
VOTE FOR ME: POLITICS IN AMERICA

PART TWO: MAKING A BIG NOISE

Opens with montage of scenes from Fourth of July festivities.

A young girl waves an American flag beside a poster urging people to vote.

Small children are wheeled through the festivities on carts surrounded and emblazoned with the American flag.

A choir rehearses the National Anthem.

Red, white and blue balloons are released and float towards the sky.

CHOIR

Oh, say can you see by the dawn's early light.

Cut to New York Street demonstration by Cuomo and Pataki supporters.

MS of irate Cuomo supporter.

IRATE CUOMO FAN

Mario, Pataki's a bum. Mario, Pataki's a bum. He's a bum Mario Cuomo.

Cut back to Choir.

CHOIR

What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming.

Dissolve to protesters at the Maggie Lauterer/Al Gore campaign rally. Pan down the line of people waving protest signs like "Al Gore, more dangerous than a nuke!" People are voicing support for Congressman Charles Taylor and chanting "The party's over!"

Cut to MS of Texas lobbyist Dee Simpson with an unidentified lawyer.

DEE SIMPSON

You know, I've always looked at it this way: that politics is what we do instead of shooting our opponents. You know, you do politics and that's why we keep lawyers around, otherwise you guys are worthless, you know?. So we do politics as a way of not shooting at people.

Cut to MS of Cuomo and Pataki supporters facing off.

CUOMO SUPPORTER

Your boy's gonna lose. Your boy's gonna lose. Your boy needs help.

PATAKI SUPPORTER OC

You don't know s---

Camera pans to MS of Cuomo Supporter.

CUOMO SUPPORTER

Yeah, you don't know shit 'cause you're holding shit.

Fade to black.

Chapter title:: "Part Two -- Making a Big Noise, What you have to do to get a politician's attention."

Choir finishes song.

CHOIR

...And the home of the brave.

Cut to LS of Men in American Revolution costumes firing guns to the sky to mark beginning of GOP festivities in Georgia.

Pan of marching band. Pan of people passing by in floats. Cut to MS of old GOP couple.

GOP WOMAN

One of the first things his dad asked me when I met him was: are you Republican or Democrat?

GOP MAN

Then he told her that she was gonna be a Republican if she stayed in our family so.. thirty four years she's been a good Republican.

Cut to MS of Liz Carpenter, former press secretary for Lady Bird Johnson..

LIZ CARPENTER

I am a Democrat. I'm a yellow dog Democrat but I am a Democrat because I believe they're a party of the people. I believe they care.

Cut to LS of Bride.

BRIDE

I'm a Republican because I believe that the government should stay away from our lives as much as possible. I'm real big on the federalist idea that we seem to have gotten away from in this country.

Cut to MS of John Shelton Reed, an academic with a focus on the South.

JOHN SHELTON REED

People ask me why I'm a Republican and I say it's because the Democrats killed my great great grandfather. Uh.. I think that's a pretty good reason.

Cut back to GOP festivities. Camera pans marching band.

NARRATION

Although they sometimes seem like bloated relics from a bygone age the two big parties still have something to offer many Americans.

Cut to LS of two mascots: one with Donkey face on and other with Elephant face on shaking hands with each other.

Cut to MS of Mike Turpen and the Russians. Interpreter translates.

TURPEN

To be a Democrat you have to be optimistic. To stay a Democrat you have to be a humorist. Are you with me?

Cut to high angle MS of wagon with poster that says: General Washington for President.

NARRATION

They're the easiest way of finding like-minded candidates who will presumably advance our views once in office.

Cut to LS of woman with elephant puppet.

WOMAN

We love all children- born and unborn.

Cut to MS of two young women vox pop.

YOUNG WOMAN

I'm very tired of paying taxes for programs that I don't believe in.

Cut to MS of older male Democrat.

OLD MAN DEMOCRAT

The Democrats stand for the working man.

Cut to MS of Buddy Cianfrani, an Italian-American ward leader in Philadelphia.

CIANFRANI

I've always said, you know: if you've got more than ten dollars you shouldn't be a Democrat.

Cut to MS of two guys at picnic.

FIRST MAN

Really, the only difference between the Democrats and the Republicans is that the Democrats tax and spend and the Republicans borrow and spend. Same thing. They're gonna get our money.

SECOND MAN

In his opinion.

FIRST MAN

In my opinion.

Cut to interview with Minnesota journalist DJ Leary.

DJ LEARY

The people at a Democratic convention in Minnesota look like they either hitch hiked in or fell off a freight train on their way through. These do not look like people who probably are in the head of government or anything like it. You go to a Republican convention and its... and its an entirely different picture. I mean these people got white shirts and ties and when the Chair says, "the delegates will be seated," they actually sit down!

Cut to LS of marching band again.

NARRATION

Nowadays we like to proclaim our independence. But we tend to get our party loyalties from the same folks who taught us how to walk.

PARTISANS OF VENTNOR POOL

Cut to MS of Trinchi Trinchitella, the Chairman of the Condominium Owners of Century Village East. He is the unofficial Democratic party boss of Century Village.

TRINCHI

I remember my mother, Lord rest her soul when she used to say to me we had to go to vote. She's, well she'd say that.. ..they wouldn't let me go in the booth with her because she needed assistance but they'd have one of the inspectors -- this was in New York. So she'd say, with her cane, she'd say: "La Stella" - the star. The star was the Democrat you know, "Make sure the star." And that's the way our people are - the Democrats.

Cut to musical montage of Century Village, Florida with Billie Holiday's "On the Sunny Side of the Street"

SONG

Grab your coat and get your hat, leave your worry on the doorstep. Just direct your feet, to the sunny side of the street.

Cut to scenery passing from a car.

SONG

Can't you hear a pitter pat...

Cut to LS of a group of women retirees in a swimming pool.

NARRATION

Sometimes the culture of a district is so distinctive

Cut to MS of Retiree with sunglasses floating in the pool.

NARRATION

that one party rules supreme.

Cut to LS of old couple unfolding deck chairs on the beach

NARRATION

The voters know just where they stand and outcomes are never in doubt.

Cut to old man swinging at golf ball.

NARRATION

Like the voting block at the world's largest condo complex where the average citizen is sixty-eight years old.

Cut to LS of two old men in swimming pool.

NARRATION

And suntanned.

Cut to LS of couple playing shuffleboard

Cut to LS of two women chatting by the pool side.

Cut to MS of Ed Levine.

ED LEVINE

Let me put it this way: there's something here for everyone. Whatever it is, whatever your tastes are, there's something here for everyone. If you can't be happy here you can only be happy in heaven.

Cut to group of women standing in the pool.

OLD WOMAN

This is Paradise! (Laughter)

Title: "The Partisans of Ventnor Pool, Century Village, FL"

Cut to interview with Len Mitchenkoff.

LEN MITCHENKOFF

In the primary, which was last month, we had eight Republican votes in the entire village. Eight votes of Republicans. The rest was all Democratic. (Laughs)

Cut to MS of Ed Levine.

INTERVIEWER OC

So if a Republican comes down here and puts out his hand what happens?

ED LEVINE

We would shake it: Hello, how are ya, good to see ya, by the way I'm busy.

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Cut to LS group of men in Ventnor Pool.

Camera pans with John Rayson, a Florida State Representative and Eli Wallenstein.

ELI WALLENSTEIN

Hey Jack, how ya doin'?

JACK

Oh pretty good.

WALLENSTEIN

You know John, Representative John Rayson?

JACK

I voted for him!

WALLENSTEIN

I know you did

JACK

I ate at the same table with him at the men's club

Cut to CU of Rayson.

RAYSON

I'm running for State Representative. I want you to vote for me November the eighth okay?

Camera pans down to pool.

OLD MAN

That's for sure. There's no chance any other way.

Cut to interview with John Rayson standing by the pool.

JOHN RAYSON

This is Ventnor pool, one of my favorite pools, I've got a good base of support here. They have Democratic clubs in century village that are very active and some of the leaders of the Century Village Democratic club -- this is their pool. It's kinda territorial: this is my pool, that's not my pool type of stuff.

Camera follows Rayson approaching two gals in lawnchairs.

WOMAN #1

So now that you're in, what now?

RAYSON

I got a Republican raising his ugly head. We gotta beat him. Tomorrow we got a rally. I want you to come to our.. we're having refreshments, please come over -- right by, you know where Temple Young Israel is? By Rayson headquarters?

WOMAN #2

Yeah, oh I know Rayson yeah.

Cut to MS of Rayson.

RAYSON

There's a dance tonight. Are you going?

WOMAN #3 OC

Yeah.

RAYSON

Are you?

WOMAN #3

Are you going? Are you gonna be there?

RAYSON

It depends. I need to get somebody to get me in. I need a date.

Camera pans down to two lawnchair women.

WOMAN #1

Oh.

WOMAN #2

Don't listen to him, why do ya listen to him? He's kiddin' with ya.

Cut to camera panning as Rayson meets more residents of Century Village.

