

Rebuilding Los Angeles: A Lesson of Community Reconstruction

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Table of Contents

I.	Introduction to Study	
	Background.....	1
	Civil Unrest.....	4
II.	Watts Explained, 1965	
	Before the Revolt.....	5
	Police Brutality	8
	The Revolt.....	9
	Causes and Aftermath.....	10
	McCone Report.....	12
III.	Another Revolt 1992	
	Pre 1992 Los Angeles.....	14
	Continued Police Abuse.....	15
	Civil Unrest Revisited.....	20
IV.	The Aftermath and Rebuilding Efforts 1992-1996	
	Peter Ueberroth.....	22
	RLA Board of Directors.....	23
	Operating Officers.....	24
	Goals and Intentions of RLA.....	28
	Financial Commitments to RLA.....	31
	Ueberroth Steps Down (1993)	34
	Post Ueberroth	35
	RLA Refocuses under Linda Griego (1994-96).....	37
	Mandate Over-Final Thoughts.....	43
V.	References.....	48
VI.	Appendices	
	A. Pre-1992 Time Line.....	52
	B. RLA Time Line.....	60
	C. RLA Task Forces, 1992.....	65
	D. Resigning Board Members, July 1994.....	66
	E. Photos.....	67

“Historians of the Black Urban experience have concentrated on New York and Chicago, tending to ignore the nation’s second largest city, Los Angeles, yet the events in 1965 and 1992, the evolutionary rap music, the proliferation of gangs, sensational trials, and the growth of various forms of nationalism suggest that LA is a city worthy of deeper investigation.” Gerald Horne 1995

Background

In August of 1965, following the arrest of a Black motorist, violence erupted in the streets of Los Angeles resulting in 34 deaths, 1,032 injuries, 40 million dollars in damages (183 million in 1992 dollars), 3,952 arrests, and 600 damaged structures (Di Pasque and Glaeser 1996:2). What started in Watts, resulted in the worst urban revolt in contemporary American history in structures damaged, costs and loss of life.¹ Collectively, the Watts riot surpassed all of the nation’s riots of 1964 that occurred in New York City, Rochester, Jersey City, Paterson, Elizabeth, Chicago, and Philadelphia in loss of life, injuries, arrests, and structures damaged (Fogelson 1988:2). The National Guard were called in, and six days later, on August 16, 1965 the revolt came an end. It would take two massive strikes by Blacks during 1967 in Newark and Detroit to overshadow the Watts Riots, but it would still remain a significant episode in the Black Revolution period of the 1960s, as it became the focus of several analyses and studies to follow (Boskin 1976:173). Additionally, the Watts and Los Angeles uprising was so perplexing to many because Blacks in Los Angeles were ranked first among sixty-eight cities in quality of life and in 1964 an Urban League study analyzing aspects of life among Los Angeles Blacks stated that housing, employment, and income were highly ranked compared to other cities for Blacks (Fogelson 1988:3).

Twenty-seven years later, civil unrest would revisit Los Angeles, and once again earn its place in history as the worst urban revolt in American history. On April 29,

1992, following the not guilty verdicts of four Los Angeles Police Officers (LAPD) accused of beating motorist Rodney King excessively, violence erupted at the intersection of Florence and Normandie in South Los Angeles. At the same time, individuals at the corner of 67th Street and 11th Avenue were revolting against passer-bys and motorists (Morrison and Lowry 1993:31). Black residents were outraged that four LAPD officers received not guilty verdicts from an all white jury in Simi Valley, despite compelling video tape evidence of the beating of Rodney King, and the testimony by veteran police officers on behalf of the prosecution. From April 29, 1992 at approximately 3:30 p.m. until May 1st, the violence raged on. The heavily militarized National Guard was called in by Governor Pete Wilson to bring calm to the city, and by Friday afternoon the violence and looting were subdued.

The most violent US urban revolt of the twentieth century resulted in 52 deaths, 2,499 injuries, 6,559 arrests, 1,120 building damaged, 2,314 stores damaged and close to 1 billion in damages (See Dun and Bradstreet; DiPasquale and Glaeser 1996). The following day, on a Saturday, Peter Ueberroth accepted Mayor Tom Bradley's appointment to head the newly formed non-profit organization dubbed *Rebuild L.A.*² to revitalize the ravaged sections of South Los Angeles. He vowed to create sustainable jobs in South Los Angeles by getting corporations to make long term commitments to the damaged areas. This organization was described by the mayor's office as an "extra-governmental task force" to rebuild Los Angeles (Clifford and Schwada 1992), and if

¹ In 1863, the Draft Riots of New York City resulted in 104 deaths and is considered the most violent revolt in US History.

² Rebuild LA was officially renamed RLA in January 1993 concurring with the theme "Our LA." For the rest of this paper the non-profit organization will be referred to as RLA.

successful, transform neighborhoods known for providing mostly service sector jobs to areas of industry and manufacturing, utilizing trained workers.

This article is going to focus on the rebuilding efforts of RLA, from its inception in 1992 under the leadership of Ueberroth, to when it dissolved in 1996 under the leadership of Linda Griego. During its five-year existence, RLA maintained a board of directors numbering between forty to ninety-six members. By the second year of operation, residents and board members publicly voiced dissatisfaction with the non-profit entity. Many were skeptical of having Ueberroth head RLA, as a White, outsider and Orange County resident living in Laguna Beach and operating a travel firm in Newport Beach. He was viewed as disconnect to the issues of South Los Angeles lacking sufficient understanding of the neighborhoods that he was attempting to revitalize. The agency had also come under fire from critics who said it had failed to reach out sufficiently to the community and grass-roots organizations. Ueberroth stepped down as an RLA co-chair in May 1993, just one year after its beginning. By February of 1994, RLA's new leadership team of Arco Chief Executive Officer Lodwick M. Cook and former Deputy Mayor Linda Griego were officially elected by the ninety-six member Board of Directors. Even though RLA narrowed its focus under the new leadership, Police Chief Willie L. Williams, City Councilman Mark Ridley-Thomas and Southern California Edison Chairman John Bryson resigned among others, as members of the nonprofit rebuilding agency while they publicly voiced dissatisfaction with the lack of progress of RLA. In 1996, RLA dissolved a few months prior to its five-year mandate, turning over its databases and \$200,000 in cash to the nine-campus Los Angeles Community College District. The new college agency, Community Development

Technologies Center, moved into RLA's offices, and is being headed by Denise Fairchild.

Before going into a discussion about the role of RLA in the aftermath of the 1992 civil disturbances, an analysis of the events that lead to both the 1965 and 1992 civil unrest will be considered. In addition, a discussion into the root causes and the responses to both uprisings will be examined.

Civil Unrest

The situations that precipitated the events in Los Angeles, both in 1965 and 1992 were generated by allegations of police brutality and excessive force. In the case of 1992, the civil unrest did not materialize until the following year immediately following the not guilty verdicts of four LAPD officers arrested on charges of police brutality. In 1965, people took to the streets of Watts in protest the day following police abuses after the arrest of motorist, Marquette Frye on 116th Street and Avalon. All of the seven racial riots of 1964 were also sparked by an incident of excessive force of a local law enforcement agency.

Police brutality had played a significant role in the onset of racial and ethnic revolt in the US but several other processes have contributed to these incidents as well. The Otto Kerner Commission of 1968 stated that police actions led to outbreaks in half of the cases studied, but social polarization, high unemployment rates among minorities, and increasing poverty levels, had created a volatile climate in both the 1965 and 1992 unrests of Los Angeles. In several revolts in the US, police brutality served as the climax in a long series of racial prejudices and discriminatory practices that marginalized ethnic minorities.

II. Watts Explained, 1965

Before the Revolt

In 1890 there were 1,258 Black residents in Los Angeles, but their numbers rapidly increased from 1910 to 1920 nearly doubling to accommodate the labor needs of World War I. (Table 1). As the Black population in LA began to grow during the beginning of the twentieth century, “Negorphobia” increased concomitantly (Horne 1995: 26). The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) made its beginnings in Watts near 109th Street and Central Avenue, perhaps as early as 1918 (Adler 1976:179), but their attention was focused mostly towards a growing Asian population. In 1920, eighty percent of the Black population in Los Angeles lived in the Central Avenue corridor near Vernon Avenue, but they started to migrate south into Watts, a town named after C. H. Watts, a Pasadena real estate and insurance man who also operated a livery. Watts was west of three predominately White municipalities, South Gate, Lynwood, and Bell and to the south was Compton, which had one Black resident in 1930 (Horne 1995:27), and to the north was an area covered by racially restrictive covenants, from Slauson Avenue to 92nd Street (See Bond 1936; Davis 1990:273; Dymski and Veitch 1996:40).

Angelenos began referring to Watts as “Nigger Heaven” as a substantial population began to develop (Bunch 1990:115) and during the early 1920s, Black residents drew the attention of the KKK as Walter P. Knox, a Black candidate for the Board of Trustees won an election in 1922. There was a fear that Watts, a developing Black township, would continue to elect Black leadership under the 1925 endorsement of returning to council districts but in 1926, that idea was halted, as there was a referendum allowing Los Angeles to annex Watts with support of the KKK, thus diluting the black

Table 1. Black Population in the City of Los Angeles, 1890-1960

Year	Population	Percent population Black	Increase	Percent Increase
1890	1,258	1.2	-	-
1900	2,131	2.1	873	42.3
1910	7,599	2.4	5,468	256.6
1920	15,579	2.7	7,980	105.0
1930				
1940	55,114	3.66		
1944	118,888		63,774	115.7
1950	171,421	8.7	52,533	44.2
1960	334,667	13.5	163,246	95.2

population and removing any political power that Black residents in Watts held. The annexation prevented the further electoral selection of a Black local government (Hahn 1996:78) and resentment from the KKK and its supporters against Black residents resulted in several racial conflicts. In the years to follow Watts became socially and racially segregated without a political voice.

During the 1940s, California received the largest decennial Black population increase of any state in the nation's history, which prompted a radical change and disorientation in neighborhoods and local institutions in LA (Horne 1995: 31). There was over a 100 percent population increase from 1940 to 1944 (Table 1), and ethnic and racial paranoia began to develop among the Anglo residents of Los Angeles. In 1943, the Service Man's Riots, also known as the Zoot Suit Riots, erupted when Chicanos, were brutally beaten by groups of sailors and soldiers stationed in the area. The servicemen roamed the streets of Los Angeles seeking out and attacking those they thought were zootsuiters. With LAPD and Sheriff's Deputies looking on, attacks against Mexican-Americans continued from June 1 until June 7. A citizens committee found that these

riots were caused principally by racial prejudice that was stimulated by police practices and inflammatory newspaper reporting.

Blacks moving to LA during this time continued to settle in established Black communities, as west of Broadway and east of Alameda remained off limits, as did the expanding suburban areas. Housing segregation and restrictive covenants kept Blacks from moving outside the areas of Central Avenue and Watts. Chronic overcrowding was taking a toll, and housing congestion became a serious problem as Blacks were forced to live in substandard housing (Collins 1980:26).

Job opportunities were plentiful as industrial expansion created thousands of employment opportunities in Southern California. As men started to enter the armed forces, there was a labor shortage that allowed Blacks to enter the work force in production. Blacks were hired in the shipyards, steelyards, rubber industry, and aircraft industry, industries which previously excluded Blacks from employment. For example, Lock-Head plant went from 600 Black workers in 1942 to 2,500 in 1943, and several other industries had comparable increases. As the war came to an end, employment opportunities for Blacks began to wane. During post wartime, jobs continued to boom, but for Blacks the opportunities began to decline. The postwar boom did not accept Blacks, and in due time they composed a disproportionate amount of the unemployed in California. In 1950, the unemployment rate in the state of California was 8.5 percent, while Black workers composed 14.2 percent of the unemployed. The further migration of Blacks into Los Angeles further exacerbated both employment and housing conditions.

Residential segregation was becoming a serious issue for Black residents who had been restricted to approximately five percent of the residential area in 1940 (Collins

1980:26). Although the Black population doubled during the early 1940s, they were still residentially restricted to the same geographic area. In 1945, Blacks attempted to move to nearby Willowbrook with little success and from 1945-1948, Black residents continually challenged restrictive covenants in several court cases, resulting in violent clashes between Whites and Blacks (Collins 1980:30). By 1947, as several Black families moved into areas once restricted, housing congestion and overcrowding were slowly dissipating, but Blacks often complained about paying higher rents than Whites in these communities. Real estate agents often exploited “white flight” by charging Blacks more for housing that agents knew was so desperately needed. The enforcement of restrictive covenants were slowly fading, and in 1948, the US Supreme Court ruled that they were unconstitutional.

