

Urban Crisis, Political Power in 2 Cities

Baltimore:

This Summer Could Be Hot or Cool

By Britt Barnes

Washington Post Staff Writer

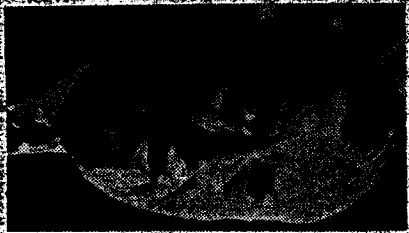
BALTIMORE, May 13.—Baltimore, like Washington is worried about what this summer will bring. It spent last summer on the edge of disorder between the races.

Officials hope they have "the lid on" for another year. They have been trying, they say, very hard. But, says one civil rights worker, it may be more talk than action.

"We're a funny town," says Barbara Mills, secretary of the Activists for Fair Housing. "The people of power know how to say the right things and they know how to act like they're doing the right things. But it's very slow; nothing ever seems to get done."

Most city officials and civil-rights leaders agree that

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MAYOR MCKELDIN seeks racial calm

Philadelphia: Primary Points Up Democrats' Decline

By David S. Broder

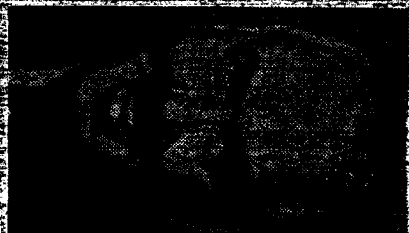
Washington Post Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA, May 13.—There it was, right in front of your eyes: the whole history of the Democratic Party and its whole symbolism of its formula for success. All telescoped into one little scene.

Seated stilly on the folding chair at the front of the rowdy, second-floor dance hall called the Grand Ballroom, the yellow and green neon lights giving a sickly cast to his pale skin, gray hair and light blue eyes was Alexander Hemphill, Democratic organization candidate for Mayor of Philadelphia in Tuesday's primary election.

Alexander Hemphill, 26 years old, white Anglo-Saxon Protestant, graduate of St. Andrew's School in Middle

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MAYOR MCKELVIN election favorite

town, Conn., member of the Frar's Senior Honor Society at the University of Pennsylvania, trustee of Chestnut Hill Hospital, attorney at law, controller of the City of Philadelphia for nine years until he resigned to seek the mayorship.

His father had run (unsuccessfully) for Governor of Pennsylvania in 1930. An earlier ancestor, Judge Joseph Hemphill of Strawberry Mansion, his biography notes, "helped Jefferson and later Jackson in the formation of the Democratic Party."

At the microphone stood the Democratic boss of Philadelphia, Francis Raphael Smith, florid-faced and fleshy, latest in a line of Irish-Catholic bosses who have run Philadelphia and most of the other big cities for the Democrats.

And there in the ballroom were the 150 Negroes who comprise the flesh and blood of the 14th Ward Democratic organization, proxies for the hundreds of thousands of other ghetto Negroes who make up an ever-greater portion of the big city vote, where Democratic candidates from Franklin Roosevelt to Lyndon Johnson have found their winning majorities.

Reminding the Faithful

It was the traditional primary party, with free beer for all, an occasion to remind the faithful of what the Organization means to them. And Frank Smith was extolling both his candidate for mayor and himself.

"I'm proud of the fact," he thundered, "that Frank Smith had the wisdom, the courage and the guts to put a Negro in the Senate of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for the first time in history."

"By God," bellowed Frank Smith, his jowls quivering, "I'm not going to be the undertaker of the Democratic party. I'm going to give it life."

It was a proud boast, but very probably an empty one. For unless those who claim to know Philadelphia politics are almost-unanimously wrong, Frank Smith's candidate will be beaten Tuesday by incumbent Democratic Mayor James H. Tate. And either Tate or Hemphill faces an uphill battle in November against the

Republican nominee, District Attorney Arlen Specter.

What has brought the Democrats in Philadelphia to the brink of disaster is a split among the vital elements of their urban coalition—the machine, labor and the independent liberals.