RAYSON VO

They like people to come around and have the mountain come to Mohammed and visit them in the pools. Most of them are from the Northeast. Many are from New York and they will tell you if they have a problem.

Cut back to Rayson by pool side interview.

RAYSON

They will tell you what they like and what they don't like and they love to argue politics. It's great.

Cut to LS of woman with problem.

WOMAN WITH PROBLEM

What are you gonna do about the water? If you listen to the health department and they're talking about all the bad water that we have that we can't drink.

RAYSON

You call my office and we'll have 'em the health department test it.

WOMAN WITH PROBLEM

Right. Great.

RAYSON

I've been drinking the water.

Cut to MS of partisan women at pool.

PARTISAN

Limited casino. I was told that you were against it.

RAYSON

Well let me tell you this.

Partisans in the pool all start talking over each other.

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Camera pans to LS of Rayson.

RAYSON

Time out, time out. Here's the thing.

Cut to LS from another angle of Rayson with partisans in pool.

NARRATION

The Century Villagers have mastered the most basic rule of American politics: if you have the numbers and you know it, the politicians will listen.

Cut to interview with Len Rudman.

LEN RUDMAN

The fifteen thousand people that are here -- we can get out eight thousand votes.

ED LEVINE OC

C'mon. We've gotten out better than ten thousand.

Camera pans over to Ed Levine.

ED LEVINE

As soon as it affects us. If they were to have any legislation touching social security guaranteed twelve thousand votes- guaranteed -twelve thousand votes.

Cut to MS of woman by the pool wearing a straw hat

STRAW HAT

We have the time, we have the interest and we have the (woman off-camera says "power") the power.

Cut to woman in pool.

WOMAN

And then, of course, come voting time- if people don't come out to vote our captains of our districts picks their ass up and they go into the various different homes and get them and remind them.

VOICE OC

Watch your language.

NARRATION

In a world of fiercely competing interests,

Cut to camera panning with John Rayson and Wallenstein in a golf cart, then to MS inside the golf cart.

NARRATION

--the race often goes to the best organized. Americans may share a culture or an ideology but they'll be ignored unless they band together to play the system and make some noise.

Cut to MS of Man with in blue fishing hat.

BLUE HAT

People have time to come down here and discuss it, bring the pros and cons and then we come and elect. Of course they always listen to me and if I got the -- if I say. No don't laugh.. my building I got a hundred sixty votes right away. I mean it, I'm serious they all come to me. Charlie, who should we vote for --

Fade to black.

“Sunny Side of the Street” song returns.

Epilogue: “John Rayson was returned to office in the general election.

In Century Village, he got 93% of the vote.”

Open to interview with former governor of New York Mario Cuomo.

CUOMO

This democracy respects involvement and rewards it and disdains aloofness and punishes it. If you stay away from this system you get hurt by this system. If you go into the system and use it well you will be rewarded by it.

Cut to interview with Dave Jennings, former GOP Speaker of the Minnesota House.

DAVE JENNINGS

If you want your agenda to be advanced in the real sense. That is, in the sense of passing laws that you have to find a way to elect a majority and to use that majority to affect change and that having debates on important issues and winning the argument isn't enough - you gotta win elections.

Cut to interview with Patsy Brumfield, Spokesperson for Mississippi Secretary of State, Dick Molpus, at Neshoba County Fair.

PATSY BRUMFIELD

I mean, life is politics, whether it's the local school board that makes decisions about what your children study in school or whether its.. they're gonna put a new street in near where I live and maybe that's not gonna be good for my property value. Everything about life has a connection with politics and if you're not plugged into that, things can happen to you that you lose control of and so it's important to understand how it works, and why it works and to help you make it work for you.

CHICAGO DALEY / ETHNICS

Dissolve to sunset over Chicago. Cut to shots of various red brick buildings. Cuts to train going by next to buildings. Piano music rises.

STUDS TERKEL VO

The original slogan of Chicago, the official slogan, “urbes in horto”. Latin. “City in the garden.”
But later on, as years passed--
Cut to interview with historian and writer Studs Terkel.

STUDS TERKEL

--the slogan changed from “urbes in horto” to “ubi, u-b-I-, est mea, m-e-a.” Ubi est mea,
meaning “Where's mine?”
Dissolves to WS of L and skyline and then a night-time driving shot.

SONG

Don't ever ask me what Chicago is unless you've got an hour, or two or three. 'Cause I need time
to tell you what Chicago is and what Chicago means to me.
Dissolves to liquor bottles and lounge singer, Tommy.
Cuts to different angle of Tommy at the piano.

TOMMY

Gee, it's my kind of town. Chicago is...
Cuts to night-time drive-by sign removal.

TOMMY

My kind of razzmatazz...

Cuts to interview with former Alderman Cliff Kelley.

CLIFF KELLEY

Politics is the breath of Chicago. It's something everybody has something to say about.
Everybody's got an idea, everybody knows that things should be done this way, everybody knows
who is a crook, everybody (laughs), everyone has an opinion.
Cut to MS white male with goatee and earring.

VOX POP

Screwed up, that's it, I can explain it in one word--screwed up.
Cuts to tearing down of Laski campaign sign from utility pole.

SONG

It's my kind of town. Everybody!

Cut interview with John Calhoun, coordinator of Mayor Richard Daley's phone bank.

JOHN CALHOUN

We can elect somebody that was laying six feet down in the cemetery.

Cut to headlines: "Now it's Laurino's time to be indicted," "\$40,000 bribe," "7 Indicted."

SONG

Chicago is my kind of people too.

Cuts to a politico on his way to jail and then to interview with journalist Bill Gleason.

BILL GLEASON

It's our continuing show, it never stops. There's always an Alderman going to prison, or a Ward committeeman, or somebody fleeing tax evasion. It's just, just spectacular.

Cuts to hooded guy pulling down a Corrigan sign surreptitiously as he walks by on a winter sidewalk.

SONG

Chicago is calling me home.

Cuts to interview with Chicago Tribune reporter John Kass in the empty City Council chamber.

JOHN KASS

They'll stab you in the back, but they'll also stab you in the front, too. And they'll tell you when they're coming and then they'll do it.

CU Tommy, lounge singer.

TOMMY

Mayor Daley, Oprah Winfrey, Chicago is...

Cut to a man pushing a tamales cart. Cut to women walking by a sign in Polish.

NARRATION

In Chicago, where everyone knows that the ultimate spoil of victory is power, ethnic tribes have clashed for decades.

Cut to shots of black women crossing the street

NARRATION

But if your ethnic group doesn't have the numbers to do it alone, you have to go looking for partners.

Cuts back to Tommy finishing song with title: "Change Partners and Dance, Chicago, IL"

TOMMY

Chicago, Chicago. My kind of town.

Cuts to white sign putter-uppers interviewed at a utility pole as they work.

GUY IN GRAY SWEATSHIRT

We're backing this guy because he's being supported from our old Alderman and Congressman and he's been working with him for 15 years and he's helped us in the past.

Cuts to same guys stapling a sign.

ALDERMAN ED BURKE VO

In politics there are no permanent enemies, no permanent friends, only permanent interests. It's a game of addition and multiplication, not a game of division and subtraction.

Cut to interview with Alderman Ed Burke.

ALDERMAN BURKE

And the key to politics is putting people together and adding up votes.

Back to interview with sign guys

GUY IN GRAY SWEATSHIRT

This guy? He's a Mexican. He's part Hispanic and I don't know if he's half Italian, half Mexican but it don't matter. I believe he's a good guy. Don't matter to me. I don't stick with Polacks cause they're Polacks, you know.

Cut to black. Card: "1976". Irish fiddle music comes up, very festive.

Up comes faded b/w slow motion MS of Richard Daley, Sr. walking in a parade with a crowd of men in suits behind him. He occasionally waves to people off camera. He wears a corsage, a banner across his chest and carries a stick of some kind.

NARRATION

The master at building coalitions was Mayor Richard J. Daley, the last big-city boss in America. When he died in 1976, it looked like no one would be able to successfully unite the Chicago tribes and govern as he did.

Fade to black. Card: "1983" A chanting crowd can be heard saying "We want Washington" over and over.

Cut to CU black woman reciting the chant and clapping her hands

Cut to WS large predominantly black crowd also chanting "We want Washington"

Cut to MS former Mayor Harold Washington at the microphone with his hands out

NARRATION

But seven years later, a charismatic Congressman named Harold Washington unified the city's huge black community with Latinos and progressive whites

Cut to shots of more people chanting

NARRATION

And became Chicago's first black mayor. The most powerful black elected official in America.

HAROLD WASHINGTON

You want Harold? (crowd assents enthusiastically) You got him!

Cut to crowd going nuts, waving signs and cheering

VOX POP MIDDLE AGED BLACK MAN VO

The issues that he was raising were different from politics as usual. So he was like the Great Black Hope.

Cut to Vox Pop interview

VOX POP MIDDLE AGED BLACK MAN

Like the Great White Hope during the Jack Johnson days. It would be like the Great Black Hope for the black people. We never had anything that was in our favor pulling for us.