As the housing shortage was significantly reduced by the decline in residential segregation, Blacks were still restricted from acquiring property in the developing suburban areas of Los Angeles, and the relationship between Blacks and the police department became a principal source of discrimination.

Police Brutality

In 1950, William Parker was appointed chief of the Los Angeles Police Department. He was a native of South Dakota and arrived in Southern California in 1927. He earned a law degree and served in World War II and was known for his tough approach towards law enforcement and his insensitivity towards Blacks and Latinos. He was once quoted as saying that you cannot ignore the genes in the behavior pattern of people (Cannon 1997:137). His major weakness as chief was his preference for law and order over social reform. Parker was not concerned why certain groups indulged in

crime, but just in maintaining order (Bollens and Geyer 1973:131). He often resorted to using illegal methods of police investigation to solve crime, and he was highly criticized by Governor Edmund Brown and Los Angeles District Attorney S. Ernest Roll, for his entrapment and intimidation methods (Tyler 1983:124-138). California State Supreme Court Justice Roger Traynor admonished Parker in court and warned that his methods must be in accordance with constitution of the United States and California.

Because of this insensitivity towards racial minority, many have stated that Parker's attitude towards Blacks during the 1950s and early 1960s was responsible for the rebellion of 1965. He had a precarious view of the civil rights movement, and was naïve to realizing that LAPD tactics contributed to a decline in race relations in the city (Cannon: 1997:69). Parker assumed no responsibility for the events that led to the outbreak, and was unapologetic at the McCone Commission hearing, placing blame on the California Highway Patrol's (CHP) handling of the arrest that sparked the revolt. Throughout his sixteen year tenure, up until his death, no authority was able to control the actions of Parker and the LAPD (Tyler 1983:136).

The Revolt

On August 11, 1965, Lee Minikus, a White CHP officer pulled over 21-year-old Marquette Frye, a Black male, along with older brother Ronald, 22, two blocks from their home. The officer administered a sobriety test and at approximately 7:05 p.m., about 5 minutes later, placed Frye under arrest for failing the test. Frye's mother approached the scene as her son was being taken into custody to retrieve the vehicle. Residents sitting on their porches observed the commotion and slowly assembled into a crowd as Frye was protesting his arrest. Mrs. Frye became agitated after the CHP officer denied her access

to her son's vehicle, and according to the McCone report, "she jumped on the back of one of the police officers." The CHP radioed for assistance from the LAPD, and when they arrived the crowd of discontented Blacks numbered more than 1,000. In the course of arresting Frye, along with his brother and mother who were both objecting to the police action, the officers resorted to more force than many of the bystanders thought was necessary.

As the officers left the scene at 7:25 p.m., the spectators became transformed into a hostile mob. As the police cars departed, youths began to pelt the vehicles with rocks and bottles. They continued to harass other traffic passing through the area as the police stayed outside the area, hoping that it would cool down. By midnight, the hostile crowd grew to 1,500. After following a lull of activity, a full scale revolt broke-out the following evening covering a forty-six square mile area well beyond Watts and lasting six days. Thirty-four people were killed and the damages amounted to \$40 million dollars.

Causes and Aftermath

There were many causes for the revolt in Watts and the surrounding communities in August of 1965. It appears that the main factors contributing to the revolt were those that added to growing racial tensions following WWII. The first would be a change in employment opportunities after WWII that affected the period from 1950-1965. In 1965 the unemployment rate of 10 percent among Blacks was nearly doubled than that of the entire metropolitan area and of the entire state that was at 5.4 percent (US Census 1966: 17). Not being able to expand residentially from outside the original settlement locations of the Black ghetto was a cause for racial tensions which saw some changes in the 1950s,

but illegal forms of restrictive covenants was still practiced. Also complaints against police brutality beginning in 1950 was adding to the hostile racial climate of South Los Angeles as William Parker was appointed new chief of the LAPD.

The assassinations of President Kennedy in 1963 was a major set back for Blacks all over the US, as Kennedy began to devote himself to the civil rights movement. His successor, Lyndon B. Johnson instituted new federal anti-poverty programs in an effort to win the War on Poverty and included Blacks into the “Great Society.” Federal monies earmarked for LA, were being retained, as LA bureaucrats and Mayor Sam Yorty resisted federal funds to help poor and minority residents. Attention on the War on Poverty was being diverted towards the war in Vietnam, and funds towards Johnson’s program were redirected.

Another incident that fueled controversy in LA was the passing of California Proposition 14 in November 1964. Previously in June, Congress passed the National Civil Rights Act, a bill with eleven titles including barring discrimination in public accommodations, prohibiting private employers from refusing to hire or fire any person because of race, color, sex, religion, or nation origin, and the desegregation of public facilities and schools. Five months later, California voters overwhelmingly approved Proposition 14, an amendment that voided fair housing laws. The passing of this bill was considered an attack on the Civil Rights Act, as Proposition 14 clearly violated federal civil rights law. This bill widened the racial divide between Black and White relations in Los Angeles. With several incidents of police brutality, and the unavailability of housing through discrimination, complicated with violent clashes between Black and White

residents stemming from discriminatory practices, deteriorated the community of Watts and bred an environment that produced the worst urban revolt of the time.

After the rebellion city officials denied the racial social environment that existed in LA and the role that contributed to the revolt. For example Mayor Yorty stated that the “outside agitators caused the riots and used techniques employed elsewhere by communists” (Bollens and Geyer 1973:152) and Chief Parker was later quoted as saying that the riots were no surprise, and continued to say that “one person throws a rock and then, like monkeys in a zoo, others started throwing rocks” (Bollens and Geyer 1973:153). Both Yorty and Parker’s ideology was rooted in fanatical anti-communist rhetoric. Tyler (1983) stated that “the Los Angeles Riot of 1965 was the direct result of Parker’s police imperialism and Yorty’s political and personal consent” (Tyler:1983:144).

McCone Report

Four days after National Guardsmen, along with local police, restored order to Los Angeles, Governor Brown of California appointed a commission of six Whites and two Blacks to make “an objective and dispassionate study of the Los Angeles riots.” Headed by John McCone, a prominent industrialist and former director of the CIA, the commission was “to probe deeply into the immediate and underlying causes of the riots.” The commission consulted numerous experts and heard testimony by over 500 witnesses. In early December, 100 days after the commission was assembled, they published their final report entitled, *Violence in the City: An End or a Beginning?*

The report dismissed tales of widespread police brutality, claiming that such allegations against the police could “reduce and perhaps destroy the effectiveness of law enforcement.” A study conducted by Walter Raine from the Center for Health Sciences at UCLA (1967) found that 25 percent of 586 Black residents of Watts and South Los Angeles had complained about police brutality, and that better community relations by the LAPD was desperately needed, or continued riots will occur. One month before the revolt, a 21-year old woman claimed that she had been raped by a White police officer after a routine traffic stop early one morning. The accused police officer failed a lie detector test and later resigned, but was never indicted (1967). Also, Black police officers of 77th division told stories of police abuses of Black suspects in custody. Much of the friction between Black males and the police were rooted in “stop and frisk” procedures by the police in the area. Police officers needed probable cause to stop, detain, and frisk a person, but in Watts this practice was common, causing the residents to feel that less than probable cause was needed to detain a Black resident (Bullock 1969:134). These tactics further agitated Black residents and polarized the community. The McCone report completely ignored these inappropriate police practices as creating a hostile environment, and the report was not critical of any of Chief Parker’s reportedly discriminatory treatment of Black residents, even though the commission received seventy complaints of police brutality (Cannon 1997:73). The commission found that Parker was a capable Chief despite testimonials of witnesses that stated there was an immense resentment towards the police force by the residents. The commission concluded that police brutality was highly exaggerated and they naively believed that the

problems between the police and the community were mostly the result of misunderstandings rather than mistreatment (Schiesl 1990:165).

III. Another Revolt

Pre 1992 Los Angeles

Throughout the 1970s, poverty increased in the Black community and deindustrialization was adding to the growing unemployment rate among male Blacks in LA. A new form of street gang were emerging once again in the heart of South LA. Marginalized youths, left out of mainstream society and suffering from high employment rates were identifying as Bloods and Crips. Economic inequality increased as the disparity between the rich and poor heightened, and service sector minimum wage jobs dominated the employment scene. By 1990, thirty percent of the families in Los Angeles lived in poverty³, compared to 9.3 percent for the rest of the state (Special Task Force for a New Los Angeles 1992:8). These inequalities coincided along ethnic lines, and disproportionately over represented Black and Latino communities of Los Angeles (Ong 1993:1).

Within these communities another problem occurring with frequency was police brutality, which was briefly addressed in the McCone Commission but explained as an overstated issue. After Chief Parker unexpectedly died of a heart attack in 1966, Chief Tom Reddin was named as Parker's successor and he continued Parker's militaristic model and policies (Schiesl 1990:166). Reddin made some changes to improve the image of the department by increasing the community relations staff from four to more than one-hundred officers and he ordered his cops to "fraternize" with minority citizens

³ The poverty level in 1990 was \$12,575 for a four-person family with two children.

(Cannon 1997:87), but community relations with the police did not improve. Much of his changes were not popular among rank and file members of the LAPD and in 1969 he abruptly resigned and pursued a career as a television reporter. Ed Davis succeeded Reddin and was named LAPD chief in 1969, after being on the police force for nearly thirty years. He was of the same military model and school of thought as Parker was, but not as aggressive as his two predecessors. Davis graduated from the academy in the same class as Tom Bradley did in 1940 and he was extremely popular among other police officers as head of the LAPD Union and Police Protective League. Davis left the LAPD in 1978 to seek the Republican nomination for governor, which he lost, but in 1980, he was elected state senator from a San Fernando Valley district for twelve years.

Continued Police Abuse

In early 1978 Daryl Gates was selected as chief after several commission members debated whether to select him. Another pupil of Parker, and a twenty-nine year veteran of the LAPD, he heavily relied on the paramilitary model that Parker and Reddin were known for. Since his interview to become chief he exhibited characteristics of defiance by stating that he was going to run the police department his way before he was selected for the job. Since his competition was weak, the commission reluctantly selected him as chief. During Gates' tenure a number of well-known incidents involving police brutality increased to the level of antipathy between the community and the LAPD (City in Crisis, Special Report 1992:33). In 1978 one-hundred and one people were shot by patrol officers, of whom 57 were Black (Schiesl 1990:179). In 1979 two LAPD officers fatally shot Black resident Eulia Love, 39, who had earlier hit an employee of the Southern California Gas Company with a shovel who came to turn off the gas at her

home because of an unpaid bill. The employee left and returned with LAPD escort to finish shutting off the gas, and in a fit of rage, Love threw a kitchen knife at the officers. They opened fire on her dumping twelve rounds into her body. The shooting was justified by a review board, and they stated that the police were confronted with a “life threatening” situation. Mayor Bradley described the shooting as a terrible tragedy (Schiesl 1990:180). It was later determined by an independent investigation that serious errors in judgement had been made by the officers. They drew their weapons before all reasonable alternatives had been exhausted and their actions were found to be in direct violation of departmental procedures.

During the early 1980s several lawsuits were filed against the LAPD for unlawful investigation tactics and for malice custody procedures. In 1982, data collected on LAPD chokeholds showed that fifteen persons had died as a result of these chokeholds and that eleven victims were Black. A community effort to ban chokeholds had started in 1976 when a motorist from Watts was nearly choked to death after a traffic stop. In 1980 Gates threatened to use the new PR-24 side handled aluminum baton and karate kicks with harmful consequences if his officers would be denied the use of chokeholds (Canon 1997:96). Gates was able to use a modified carotid chokehold that killed Black motorist James Mincey in 1982 who was already in custody according to witnesses. The LAPD claimed that he was combative, fighting and throwing officers, exhibiting superhuman strength. No video cameras caught this incident on tape, and an autopsy revealed that Mincey died of injuries sustained to his brain and toxicological tests revealed no traces of PCP, a drug that the LAPD claimed that Mincey was under the influence of. The LAPD also stated that a white powder substance found in his car was cocaine, but tests showed

that the substance was a legal nonprescription drug known as tetracaine. Gates defended his officers and claimed that young Black men that were dying in custody because of their anatomical deficiencies when quoted as saying, “we may be finding that in some Blacks when it [chokehold] is applied the veins or arteries do not open up as they do in normal people” (*LAX* March 28, 1988).

In 1983, when rock cocaine hit the streets of LA, Gates used military tanks to bulldoze through the houses of suspected drug dealers to catch dealers in action and in possession of the drugs. After several unsuccessful attempts of recovering any substantial amounts of drugs, and after careening through the wrong houses the following year the use of the batter ram was terminated.

