."

He said Yorty had promised to act on rapid transit when he first became mayor 12 years ago and that it was "absolutely reprehensible" that Yorty had failed to "prod" rapid transit authorities to action.

## Action Within 18 Months

Bradley's statement said that he would "start the construction of a high-speed (rapid transit) system within 18 months of the day he takes office."

The candidate declared he wants "to move on reduction of duplication and waste" involving 48 city departments and agencies, but that this would not involve removing any employees — that reductions in personnel would be achieved through attrition.

He would appoint a blue-ribbon Little Hoover commission to propose means of streamlining city government, and would include among its members representatives of organized labor, the business community and homeowners' groups, Bradley said.

"I'm promising that I'll come in with a balanced budget. I'm going to find those items which can be cut; we ought to be holding the line . . . it doesn't necessarily mean you're going to fire anybody," the councilman said.

Bradley cited three city employee retirement systems and eight salary-fixing authorities as areas that could be consolidated to eliminate duplication.

"When we're talking about spending tax dollars, there's no way that government can afford the luxury and waste of additional workers and programs that aren't needed," Bradley stated.

Slapping at Yorty's frequent trips out of the country, Bradley said, "You won't find me out of town one year out of four years. Our problems



# YORTY LETTER TO WHITES WARNS OF 'BLACK BLOC' VOTE

BY BILL BOYARSKY

Times Political Writer

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**Please Turn to Back Page, Col. 1**

# YORTY LETTER

Continued from First Page

feelings against his opponent, City Councilman Tom Bradley, who is black. He often uses the "black bloc vote" phrase, but says he is merely stating a fact, not indulging in racism.

But Nelson Rising, a Bradley campaign aide, said the letter was designed to appeal to racial feelings. "Black bloc vote is obviously a code word," he said.

"A smear, it is nothing but a smear," he said. "The black vote is only 15% of the vote. You are not going to win an election with 15% of the vote."

"Two weeks ago Tom asked him to sign a fair campaign practices pledge and he wouldn't. It is easy to see why not."

The wording of the letter was the same, no matter where it was sent, except that those sent to Republicans had a sentence pointing out Yorty was endorsed by the Los Angeles County Republican Central Committee.

The letter said: "The April 3 primary saw extremely low turnout in (the name of the district to which it was sent). In comparison Watts had a

phenomenally high turnout. Black bloc vote went massively for Bradley."

"Radical elements could control our Police Department and city services as in Berkeley. Examine the Tom Bradley record and judge for yourself. I need your support, Mrs.—, and the support of your friends in (the name of the district to which it was sent) on May 29. If we are to win, maximum turnout in (the district to which it was sent) and similar areas is vital. Please vote to protect your Police Department, city services and tax rate." Sam Yorty.

## Telephone Complaints

Several telephone calls were received by The Times complaining about the letter.

"Frankly we were leaning toward Yorty until this came out," said William F. Leighton of the Wilshire District. "We voted in the primary for (former Police Chief) Tom Reddin."

"I didn't care for it," said Mrs. Gary Hilditch of Reseda. "My neighbor thought it was a bunch of junk." She said she had been undecided about the election "but now will vote for Bradley."



# Mayor Calls His Opponent a Left-Winger

BY RICHARD BERGHOLZ

Times Political Writer

Mayor Sam Yorty Wednesday labeled his mayoral election opponent, Councilman Tom Bradley, as a "radical left-winger" and "sort of a black nationalist."

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Yorty charged that John Floyd, whom he identified as an organizer of the Black Panther Party here, currently is working in the Bradley campaign. And he repeated that Huey Newton, Black Panther defense minister, had endorsed Bradley's candidacy last Sunday.

Bradley has repudiated Newton's endorsement and said he is opposed to most of what the militant black group stands for.

## Also Worked for Busch

Floyd, a political activist who said he worked for Dist. Atty. Joseph P. Busch's campaign last year, acknowledged later that he was one of a group which attempted to incorporate and organize the Black Panther Party of California, Inc., in 1967 as an effort to get blacks active in politics, but said that the organization fizzled out.

Floyd said the party he had hoped to get started was "quite different" from the militancy and violence of the Black Panthers for Self-Defense, headed by Eldridge Cleaver, Bobby Seale and Newton, and said he never had any association with that group.