Cut back to interview with Cliff Kelley.

CLIFF KELLEY

People felt like that was their hero, their champion. He was riding off into battle and he was always victorious.

Cut to slow motion shot of Harold Washington in the St. Patrick's Day parade, wearing a bright green banner. The Irish fiddle music returns. He waves to the crowds off camera.

ALDERMAN DOROTHY TILLMAN VO

Chicago was such a closed government. A lot of people were locked out. Harold opened the doors for a lot of people to come into government.

Cut to interview with Alderman Dorothy Tillman

ALDERMAN TILLMAN

And it wasn't just black and brown. It was other people too. So Harold just kind of opened those doors and said "come on in, let's work this thing out" and if there was anybody who showed a rainbow of people involvement, it was the late great Mayor Washington.

Cut to line of assorted parade officials with Washington in the center. Cut to interview with Gleason.

BILL GLEASON

He would have been the Mayor of Chicago for 20 years because he studied Richard J. Daley. He knew how Richard J. Daley did it and he did it the same way.

Cut to sync shot of Washington in parade sitting up in an open car. He answers an off-camera press question "Do you feel the spirit of St. Daley upon you?"

HAROLD WASHINGTON

Oh yeah, always, yes, yes. Particularly with this shillelagh in my hand. It's comforting. (laughs) If you can't have Daley's clout, get his shillelagh!

Cut to MS Washington in same parade, waving his hands to the crowd.

NARRATION

His first term was marked by bitter racial polarization. But he won re-election and started to make inroads in the white vote.

Cut to Vox Pop interview

VOX POP TOUGH WHITE GUY WITH EARRING

As far as I'm concerned he fixed my streets. He did a lot more for me and my family than most mayors did.

Cut to CU Washington at a lectern giving a speech

HAROLD WASHINGTON

I can think of no better forum, no more auspicious group of people to make this totally complete factual revelation, not just for the benefit of....

Cut back to interview with Gleason.

BILL GLEASON

He had that bombastic speaking style and all those 8-letter words which, see, Washington was very bright. He knew, Harold off the record, he'd laugh about that because he knew that this was the thing that impresses white people. Hey, this guy can use big words. Just think about that.

Here's this black guy--

Cut to CU Harold at microphone

BILL GLEASON VO

-- he can use big words. Think about that. Here's this black guy that can use big words.

HAROLD WASHINGTON

Based upon all the trappings and accouterments that have surrounded my public life, for the past 20 years...

Cut back to CU Gleason

BILL GLEASON

And of course most of them that say that can't use big words. So they're delighted. But people said, "Hey, this guy's a hell of a good mayor."

Cut to MS festive scene, Washington at a podium (can see Jesse Jackson and Don King behind him) singing "I saw a man dance with his wife, Chicago, Chicago! My home town"

NARRATION

And then, just as he had consolidated his power, Harold Washington died of a heart attack, leaving his constituency bereft.

Shot cuts to slow mo then dissolves to restaurateur Isola sitting at her counter in front of a huge portrait of Washington. Piano music plays.

Cut to old black man with dark hat and glasses sitting next to drawing of Washington. Cut to older black man in green restaurant booth under another Harold Washington portrait.

Cut to photo of Catfish Corner Restaurant owner Wallace Davis hugging Washington. Pan out to reveal Davis proudly holding the photo in front the restaurant. Cut to Isola sitting at her counter.

ISOLA

It was sad. Everybody cried. Because we had lost a dear friend. We will never have another person like Mayor Washington.

Cut back to interview with Tillman.

ALDERMAN DOROTHY TILLMAN

I've never asked God for anything that God didn't give me. With the exception that I asked God to give me Harold back. And I thought he was going to be alright. But he didn't come back. And I think it was a trauma to our community, and it was a trauma that our community did not overcome yet.

Cut to shot of restaurant scene with portrait of Harold on the far wall, zoom into portrait.

TILLMAN VO

Even myself now, I'm still angry at the fact that he didn't come back

Cut to interview with Chicago journalist Salim Muwakkil

SALIM MUWAKKIL

I didn't realize at the time just how unique he was. Because after his death, that coalition, that concert he had groomed so well just fell apart. The coalition fragmented. People flew off in various directions, and haven't come back together since.

Cut to black. Card: "1995"

Cut to 3-shot of Mayor Richard Daley, Jr. campaign workers under neon sign "Vote Democratic"

JOHN CALHOUN

My name is John Calhoun. I'm the coordinator for Mayor Daley's phone bank.

JOHN KOLOMAY

My name is John Kolomay. I'm an assistant to Mr. Calhoun running the phone bank. Mayor Daley, good luck next week Tuesday.

EMMANUEL DUDZINSKI

My name is Emmanuel Dudzinski. I'm a volunteer worker for the Mayor's campaign. Good luck Mr. Mayor.

Cut to St. Patrick's Day parade, this time it's the current Mayor Daley, walking forward in a line with other parade officials, waving to crowd off-camera.

NARRATION

Now Chicago has Mayor Daley back again. But this time it's Richard M. Daley

Cut to Daley in another parade. People wave Italian flags.

NARRATION

The son of the old boss.

Cut to shot of Daley at podium accepting a plaque. Cut to other shots of him shaking hands and accepting awards.

NARRATION

He's been Mayor for almost a decade and his name still evokes the old Daley magic.

Cut to Vox Pop interview

VOX POP WHITE MAN IN HIS LATE 30'S

I think Daley's doing a good job. I liked his father. What can I say? City's running good.
Cut to outdoor interview with John Kass

JOHN KASS

I think that people are voting for him on what they wish Chicago used to be. And what they hope it would remain. Sort of like a nostalgia.

Cut to various shots of Daley: addressing the City Council, in the back room of the Council schmoozing, surrounded by microphones and reporters at a press availability

JOHN KASS VO

Remembering the old man without the edges, without the cops beating people up, without precinct captains shaking store owners down if they didn't support the local candidate.

Cut back to interview with Kass.

KASS

All that stuff people conveniently forget and what we have left are sort of like a rosy-colored picture. But that's what he represents.

Cut to shot of Daley posing for photo with woman and her son

KASS VO

And for the time being, that's the icon he'll be.

Cut to man and woman, she wears an Ocasio t-shirt under her jacket

OCASIO CAMPAIGN WORKER

I think Daley's doing a good job in the community and that's what people remember because of his father. A lot of people like my mom and my dad they remember from his father. They love Daley because of that reason.

Cut to WS (we walk in with the camera) small gymnasium with Daley banners and red white and blue balloons. A salsa band plays.

WOMAN ANNOUNCER VO

Welcome to the Mayor of the City of Chicago, this is the Mayor of the City of Chicago (something in Spanish)

Cut to MS Daley schmoozing and laughing with Alderman Billy Ocasio and others

Cut to CU Daley with red white and blue balloons behind him.

NARRATION

In a great political sleight of hand, Mayor Daley has cracked open Harold Washington's rainbow coalition and carried off a prize:

Cut to shot of two young Latino men in suits listening to the priest

NARRATION

The votes of Chicago's fastest growing ethnic group.

Cut to Congressman Luis Gutierrez speaking at a lectern

LUIS GUTIERREZ

If we had a quota, can you imagine if Mayor Daley was a quota person? If we had a quota, we would have filled our quota a couple of years ago. And we wouldn't have had any more positions at City Hall in terms of the executive branch...

NARRATION

The Mayor's method is simple yet effective.

Cut to shot of man holding Daley sign. The face of his son on his shoulders is obscured by a smaller Daley sign.

Cut to CU Daley and Ocasio conferring. Pull out back to shot of Gutierrez at podium

NARRATION

He's handing out jobs.

GUTIERREZ

And there's going to be a fire superintendent named Marasco and the chief of staff at the Mayor's office, a guy who really has to handle the day to day issues of City Work is gonna be named Gary Chico. But if we had said that to people they would said (something in Spanish) You must be exaggerating. You don't have to do all of that. We'll vote for him anyways. For less. And if we had said that...

Cut to shot of Daley standing with Ocasio.

SOLIS VO

Latinos want to ally themselves with Richard M. Daley because of self-interest.

Cut to interview with Latino activist Danny Solis

SOLIS

If Richard M. Daley sees that Latinos are going to be a key swing group for his organization, for his administration, he's going to be attentive to us.

Cut back to Gutierrez

GUTIERREZ

My Mayor and your Mayor, the Mayor of the city of Chicago Richard M. Daley (applause)

MAYOR DALEY

Thank you very much Congressman Gutierrez, thank you.

KELLEY VO

Daley has given the Hispanics many many positions at the expense, not of whites, but of blacks.

Cut to interview with Cliff Kelley

KELLEY

The superintendent of schools is a gentleman of Hispanic descent. Used to be an African-American. The superintendent of police used to be an African-American it is now Hispanic. I could go on down the line. So blacks are being put in the position of farther to the back of the bus if you will and the Hispanics are moving up along with the white coalition.

