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# Four Rs in Philadelphia

By David S. Broder

Washington Post Staff Writer

**P**HILADELPHIA — The political scene here would baffle not only the mythical visitor from Mars but even the everyday commuter from Upper Darby.

In the 1400 block of Walnut Street, in the heart of downtown, stand three campaign headquarters all manned by Democrats but all pursuing separate goals.

On the corner, in what was once a bank building, is the Tate for Mayor Committee. Joe McLaughlin, whose brother Pat has a big job at City Hall, peers out over rimless glasses at teller cages filled by middle-aged Irish politicians and rugged-looking union leaders working for the re-election of Mayor James H. J. Tate.

Down the block is the second-floor walkup office of the Democrats for Specter. Inside, curly-haired Norval Reese, executive secretary of the local chapter of Americans for Democratic Action, bosses a youthful band of workers addressing 100,000 leaflets urging independent Democrats and Negroes to make District Attorney Arlen Specter—a Democrat-turned-Re-

publican—the first Republican mayor since 1951. "Can a good Democrat support Arlen Specter?" the brochure asks. "Can a good Philadelphian do anything else?" it answers.

## The Smith Fortress

**N**EXT DOOR, FINISHED in chaste marble and with only a discreet bronze plaque identifying it, is the headquarters of the Philadelphia City Democratic Committee, the last fortress of Francis Raphael Smith, the would-be Democratic boss. No posters are in view in its windows.

Smith tried to beat Tate with former City Controller Alexander Hemphill in last May's primary, but failed. In September, Tate lined up two-thirds of the 66 ward leaders to dump Smith as chairman, but the Common Pleas Court ruled Wednesday that the recall meeting was illegal.

So Smith will control the Democratic poll-watchers' certificates and one-third of the ward organizations on Nov. 7, when Philadelphia votes, and will use his shreds of power, most Philadelphia politicians suspect, to settle his score with the Mayor and salvage what crumbs he can from Specter's table.

Faced with the party split and the liberal defection symbolized by the rival headquarters on Walnut Street, Tate is a definite underdog despite the Democrats' 3-to-2 registration lead.

The Philadelphia Bulletin poll last week gave Specter a 47-to-41 per cent lead over Tate, with 5 per cent split among three minor candidates and 7 per cent undecided.

Private Republican polls show a similar spread, and John Bucci, the GOP pollster, has told Specter's managers the lead appears to be solid.

## The Four Rs

**D**ESPITE THAT, THERE is some nervousness in the Specter camp. It is caused by the apparent failure of his campaign to ignite any great enthusiasm, and by the uncertain interplay of the "four Rs" that shape this election—reform, religion, race and Rizzo. The last R is Frank Rizzo, the controversial Police Commissioner.

Specter, 37, tall, dark and brooding, is best-known nationally as the Warren Commission investigator who developed the "single bullet" theory of the assassination of President Kennedy and the wounding of Texas Gov. John Connally. As an ambitious assistant district attorney, he was picked by victory-hungry Republicans as their candidate for district attorney in 1965 and coolly waited until after he won by 35,000 votes to switch his party registration.

Once in office, Specter grabbed the label of "reform" that had been in Democratic hands since two aristocrats, Joseph S. Clark Jr. (now United States Senator) and Richardson Dilworth, used it to break the Republicans' 67-year hold on City Hall in the early 1950s.

In Tate, a white-haired, 57-year-old career politician who still clings to his original power base as 43d Ward Democratic committeeman, Specter found a perfect target for his attack. The Mayor is a cautious, sometimes cranky operator who pronounces speechwriters' phrases like "urban renaissance" as if he distrusted his diction or his dentures.

In contrast to Clark, and to Dilworth whom he succeeded as Mayor in 1962 when Dilworth resigned to run for governor, Tate looks like a throwback to the bad old days of machine politics in Philadelphia.

Elected in his own right in 1963, Tate encountered increasing criticism for favors to cronies, delays in renewal projects, the racial disturbance in 1964 and a "snafu" in the poverty program

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Philadelphia's famous City Hall towers 500 feet.

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that caused a temporary cutoff of Federal funds early this year.

Preoccupied with his intra-party civil war with Smith, he sank to such a low point this spring that polls at the time of the Democratic primary showed Specter leading by an incredible 68-to-32 per cent margin.

**Abandoning Caution**

**R**EPUBLICANS, SENSING a chance for a real breakthrough in the Nation's fourth largest city, abandoned their usual caution and backed Specter with an all-star ticket, including liberal Democrats, reformers, distinguished Republicans and a cosmopolitan representation of the city's Negro, Italian, Irish and Polish minorities.

Tate rallied sharply during the summer, however. With massive aid from organized labor, he beat Smith's candidate in the primary by a 2-to-1 margin, then plunged into a whirl of activity, flying down to Washington to grab off Federal grants, jettisoning Tel Aviv (where he reaped extra publicity by being there on the day the Arab-Israeli war broke out), then doubling back to Rome for the elevation of Philadelphia's new Cardinal.

His key move, however, was the appointment of Frank Rizzo, described by a local newsmen as "an Italian John Wayne," to the vacant post of police commissioner. A roughneck giant, Rizzo is the object of intense dislike among some Negro and liberal groups but a hero to most of Philadelphia's white householders.

"If he ran for mayor," says one top Republican, "he'd whip Specter and Tate so fast it would make your head spin."