In early April 1988, \$2.45 million was approved by the city council to assist Chief Darryl Gates in the coordination of *Operation Hammer*, an anti-gang suppression technique aimed at reducing gang activity in South-central Los Angeles. During the early evening hours up to 1,000 officers riding four deep in patrol cars would arrest and detain all alleged gang members congregating in public places. The arrests included felony violations to minor infractions in what they called “gang sweeps.” The parking lot of the Memorial Coliseum was used as an immediate booking and release center for the detainees. One weekend in April of 1988 the LAPD arrested 1,453 people in gang sweeps which they deemed “successful.” Many were picked up for minor violations and released the same night, and 45 percent of those arrested were non-gang members. These sweeps continued throughout the year, but reports of gang killings did not taper. On Good Friday, Stacey Childress, 19, was killed while ten others lay in the street injured in what the police called “one of the worst drive-by shootings in the city’s history”. The

following week three people were killed in separate drive-by shootings during LAPD's force of 1,000 officers and in September officer Daniel Pratt from LAPD's 77th division was fatally shot on Florence and Crenshaw by a gang member. By the end of the year there were 3,065 gang-related crimes committed and 452 gang related homicides, despite the massive sweep efforts and arrests of thousands of gang members. In Los Angeles, 1988 was dubbed the "year of the gang" and Gate's Operation Hammer did not prove to be "successful." Sociologist Malcolm Klein suggested that Gate's militaristic approach was remarkably inefficient, and an enormous waste of enforcement efforts (Klein 1995: 162).

In August of 1988, eighty-eight Southwest police officers raided several apartments on 39th and Dalton in the Exposition Park community of South LA. As the officers were wielding shotguns and sledgehammers, they caused extensive damage to the apartment building and injured several residents violating their civil rights. The residents filed several lawsuits against the city and were awarded over \$3 million (Ferrell 1991) but Gates continued to downplay the incident saying "this situation got out of control" but continued to support his officers in this case and other brutality incidents. The number of complaints about LAPD and the use of excessive force had doubled between 1983 and 1988 resulting in settlements and awards which soared from \$891,000 in 1980 to \$11.3 million in 1990.

In 1991 the video-tape beating of Rodney King exposed years of police abuses that had plagued the Black and Latino community for several years. King was hit 54 times by three LAPD officers, while Sergeant Stacey Koon, and seventeen other officers watched. Koon, Theodore Briseno, Timothy Wynn, and Clarence Powell were all

arrested for felony violations of abuse and the submission of false police reports. They went on trial in early 1992 in Simi Valley, with the prosecution relying heavily on the video-taped evidence of the beating.

In addition to consistent police brutality, racial tensions between Blacks and Koreans was adding to the hostile racial climate of Los Angeles. Koreans owned 350 stores in South Los Angeles and Blacks often complained about the treatment of Korean merchants and the high prices of the merchandise. In another incident caught on video tapes, in March 1991, just two weeks after the beating of King, fifteen year old Latasha Harlins was shot in the back of the head by Korean store owner Soon Ja Du. After a brief tussle over a \$1.79 container of orange juice that Du thought Harlins was stealing, she is seen in the video tape reaching for a gun from beneath the counter, gripping it with two hands and firing a slug through the head of Harlins that entered from behind the ear and exited from her forehead. When Du's husband entered the store from the back, she told him that there was a robbery while Harlin's body lay on the floor. After the District Attorney examined the video, Du was charged with murder, and a jury convicted her of voluntary manslaughter which carried a sixteen-year prison sentence. In November of 1991 Judge Joyce Karlin sentenced Du to five years probation. District Attorney Ira Reiner denounced the verdict calling it a "stunning miscarriage of justice" and Black activist were infuriated and stormed her court house. Even though the jury convicted Du of voluntary manslaughter which is an intentional killing under California law, Karlin still believed that the killing was accidental.

In several cases where Blacks had been victimized with irrefutable evidence of injustice, the judicial system continued to be a failure to the Black community. On April

29, 1992 following the not guilty verdicts of four LAPD officers, in Simi Valley, residents in LA revolted in what was the worst urban uprising in contemporary US history. Canon stated that the King beating, as bad as it looked was not an isolated incident but the outcome of a flawed policy that the mainstream media ignored until the Holliday video of the King beating gained national attention (Cannon 1997:105).

Civil Unrest Revisited, 1992

The civil unrest sparked by the acquittal of white police in the 1991 video-taped beating of black motorist King covered 70 square miles of the city. From April 29th to May 1st the most violent urban revolt in United States history resulted in 54 deaths, 2,499 injuries, 6,559 arrests, 1,120 building damaged, 2,314 stores damaged and close to 1 billion in damages (Table 2, See Dun and Bradstreet; DiPasquale and Glaeser 1996). It would take hundreds of national guardsmen and police officers along with sheriff's deputies from several jurisdictions to bring calm to the city. Korean businesses were hit the hardest hit enduring more than fifty percent of the retail damage, and eighty percent of the damage was against retail establishments. Throughout the three days the fires and looting continued with thousands being injured.

President Bush who had sent 4,500 federal troops to Los Angeles and announced on national television that the Justice Department had began an investigation into civil rights violations of Rodney King by the four police officers, had visited Los Angeles to see the destruction first hand on May 8th. Bush spoke of reconciliation and promised the city of LA a self-sufficient recovery aid package of \$600 million in federal loans and

grants. His thirty-car motorcade took him through the devastated areas in Koreatown, the Mid-Wilshire area, the Crenshaw district and South Los Angeles.

Bradley also toured the city and stopped by several businesses that were damaged and promised to do “everything we can to provide support in rebuilding” in LA. He also announced that the city would seek federal and state disaster assistance but he heavily relied on “Rebuild LA” his newly formed non-governmental organization created on May 2, to be the answer to LA’s rebuilding efforts. He felt confident that Ueberroth, his long

Table 2. Damage amount by city, early estimates 1992.

City	Damage Amount
Los Angeles	\$500,000,000
Compton	\$100,000,000
Lynwood	\$20,000,000
Long Beach	\$18,000,000
Huntington Park	\$8,800,000
Inglewood	\$5,000,000
Unincorporated Los Angeles	\$13,298,000
Florence/Firestone	\$7,265,000
Lennox	\$3,435,000
Lynwood County Area	\$125,000
Baldwin Hills	\$100,000
Carson County Area	\$75,000
East Los Angeles	\$45,000
Rowland Heights	\$2,500
Ladera Heights	\$2,000
West Covina	\$1,500
Altadena	\$500
Unspecific Locations	\$50,850,500
TOTAL	735,000,000

Source: Special Task Force for a New Los Angeles, 1992

time friend and confidant, and successful entrepreneur, would be able to successfully head this organization to rebuild the destruction and build a thriving economy in South LA by relying on corporate support.

IV. Rebuilding Efforts, 1992-1996

Pete Ueberroth

Selected by both Mayor Tom Bradley and Governor Pete Wilson, Peter Ueberroth was to spearhead Rebuild LA (later RLA) after the 1992 Los Angeles civil unrest. Ueberroth, the business and sports executive was born in 1937 in Evanston, Illinois. His family moved often, and finally settled in Northern California. He attended San Jose State University and earned a degree in business while a member of the water polo team. He struggled with employment until he founded First Travel Corporation at the age of twenty-five. In 1979 unknown to the public, Ueberroth decided to accept the invitation to direct the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee. Nine months later in 1980, after accepting the job from Mayor Bradley, he sold his company, First Travel, for \$10.4 million, as the second largest travel business in North America behind American Express. Ueberroth was successful as chairman of the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee for the Summer Games of 1984 directing a team that generated a surplus of \$222 million. Later that year TIME magazine named him man of the year. He was elected to a 5-year term as commissioner of major league baseball thereafter, from 1984-

1989, succeeding Bowie Kuhn. The following year Ueberroth founded the investment and financial consulting firm, the Contrarian Group in Newport Beach, California, before he assumed his position as Chairman of RLA, for which he served from May 1992 to May 1993. Ueberroth had a reputation as a miracle worker, persuading corporate sponsors to invest in the Olympics, and miracles were needed in LA after the civil unrest (Cannon 1997: 360).

On May 3, 1992, when Ueberroth announced that he would accept the invitation to run RLA, he had visions of Olympic gold as he stated that “he wanted to make the ravaged parts of the city much better than they were before the disturbance.” He also claimed that the city’s reconstruction effort would serve as “a blueprint for revitalizing inner cities across the nation.” Just eight years previously he successfully carried the financial Olympic torch to victory while he promoted the most watched television event in history to 180 million Americans. Critics stated that the Los Angeles Olympic Games would not earn enough money to pay its bills. Moreover, the city of Los Angeles passed a resolution stating that not one cent of municipal funds could be spent on the Olympic games. Ueberroth’s critics were quickly silenced, as the predicted nightmares never materialized. The Olympic games created a \$220 million surplus, so successful that President Ronald Reagan invited Ueberroth to the White House to serve on a committee to energize the private sector in causes ranging from world hunger to urban dismay. As the unpaid czar of RLA, his new job was to energize the economic engine in South-central Los Angeles.

Board of Directors

In the very first few days of RLA, Ueberroth was under criticism while he struggled to select a board of directors that reflected the community and the interests the damaged areas of Los Angeles. On June 12, Ueberroth formerly announced a portion of the forty-person board (Table 3), but had been slow to announce a complete committee

Table 3. Portion of the first members of RLA Board of Directors May 1992

Committee Member	Affiliation
William L. Williams	Chief designate LAPD
Roger M. Mahony	Cardinal
Steven B. Sample	President of USC
Edward James Olmos	Actor
T.S. Chung	Kim and Andrew Law Firm
Carl Dickerson	Dickerson Employee Benefits
Tom Bradley	Mayor of Los Angeles
Ki Suh Park	Korean-American architect
#Dennis Collins	James Irvine Foundation
#Antonia Hernandez	Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund
*Kathleen Brown	California State Treasurer
*Patricia Eckert	California Public Utilities Commission
Lod Cook	Atlantic Richfield Co.
John Bryson	Southern California Edison Co.
Dan Garcia	Warner Bros.
#John Mack	Urban League
Hugh Jones	Kaiser Permanente

Members selected to represent the community leg of Ueberroth's tripod.

* Members from the government.

because of the delicate task of balancing the expectations of competing interest groups and the needs of Los Angeles. After the announcement of the first board members, there were already claims that the members selected were not in touch with the community and that very few had an understanding of the economic and social needs of South Los Angeles. On June 27 the first forty members of the board were announced, representing 20 Anglos, 14 Blacks, 11 Latinos, and five Asian-Americans. Ten members of the board

selected were women (Table 4). The selection of the first forty was chosen in an effort to reach into the community, government and private industry. After Ueberroth added several minorities to the board, to satisfy the community, William Robertson, executive secretary of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor was angry that Ueberroth failed to put a labor representative on the board. The federation of labor representatives includes 70,000 members, that are involved in city projects and who sit on several city commissions. Robertson considered it highly offensive that the labor sector was neglected (Peterson 1992). But attacks continued to mount towards Ueberroth and RLA, A Taco Bell, that was rapidly built in Compton as a symbol of the rebuilding spirit, failed to comply with federal disabled access laws, by making the counter too high for disabled customers. Because of this, a group representing the handicapped, the Coalition of Disabled Enforcers, demanded that Ueberroth provide a written assurance that all rebuilding projects would meet federal requirements for the disabled. Also, politician

Table 4. Second Announcement of Members of the RLA Board of Directors.

Committee Member	Affiliation
Edward J. Avila	Community Redevelopment Agency
Danny Bakewell	Brotherhood Crusade Black United Fund Inc.
Ana Barbosa	Latin Business Assn.
Johnnie Cochran	Law offices of Johnnie L. Cochran Jr.
Bruce Corwin	Metropolitan Theatres Corp.
Robert Davidson	Surface Protection Industries
Leo Estrada	UCLA School of Architecture & Urban Planning
Warren Furutani	Los Angeles Board of Education
John Garamendi	Commissioner, state Department of Insurance
Mike Hernandez	Los Angeles City Council, 1st District
David Kearns	Deputy Secretary of Education, U.S.
Frank Kern	IBM
Stewart Kwoh	Asian Pacific American Legal Center, Southern California
David Lizarraga	Telacu
Felicia Marcus	Board of Public Works
Warren I. Mitchell	Southern California Gas Co.
Michael Ovitz	Creative Artists Agency
Archie Purvis	ABC Distribution Co.
Ray Remy	L.A. Chamber of Commerce
Richard J. Riordan	Riordan & McKinzie law firm
Thomas Sayles	Commissioner, state Department of Corporations
Vivian Shannon	Principal, Centinela Elementary
Jackie Tatum	LA Department of Recreation and Parks
Robert Taylor	McKinsey & Co.