Piano music plays. Cut to drive-by shot on the bridge. "I'm Going to Chicago" over a montage of streets and brick buildings.

SONG

I'm going to Chicago and I'm sorry I can't take you. I'm going to Chicago and I'm sorry I can't take you, because there's nothing there that an unlucky woman like you can do
Shot of wood fence gate with Vote for Milton Johnson sign painted in white.
Cross-fade to picture of Washington in a store window.

MUWAKKIL VO

The black community is still traumatized by the loss of Harold Washington. The white political community expertly exploited that sense of loss--

Cut back to interview with Muwakkil.

MUWAKKIL

--and that infuriated the activists. The more activist members of the black community saw it happening but were powerless to stop it.

Cut to black man's hands holding a Dump Daley bumper sticker.

MUWAKKIL VO

And so there was this tremendous anger.

Zoom out to reveal man selling bumper stickers and buttons at dump Daley rally

BUTTON MAN

Daley Daley got to go, we don't need the boy no mo'

A man approaches the table and greets the button man

MAN

Hey man, how ya doing?

They shake hands

BUTTON MAN

You got that man, you always look good. Have you got one of these on your car? Daley Daley got to go. Dump Daley before Daley dump you! I got a lot against Daley.

MAN NEXT TO BUTTON MAN

They ain't gonna print that.

BUTTON MAN

I wish I could tell what all I got against Daley.

MAN NEXT TO BUTTON MAN
You're wasting your breath.

BUTTON MAN
Daley, he's got to go.
Cut to cheering crowd at a rally for Joe Gardner, Daley's opponent. Cut to waving Gardner signs.

MAN AT PODIUM VO

So, friends, join me in bringing on, right now, the next Mayor of the city of Chicago, Joe Gardner! Come on, Joe!
Cut to Gardner and podium man hugging and then standing with joined hands raised.
Cuts to Gardner signs in the crowd and hands applauding as woman sings "We shall vote for Joe" to tune of "We Shall Overcome." Cuts to woman in sync at podium.

NARRATION

This year, as always, there's a black candidate opposing the Mayor. But even with rousing "Dump Daley" rallies for the faithful, the odds are long against the citywide strength of the new Daley coalition.

Cut to young man raising his fist and shouting "Let's go Joe"
Cut to older man standing a bit puzzled next to crowd waving Gardner signs
Cut back to woman really belting it out now: "Joe Gardner, he's our man, yes!" (Applause and cheers) Cut to State Senator Ricky Hendon at the podium.

STATE SENATOR RICKY HENDON

Harold Washington don't want you back down there in the grave with him. Harold Washington wants you to have life and not death! You crowd Harold down there. He wants you out of his grave. Dick Daley help put you down there. Dick Daley hope you stay down there.

MUWAKKIL VO

White Chicagoans have been notoriously unconcerned with the issues that are so important to African-Americans. So quite naturally--
Cut back to interview with Muwakkil

MUWAKKIL

--African-Americans feel pretty embattled. And whenever we feel that way, we tend to gravitate more toward nationalist solutions.

Cuts to crowd shots at Dump Daley rally with Alderman Tillman's VO.

TILLMAN VO

Daley got to go. Daley is very dangerous.

Cut to Tillman at the podium

TILLMAN

We got to dump Daley so that elected officials can be accountable to the people and not to a political boss. Daley's trying to take us back to the plantation. But Daley can't take us back if we don't agree to go back.

Cut to applauding man in crowd. Cut back to interview with Muwakkil.

MUWAKKIL

This is a tragedy for the black community, because now these are the times when we should be trying to cultivate coalitions. But instead, we're becoming much more nationalistic.

Cuts to young black man in audience. Cut to Hendon continuing his speech at the podium.

STATE SENATOR RICKY HENDON

We cannot allow these Uncle Toms and these Aunt Jemimas to continue selling us out to the white man, to Daley. We cannot allow that. We must stand up for our people.

Cuts to black men with signs standing up to cheer.

KASS VO

White ethnics don't want to share power with blacks. That's the way it is.

Cut to interview with Kass.

KASS

And in Latinos they find a partner, as a bulwark or rampart against an inevitable black ascendancy. So in Chicago, you have--

Cut to Alderman Ambrosio Medrano walking down the street with a woman campaign aide

KASS VO

--conservative political types that see Latinos as another ethnic group.

ALDERMAN AMBROSIO MEDRANO

(to an older white male constituent) How are ya? How's everything? We didn't mean to bother ya.

NARRATION

The Mayor's success has inspired a new breed of Latino politicians as comfortable with white ethnics as they are with other Latinos.

OLDER WHITE MAN

I saw you at the Italian American Club

MEDRANO

Alright, well, you know, we're looking for your help.

MAN

You got it. You got it. You're a good man.

MEDRANO

And your support. Just keep those fellows on their toes Tuesday.

MAN

Alright.

MEDRANO

Alright. Tell them to make sure they come out and vote. Thank you very much. And I'll see you Thursday.

MAN

Adios. Adios amigos.

MEDRANO

Hasta luego.

Medrano and his aide continue to walk down the street.

MEDRANO VO

My community has changed somewhat. I'm not only a representative for the Hispanic community.

Cut to interview with Medrano

MEDRANO

Not that I'm any less proud of that. I'm still very proud. But I'm more proud of the fact that I

have other ethnic groups who have come to my support and who have said, "Look, yes he is Hispanic, but what does that got to do with it? If he represents us well in the City Council, and if he's doing his job".

Cut to Medrano shaking hands with a white guy through a doorway.

MEDRANO VO

Maybe it's a happy medium between black and white, I don't know.

MEDRANO (addressing the man)

I'm doing ok. I'm just coming out and knocking on some doors (Man: Are you gonna win?) I'm gonna win big I hope. (They slap five) I need you to help me.

Cuts to an old codger behind the wheel of his car.

CODGER VOX POP

You're smart, you're with the right guy.

PRODUCER OC

Why?

CODGER

He's the winner, that's why. What do you think? (to Medrano as he pulls away) See you later, alderman. Take care of yourself.

MEDRANO

Hey, I need those people on 24th Street to come out.

CODGER

They'll be out.

MEDRANO

Alright.

Medrano and associate walk away.

Cut to rally in a gym for Daley and Medrano. They stand in a sea of sign and pose for pictures. Festive salsa music plays.

NARRATION

If politics is the tale of who gets what, then it's been a happy story for Latinos. And as they gain more positions of power, they cheerfully use their growing numbers of votes to re-elect their Latino representatives and their friend, Mayor Daley

MEDRANO VO

The bottom line in politics is numbers.
Cut to interview with Medrano

MEDRANO

If you produce the numbers, you're gonna be respected and you're gonna gain some power. And because of that, you're gonna be able to do some things for the people that you represent. The higher the numbers, the higher the percentage, the more powerful you are, the more respected you are.

Cut back to rally in the gym. Medrano and Daley shake hands warmly. Cut to the two of them working the crowd. Cut to interview with Danny Solis.

SOLIS

I think the media likes to have the stereotypical perception of where people of color, minorities, are at. It says well these are African-Americans, and these are Hispanics and they're both minorities, they're both people of color, they're both victims, so they must be together.

Cut to people in the gym, all holding large Daley signs, posing for a photo.

SOLIS VO

They're trying to put a square peg in a round hole.
Cut to interview with Kass

KASS

It's all about power and playing chess and Daley's brain trust has put together a chess game. You know, sort of like, you don't want to call it the Spanish Defense but in a way that's what it is.

Cut to Daley still schmoozing

Crossfade to large hand-painted Daley sign which reads "Daley Quien Mas? Who else?" with chants of "four more years" in VO.

Cut to MS Floyd Thomas, a candidate for Alderman in the 29th ward, in his office.

THOMAS

This community don't support Mayor Daley and his politics. So, just being linked up with Mayor Daley is a no-no around here. Our current Alderman is linked up with him.

NARRATION

But where would Chicago politics be without complications? If a black politician strays towards Daley, his opposition will make an issue of it.

Cut to Thomas being interviewed outside on the street.

FLOYD THOMAS

Sam Burrell, we put Sam Burrell in office. We made Sam Burrell the alderman over here.

NARRATION

And so challenger Floyd Thomas is playing a favorite election time game: trying to tag his opponent, Alderman Sam Burrell, with a Daley taint.

THOMAS

By him being a weak person, it's very easy for him to succumb to all the pressure and the powers of the office downtown. The Mayor probably called him in his office and put his hands around him, and said, "Sam your wife need a job, your son need a job, we'll take care of you. Just be one of the guys." And by Sam being a weak person from the beginning, it was very easy for him to succumb to a tremendous amount of power and pressure. That's the connection. That you don't get into bed with Mayor Daley and be on the top. You're gonna be on the bottom if you get into bed with Mayor Daley.

Cut to CU Alderman Sam Burrell. He, candidate for Alderman Carolyn Wheatfall Bearden and fellow candidate Thomas are having a radio debate on WVON.