When trouble threatened in Philadelphia's ghetto this summer, Tate immediately proclaimed a "state of limited emergency" and Rizzo led his flying squads in breaking up any gathering that looked remotely suspicious. As a result, Tate brags, Philadelphia "is not subject to riots and insurrections as other cities are."

Thus, Tate took the law-and-order issue away from District Attorney Specter, who had won in 1965 on an anti-crime crusade. He also managed to put the self-proclaimed reform candidate on the defensive by charging Specter had "violated the spirit of the reform city charter" by refusing to follow Dilworth's example of resigning when he sought higher office. Specter, fearful of losing the public platform his office provided, refused to budge and his stand was supported by a split decision of the state Supreme Court.

**Little Enthusiasm**

**T**HE FALL CAMPAIGN has stirred little apparent enthusiasm for either man. Specter scored well enough in a televised debate so that Tate immediately canceled four others that had been scheduled. But the Republican's managers concede that his aggressive, know-it-all manner is hard to "humanize," and Democrats gleefully taunt Specter as a "phony" and "another Nixon."

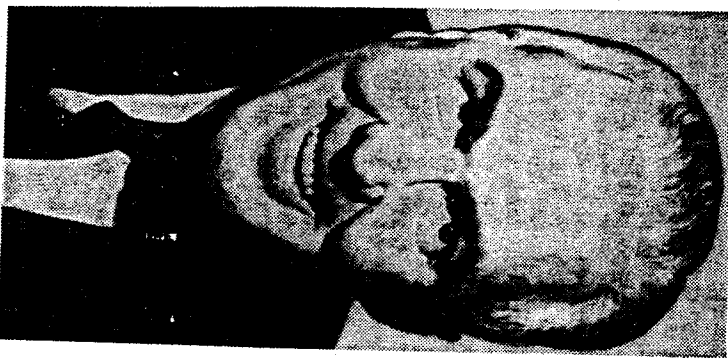
In their lone television debate, Tate sought to make Rizzo a direct issue by demanding to know if Specter would keep him in office. Specter refused to make the pledge and accused Tate of "hiding behind the broad shoulders of Frank Rizzo." But Tate had the last word, charging the Yale-educated Specter "would not appoint Rizzo, because he does not have a college education."

Aside from reform, Specter's key issue, and Rizzo, who Tate argues "has become the biggest issue of all," the other forces shaping the election are religion and race.

Tate is Philadelphia's first Catholic mayor and Specter, if elected, would

be the first Jewish one. The city is about 40 per cent Catholic and 16 per cent Jewish.

Tate has campaigned as an all-out backer of a bill, stymied in the Pennsylvania legislature, to give broad state aid to private and parochial schools. Specter, again on the defensive, said he supported the bill "in



*Arlen Specter, left, a Democrat-turned-Republican, is after Democratic Mayor James Tate's job with Tate-appointed Frank Rizzo, a "John W. Byrne-type" police commissioner, a major issue.*

principle, so long as it does not violate the traditional separation of church and state."

When Specter showed an audience at Archbishop Ryan High School an article in the diocesan newspaper explaining his stand, Tate pointedly reminded the largely-Catholic audience, "I subscribe to the Catholic Standard and Times; he just buys it now and then."

#### 'Backlash' Issue

**T**HE NOVELTY OF NEGROES on the Republican ticket (they have run as Democrats for years), plus Specter's equivocal stand on Rizzo, has been turned to "backlash" advantage by Democrats in some white neighborhoods.

Old John Murphy, a 50-year veteran of Philadelphia politics, welcomed Tate to the 45th ward Democratic clubhouse, with pool tables and a bar in back, with a tub-thumping speech advising his workers to "ask the Republican committeeman, 'where is this Specter team?' Let 'em show up here with their candidate for sheriff (Negro Melvin Howell) and we'll carry this ward by 3000 votes."

Despite race, religion and Rizzo, Specter has maintained his lead in all the autumn polls. There was, therefore, an atmosphere of near-desperation Tuesday night in Convention Hall when Clark (whose former wife is supporting Specter) and Vice President Humphrey turned out at the traditional Democratic rally for Tate.

Humphrey pleaded with the party workers to "put away petty selfishness and petty animosities" until after election day. "If you start to unwind

the Democratic victory process in Philadelphia," he warned, "it isn't going to help any in 1968." It was an effective speech, but Frank Smith and the anti-Tate ward chairmen loyal to him had not paid their \$100 to come to Convention Hall and hear it.

Wednesday night, 4000 Republicans sat down in the same hall to the same chicken-and-peas menu and heard Sen. Edward R. Brooke of Massachusetts at their fund-raising dinner. There was more optimism in the air, but it was of the nervous variety—and no one was more uneasy than Specter, who complained privately that Brooke's appearance might add to the "backlash" and hurt him by reinforcing his identity as a Republican candidate in what is still a Democratic city.

Brooke must have been warned, because he began his speech with the unusual declaration that "Arlen Specter did not ask me to Philadelphia to speak for him; I came as the guest of the Republican Party of Philadelphia."

Brooke did say, however, that a Specter win, like that of John Lindsay in New York in 1965, would "bring the Republican Party back to the big cities" and thus into closer touch with the problems of modern urban America.

Such a victory would also strengthen liberal Republicans, like Sen. Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, Specter's chief sponsor, in the battle over the 1968 presidential nomination, and improve any Republican's chances of carrying Pennsylvania next year. But Philadelphia being what it is, no Republican is calling Specter "Mr. Mayor" yet, or counting out Jim Tate.