ADA Republicans

The machine, or as much of it as Smith can control, is for Hemphill. But labor, local, state and national—has moved in massively behind Tate, with money, manpower and even a rival political army, run for a fee by Matthew Reese, the giant West Virginian who organized his home state for John F. Kennedy's vital 1960 primary victory and later became registration director of the Democratic National Committee.

While labor and the old-line machine battle it out in Tuesday's primary, the liberal, intellectual independents, represented in Philadelphia by the thriving local chapter of Americans for Democratic Ac-

tion, have taken issue on both your houses and side.

They have made their own deal with Specter, the former Democrat who is running as a Republican in November in a "reform" ticket, including ADA leader Walter M. Phillips, other Democrats, independents and Negro leaders.

With the Democratic organization, labor and the liberals split three ways, Republicans have a rare opportunity in November to break the Democrats' 16-year hold on City Hall, despite the fact they are still outregistered by a 2-to-1 margin.

A switch in control of the Nation's four largest metropolises would have major consequences. Politicians say the mayor's office is worth 100,000 votes in a presidential contest. In 1968 most observers believe Lyndon B. Johnson will need those 100,000 votes to carry Pennsylvania.

Familiar History

The hope in the Tate headquarters is that he can "pull a Wagner." Just as New York's former Mayor Robert F. Wagner Jr. saved himself from what seemed like certain defeat in 1961 by breaking with the bosses who had put him in power and running for re-election as a reform

candidate, so the Tate managers think he can grab the label of reform from Specter by beating the remains of the Democratic machine on Tuesday.

The Democratic difficulties in Philadelphia reflect the attrition of racial and religious tensions and the exhaustion of successive laborless leadership by the unyielding mass of urban problems. They also reflect the familiar history of a reform movement that achieves initial success but loses the fire of its first commitment, the longer it stays in power.

In the post-World War II years, the Democrats broke the corrupt, Republican machine that had governed Philadelphia for decades. Under the leadership of two aristocratic liberals, Joseph S. Clark Jr. and Richardson Dilworth, the Democrats made Philadelphia in the 1950s a model of progressive city administration.

But troubles began piling up in 1962. Clark had already left City Hall for the Senate and Dilworth quit to run, unsuccessfully, for Governor.

His successor under the charter was City Council President Tate, an amiable but articulate Irish-Catholic ward leader who had patiently worked up the ladder of party preferment.

Tate lost the sympathy of the liberals and independents almost immediately and was opposed by ADA'er Phillips in the 1963 primary. Worse problems came at the end of 1963, shortly after Tate had been elected to his first full term, with the death of Rep. William J. Green Jr., the talented and highly pragmatic Democratic boss.

Four days after Green was buried, Frank Smith put together a majority on the city committee and without so much as a nod to Tate, Clark or Dilworth had himself elected the new city Democratic chairman.

Deprived of state patronage by the Republican capture of the governorship in 1962, increasingly at odds with the Mayor, the city committee lost its power under Smith's leadership. His candidates lost in the Senate primary in 1964 and the gubernatorial primary of 1966. And Republicans won both races in the general

election.

Damaging Defeat

The most damaging defeat, however, was in the Philadelphia district attorney race in 1965. Smith backed incumbent James Crumlish, despite pleas from Clark and others that he give the nomination to Specter, an ambitious young Jewish lawyer who had worked on the Warren Commission staff and was serving then as a deputy district attorney.

Balked by the Democratic boss, Specter was courted by Sen. Hugh Scott (R.Pa.) and Philadelphia Republican leader William Meehan. He ran for district attorney on the Republican ticket, with ADA support, even though he was then still registered as a Democrat. He won by 35,000 votes in a city that had given President Johnson a 421,000-vote margin only a year before.

Frank Smith, desperate for a winner, determined early that he would not support Tate for re-election in 1967. A long search for a Jewish Democrat to oppose Specter proved futile, and last March the organization threw its support to Hemphill, a bland

personality who had built a modest reputation in the controller's job as a critic of Dilworth's and Tate's fiscal policies.