CAROLYN WHEATFALL BEARDEN VO

No, I'm not guilty of that, I'm not guilty of that... I saw you, Floyd, tear down Sam Burrell's sign, you.

Cut to MS of Thomas, very animated, raising left hand.

THOMAS

I sure did. I will let you know, Floyd Thomas tore down some of Sam Burrell's signs because Sam Burrell's workers put his sign over the top o' mine.

Cut back to CU Burrell, looking uncomfortable

Cut back to Thomas

THOMAS

We've had one of Sam Burrell's workers, Melvin, come in and physically attack one of our workers!

Pan left to MCU DJ Lu Palmer.

LU PALMER

All right, Hold it! Don't you all get me started. Now I got to hear my cues.

Cut back to CU Burrell

Title: "29th Ward Aldermanic Debate"

Cut to WS everyone at the table in the station booth. Cut to CU Palmer at his microphone

PALMER

Ok, based on what I'm hearing off the air, we're gonna have a lively time tonight.

Cut to CU Thomas at the mic

THOMAS

Sam Burrell have turned his back on the black community. We put him in office. He turned his back, he jumps into bed with Richard J. Daley. He moved his office out of Division Street over to North Avenue, 5902 West North Avenue, Mayor Daley's office is at 5900 West North Avenue. Just right next door. Cut to Thomas at his HQ. He shows us a picture of Daley and Burrell's campaign headquarters

THOMAS

This is Mayor Daley's office, (he points with his finger) 5900 West North Avenue. This is Sam Burrell's office at 5902. Now you don't hang around next door in Jesse James' camp and tell me you don't believe in bank robbing.

Cut back to WVON round table. CU Thomas at the mic.

THOMAS

He need to let the people know where he stand. Every time you ask him a tough question, he haven't made a decision. What kind of alderman do we have that's afraid to make a decision before the election. When will you make up your mind, Sam?

Cut to CU man and woman listening. Cut to CU Burrell at the mic

ALDERMAN SAM BURRELL

I don't go around making my priority supporting candidates per se. I know all about the litmus test, I know all about racism, I--

NARRATION

Is Alderman Burrell with the Mayor or not? In the Byzantine world of Chicago politics, voters need to be attuned to every rhetorical nuance.

Cut to CU Bearden at the mic

PALMER OFF-CAMERA

You wouldn't come to a Dump Daley rally?

Cut back to Burrell.

BURRELL

I come to a support rally for Joe Gardner, that's what I came to.

PALMER OFF-CAMERA

But you wouldn't come to a Dump Daley rally.

BURRELL

Well, why would I waste my time with that? I mean if I was going to dump Daley, I would uh, go out, and uh--

Cut to various shots of this scene as they mumble words about the exchange.

PALMER

OK, hello, you're on the air

Cut to church scene. Several people are humming, their heads bowed in prayer. You can hear church music.

NARRATION

But politics is a business full of pragmatists. And African-Americans are no different from all the other Chicagoans who try to figure out how to get things from City Hall. For blacks willing to deal with the mayor, there's somebody they can call to make it happen.

BOWEN VO

Four years is an awful long time not to have an entree to the Mayor's office, to the Governor's office.

Cut to interview with Chuck Bowen with stained glass behind him

BOWEN

If we don't have a candidate that's an African-American, that's winnable, then we've got to get the

best guy who's gonna do the job that we have access to. And that's the most important word in all of politics, is access.

Cut to MS Bowen walking into an office.

NARRATION

Chuck Bowen's specialty is Chicago's hundreds of black churches and their influential ministers. They have needs that only a Mayor can fill and Bowen's job is to make it happen and reap the rewards on Election Day.

BOWEN

Mrs. Williams, how you doing? Bishop.

Cut to Reverend Clay Evans at his desk. An embroidery of MLK adorns the back of his chair

REVEREND EVANS

This how the pastors connect with the city. This is networking. Sitting down there working on my calendar writing, and so forth. Concerned about the whole man, which is the minister's great responsibility and obligation.

Cut to Bowen seated. He is looking at the minister and smiling. Cut back to Evans.

REVEREND EVANS

Politicians have found that out and that's the reason why they flock to our churches during election time. Trying to get us to vote for them and so forth. For we have a gathering every Sunday. Every Sunday, every Sunday. That a politician couldn't gather in six months. (faint church music begins to fade up)

Cut to CU two black men singing at church. Cut to Bowen taking his seat in a pew. Cut to Pastor Richard Nelson at the podium at the Greater Open Door Church.

PASTOR NELSON

I do push you and persuade you and prompt you and urge you to be involved in the political process. Then I also recommend certain people who are friends of mine.

Cut to CU black man looking intently at the pastor.

PASTOR NELSON VO

I say that to introduce a friend who is no stranger to this church

Cut to another man, looking on.

PASTOR NELSON

Mr. Charles R. Bowen who is the Executive Assistant to the Mayor of the City of Chicago. He's my friend, he's my brother, I trust him, he allows me to have access to the political process in this city, won't you receive him at this time. Mr. Chuck Bowen?

Bowen comes on to the stage (applause) and hugs Pastor Nelson.

BOWEN AT PODIUM

Good morning. (congregation responds with good morning) I am first here to give honor and praise to the one who makes all things possible

Cut to CU young black man organist

BOWEN VO

Pastor said it all when he introduced me.

Cut to CU black man with beard in his 30's looking up.

Cut back to Bowen

BOWEN

My job is dependent upon how well I have a relationship with pastors like Pastor Nelson. That's what I do. When he needs a favor, and he needs somebody to run and get some coffee for him, or get something signed for him in City Hall, he knows I'll perform that task for him.

REVEREND DeVILLE VO

We endorse Daley from our own conviction, not from what God said.

Cut to interview with Reverend DeVille

REVEREND DeVILLE VO

But if you can use me or want to use me with my parishioners and you want my endorsement then somewhere down the line you have to open the doors for me. If I'm gonna open my doors for you, then you open the doors for me. And this is what we have today.

Cut to interview with Cliff Kelley

CLIFF KELLEY

What some of these ministers may get out of the deal is something that's minute compared to what could be done if we really had a cohesive united, unified effort. They may get a vacant lot next to the church for a dollar or something of that sort. It's selling out your constituents, your community, for nothing. Cut to CU profile of a Reverend, raising his hand (clapping and organ music can be heard)

REVEREND

The Lord is still blessing me! (loud cheers and applause)

Cut to WS minister and choir behind him with red robes on

Cut to woman conductor of the church choir, red robe, dancing and singing

REVEREND EVANS VO

I'm concerned about the whole man. It's not just pie in the sky--

Cut to Rev. Evans and Bowen seated in chairs next to each other

REVEREND EVANS

And I do believe that there's something beyond the sky, in the sky. You don't have to do away with that. But we got to walk some golden streets here. Got to be able to eat some steaks here.

Got to be able to wear some robes here.

Cut back to exuberant church choir woman conductor. Cut young black man clapping enthusiastically. (choir is singing loudly)

MUWAKKIL VO

Black people are beginning to understand in this city that we have to do serious coalition politics, not waiting for the kind of charisma Harold Washington had, because he was a unique individual.

Cut to interview with Muwakkil

MUWAKKIL

Harold Washington was not simply a rhetorician, or an eloquent, charismatic spokesman, he was a wheeler dealer who knew the nuts and bolts of precinct politics. He knew what he had to do, he knew the people he had to talk to, the papers he had to sign, and the palms he had to grease. And he did that.

Cut back to choir. Cut to Bowen seated, listening to the singing.

NARRATION

The world of politics is filled with people like Chuck Bowen. For them, ideology takes a back seat to day-to-day concerns, and victory is the only goal. Because victory means sharing in the rewards of office. It means being paid attention to.

Cut to CU Daley, greeting people. Shot widens to reveal several people coming up to Daley to shake his hand.

KASS VO

Chicago politics is not about grand ideas. It's not about man's relationship to the state. This is not about great heroes. This is not, Achilles and Hector, ok? This is Richard Daley and Joseph Gardner.

Cut to CU Kass seated in the Council room

KASS

And what they're fighting over is the right to broker contracts and jobs.

Cut back to Daley getting into his car

KASS VO

It is about service. It's a fee for service arrangement.

Daley's car drives off.

Music, instrumental of "Chicago"

Intertitle: "One Year Later"

Cut to MS Daley in conversation with Doherty and another guy in a large, noisy room

NARRATION

Richard Daley was re-elected with 62% of the vote, including nearly a third of the black vote.

Continuation of same shot as Daley greets Alderman Tillman.

TILLMAN

Mr. President! How do you do?

DALEY

Hello, Congressman. Boy!

NARRATION

Alderman Dorothy Tillman had gone from being anti-Daley to pro-Daley.

Cut to MS Medrano at press conference.

MEDRANO

I made a terrible mistake for which I now will pay.

NARRATION

Ambrosio Medrano had followed the Chicago Aldermanic tradition a little too faithfully, and taken money from an undercover government agent.