Irene Tovar	Public relations consultant
Rev. Kenneth Ulmer	Faithful Central Missionary Baptist Church
Esther Valadez	Affordable Housing Associates
Carlos Vaquerano	Carecen

Source: *Los Angeles Times*, June 27, 1992.

Tom Hayden expressed his dissatisfaction of Ueberroth's oversight of selecting a representative of an environmental agency (Weinstein 1992a). Ueberroth indicated that he would expand the board by another ten people to represent a broader spectrum of the community, and his spokesman Fred McFarlane assured the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor (AFL-CIO) that a labor representative would be included.

Despite all the clamor about the composition of the board, Ueberroth stated that the organization's primary work will be accomplished by sixteen action task forces staffed by RLA officials including task forces on the environment, insurance, investment banking, land use, training, social services-human services, and youth program. Some representatives expressed that it was unfortunate that Ueberroth had to spend so much time assembling the board, both in his pursuit of diversity and the need to pacify many groups competing for participation. On July 29, 1992 his third addition to the board in seven weeks consisted of 67 members; 27 Anglos, 16 Black, 16 Hispanics, and eight Asian-Americans (Table 5). By the fall of 1992, RLA had organized eleven task forces (Rebuilding LA's Urban Communities 1997:18) and the board that was up to 92 members by mid 1994 (Beauragard 1997:371) was to convene four times a year. Of the sixteen task forces only eleven were ever assemble.

In the wake of all the frustration regarding the board and the direction of RLA, other groups decided that their efforts may be more effective. In June, Asian-Americans formed *Asian Pacific Americans for a New L.A.* (Weinstein & Peterson 1992) and U.S.

Representative Maxine Waters (D-Los Angeles), who has expressed skepticism about Ueberroth's role formed *Community Build*.

Operating Officers

To provide RLA with the foundation to implement the monumental goals of convincing corporate entities to invest in South LA, Ueberroth began to organize a powerful executive committee by first selecting Bernard W. Kinsey, a Black businessman, and former high-ranking executive of Xerox Corporation. He was also a key player in the fund raising efforts of the United Negro College Fund. Kinsey also worked with Ueberroth during the 1984 Olympics when Kinsey coordinated 300 Xerox volunteers. Kinsey was selected as Ueberroth's day-to-day operations chief.

Table 5. RLA Board newest members, third announcement.

Members	Affiliation
C. Michael Armstrong	Hughes Aircraft Co.
Helen Bernstein	United Teachers-Los Angeles
Jim Brown	Amer-I-Can
Judy Chu	Monterey Park councilwoman
Maria Contreras-Sweet	7-Up/RC Bottling Company of So. Cal.
R. Thomas Decker	Bank of America
Yang Il Kim	National Korean-American Grocers Assn.
Bernard Kinsey	RLA
Bruce N. Ramer	Gang, Tyre, Ramer & Brown
Tony M Salazar	McCormack Baron
Barry Sanders	Latham a& Watkins
William Sauerwald	Painters District Council No.36
Jane Small	LA County Commission on Disabilities
Elizabeth Martinez Smith	LA Department of Water & Power
Casimiro Tolentino	Asian Pacific American Legal Center of So. Cal.
Akir Tsukada	Japanese Business Assn.
Daniel Villanueva Sr.	Villanueva Capital

Source: *Los Angeles Times* July 29, 1992

In response to the public pressure, Ueberroth organized a panel of co-chairs to avert attention towards others. The first panel included Kinsey, Barry Sanders a prominent White attorney and Ueberroth. This three person panel were to become the decisions makers that operated separately from the board of directors. They were to assist Ueberroth in the decision making, and to provide a more diverse leadership. This panel also served as a way to have some of the criticism pointed away from Ueberroth as Kinsey and Sanders were equally responsible for the RLA decisions. The racial composition of this newly formed panel fueled continued resentment, this time from the Latino community. As pressure from the Latino community mounted Ueberroth added Tony Salazar in December as a fourth co-chair. If that was not enough political correct maneuvering, Ueberroth publicly stated that he offered to add an Asian-American to become a fifth co-chair person and that he would look “equally hard for a woman.” On April 28, 1993, Linda J. Wong, the first Asian-American and woman was appointed among the group’s top leadership (Rivera 1993).

Goals and Intentions / Task Forces

Vowing to a five year commitment to RLA, Ueberroth envisioned creating 57,000 jobs in the “neglected areas,” greater access to insurance, bank loans, and venture capital (Weinstein 1992b). Also the creation of movie theatres, supermarkets and minority-owned businesses was part of his commitments which would be possible via the three legged stool approach of community, private sector, and the government. The jobs were said to be created in manufacturing, technology and services, generated by corporations rather than supported by government funding. Estimates by Robert Taylor

of McKinsey Co. six weeks after Euberroth's announcement, stated that up to 94,000 jobs would be needed to revitalize the economy of LA. In addition to the 150,000 *manufacturing jobs* lost from 1989-1991 before the civil unrest, and 208,900 total jobs were lost in 1991 (Weinstein 1992c). Another 100,000 jobs in Southern California were lost in 1992 that were not related to the civil unrest.

During the two decades as Mayor, Bradley encouraged corporate development in downtown Los Angeles, while no investment was being funneled into South Los Angeles where jobs began to decline in the late 1970s. An exodus of jobs from Southern California affected South Los Angeles severely as the unemployment rate soared to 15 percent while the rest of the County had an unemployment rate of 10 percent in the late 1980s. Downtown development saw a low-rise commercial district transform into a gleaming complex of skyscrapers (Cannon 1997: 362), while the rest of South Los Angeles' unemployment rate soared. RLA was attempting to create jobs in an environment that was ignored during corporate development and suffering from the effects of an economically destructive recession. Also manufacturing plants in South LA decided that they would search for cheaper labor cost, thus abandoning the community that once had rubber, dairy, and other manufacturing facilities.

In May, Deputy Mayor Mark Fabiani said that Ueberroth's job would be to "cut through the red tape" that had previously tied up commercial development and to "streamline the planning process" in order to mobilize the private sector. By August though, the city bureaucracy had slowed the process of getting building permits as small merchants in South-central complained about the delays.

Under the three-legged stool approach, Ueberroth eventually established 11 task forces during the fall of 1992 to organize 1,200 people who were committed to working on issues related to finance, construction, education, health, racial harmony, urban planning and volunteerism. Board members were asked to participate in these task forces to help RLA gain momentum in specialized areas by integrating their efforts with grass-roots organizations. The eleven task forces put into operation were the Volunteerism Task Force, the Business Development Task Force, Construction Task Force, Education./Training Task Force, Finance Task Force, Health/Human Services/Youth Task Force, Insurance Task Force, Media/Communications Task Force, Philanthropy Task Force, Racial Harmony & Discourse, Task Force and the Urban Planning Task Force (for more information on the coordinators of each task force see LAX November 4, 1992 and *Rebuilding LA's Urban Communities: A Final Report from RLA, 18-20*). After Ueberroth resigned in 1993, an evaluation of the task forces were made and RLA board members decided that the effectiveness of these task forces were not productive and that the entire role of RLA needed to be redefined (LAX July 29, 1993). In an effort to narrow the focus of RLA the concept of the task force was abandoned, and in *Rebuilding LA's Urban Communities: A Final Report from RLA* this was said about RLA's task forces:

Despite many successes and positive achievements, over time RLA recognized that it was ill-prepared to handle the challenges and work presented by the task forces. Its staff were not experts at volunteer management, nor were they hired with this particular skill in mind. In some cases, the task forces themselves further diffused the organization's focus (1997:20).

In an attempt to get more board members directly involved in RLA issues, the task forces were to facilitate involvement of RLA board members, but in July 1993 several board

members expressed their frustration with these task forces and six months later these task forces were expunged.

Financial Commitments

Within days of RLA's inception, several corporate giants committed to assisting Ueberroth and RLA in the reconstruction efforts of Los Angeles. There was a tremendous outpouring of financial commitments in the first several weeks following the creation of RLA. Among the first contributors was Kaiser Permanente, who donated the one-story building where RLA was housed and Pioneer Electronics donated \$600,000 for a job-training program in Watts. In late July, Vons, committed to a \$100 million plan to build twelve supermarkets in "undeserved areas" of Los Angeles. The last two decades has seen an exodus of major grocery stores, leaving residents to shop at small, uncompetitive markets. Vons' investment was expected to bring 2,000 permanent jobs in the area. Hughes Aircraft/General Motors made several commitments including a \$15 million pledge to increase contracts towards minority-owned suppliers in the damaged area, 100 GM vehicles for community groups, \$1.2 million in educational programs in the inner-city, and a \$250,000 cash contribution to RLA (Rowald 1992). Southern California Edison also pledged \$35 million in job training and economic development to help the affected areas by setting up two regional job-training centers, "to help rebuild and re-energize the greater Los Angeles area."

On October 28, 1992, Ueberroth told his board of 80 members that 500 corporate giants, a collection of international companies, were investing more than \$1 billion into Los Angeles. This commitment would have been a significant contribution towards the \$6 billion needed to help create the 75,000 to 94,000 jobs estimated to revitalize the LA economy. Some corporations believed that they could make a profit in the inner city, but several of these companies that Ueberroth claimed was assisting in the rebuilding effort admitted to not having any plans with RLA or investing in Los Angeles' inner city. From a list of 68 companies released by RLA, it was discovered that 19 of the 68 companies had no plans to invest in LA (Brooks and Weinstein 1992). Ueberroth lashed back in denial and stated that the people interviewed during the investigation were either unaware of negotiations or concealed plans with RLA. He maintained that the 68 companies were valid.

The CEOs of Betchel Company, Dow Chemical, and Loral Corporation knew Ueberroth as a friend and business associate, but they all stated that there were no plans in the works with RLA. Michael Ridder, a spokeswoman for Betchel, stated that they were "in the no plans stage." Catherine Maxey, spokeswoman at Dow said there was no evidence of any plan outside of the 1,800 cases of Ziploc bags and other Dow brand products donated in the wake of the revolt. Additionally Al Dawson of Loral Corporation iterated similar sentiments when expressing that "Loral should not be on [RLA's] list" (See Brooks 1992). Only seven of the 68 companies had Los Angeles projects in the works when the list was released (Cannon 1997: 369). Additionally, only two of the 19 companies, Ford and Ralphs, eventually made financial commitments, but the other 17 companies never made a commitment to RLA, proving that Ueberroth was not truthful

about his original commitment list. After two years of fundraising, forty-four corporations made financial commitments to RLA in the amount of \$497 million (Table 6), not nearly close to the \$6 billion dollars that was anticipated early on.

Table 6. Corporate Commitments and Activities, 1992-1996

Corporation	Economic Development	Job Training	Community Activities	Charitable Donations	Totals
American Savings	500,000			750,000	1,275,000
ARCO	3,750,000	900,000	800,000	5,235,000	10,685,000
AT&T	1,000,000		500,000	565,000	2,065,000
Auto Club of So. Cal.	1,500,000				1,500,000
Bank of America	24,000,000		3,100,000	3,500,000	30,600,000
Benjamin Moore Co.	400,000				400,000
British Airlines				100,000	100,000
Chevron		1,325,000			1,325,000
Chief Auto Parts	3,587,100				3,587,100
Eurostar, Inc/L.A. Gear				250,000	250,000
First Instate Bank	41,264,845	47,500		397,116	41,709,461
Food 4 Less	27,496,190		1,463,800	2,192,700	31,152,690
Ford		10,000			10,000
Gas Co.	30,950,000	650,000		2,200,000	33,800,000
GTE		580,000	250,000	1,200,000	2,030,000
Hard Rock Café			200,000		200,000
Hughes/General Motors	6,750,000		953,400		7,703,400
Hyundai		370,000			370,000
IBM	54,300,000	9,700,000	600,000		54,600,000
Kaiser Permanente			5,248,000		5,248,000
Kaufman & Broad			1,000,000		1,000,000
KFC	4,530,000				4,530,000
Marriot Foundation		250,000			250,000
Mattel			1,032,175	282,000	1,314,175
Mobil	5,500,000			550,000	6,050,000
Nissan	5,000,000				5,000,000
Pac Bell/ Pac Telesis	38,000	270,000	575,000	170,000	1,053,000
Pacific Mutual Foundation		25,000			25,000
Pioneer Electronics		600,000			600,000
Ralphs	33,000,000				33,000,000
Shell Oil	4,100,000	3,600,000		4,400,000	12,100,000
Smart & Final	43,100,000			50,000	43,150,000
So. Cal. Edison	14,344,000	7,561,000	2,491,000	6,165,000	35,000,000
Southland Corp.	2,400,000			5,688	2,405,688
State Farm Insurance	2,100,000				2,100,000
Sumitomo	2,600,000				2,600,000
Thrifty	3,000,000				3,000,000
Toyota		3,000,000			3,000,000
Transit Mix			50,000		50,000
Unisys Corporation			60,000		60,000
Vons	100,000,000				100,000,000

Walt Disney Co.	1,000,000			1,000,000	2,000,000
Xerox		400,000			400,000
Total Expendit.	416,210,135	29,288,500	18,323,375	4,439,000	497,298,514

Source: Rebuilding RLA's Urban Communities: A Final Report from LA, p 17

Ueberroth Steps Down

On the one-year anniversary of the civil unrest, 150 union activists protested at RLA headquarters in a twenty-four hour sit-in. Organizer, Rocio Saenz, claimed that Ueberroth's leadership did not address any issues regarding the working poor in Los Angeles. The protestors were carrying signs and demanding that better jobs were desperately essential to the poor working communities, not just minimum wage jobs. A previous protest at RLA headquarters in December of 1992 was sparked by a remark that Ueberroth said regarding minimum wage jobs. At a press conference launching a job training program by Toyota, Ueberroth stated that "minimum wage jobs brought dignity to those who labor in them." Protestors questioned the ability of RLA to address the economic needs of the working people of LA while Ueberroth was approving poverty level annual earnings. During the May 1993 protest, co-chairman Tony Salazar agreed to talk with the protestors under the condition that they would leave after the meeting. The protestors did not leave, and sixteen were arrested for trespassing, and other charges including one for assault. The protesters had demanded the resignation of Ueberroth.