Yorty, speaking with relative calm during some of the more heated questioning, quoted news stories identifying Floyd with the Black Panther Party of California, Inc., and said he believes that if Floyd is working for Bradley and Newton has endorsed Bradley, "that makes him sort of a black nationalist, yes, he certainly is."

When asked what evidence he has to show that Bradley "shares the philosophy of the Black Panthers or the black nationalists," the mayor replied:

"Now just keep your voice down.

"They (Black Panthers) have been very antipolice and so has he. We have plenty of records. . . You may not like to hear it, but it's true."

## Bradley Is Ex-Policeman

Bradley served as a policeman for 21 years, retiring as a lieutenant, and has made his police record a cornerstone of his campaign this year. Yorty repeatedly has contended Bradley has fought with past police chiefs and has opposed the Police Department in City Council votes.



## Yorty, Bradley Revert to Slam-Bang Debating

*Los Angeles Times* | 1973

# Yorty, Bradley Revert to Slam-Bang Debating

**Councilman Calls Rivals Campaign 'Vicious;'  
Mayor Says Foe Dodges Police Chief Issue**

**BY RICHARD BERGHOLZ**

*Times Political Writer*

Councilman Tom Bradley charged Monday that Mayor Sam Yorty had reverted to the "vicious, scurrilous, big-lie technique" that characterized his reelection campaign four years ago, while Yorty accused Bradley of refusing to answer charges that he has fought with recent police chiefs.

The two candidates for mayor in the May 29 election returned to slam-bang charge and counter-charge in an appearance at the Westside Jewish Community Center, after conducting a relatively high-level discussion of issues in their most recent televised debate Sunday.

Bradley said Yorty's television commercials, which began Monday, accused Max Palevsky, the Bradley campaign chairman, of saying in an interview that most whites were "racist" by nature and that he was "very down" on this society.

The councilman said the commercials "slander" Palevsky with statements he never made and said Yorty

and said that the mayor had "total responsibility" for purse snatchings, robberies, burglaries and other acts of violence that have particularly plagued the Jewish community.

"You can't show your support of the police merely by press releases," Bradley said.

Yorty, in his opening statement, responded that Bradley has had no administrative experience and then launched into a recitation of what he said were his efforts to appoint Jews to city boards and commissions.

He said Bradley "thinks he knows more about how to run the Police Department than the police chief"—and was interrupted at that point by a listener who commented, "Maybe he does."

"Bradley has practically no support in the Police Department (in his mayoral campaign)," Yorty said, repeating his contention that Bradley "hid himself out on an around-the-world trip while we were here fighting the riots" in South-Central Los Angeles in 1965.

## **Text Dependent Questions – Document L**

1. What charges did the candidates throw at each other in this article?
2. How did the article illustrate some of the issues of the campaign?

## Document M

Los Angeles Times | 1969



# Student Handout 1

## **Comparison Graphic Organizer**

Directions: Compare the biography of Tom Bradley with the Module 2 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 2
What issues faced Tom Bradley in his first campaign for the office of mayor?		
What methods did Tom Bradley use to build voting coalitions to support his run for the mayor's office in 1973?		
What were Tom Bradley's accomplishments as a 5-term Mayor?		



## Student Handout 2

### **Document Analysis Worksheet**

As you analyze documents **A, B, C, E, F, J, K, L, and M**, 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 <b>campaign issues</b> or <b>voter turnout</b> ?	What questions does this document bring to mind? Write one question for each document
<b>A</b>			
<b>B</b>			

C			
E			
F			
J			

K			
L			
M			

# 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

Para- graph 1	Historical Context: 1-2 sentence summary of topic		I N T R O
	Thesis: Your main argument or idea that you will support.		
Para- graph 2	Main Idea	Topic Sentence	B O D Y
		Supporting Detail/Evidence	
		Supporting Detail/Evidence	
		Analysis	
		Concluding Sentence	
Para- graph 3	Main Idea	Topic Sentence	
		Supporting Detail/Evidence	
		Supporting Detail/Evidence	

Para-graph 4		Analysis		B O D Y
		Concluding Sentence		
	<u>Main Idea</u>	Topic Sentence		
		Supporting Detail/Evidence		
		Supporting Detail/Evidence		
		Analysis		
Para-graph 5		Concluding Sentence		C O N C L U S I O N
	<u>Restate Thesis</u>			
	<u>Review Main Points</u>			
	<u>Final Thought</u>			

# Student Handout 6

## 12<sup>TH</sup> GRADE ESSAY RUBRIC

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