Cut to MS Medrano talking to press.

MEDRANO

There's a saying. 'If you do the crime, you do the time.'

Cut to MS Danny Solis at noisy gathering

SOLIS

It doesn't matter if you're a nice guy. You're supposed to do the right thing...

NARRATION

He was replaced by Latino activist Danny Solis.

SOLIS

I've been told by my mom, I've been told by the Mayor, I've been told by friends, 'Don't accept any envelopes and do the right thing.' And that's what I'm about to do.

NARRATION

And Alderman Ed Burke was thinking about his re-election.

Cut to MS Burke, in his office.

BURKE

Es muy importante hablar espanol con mis amigos, pero es muy dificil tambien.

Fade to black. Jazz music in background.

Opens to car careening down country road. Cut to man walking a horse. A choir sings patriotic song: "This is my country"

NARRATION

There is an alternative to spending years building intricate coalitions to share power. You can run everything yourself.

Cut to pristine white church, quintessential New England scene. A man walks a horse.

NARRATION

That's how it's done in some places in New England, home to that celebrated exercise in direct democracy, the annual Town Meeting --

Cut to town hall sign. Cut to view of meeting from the window looking in.

NARRATION

-- where citizens can gather in the spirit of fellowship and harmony to decide the business of the town for the coming year.

Cut to MS regular citizen Donald Gaskin in striped shirt waving a program.

DONALD GASKIN

Let's stop adding money and throwing it into a dump that we've already closed. It is not a problem, let's be done with this. Dismiss it and get rid of the next one too!

Cut to Washington General Store owner Bill Lofgren addressing a small group.

BILL LOFGREN

How many men are on the highway patrol? There's five, right? (Someone OC says "four") Four, ok, four? Two thousand dollars in uniforms. How come? Small potatoes, but I'm tired of spending all my small potatoes.

Cut to CU middle aged woman holding a program addressing the speaker

WOMAN

How about if you just bought them all the same hat? How about if you could put a name badge on there. (Laughter)

Cut to MS man (holding a pen) with moustache smiling and shaking his head. Cut to line of people turning in ballots.

NARRATION

It's not a bad deal. Show up once a year and you, too, can micro-manage your town's budget.

Cut to LS Texas State Legislature dome. Dissolve to MS Texas lobbyist Brad Shields walking down the street. Percussion rises.

NARRATION

But if you live in a place with more than 600 people, you need to seek professional help. That's when it's time to call this man.

Instrumental of "I'm an Old Cowhand" over traveling shot of Texas lobbyist Brad Shields as he walks toward the Capitol.

BRAD SHIELDS

Most people in Texas obviously have to just live within the laws and have to comply with them, but I actually get an opportunity to change them. And it's really kind of an awesome feeling. Cellular phone rings and Shields fishes it out of his briefcase.

SHIELDS

Hang on a second. Hello, this is Brad Shields.

Cuts to rear view of Shields walking and talking on the phone with the Capitol in the background.

SHIELDS

Hello, Representative Guinness. How are you sir? What can I do for ya?

Cuts to outside interview with journalist Sam Kinch

SAM KINCH

The classic phrase is no Texan's life, liberty or property is safe while the Legislature's in session. And you see some of the reasons behind me. There are these people coming in and out of the Capitol. I mean, democracy sucks sometimes because it's just, it's not a neat process. Cuts to shot moving through crowded antechambers filled with lobbyists.

KINCH VO

But when you get plenty of lobbyists coming down here trying to influence policy, it gets even worse.

NARRATION

It's a fact of political life. If somebody is making laws, someone else is trying to influence them.

Cut to Shields schmoozing in the crowded halls.

SHIELDS

I'm looking for any of the health care lobby, to see if any of the hospital guys are here--

NARRATION

But writing a letter to your representative just won't do if you're a corporation or association trying to protect your members' interests. Enter the lobbyists. They'll share their powerful friends with you -- for a price.

Cut to interview with Lieutenant Governor Bob Bullock.

BOB BULLOCK

The lobbyists' my paid friends, because they're paid to be my friend. The only place in Texas that I know of where you have paid friends, here in Austin, TX.

Cuts to Mariachi band playing "Oh Boy" on the rotunda floor with Title: "Hat Dance, Austin TX"

Cuts to montage of individual lobbyists on their cell phones as music continues.

Music fades down over Brad Shields VO and after a few more shots of chatty lobbyists cuts to Shields on his cell phone at the Capitol.

SHIELDS VO

There are a class of lobbyists who can move mountains. They're the kind of people a corporation will pay a lot of money to make that one phone call. But there are lobbyists more like me, which are the jack-of-all trades, we do the grunt work.

Cut to MS Shields being interviewed.

SHIELDS

We do the day-to-day lobbying of passing legislation, or getting amendments put onto bills, and those are the everyday kind of lobbyists. That's what I present myself to be.

Cut to MS Shields addressing a conference room full of people

SHIELDS

I'm a lobbyist, uh, I almost might go as far as to say I'm a typical lobbyist. I'm not in denial, I know that's what I do, my therapist says it's good to talk about it, so that's why I'm here.
Cut to MS male audience member

SHIELDS

But it's a job that I sincerely love.
Cell phone rings. Cut back to MS Shields

SHIELDS

Hang on just a second. Hello, this is Brad Shields.
Cut to Texas lobbyist Babe Schwartz laughing as he walks down hallway with folders under his arm.

NARRATION

Babe Schwartz, longtime state senator turned longtime lobbyist, has stalked the halls of power in Austin for over forty years.
Cut to MS Schwartz greeting people as he walks into an antechamber.

SCHWARTZ

Ain't it wonderful? Ain't it wonderful never to be dead? Hi, how are you doing? Alright?
Cut to MS Schwartz greeting legislator

SCHWARTZ

Hi, Joel. Appreciate you coming out, ol' boy.

JOEL

What can I do to help you?

SCHWARTZ

I just wanted to talk to you

SCHWARTZ VO

Lobbyists by and large get a bad name because the public doesn't understand, that--
Cut to MS interview with Schwartz in blue oxford shirt on couch

SCHWARTZ

--the membership would not know anything about either side of ninety percent of the legislation up here if there was not a lobbyist representing a special interest who told them what that legislation was all about.

Cut to MS Schwartz's back as he talks to legislator at legislator's desk.

SCHWARTZ

I promised to bring over as you recall the John _____ performance review, because I don't want you to have to waste your time finding it...

Cut to interview with Jim Hightower

HIGHTOWER

Of course the lobbyists' say that they're the experts. And why shouldn't they be the ones that are writing the laws. I think of John Kenneth Galbraith who once said that "if all the experts were laid end to end it would be a good thing." I think the problem in our society is we have these experts who are writing laws not for the benefit of the public good, for the benefit of their good.

Cut back to crowded halls. Shot zooms out to WS of the crowded room.

DAVID MCNEELY VO

Many of these people are former legislatures or former legislative aides. They are people who know the process.

Cut to interview with journalist David McNeely.

DAVID MCNEELY

Its kind of like the person who charges a hundred dollars to fix a locomotive and it takes him 30 seconds. And the person says "Why should I pay you a hundred dollars for 30 seconds work?" And he says "Its only 50 cents for the screw that I turned a quarter turn. Its ninety-nine fifty to know which screw to turn." And that's sort of what you see going here. This bald haired guy who you see at the base of the stairs is a former state rep.

Camera cuts to different angle with an OS of the bald man mentioned.

Cuts to MS of white man with glasses.

DAVID MCNEELY VO

That fellow there is a former state senator and now a lobbyist.
Cut back to McNeely as he continues to point people out.

DAVID MCNEELY

The sort of short guy in the maroon coat is a former House Speaker Billy Clayton, now a lobbyist.

Cuts to WS including man being spoken about.

DAVID MCNEELY VO

The fellow talking on the phone is a former state senator, former House member, former gubernatorial aide, now a lobbyist.

Cut back to McNeely.

MCNEELY

The guy with his back to us here--
Cuts to slow-motion shot of man being spoken about

DAVID MCNEELY VO

a former member of the House of Representatives, now a lobbyist.

Cut back to McNeely.

MCNEELY

Legislators look at these other guys, that are former members, that are making 200, 300, 500 thousand dollars a year and they think, "I can do that." I mean, that is not brain surgery.
Cuts to MCU of Babe Schwartz

SCHWARTZ

Hugo, come here. Hugo, my man.
Camera pulls out for a 2 shot.

HUGO

What can I do for you?

SCHWARTZ

Nothing much my man. Hey, how's our coastal bill coming, coastal management?

HUGO

Great. We've got it. We've got it agreed to.

Cuts to CU hallway interview with Schwartz.

SCHWARTZ

After being a member, I like this a lot better. I only have to represent my clients and my conscience, and I don't have to talk to constituents about either one. I don't have to have anybody tell me that I'm not representing them well, or that I didn't answer their telephone call, or that I didn't smile at 'em at the grocery store.