On May 21, 1993, three weeks after the massive protest at RLA headquarters, Ueberroth announced to the board of directors that he was resigning as co-chair of RLA. At a press conference, Ueberroth stated that he was resigning as co-chairman of RLA because there had been too much attention focused toward his role as leader. He also blamed the lack of government support for his quitting even though RLA was a non-

governmental effort supported by the private sector. Also his good friend and biggest ally, Mayor Bradley was not seeking reelection, but Ueberroth denied that Bradley leaving office had anything to do with his departure. Some of Ueberroth's strongest critics had voiced that RLA placed too much emphasis on enticing corporations rather than supporting small businesses to recover and enormous amount of pressure for him to produce. Ueberroth said that he would remain on the board, but would spend more time and attention to his own business.

Post Ueberroth 1993

After Ueberroth's departure, the remaining board members discussed scaling back the role of RLA in late July. The goal was to focus on the development of small businesses in the focus area rather than depend on large corporations to create jobs. The meeting was attended by 52 members of the board, while Bradley, Wilson, Alatore, Kinsey and many other board members were not present. Salazar said that 52 of 78 members present was a good turnout but other board members were concerned with the absenteeism, and felt that if RLA was going to have any positive effects, all board members needed to be present. Only 5,000 jobs were planned to be created, pressure for RLA to deliver better results was mounting

For the remainder of the year (1993), RLA continued to operate under the leadership of the four remaining co-chairs as they regrouped and attempted to redefine the organization's strategies. Sanders unexpectedly announced that he would resign at the end of the year to resume his position at Lantham and Watkins law firm, and shortly thereafter the mayor's office decided that RLA would be better served with one chair

person. The multi-ethnic leadership that Ueberroth put in place was going to be terminated and some criticized that the diversity of the board caused RLA to lose accountability and flexibility that hindered forward progress. The other three chairs (Salazar, Wong, and Kinsey) voluntarily decided to step down at the end of the year too. The decision to have one chair was in part influenced by the financial troubles that RLA was facing. RLA had a staff of thirty paid employees and in its first 13 months of operation ending June 30, RLA spent \$2.9 million on salaries and administrative costs and \$533,000 on program services, the audit showed. Over \$3.4 million dollars of the \$8.6 million in private contributions including a federal Economic Development Administration grant was spent, and additionally Ueberroth stated the previous year that no other monies were needed to run the administrative portion of operation for five years. The replacement of a single chair would free up money to help sustain RLA through its five year mandate. According to RLA's first fiscal audit, it revealed that 70 percent of the spending went towards salaries and 17 percent was spent on program services (Feldman October 29, 1993). A salary breakdown released in November 1993 revealed that co-chair Kinsey was being paid an annual salary of \$150,000, and both Salazar and Wong were both earning \$80,000 a year. Members of the board were unaware of the salaries of the co-chairs and only a few expressed their frustration with the amounts (November 19, 1993 LAX). Kinsey, along with several board members, expressed confidence that donations and grants would be found to cover the rest of RLA's cost, but this clearly demonstrated a lack of financial organization, fiscal mismanagement, and a break down in staff-board communication.

Since Tom Bradley did not seek re-election, it was up to Mayor Richard Riordan to lead the selection process in finding one person to run RLA. The top five corporate leaders that Riordan was considering to give the job to all stated that they had other commitments. The failure for RLA to achieve the lofty goals of economic restructuring had made this new job an unattractive engagement for corporate executives. Former Lockheed Chairman Roy A. Anderson, former Arco President Robert E. Wycoff, former Home Savings of America CEO Richard H. Diehl, Southern California Edison Chairman John E. Bryson and First Interstate Bancorp Board Chairman Edward M. Carson all said that they were too busy to work for RLA (*November 19, 1993 LAX*).

Four months after the search began Mayor Riordan was finally able to secure ARCO head Lodwick M Cook as an unpaid chairman and Linda Griego as the paid CEO of RLA in February 1994 earning \$150,000. Cook (65) was known as an innovator in the energy industry and he raised more than \$10 million as chairman of the LA city Library's Save the Books campaign after a fire destroyed the central library in 1984. Griego (46), served as Mayor Tom Bradley's top economic deputy and she was familiar with LA city bureaucracy, and City Hall. She ran for mayor, receiving only 7% of the votes, but finishing a respectable fifth of twenty-four. During her six years in Washington, she served as an aide to Senator Alan Cranston and in 1986 she opened a successful downtown restaurant, Engine Co. 28. She was born in Tucumcari, New Mexico and lives in Baldwin Hills married to attorney Ron Peterson. Her primary role as RLA CEO was to be the go-between of RLA and local government and to adopt a bottom up strategy that focused on economic development, focusing on existing community resources.

RLA Refocuses Under Griego

In February 1994, the Linda Griego led RLA on a new path towards economic recovery that was to focus on the 115,000 small businesses in the area. Eric Mann had voiced his criticism of Euberroth's approach towards economic development, because his plan was based on the power of the market, which focused on profit driven solutions for communities. The corporate and governmental objectives to help revive the Los Angeles economy have been failures. In 1984, Watts, Pacoima, Central Los Angeles, East Los Angeles, and the Harbor area were designated as enterprise zones under the program, which was created by state lawmakers in 1984, but the program was mostly invisible for nearly a decade, even it had bipartisan support. After the civil unrest of 1992, President George Bush renewed his push for enterprise zones after his visit to Los Angeles, but only 837 jobs were created in five years. In Watts there were 159 jobs created, and 220 jobs were created in the Central City zone along 157 jobs in East Los Angeles (Mann 1993a:3). Jack Kyser, the Chief Economist of Economic Development Corp. (EDC) of Los Angeles said that, "enterprise-zones hasn't been very effective. What it has done is move business from one pocket of the city to another. It's not brining in any new businesses from outside the region, which would be ideal" (Scott 1992:100). Mann suggested an alternative approach towards community rebuilding and economic development be taken:

Los Angeles must reconstruct from the bottom up: expanding the democratic arenas of policy contestation by establishing elected community planning boards, neighborhood councils to monitor elected officials and more requirements for public hearings and environmental impact reports. Real reconstruction must involve...an

environmentally driven job-generating strategy, such as turning South and East LA into centers of industrial production for electric cars, public transit vehicles and environmentally sound products (Mann 1993a).

The bottom up approach is exactly what Griego decided to implement. At a press conference Griego stated that “RLA needed a bottom-up economic development strategy and that businesses and the community are going to tell us what they need”(February 16, 1994, LAX), but some of the economic issues that Los Angeles was faced with were being blinded by the devastation of the Northridge earthquake which was the costliest natural disaster in US history. RLA would have a difficult time gaining vigor. The bottom-up strategy would focus primarily on economic development in urban communities that were considered “neglected” areas that had poverty rates of 20 percent or higher. RLA would introduce two plans for long-term economic development: 1) the **formation of manufacturing networks** with a goal of networking existing small to medium size firms already located in LA’s economically neglected urban communities, and 2) **retail development of vacant lots**, with a goal of bringing needed retail services such as supermarkets to neglected communities by developing (riot-damaged) vacant lots and other underutilized properties. After the failure of luring the private sector into meaningful and sustainable investment, and providing more employment opportunities and services, these two strategies were going to be designed to support small businesses in the inner city of LA.

To help small businesses expand their markets and create jobs, Griego planned to establish voluntary networks linking firms that manufacture that same type of commodities, such as textiles, electronics parts, furniture, metal, and toys. By research and data analysis, RLA identified 15,000 manufacturing firms with an employment base

of 360,000 people that generated sales in excess of \$54 billion a year in so called “deinvested” communities like South and East LA. RLA also interviewed firm owners and representatives to develop an understanding of the industries and challenges they faced, to ascertain the level of interest among firms to form co-operative networks; and to identify common concerns among firms in like-industries. The results of this research was able to aid in the development of expansion and economic strategies. RLA decided to work with firm owners of six industries – (1) biomedical technology, (2) food processing, (3) household furniture, (4) metalworking and industrial machinery, (5) textile, and (6) toys. These industries over 5,000 firms that employ more than 120,000 people and generate nearly \$15 billion a years in sales.

The revitalization of vacant lots was a plan that focused on bringing needed retail services, such as supermarkets, grocery stores, pharmacies, and clothing stores to the neglected neighborhoods in the focus area (Map 1). This focus area encompassed the Pico-Union and Korean Town area north of the Santa Monica Freeway (I-10), including west of downtown Los Angeles and South Los Angeles to the Century Freeway (105) between Alameda and Crenshaw. According to the 1990 US Census, this area of 177 census tracts that covered an area of 52 square miles had a total population of 911,431 people that was 51 percent Latino (Table 7). The 52 square mile area represents only 1.3 percent of the total area of Los Angeles County, but accommodates over 10 percent of the total county population. Population density was high in this area as compared with other portions of Los Angeles County with areas that had densities of 50,000 to 80,000 persons per square mile. The median population density of Los Angeles County in 1990 was 9,000 persons per square mile. To begin on revitalizing of vacant lots in the area, RLA

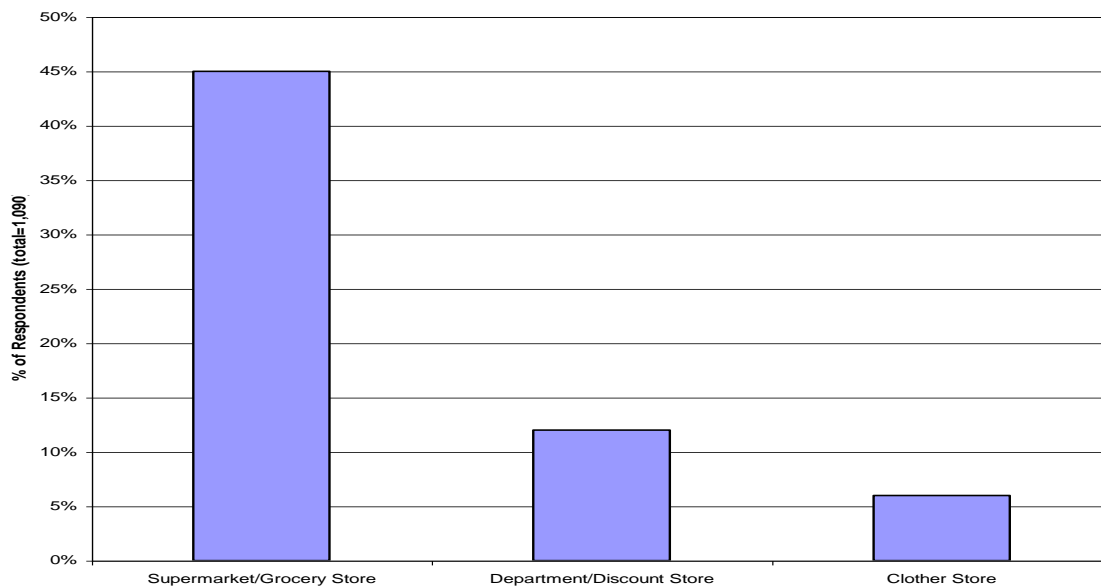
had to conduct several studies to determine where the vacant lots were, ownership, size, and zoning property. Other research focused on community needs, and several assessments were undertaken to determine the largest needs. Over 1,000 residents who

Table 7. Demographic Profile of Focus Area

	1990	1996
Population	911,431	933,857
Latino	51%	61%
African-American	41%	32%
Asian	7%	6%
Average Household Income	\$26,634	\$27,696

lived in the focus area were surveyed. In one survey conducted by USC students working with Dr H. Eric Shockman, revealed that nearly 50 percent of the respondents needed better quality supermarket and grocery stores (Table 8).