Cuts to MS former Member of the State Legislature and now lobbyist Lena Guerrero in pink standing at base of stairs.

GUERRERO

I love being on this side of the door. And its like my, my former colleagues in the House, I miss them, I miss being on the floor of the House except on payday. (laughs)

Cuts to MS shot of Schwartz laughing.

SCHWARTZ

Ain't that good?

Cuts to WS of Shields in the crowd. Cuts to MS shot of Schwartz looking around in crowd. Cuts to CU in to crowd.

NARRATION

Newborn legislation is fragile and subject to raids from opposing interests. So the lobbyists have to be ever-vigilant, like mother hens shielding their young from predators.

Cuts to MS of Schwartz in the crowd

DEE SIMPSON VO

What they're doing is, they're waiting for members to come out. This is one of the only places you can catch them.

Cuts to MS of lobbyist Dee Simpson

SIMPSON

It looks like there's something crazy going on. Like someone's giving away tickets to something interesting. And their not. And what's really happening is they're waiting to talk to one guy or two women or another gal or something about one little item and they'll spend a lot of time doing

it.

Cuts to WS of Schwartz cross floor to catch up to a member

SCHWARTZ

Hey, oh Bob, I don't want to slow you down. That's the Kubiak bill and that's the limit of liability for all volunteer fire departments cause it.... And I know you've seen it and I know you're a co-author but I want to tell you it is.... We can pass this goddamn bill and every volunteer fire department in Texas will have limited liability of 100,000 and 300...

Cut back to Dee Simpson interview

SIMPSON

This is really the magic moment that they've all been waiting for. They may want a little bit of a language change, or they may want to have a hearing on it, or they want to get it out of committee or they've changed, they're verifying something, changing a vote...

Cut back to Schwartz schmoozing the legislator.

SCHWARTZ

In your bill, only those who chose to become a non-taxing district would have that limited liability?

MEMBER

That's right.

SCHWARTZ

And it would leave all these other folks out.

MEMBER

That's what I wanted.

SCHWARTZ

No, I know, I understand that. But a few of them would get the limited liability whether --

MEMBER

Well, we'll just see how it goes.

SCHWARTZ

See how it goes. Now I just want you to know--

MCNEELY VO

One of the problems is that the organizations and interests groups and professionals that have money can afford to hire good lobbyists.

Cut to interview with Dave McNeely

MCNEELY

The ones that don't have as much money, on behalf of small kids on AFDC or that sort of thing, they don't, ah, get taken care of as well, simply because they can't afford to have the people up here (cutaway to back of Schwartz) with the kind of access and experience to make those things happen. So what happens is, it's the golden rule. Those with the gold rule.

Cuts to WS of Schwartz at the checkout counter of the cafeteria, talking with State Senator Rodney Ellis.

SCHWARTZ

Can I pay 20 cents? Can I pay this one? How much is it? \$1.30? I'm gonna, I'm gonna file an ethics report.

Cuts to a WS of Schwartz with Ellis.

SCHWARTZ VO

It is a hands on, press the flesh, smile and be smiled at, keep your good humor and if you get mad, don't let anybody know it business.

Camera follows Schwartz and Ellis, Schwartz laughing.

ELLIS

If he thinks,..(inaudible) If he thinks I'm going to vote with him for a dollar 37 cents he has been drinking.

Schwartz grabs back ice cream.

SCHWARTZ

You've got to convince the public that you're sincere and honest and that you conduct yourself properly at all times. And once you learn to fake that you've got it made.

Cut to a bunch of lobbyists conferring by a stairwell.

MEMBER OR LOBBYIST

Isn't this the man who helped get all that money for UTMB in Dallas?

OTHER MEMBER

Yes. It was pork.

MEMBER

Pork?

OTHER MEMBER

Yeah.

MEMBER

Now aren't you trying to put UTMB out of business?

SCHWARTZ

No, I'm just trying to put them out of the business of competing with private practitioners.

MEMBER

You're trying to--poor old UTMB.

OTHER MEMBER

He wants the parent to stay in business.

Cut back to interview with Dee Simpson

SIMPSON

Politics is constantly making adjustments. Politics is always about fixing the last mess and we almost always forget and never tell the public that we just created a new one. (music fades up) But it's the nature of the deal. And it's buying time. There are a lot of elements of the society that are not committed to getting along together.

Cuts to aerial WS of rotunda floor with people crossing.

SIMPSON VO

And so, here we have it. We're stuck.

Two guys shake hands mid Rotunda then walk off in separate directions.

Fade to black.

Card: A Texas legislator earns \$600 a month. That wouldn't cover Brad Shields' cell phone bill.

Opens to interview with Dave Jennings, former Speaker of the Minnesota House

DAVID JENNINGS

I think it's widely viewed and certainly taught in the universities of this country that politicians are the leaders of our country. It's a crock. Politicians are the followers of the country, they're the professional followers.

Cut to scenes of State Senator Rodney Ellis schmoozing members on the legislature floor. Cut to other members conferring.

JENNINGS VO

They're brokers of interests. And if they're good at it, they're honest brokers. They try and get the players around the table, and make a deal that people can live with. Cut back to Jennings interview

JENNINGS

And there's nothing inherently seamy or unacceptable about that. It's a job that needs doing. And good politicians are in short supply and high demand.

Cut to shot of legislature floor from the balcony. Zoom in to Ellis talking with three other men, one of whom is Lt. Gov. Bob Bullock.

NARRATION

On the other side of the lobby lies the ultimate arena of competing interests, where laws are passed and society is altered. Here, victory is forged by the most skillful brokers -- the few who deserve to be called "born politicians".

Cut to interview with Rodney Ellis on the balcony of the chamber.

RODNEY ELLIS

Some people would probably say that I'm the ultimate compromiser. And from time to time I do worry about being so interested in trying to get a deal done that I get caught up in trying to compromise too much. But the harsh reality is, I think in politics the key is to ask for what you want and then take as much as you can get.

Cut to WS of legislature in session with Bullock at the podium, banging the gavel. Camera zooms in to a MS of four men huddled in conversation, one of them being Rodney Ellis.

NARRATION

On today's docket: Senator Ellis' bill on judicial redistricting, which would increase the number of minority judges.

Cuts to a WS zoom to CU of Ellis and balding, white legislator in conversation. A bit of arm twisting is underway.

ELLIS

You alright with me, on judicial selection? You're a good man. You're usually the main one I can count on. If the rest of these goddamned Republicans would come around as quick, we could do something to save this place.

NARRATION

He's counted heads and has come up one short. Now he's pinning his hopes on one particular conservative freshman.

ELLIS

Patterson's on.

Cutaway of legislators sitting at desks while conversation continues.

ELLIS VO

Galloway. That's six.

Cuts back to Ellis and same guy from a slightly different angle

ELLIS

And I got Sims there which gives me 22. That JR and I got to have him stick with me all the way and I think he understands that, I know you got to work on it a little bit. He'll get there.

Man laughs and they part ways.

Cuts to sync with Ellis in conversation with Lt. Gov. Bullock on floor of the chamber

BULLOCK

My question is, I told them I'm not going to run until you tell me your people are here.

ELLIS

OK, alright, thank you.

Bullock walks to the microphone and convenes the session, banging the gavel.

Cut to profile of two young men in suits standing up.

BULLOCK VO

A quorum is present. Please rise for the invocation.

Cuts to WS of members standing with heads bowed on chamber floor.

BULLOCK

We humbly pray that you may continue to bless this body and our decisions. Amen.
Legislators go back to what they were doing.

ELLIS VO

Haywood, Nixon, I'm praying for you all. I said, "Lord, keep 'em with me."
Cuts to MS of Ellis and a group of legislators. Ellis is strong arming Senator Galloway.

ELLIS

I was praying real hard for you, Galloway. I put in a special word for you, that you will have guidance and leadership.

Cuts to CU cutaway of Ellis and Galloway from behind and then back to another angle of conversation.

ELLIS

But just to make sure you understand, when the bill comes up, I need you to vote to suspend and then you can vote against the bill.

GALLOWAY

Now, you're doing the bill today?

ELLIS

I'm doing the bill and the constitutional amendment since they're both, but on the constitutional amendment I need you to go all the way...

ELLIS VO

To bring my measures up, I have to work with people. I have to bend over. I have to kiss ass.
Cuts to Ellis interview by the stair

ELLIS

But if I feel passionate enough about an issue that I want to get it up on the floor of the Senate, in order to be effective sometimes I have to go in and I have to bargain with people.

Cut to Ellis slapping the back of some guy leaning over a desk

ELLIS

You're a good man.

ELLIS VO

So I do my share of back slapping, arm waving, a little hugging and kissing

Cut to Ellis kissing woman's hand as she sits at her desk on the phone

WOMAN

Hi Rodney. No you can't get my vote on judicial redistricting even if you kiss my hand. (laughs)

Cut to Ellis shaking another woman's hand

ELLIS VO

I try and put people at ease even if they disagree with me on something philosophically.
Cut to man standing on the floor.