Table 8: Types of Stores/Services Most Desired in Focus Area.



Source: *ConsumerQuest*, 1995

In July 1994 sixteen RLA board members resigned, but Griego added ten new members bringing the already massive board to 87 members (Appendix E). In 1994 RLA was quiet, engaged mostly in research on the inner-city economics and interviews of business owners. There was some attempt for RLA to open three satellite offices to better work with small businesses, but that idea was deserted citing fiscal and logistic reasons. In March, 1995 Cook the unpaid chairman announced that he would step down in July. When asked what were RLA’s major accomplishments during his tenure, he replied that it was convincing Deputy Mayor Griego to head the agency’s day-to-day operations. He continued to state that RLA’s progress is slow (LAX March 10, 1995). In 1995 there were still 250 vacant lots that Griego was going to help develop focusing on pharmacies, restaurants and youth centers and promising not to build on liquor stores. In May of 1995 more board members resigned including Cardinal Mahony and Rep. Julian Dixon and interest in RLA was waning including print media coverage of the organization (Table 9). By the end of 1996 most of the vacant lots still remained scattered along the commercial corridors of South LA.

Table 9. Number of Print Media Articles on RLA, 1992-1997

Year	Western Regional News sources- Total⁴	Los Angeles Times
1992 ⁵	258	177

⁴ The western regional new sources includes the City News Service, Orange County Register, OC Metro, Orange County Business Journal, ADWEEK, Fresno Bee, San Diego Union Tribune, Denver Post, San Francisco Examiner, San Francisco Chronicle, United Press International, Daily News of LA, LA Weekly, Los Angeles Business Journal, and the Los Angeles Times.

⁵ The news interest for 1992 covers an eight-month period, from May 2 to December 31, 1992.

1993	165	112
1994	46	35
1995	14	12
1996	23	11
1997	12	5

Mandate Over-Final Thoughts

Rebuild LA, charged with securing funds for businesses and housing development in South-central Los Angeles, closed its doors in September 1996, seven months before the end of their five year mandate to revitalize the economy of South-central Los Angeles. After failing to gain public and private agencies to commit the \$6 billion dollars to rebuild the damaged neighborhoods, RLA invited sixty agencies, universities, and other organizations to apply for its databases and \$200,000 in cash (Gordon 1996). Land surveys, research, computers, and up to six RLA employees would also be inherited by the successor organization. Only seventeen had applied to take over the private agency which included the Economic Development Corp. of Los Angeles County, Local Initiatives Support Corp., Enterprise Foundation, Southern California Association of Governments, FAME Renaissance group, Valley Economic Development Center, the Urban League and various departments at UCLA, USC and Cal State LA.

Another problem that plagued RLA was trying to get corporations to fulfill their initial promises made in 1992 and early 1993. The federal government and private industry didn't deliver on their over-ambitious promise to provide \$6 billion for small business loans, housing construction, increased social services and recreation programs in South Los Angeles. Rebuild LA delivered an immediate surge of investment, though not the \$6 billion needed or the \$1 billion initially expected from the 500 corporations as Ueberroth claimed. For example, in January 1993, ARCO committed to a \$20 million

package to create jobs, develop small business, and revitalize the neediest areas of the city. This initial promise was reduced to \$10.6 million of which \$3.7 million was used for economic development. Companies that made modest contributions early on, such as the \$3 million that Toyota contributed towards building a training center was met, (Baker 1992), but several grandiose contributions were never fulfilled. Forty-three businesses finally committed \$497 million for recovery; among the prominent investors were Taco Bell, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Vons, Southern California Edison, First Interstate Bank and Ralphs Grocery Company. Of the \$497 million in corporate commitments, 78 percent (\$389 million) was to go towards rebuilding and creating jobs in the focus area of LA but investment fell far short of the expected amount of financial commitments.

More than half of the money (\$207 million) targeted towards the focus area was committed by major supermarket chains that promised 31 new supermarkets in the affected area. Vons, Ralphs, Food 4 Less, and Smart & Final (Table 10) promised supermarkets in the affected area, but only sixteen were built by April of 1997 and only six were built in the focus area. Also the building plans that Vons committed to regarding new inner-city markets, were on their planning tables long before the civil unrest had even occurred (Weinstein and Brooks 1993). Ralphs Grocery Company built three of the four markets that they committed to, but without looking too far through the communities adjacent to USC will reveal that in 1998 two previous Ralphs markets in the focus area closed (Jefferson and Western & Olympic & Western). The commitment by Vons alone was supposed to create 2,000 long-term jobs, but the sixteen new markets built, collectively created a mere 1,000 jobs.

Another failure of RLA was trying to get big business to establish new manufacturing plants rather than looking at smaller firms to provide employment. From 1989-1992 these larger companies (500 employees or more) were reducing their work

Table 10. Supermarket Commitment Activity 1992-1996

Supermarket	New Stores Committed	New Stores Built	Stores Rebuilt	Stores Repaired
Food 4 Less	3	3	2	28
Ralphs	4	3	0	2
Smart & Final	12	8	1	2
Vons	12	3	0	1
Totals	31	17	3	33

forces by nearly one third, while smaller companies (100 employees or less) were only cutting their workforce but less than ten percent. Ueberroth consistently looked towards big business to salvage LA's employment needs, while completely disregarding the smaller firms. Research, under Griego identified 4,000 manufacturers, each with sales in excess of \$1 million a year, in low income neighborhoods, that were never part of the economic restructuring effort under Ueberroth. He even depended on firms that were going through massive layoffs to create jobs in LA. While IBM was committing to a \$31 million aid package towards revitalizing LA's neediest neighborhoods, they were laying off 40,000 employees nationwide (Lee 1992), and had already laid off 20,000 in 1991. The layoffs in 1992 were the sixth major restructuring IBM has been faced with since 1985. Another large company, General Motors/Hughes committed to contributing \$18 million in rebuilding efforts for five years (Rowland 1992), but these efforts do not measure up with the economic impact of laying off 9,000 employees. General Motors' plans for 1992 was to close 21 auto plants, including the Van Nuys plant in LA which

employed 2,600 workers (Clifford 1991). GM/Hughes later reduced its initial over zealous financial commitment to RLA by over 50 percent, giving \$7.7 million for economic development. And their programs were geared towards training and education and not towards job creation.

From the inception, RLA was bogged down in ethnic and class politics by trying to appease every segment of society. The selection of Ueberroth was also a controversial choice to head the initiative, but the development of the board posed formidable, using up precious resources (Beauragard 1997:30). After selecting over 90 board members that reflected every major ethnic and class group in LA. RLA was absent of any coherent strategy and early on, critics warned of relying too heavily on corporate contributions to rebuild the city (Tharp and Witkin 1992). The awkwardly large size of the board, which had stood at 80 members when RLA dissolved, was one of its major deficiencies. Members felt disconnected from what the co-chairs were doing and never were all members present at critical meetings. The board often complained about poor communication with the leading co-chairs and feeling isolated from RLA decisions. Periodically board members resigned citing lack of progress.

RLA eventually became a tiny nonprofit agency that linked business in self-help networks and performed such unassuming tasks as teaching export regulation to furniture manufacturers (Cannon 1997a:586). Jack Kyser, economist for the Los Angeles Economic Development Corporation said that the “grandiose RLA effort was foolish, but LA isn’t a wasteland...its productive and flourishing with business (Cannon 1997b). According to Lou Cannon, the Latino population in Los Angeles, and immigrants contributed into the transformation of the Southern California economy in the late 1990s:

Many of the [Latino] immigrants were part of an extended family that included second and third generation citizens and legal residents. Their combined contribution was part of a growing pattern of Latino influence in the late 1990s that transformed Southern California. The Latino population, 42 percent of Los Angeles County in 1995, has grown steadily, en route to a projected majority in the first decade in the twenty-first century. Reconstruction of South Central Los Angeles proceeded brick-by-brick, following the path of Latino migration...(Cannon 1997:585-86).

Griego was also quoted saying that immigrants are stimulating to the LA economy, not draining it and serving as a link to Latin America and Asia. Los Angeles began to thrive economically in food industries, toy manufacturing, and apparel, during the mid 1990s, not due to RLA linking industries together, but by the ability of small businesses to survive during a recession when large business were laying-off thousands. Recent immigrants have contributed to serving the labor needs in these smaller growing industries while attempts by RLA to build supermarkets in damaged areas were not as successful as anticipated. Several of the sixteen markets that were built, were already on the planning table long before the civil unrest and during the last year at least three other markets in the focus area have closed.

Some of the best work that RLA accomplished was the research that revealed that South LA had the potential to have a stable economy without heavily relying on corporate support. Their networks between different industries that were created aided in businesses to operate with other companies with the focus area but much of their work did not create the jobs that were expected. Economic upswings eventual hit Los Angeles by 1996, when RLA's data and research went to the LA PROSPERS Partners and the Community Development Technologies Center headed by Denise Fairchild, but vacant

lots that were supposed to be transformed into economic centers of several needed services in Los Angeles never happened.

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Appendix A. Pre 1992 events that have shaped Los Angeles

1941: The Arroyo Seco Parkway, later the Pasadena Freeway, is completed, the first stage in a freeway master plan that made post-war suburban sprawl possible in the Los Angeles area.

Feb. 19, 1942: Amid war hysteria, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signs Executive Order No. 9066, authorizing the internment of 110,000 Japanese-Americans -- 75,000 of them U.S. citizens -- along the West Coast.

May 27, 1943: War contractors are forbidden to discriminate on the basis of race, speeding the migration of blacks to Los Angeles.

June, 1943: Police round up gang members and weapons after sailors from the Chavez Ravine Naval Base attack Mexican-American teen-agers. The incident launches the racial conflict that becomes known as the Pachuco or "Zoot Suit Riots," for the teen-agers' preferred attire.

Jan. 11, 1944: The Joint Committee for Interracial Progress (now the county Commission on Human Relations) is established by the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, only the second such panel in the United States.

April 11, 1947: Former UCLA star Jackie Robinson of Pasadena joins the Brooklyn Dodgers, breaking baseball's color line.

Aug. 2, 1950: William H. Parker is appointed Los Angeles police chief. His modern tactics include replacing foot patrols with officers in radio-equipped cars.

Dec. 24, 1951: Los Angeles police arrest and beat seven Mexican youths on "Bloody Christmas," leading to the indictment of eight officers and charges by Edward R. Roybal, the city's first Latino councilman, of systematic police brutality.

May 17, 1954: The U.S. Supreme Court voids state laws allowing segregated schools. Ruling in *Brown vs. Board of Education*, the court found "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

July 22, 1954: Under pressure from black citizens, the Los Angeles Fire Department is ordered integrated. Resistance within the department delays integration for more than a year.

Oct. 7, 1957: The Los Angeles City Council approves a land swap, trading Chavez Ravine -- hard-scrabble home of 1,000 Mexican-American families -- to Brooklyn Dodgers owner Walter O' Malley for Wrigley Field in South Central. Families are later forced from their homes in an eviction battle.

April 2, 1959: The 136-acre Bunker Hill urban renewal project is launched, the start of a process that replaced the homes of Mexican and European immigrants with high-rise office towers.

October, 1959: Community activists beat back an effort to tear down Simon Rodia's Watts Towers.

1962: Los Angeles Police Chief William H. Parker orders all LAPD units integrated.

Jan. 28, 1963: Gilbert Lindsay is appointed to the Los Angeles City Council, the first black ever to serve as councilman. Tom Bradley wins election to the council three months later.

Aug. 1, 1963: The ACLU, the NAACP and black and Latino parents file a lawsuit demanding the desegregation of Los Angeles city schools.

Nov. 22, 1963: President Kennedy is assassinated in Dallas.

Feb. 21, 1965: Black nationalist leader Malcolm X is assassinated in New York.

Aug. 11-17, 1965: The Watts riots, sparked by a routine traffic stop, near South-Central Los Angeles. After six days of rioting, thirty-four people lay dead, over 1,000 are hurt, nearly 4,000 are arrested, and property damage is estimated at about \$40,000,000. The National Guard is called in to restore order.

December 2, 1965: The Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots (the McCone Commission) issues its report, *Violence in the City: An End or a Beginning?*, citing hatred and resentment of the police as symbols of authority, the absence of jobs for blacks, and the lack of good schooling for black children as the fundamental causes of the Watts riots. Warren Christopher, vice chair of the McCone Commission, later investigates the Los Angeles Police Department following the Rodney King beating before becoming Secretary of State in the Clinton administration.

Feb. 27, 1966: The federal government announces a \$7.6-million reconstruction project for Watts, where riot damage was estimated at \$40 million.

March 15, 1966: Rioting again breaks out in Watts; two men die.

April 4, 1968: Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is assassinated in Memphis, Tenn.

June 5, 1968: Robert F. Kennedy is assassinated in Los Angeles.

January 17, 1969 Black Panther Leaders Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Higgins are assassinated at UCLA.

Aug. 29-30, 1971: An East Los Angeles parade to protest the Vietnam War turns into rioting that later spreads to Wilmington and South Los Angeles. Newsman Ruben Salazar, a leading spokesman for Chicano rights, is killed by a sheriff's deputy's errant tear-gas canister.

Dec. 28, 1971: The city of Irvine is incorporated. It will grow over two decades to become North America's largest master-planned community, a city of 110,000 with little crime, no poverty and excellent schools barely 30 miles from Los Angeles.

June 29, 1972: The U.S. Supreme Court declares the death penalty unconstitutional.

July 1972: Geronimo J. Jaga (Pratt) (preferred capitalization) is convicted for the murder of a woman in the Santa Monica tennis court murder case. Mr. Pratt, a leader in the Black Panther Party, proclaims his innocence and maintains that he was 400 miles away in Oakland, California, at a Black Panther meeting at the time of the killing. Mr. Pratt serves 27 years in prison, including the first eight in solitary confinement, before a state habeas court vacates his conviction and life sentence on May 29, 1997.

May 24, 1973: Reversing the results of an election four years earlier, Los Angeles City Councilman Tom Bradley defeats Mayor Sam Yorty, 56% to 34%, to become the city's first black mayor.

May 17, 1974: Members of the Symbionese Liberation Army, kidnapers of newspaper heiress Patricia Hearst, are surrounded at a South-Central Los Angeles hide-out. Five occupants die in gunfire and flames touched off by police tear-gas canisters.

April 30, 1975: As the South Vietnamese government collapses, American troops evacuate Saigon. More than 140,000 refugees flee the country over the following two months; about 60,000 eventually settle in the Los Angeles area.

Sept. 2, 1977: Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co. says it will close its passenger tire plant in South-Central Los Angeles by month's end, eliminating about 550 jobs.

June 6, 1978: By a 65%-35% margin, California voters approve Proposition 13, the landmark state constitutional amendment that cut property taxes by two-thirds and made it harder to raise local taxes.

Jan. 3, 1979: Eulia Love, 39, is shot and killed by two Los Angeles police officers called to her South-Central Los Angeles home in response to a dispute about an unpaid gas bill.

Oct. 15, 1979: Reformist junior officers launch a coup in El Salvador. More than a decade of civil war follows, launching an exodus of an estimated 300,000 refugees to Los Angeles.

Jan. 31, 1980: A federal report says the inflation rate in Los Angeles during the previous 12 months was 16.5% -- the highest among the nation's big cities -- as escalating housing and energy costs cut into families' purchasing power.

March 19, 1980: Firestone Tire & Rubber Co. announces plans to close its tire factory in South Gate, a 52-year-old plant that lent its name to one of the county's major east-west thoroughfares.

May 16, 1980: Magic Johnson, a 20-year-old rookie, leads the Lakers to the National Basketball Assn. championship with a 123-107 victory over Philadelphia.

Jan. 20, 1981: Former California Gov. Ronald Reagan is inaugurated President following his landslide victory over President Jimmy Carter in November.

March 16, 1981: The Los Angeles Board of Education votes to end its three-year program of mandatory busing as quickly as possible.

April 9, 1981: Fernando Valenzuela opens the Los Angeles Dodgers' home season, shutting out Houston 2-0 and escalating "Fernandomania," the phenomenon that helped draw thousands of Latinos to Dodger Stadium.

Sept. 21, 1982: Bethlehem Steel Corp. says it will shut its 52-year-old South-Central Los Angeles mill by the end of the year, eliminating 1,100 jobs.

1983: the United States Supreme Court issues its decision in *City of Los Angeles v. Lyons*, 461 U.S. 95 (1983). The Court held that the plaintiff, a black motorist who was placed in a chokehold following a routine traffic stop, did not have standing to seek an injunction prohibiting the Los Angeles Police Department from using chokeholds to effectuate an arrest, because he did not demonstrate a serious likelihood of being subjected to a chokehold again in the future. The holding represented a defeat for the plaintiff and for the American Civil Liberties Union, which filed the suit. However, non-litigation forms of advocacy resulted in a victory for police reform when the City of Los Angeles banned chokeholds in 1982 after the police killed sixteen people, including twelve black men, using the chokehold during routine arrests.

June, 1983: A poll by the Urban Institute finds that about 70% of Southern Californians believe the influx of illegal immigrants has an unfavorable effect on the state. In Los

Angeles County, almost 60% of blacks say illegal immigrants are taking jobs away from legal residents; only a minority of whites agrees.

July 28, 1984: Under the leadership of Peter V. Ueberroth, the Summer Olympics open with pomp and spectacle at the Coliseum.

Feb. 6, 1985: Police Chief Daryl F. Gates rides aboard the LAPD battering ram as it knocks a hole in the wall of a suspected Pacoima rock house. They find less than one-tenth of a gram of cocaine, and the district attorney's office refuses to file charges.

June 4, 1985: Michael Woo becomes the first Asian-American to be elected to the City Council.

Oct. 17, 1986: Congress approves the Immigration Reform and Control Act, creating an amnesty program for illegal immigrants and barring employment of illegals who do not qualify.

Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1987: Michael Milken, directing Drexel Burnham Lambert's "junk-bond" operations from an X-shaped desk in Beverly Hills, earns \$550 million in salary and bonuses.

Sept. 15-16, 1987: Pope John Paul II visits Los Angeles, celebrating multiethnic Masses at the Coliseum and Dodger Stadium.

1988: Undercover investigations into corruption in the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department begin in Operation Big Spender. As of December of 1993, nineteen deputies had been convicted and the investigation was continuing.

Aug. 1, 1988: Eighty Los Angeles police officers raid two neighboring apartment buildings on Dalton Street in South Los Angeles, destroying walls, stairways, furniture and clothing on orders to render the buildings "uninhabitable." None of the residents were charged with a crime, and the city ended up paying more than \$3.8 million in damages following a law suit.

Jan. 14, 1989: In a videotaped "sting," an NBC camera crew watches as Hawthorne Police Sgt. Don Jackson, a black man dressed in mechanic's coveralls, is roughly arrested by Long Beach police.

Jan. 23, 1990: A traffic stop by sheriff's deputies leads to a melee with Nation of Islam members and the shooting death of Oliver R. Beasley, inspiring protests.

April, 1990: The population of eastern Ventura County tops 250,000, up from 14,000 in 1960. About 81% of the region's population is white, and many of its residents commute to jobs in L.A.

September 25, 1990: The NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund, Inc., and other civil rights attorneys file a class action against the Los Angeles County Sheriff's department alleging that deputies in Lynwood, California, a predominantly Hispanic community near South Central Los Angeles, systematically engaged in the use of excessive force, racial harassment, and illegal searches and seizures. Plaintiffs sought injunctive relief as well as damages in the case, *Thomas v. County of Los Angeles*. The LDF filed the suit in part to revive injunctive relief against abusive police practices in the wake of the Supreme Court decision in *Los Angeles v. Lyons*, 461 U.S. 95 (1983).

January-February, 1991: Nine Southland residents, none from Los Angeles, are killed in the Persian Gulf War.

Feb. 19., 1991: City Councilwoman Gloria Molina, a laborer's daughter, is elected to the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, the first Latino and the first woman elected to the five-member board.

March 3, 1991: Four Los Angeles police officers beat and arrest Rodney Glen King while 23 others stand by and do nothing. George Holiday captures the beating on videotape from his apartment across the street and delivers the tape to a local television station on March 4. The tape is broadcast around the world, galvanizing international attention on police brutality in Los Angeles.

March 7, 1991: The Los Angeles County District Attorney dismisses all charges against King.

March 15, 1991: Four Los Angeles police officers -- Sgt. Stacey C. Koon and Officers Laurence M. Powell, Timothy E. Wind and Theodore J. Briseno -- are arraigned on felony charges stemming from the King beating.

March 16, 1991: Soon Ja Du, a Korean-American grocery store owner, shoots to death Latasha Harlins, a fifteen-year old African-American girl, after Ms. Du accused the girl of trying to steal a \$1.79 bottle of orange juice. A security camera in the store captures the shooting on videotape. The shooting exacerbates racial and ethnic tensions in Los Angeles in the wake of the Rodney King beating.

April 1, 1991: In response to the King beating, Mayor Tom Bradley appoints Warren Christopher to head the Independent Commission on the Los Angeles Police Department (the "Christopher Commission") to investigate the Los Angeles Police Department.

April 4, 1991: The Los Angeles Police Commission places Los Angeles Police Chief Daryl Gates on sixty-day leave. Gates enjoys civil service protection against being fired. The Los Angeles City Council reinstates Gates the next day.

May 7, 1991: Gates fires probationary officer Timothy Wind and suspends without pay the other three officers who have been criminally charged in the King beating.

May 10, 1991: A grand jury refuses to indict seventeen officers who stood by at the King beating and stood idle.

July 9, 1991: The Christopher Commission Report documents the systematic use of excessive force and racial harassment in the Los Angeles Police Department. The Report calls for structural reforms in the LAPD and the resignation of Daryl Gates.

July 19, 1991: Faced with a sluggish economy, General Motors announces plans to close its Van Nuys assembly plant the following summer, the last auto plant in Southern California.

July 22, 1991: Gates announces that he will retire in 1992.

Aug. 3, 1991: A sheriff's deputy fatally shoots 19-year-old Latino Arturo (Smokey) Jimenez in the Ramona Gardens housing project in East Los Angeles, touching off a four-hour, rock- and bottle-throwing melee with 300 residents of the project.

September 9, 1991: At the initial hearing on plaintiffs' motion for a preliminary injunction in the Thomas litigation, Federal District Court Judge Terry J. Hatter, Jr., states on the record that the court would favor an examination of the Sheriff's Department like the examination that the Christopher Commission conducted of the Los Angeles Police Department. Counsel for the plaintiffs convey that message to the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors at a public hearing on the Sheriff's Department the following day.

Sept. 10, 1991: Sheriff Sherman Block appoints a panel of community leaders to recommend reforms, but critics allege the proposal is meant to head off an independent investigation.

September 23, 1991: Judge Hatter enters a preliminary injunction in the Thomas litigation that requires all employees of the Sheriff's Department to follow the Department's own stated policies and guidelines regarding the use of force and the procedures for conducting searches, and requires the Department to submit use of force reports to the court each month in camera and under seal. The Ninth Circuit stays the injunction pending appellate review.

October 11, 1991: A jury convicts Soon Ja Du of voluntary manslaughter in the shooting death of Latasha Harlins.

Oct. 13, 1991: The Los Angeles Theater Center -- an innovative downtown company that often featured the work of minority playwrights and actors -- holds its final performances after years of financial troubles.

Nov. 6, 1991: The Los Angeles City Council approves spending \$7.1 million to settle a dozen claims of police brutality and excessive force, boosting total payments for the year to a record of more than \$13 million.

Nov. 15, 1991: Compton Superior Court Judge Joyce Karlin sentences Soon Ja Du to five years probation, four hundred hours of community service, and a five hundred dollar fine for killing Latasha Harlins. Ms. Du had faced eleven years in prison.

Nov. 26, 1991: Superior Court Judge Stanley Weisberg orders the trial of the four officers charged in the King beating to be moved to conservative and predominantly White Simi Valley.

Nov. 29, 1991: LAPD officers fatally shoot a 28-year-old black man, Henry Peco, who allegedly ambushed them while they investigated a power outage, prompting a standoff with more than 100 residents of the Imperial Courts housing project in Watts.

December 19, 1991: The Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors appoints retired state court Judge James Kolts to investigate the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department.

Dec. 20, 1991: The Los Angeles County grand jury declines to bring charges against five sheriff's deputies in four controversial, fatal shootings that occurred in August and September.

Dec. 28, 1991: Gilbert W. Lindsay, Los Angeles' first black councilman, dies at 90 after reigning as self-described "emperor" of the 9th District for 27 years.

April 2, 1992: A Lucky supermarket opens in the Baldwin Hills-Crenshaw Plaza, giving South Los Angeles its first new, major grocery store since the 1965 Watts riots. It would escape damage in the '92 rioting.

April 16, 1992: Willie Williams, an African-American police commissioner in Philadelphia, is named to succeed Daryl Gates as chief of the Los Angeles Police Department.