ELLIS (coming into shot, talking with blond woman)
I'm working hard. Trying to integrate the judiciary. I'm trying to let our people go.

BLOND

I'm for that.

ELLIS

You voting with me? I can leave him alone.

BLOND

I vote with you most of the time.

ELLIS

I know you do.

Cut to Ellis back with the boys, conferring.

ELLIS

Alright. OK. And can you give me final passage if he flips if he can't. You want to vote against the bill?

MARIO

No, no.

GALLOWAY

How long the debate's going to go on?

ELLIS

Not too long.

GALLOWAY

You think it's gonna be short?

ELLIS

I do. I can't do all of my rhetorical stuff. I had some good stuff I was going to tell 'em, I was going to tell 'em what no good, sons of bitches you all are. (Galloway giggles) But I can't do it now since I have a few of your votes.

Cuts to Ellis with another legislator

ELLIS

Galloway, cause he's just a little nervous, he may not be there on final passage but he understands what constitutional amendments to go with, I don't think they'll do a lot of talking. Do you?

Cuts to MS of older woman at the podium

Cuts to Ellis talking with secretary as gavel is sounded.

ELLIS

Well, we did good work. So, Matwell's not here. I guess... That gets kind of dicey.

Ellis and secretary walk over to young woman and confer.

NARRATION

With Galloway wavering, Ellis may not make 21, and one sure supporter is missing.

Cuts to Ellis talking with another legislator

MAN

Is Matwell going to be here?

ELLIS

I'm going to call and tell his office to track him down at the doctor's. I'll send Willie Dean. If he's at the doctor's, just roll him in here.

Cuts to LS of Ellis on the phone.

ELLIS

Tell him I don't want to roll him out of the hospital bed but I goddamn sure do need him. This is judicial stuff cause I got 22 votes but you know how some folks get a little flaky...

Cuts to MS cutaway of young boy and girl sitting in chamber

Cuts to Ellis leaning over Galloway who rubs his eyes a lot and squirms.

ELLIS

Matwell's is in the doctor's office. Something's wrong with him and he's going to try to get here. If he doesn't get here, I got to have you on the three-day rule. I just want to make sure of that, cause that determines whether or not I bring it in. I won't have the votes to bring it up. But still, if you want to show voting against it somewhere you still can vote against the bill. You know, on the constitutional amendment, on the issue, maybe I'll have to weigh on the issue. I mean, you can go up there and check if I got 21 votes without you and then switch it but I've got to have you if I need you. And then on the ...

ELLIS VO

When I'm going around and I'm doing the personal interaction, I'm trying to appeal to people on a one on one level.

Cuts to interview with Ellis in chamber gallery

ELLIS

I mean you got to know when to twist someone's arm, when to squeeze someone's arm, when to break someone's arm. Same way with their neck.

Cuts to MS Ellis, Galloway and Mario

ELLIS

Matwell's in the doctor's office. If he gets here, I'm OK, but if not, I'm want to get this s--- out of here today why ya'll are acting nice. Ya'll starting (Mario says something) the chemistry is..

MARIO

I don't want to get my nuts cut off.

ELLIS

We know. We not going to let 'em cut you.

MARIO

Bulls---

Cut to Ellis standing with Galloway. Periodically, he places his arm over Galloway's shoulders. Galloway strokes his moustache.

ELLIS

Come on, stick with me. You want me to lead you over to Bullock? Come on over here to Bullock. Come on over -- (laughs) You're the key. Of course I'm praying that Matwell will walk on in this door.

GALLOWAY

Patterson really going with you?

ELLIS

Yeah, Patterson's with me.

GALLOWAY

What's his deal? What --

ELLIS

It makes sense. He's even going to give a passionate speech.

Galloway

Is he?

Cut to Ellis stairwell interview

ELLIS

In a true democracy, dumb people have a right to be represented as well. I mean, everybody on the floor of the Texas Senate can't have the IQ that I have. Some have a higher IQ, some have a lower IQ. Fortunately, there are probably a few more that have a lower IQ than a higher IQ. But it's being able to get along with people even if they don't grasp an issue as quickly as you do.

Cut to conversation between Ellis, Galloway and another man.

ELLIS

Everybody looking at you. But afterwards when we get through it, we'll all go out to lunch and it'll be alright.

Cut to Ellis conferring with his staff.

ELLIS WOMAN STAFFER

Senator Matwell wanted to know if there's any way he can vote long distance. If not, how long does he have to get here?

ELLIS

How long do you think -- I know he can't vote long distance although I've done it from time to time just don't tell anybody

Cut to Ellis talking with a young man.

ELLIS

If Matwell doesn't get here then we're gonna wait because I was pushing Galloway too hard. I'm trying to get him on the three-day rule on the back side.

Cut to Ellis from the side talking with Bullock.

ELLIS

I can make it with or without him. I'd prefer to make it with him. I'm 21 on the money without him.

BULLOCK

Well, let's don't take a chance. I'll try to keep 'em here that long.

ELLIS

OK, Thank you.

MS Ellis walking smiling across floor towards camera.
Cuts to Bullock at microphone.

BULLOCK

-- floor amendment #14 by Senator Ellis.

Cuts to CU of Ellis holding a hand mic.

ELLIS

I think most members have heard about SJR 26 quite a bit. I'd just like to move to suspend, Mr. President.

BULLOCK

Question is now in suspension. All those in favor vote Aye. Those opposed, vote no.

Cuts to Ellis from behind walking away holding up his hand to vote Aye, mumbling to himself and then talking to Galloway.

ELLIS

You're a good man. You gonna go great places. You gonna go great places. Aye. I'll stand right by you. Yeah, Aye.

Ellis continue to walk with hand raised, MS and CU.

GALLOWAY (off camera)
Sure hope you're right, Rodney.

CU Ellis still raising his finger

ELLIS

You know I was going to have to give you that old vote if you needed it. I was willing to give you that vote a minute ago.

Cuts to MS Ellis from behind

ELLIS

I thought you were going to give me one, Buster.

BUSTER

I help you all the time.

ELLIS

This ass kissing is killing me.

Cuts to another view of Ellis with finger raised walking up to computer surrounded by legislators.

ELLIS

21 on the money. 21 on the money. (exhales)

Side view of Ellis walking through room and high fives someone.

ELLIS
21 on the money.

Camera follows Ellis across the room

ELLIS
21 on the money. Hope Matwell walks in here in a minute. (he high-fives someone)

Cuts to MS Ellis wandering floor, greeted by Bullock.

ELLIS
Thank you

BULLOCK
I don't know if it'll go anyplace but all those hours and hours of hard work you did back there, you Texan. That wasn't easy and when you could get all that bunch to agree I gotta hand it to you, how you could get all of them to agree, I don't know.

ELLIS
Well, using your name you'd be amazed at what wonders I can work around here. I can save this whole state using your name.

Fade to black.

Epilogue: Every session for the last 20 years, there has been a judicial redistricting bill on the Senate's docket. Rodney Ellis' version was the first one ever to pass.

Circle open to Fred Rupley walking the precinct. "Vote for Me" theme music rises up.

RUPLEY
See, that lady talked with a brogue. So when you mention Doherty, see her eyes light up, see?
Cut to Andy Mirikitani sign waving. Cut to Babe Schwartz laughing. Cut to Tom Ammiano hugging a constituent. Cut to Karen Burstein shaking hands at the subway station. Cut to John Rayson greeting his voters by the pool. Cut to Buddy Cianci kissing Petunia Pig.

Cut to black.
Producer credits.

Cut to interview with Barney Frank.

FRANK

The logical reason not to vote is you think everything is wonderful. Maybe we should get this current generation to think of the political system as the remote control on the TV. If you like the program, don't touch it. But if you don't like the program, hit the button, and the button is in the polling place.

Cut to black.

Editor credit.

DP credit.

AP credits.

Segment credits.

Cut to two men festooned with stickers at the Virginia campaign event.

MAN ON RIGHT (smiling)

We're still undecided.

MAN ON LEFT

Undecided.

MAN ON RIGHT

Totally undecided.

MAN ON LEFT

Absolutely undecided.

Cut to black.

Advisor credits.

Narrator, publicity, and assistant editor credits.

Additional camera and sound credits.

Other editors, archival sources credits.

Additional AP and PA credits.

Cut to man on stairwell doing his campaign announcer "voice"

MAN

Lucien E. Blackwell can win and will win. But you got to register now and then vote. Pull that lever for Lucien E. Blackwell. That kind of thing. Cut to black.

Intern credits.

WETA credits

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Cut to Buddy Cianfrani being interviewed.

CIANFRANI

You gotta be at the right place at the right time, there's a lot of talent out there, some guys can't get a break. Then you have other people, who are on top, who don't deserve to be there. But hey, what do they call it, the democratic process?

Cut to black.

Song and other music rights.

Special and very special thanks.

Cut to CU Minnesota license plate that reads "POLITIX". The car drives off.

Cut to black.

Final credits.

***** END OF PART TWO *****