April 29, 1992: Four Los Angeles police officers win acquittals in their trial for the beating of Rodney G. King. Defendants Laurence M. Powell, Timothy E. and Stacey C. Koon

Appendix B. Rebuild LA Time Line

1992

- May 2, 1992 - Mayor Tom Bradley announces the creation of Rebuild LA, a joint effort by private and public funds to be operated by Peter Ueberroth, former baseball commissioner and head of the 1984 Olympic Games Organizing Committee.
- May 7, 1992 - Atlantic Richfield Co. said they plan to donate 500,000 for disaster relief to the United Way of Los Angeles.
- May 13, 1992 - Southern California Edison announced that they plan to contribute \$35 million in job training and economic development plan to restore the damaged communities.
- May 14, 1992 - Members of the riot-devastated areas of Los Angeles voice criticism towards the selection of Ueberroth, as to whether he has an understanding of the minority communities that he will be attempting to repair.
- May 30, 1992 – LAPD Chief Daryl Gates resigns after 14 years in office as Chief of Police. Outsider from Philadelphia, Willie Williams, is sworn in as the chief of the Los Angeles Police Department.
- June 4, 1992 - The voters of Los Angeles pass city charter amendment F, which removes civil service protection from the chief of police. The amendment was one of the recommendations of the Christopher Commission Report.
- June 11, 1992 - Ueberroth announces twenty-one members of the board for RLA, which includes LAPD Chief designate Willie Williams, Cardinal Roger Mahony, Councilman Mark Ridley-Thomas, actor James Edward Olmos, USC President Steven Sample, Governor Pete Wilson and Mayor Tom Bradley.
- June 17, 1992 - Pioneer Electronics said that it would donate \$600,000 for a two-year job training program in Watts for RLA to develop.
- July 27, 1992 - GM/Hughes pledges \$18 million to help RLA create jobs in LA.
- August 27, 1992 - After 45 years of producing 6.3 million vehicles, the GM plant in Van Nuys closed, laying off 2,600 employees of which 58 percent are Latino and Black.

- September 2, 1992 - Shell Oil Co., which saw more than 50 of its service stations damaged or destroyed during the revolt, pledged \$10 million to help rebuild inner-city areas of Los Angeles.

- September 17, 1992 - Los Angeles County District Attorney Ira Reiner announces that he will not seek re-election.

- September 24, 1992 - Mayor Tom Bradley announces that he will not seek re-election in June of 1993, after 19 years in office. He won a record 5 mayoral elections and after his departure, term limits are instituted to the mayor's office, limiting years in office to a maximum of two 4-year terms.

- September 30, 1992 - Computer giant IBM, joining an expanding group of corporations assisting the Rebuild L.A. task force, announced a five-year, \$31-million aid package to help revitalize the inner-city areas of Los Angeles.

- October 29, 1992 - Ueberroth announces to the board that 500 companies plan to invest \$1 billion into South-central Los Angeles.

- November 4, 1992 - Gil Garcetti is elected District Attorney of Los Angeles County

- November 10, 1992 - Toyota's American sales group and the Los Angeles Urban League announced plans to build a vocational center that each year will train 100 residents of Los Angeles' inner-city neighborhoods to be auto repair technicians. Torrance-based Toyota Motor Sales will spend \$3 million to construct, equip and operate the training center at an undetermined site. Over a three-year period, the Urban League gradually will assume control of the center.

- November 18, 1992 - More than one-fourth of the companies that Ueberroth and Rebuild LA has identified as being among those intending to invest heavily in Los Angeles' inner city on October 29, 1992, have no such plans, company officials told the *Los Angeles Times*. Of the 68 companies that Ueberroth claimed that were to invest \$1 billion into LA's "neglected areas," 20 of the companies said that they have no current plans for inner-city investment.

- November 23, 1992 - Former President Jimmy Carter visits Los Angeles to meet with Mayor Bradley and Ueberroth to discuss inner-city projects and RLA.

- December 10, 1992 - Under pressure from Latino leaders dissatisfied with their role in shaping efforts to rebuild Los Angeles, leaders of Rebuild LA have chosen Tony M. Salazar, a Latino community development specialist, as the organization's fourth co-chairman, to join Ueberroth, Kinsey, and Sanders.

- December 17, 1992 - Several hundred low-wage janitors protested at Rebuild L.A. headquarters demanding that the organization start focusing on improving working

conditions for the hundreds of thousands of workers in the city who live in poverty despite working full-time jobs.

1993

- April 17, 1993 - A federal jury convicts LAPD Sergeant Stacey Koon and LAPD Officer Laurence Powell of violating Rodney King's civil rights. They acquit former LAPD officer Timothy Wind and LAPD officer Theodore Briseno. There is no violence in LA in response to the verdicts.
- April 30, 1993 - About 150 union activists protested in front of RLA headquarters demanding that decent paying jobs be created, not just minimum wage jobs. They demanded the resignation of Peter Ueberroth. Co-chairman, Tony Salazar unsuccessfully met with the protestors, and eventually LAPD arrested 16 protestors on trespassing and other charges.
- May 21, 1993 - After just over one year of service, Peter Ueberroth resigns as co-chair of RLA while stating that he would continue to be a board member. In a news conference he stated that he was frustrated with the criticism and the lack of governmental support.
- June 2, 1993 - A coalition of African-American and Asian-American leaders unveiled a new project to help South-Central Los Angeles liquor store owners whose businesses were destroyed to convert to other types of businesses. The Liquor Store Conversion Program, which starts with a \$260,000 grant from the city, was developed by the Asian Pacific Planning Council and the Asian Pacific Americans for a New L.A. This is a consortium of 40 community groups with the support of the Community Coalition for Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment, the organization that has spearheaded the campaign to rebuild South-Central without liquor stores.
- June 8, 1993 - Richard Riordan, a wealthy Anglo Republican businessman and lawyer is elected mayor of Los Angeles.
- June 25, 1993 - Eight 7-Eleven stores reopened amid much fanfare, but Korean-American grocers charged that they have received unfair treatment by the Los Angeles city government in their efforts to reopen. Jerry Yu, executive director of the Korean American Coalition, said that although the Korean-American community applauded the stores' reopening, only three of 58 Korean owned convenience stores have been able to surmount the city's bureaucratic hurdles and get back in business.
- July 12, 1993 - RLA intends to scale back its agenda and restructure its plans to think smaller on at least two fronts. Rather than focusing primarily on attracting major corporations to create jobs in neglected neighborhoods -- a strategy that has met with mixed success. RLA will work to stimulate the development of small businesses by establishing loan and equity investment funds. Second, RLA officials plan to streamline

the scope of their activities, which have included task forces on issues ranging from job creation to youth programs and affordable health care.

- July 28, 1993 - At its first-anniversary meeting, attended by little more than half of its 78 board members, Rebuild L.A.'s board of directors directed the RLA staff to find new ways to involve the board more directly in setting policies and direction for the organization. Then the board, consisting of many of the city's top civic and business leaders, voted to add 16 members to the board expanding its ranks to 94 members, further enlarging a body that some say was already too unwieldy.

- August 4, 1993 - LAPD Sergeant Stacey Koon and LAPD Officer Laurence Powell are sentenced to 30 months in prison for the beating of Rodney King. Their careers as law enforcement officers are officially over.

- September 9, 1993 - In one of the largest proposals since rebuilding efforts to bring new industrial jobs and investment into the inner city began, a group of private investors announced plans to spend \$28 million to revive a defunct bottling plant in South-Central Los Angeles. It will employ up to 250 people from nearby public housing projects. The group, operating as the Neighborhood Beverage Co. and backed by former football player Roger Staubach and a Cleveland-based engineering firm, said it would refurbish the defunct 7-Up bottling plant at 51st and Alameda streets, hiring workers from the adjacent Pueblo del Rio housing project. The organizers are led by former Los Angeles Lakers basketball star Byron Scott, onetime Coca-Cola bottling executive Byron M. Jamerson and Jamerson's three brothers. They said the plant will offer workers minimum wages of \$9 an hour, as well as paid training, full health benefits, child care, employee stock ownership and profit sharing.

- November 10, 1993 - RLA makes plans to abandon its four co-chair (Salazar, Knisey, Sanders, and Wong) leadership and plans to appoint a single, unpaid volunteer with high-level corporate contacts to head the private organization. This was the original organizational structure that Ueberroth changed to take focus away from him as the only leader.

1994

- January 12, 1994 - Co-chair Bernard Kinsey announce that he will resign from post after serving 20 months.

- February 10, 1998 - Linda Griego was selected as RLA CEO earning 150,000 annually and Lodwick M Cook was chosen as the unpaid chairman.

1995

- March 10, 1995 - Lodwick M Cook announced that he was stepping down from RLA as the unpaid chairman.

1996

- September 6, 1998 - RLA begins search for an agency to continue the research and to inherit the databases.

- October 9, 1996 - RLA leaders chose the nine-campus Los Angeles Community College District to inherit the assets of RLA, which would include economic databases and \$200,000 in remaining cash. The district will go by the name LA PROSPER Partners.

Appendix C Task Forces for Rebuild L.A.

1. Business Development and Assistance/Enterprise. Rebuild L.A. liaisons: Rocky Delgadillo, Archie Purvis, Joel Rubenstein. Chairman: to be named.
2. Construction. Rebuild L.A. liaison: Arnaldo Beltran. Chairmen: David Black, Swinerton & Walberg; William H. Sauerwald, Painters District Council No. 36.
3. Education/Training. Rebuild L.A. liaisons: Marcia Gonzales-Kimbrough and Richard McNish. Chairman: Philip L. Williams, Times Mirror Co.
4. Finance. Rebuild L.A. liaison: Rena Wheaton. Co-chairmen: Cody Press, Merrill Lynch; Tom Decker, Bank of America.
5. Health/Human Services/Youth. Rebuild L.A. liaison: Annie Cho. Co-chairs: Maria Contreras-Sweet, Seven-Up/Royal Crown Bottling Co. of Southern California; Hugh A. Jones, Kaiser Permanente; Dr. Robert Tranquada.
6. Insurance. Rebuild L.A. liaison: Al Osterloh. Co-chairs: Stephanie Patterson, RFP Insurance; Ray Bacon, retired state deputy insurance commissioner.
7. Media/Communications. Rebuild L.A. liaison: Fred MacFarlane. Co-chairs: Dennis Holt, Western International Media; Jo Muse, Muse Cordero Chen; Howard Neal, KFI/KOST; Betsy Berkheimer, Berkheimer Kline Golin Harris.
8. Philanthropy. Rebuild L.A. liaison: Jerry Arca. Chairman: Dennis Collins, James Irvine Foundation.
9. Racial Harmony and Discourse. Rebuild L.A. liaison: Jai Henderson. Co-chairs: Antonia Hernandez, Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund; Ki Suh Park, Gruen Associates; Police Chief Willie L. Williams.
10. Urban Planning (Environment, Housing, Land Use, Transportation). Rebuild L.A. liaison: Jackie Dupont Walker. Co-chairs: Ed Avila, Community Redevelopment Agency; Felicia Marcus, Board of Public Works; Steven Sample, USC; Jackie Tatum, Department of Recreation and Parks.
11. Volunteers. Rebuild L.A. liaisons: Rick Ellison and Jimetta Moore. Chairman: Bruce Corwin, Metropolitan Theaters Corp.

Appendix D

New Board Members to RLA, July 28, 1994

1. Japanese Business Assn. President **Kazunori Amano**
2. Deputy Los Angeles Police Chief **Ronald C. Banks**
3. Food 4 Less Chairman **Ronald Burkle**
4. contractor David Honda, Southern California Edison Vice President
5. **Mike Mendez**, Black Business Assn.
6. Chairwoman **Mary Ann Mitchell**
7. Walt Disney consumer products senior Vice President **Nancy Rahnasto**
8. pastor and religious broadcaster **Gene Scott**
9. Los Angeles Business Journal associate publisher **Matt Toledo** and
10. Councilwoman **Rita Walters**.

Resigning Board Members, July 28, 1994

1. American Savings Bank Chairman **Mario Antoci**
2. Hughes Aircraft Co. Chairman **C. Michael Armstrong**
3. attorney **T.S. Chung** (who has moved to Washington to work for the Clinton Administration),
4. Metropolitan Theaters Corp. President **Bruce Corwin**
5. Pueblo del Rio Housing resident site coordinator **Annie Mae Curry**
6. boxer **Oscar De La Hoya**
7. pastor **William Epps**
8. city librarian **Elizabeth Martinez**
9. Southern California Gas Co. President **Warren I. Mitchell**
11. actor **Edward James Olmos**
12. Union Bank President **Tamotsu Yamaguchi**
13. developer **Ira Yellin**
14. Los Angeles Police Chief Willie L. Williams,
15. City Councilman **Mark Ridley-Thomas**
16. Southern California Edison Chairman **John Bryson**