





marking completion of homes replacing those destroyed in May 1985 MOVE bombing.

munity and his candidacy is expected to mobilize black voters as perhaps nothing else could. Although he's made no formal announcement about entering the race, his mayoral aspirations are no secret. He recently resigned his job as chief of security at Philadelphia Gas Works and has increased his public appearances.

Rizzo lost to Goode in the 1983 Democratic primary, and observers say he's been positioning himself since then to make another grab for his old job. He's switching parties because "the Democratic Party no longer speaks to the needs of the people I represent." That the Republican label also provides him with the most feasible way to win no doubt influenced his decision.

#### Rizzocrats

Analysts estimate that during his two terms as mayor Rizzo attracted nearly 100,000 white Republicans into the Democratic Party. Local observers called them "Rizzocrats." If he gets the Republican nomination, the burly 62-year-old says he'll just "flip a lot of them back to the Republicans."

He's no shoo-in, however. At least two other candidates are actively seeking the party's endorsement: John J. Egan, whom Goode defeated in 1983 and Councilman Thacher Longstreth, who's run twice before. The Republicans won't slate a candidate until next January or February.

Rizzo's anticipated switch also is causing some problems among his loyalists, many of whom are lifelong Democrats. Council-

man Francis Rafferty says he supports Rizzo but that "changing your political party is like changing your religion," and requires a lot of thought. As of now, there's no Democratic challenger to Goode. Former District Attorney Edward G. Rendell has hinted he may run, but Goode supporter and radio host Louise Williams says Rendell assured her he would not run under any circumstances.

Charles Bowser, a black attorney who ran for mayor in 1975 and is now one of Goode's most fervent backers, contends that Rizzo's candidacy represents a serious attempt to "take back the city." He says those Goode supporters who sit back gloating about Rizzo's probable entry into the race "should be out working for Wilson [Goode] instead. Re-election isn't going to be easy. Nobody's going to sail into office this time.... Some of the most powerful forces in this city believe it is now time for them to take over, and they are serious."

In his recent speeches, Rizzo focuses much of his criticism on Goode's handling of the MOVE incident, calling it a "disorganized disaster" that resulted in the deaths of five innocent children. It's "misfeasance by piling mistake on top of mistake before, during and after the tragic conflict, and it's malfeasance for the unforgivable order to drop the bomb and permitting the fires to burn."

This line of criticism is particularly ironic, since it was Rizzo's take-no-prisoners mentality that many observers blame

for the police over-reaction against the radical group in the first place. A police officer was killed in an earlier confrontation with the group while Rizzo was mayor and, according to sources close to the situation, some members of the Philadelphia police force made an unofficial pledge of vengeance at that time. That may explain why the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) is fighting attempts to focus more attention on the actions of the police officers involved in the May 1985 seige.

All but one member of the MOVE investigation panel concluded that police gunfire kept some MOVE members pinned inside the burning building and therefore was a factor causing their deaths. When the supervising judge on the grand jury probe of the confrontation announced such charges should be fully considered, the FOP demanded the judge be disqualified. But the group's demand has been rejected thus far. All the law enforcement officials who called the shots in the bomb attack—including Police Commissioner Gregor T. Sanbor, Fire Commissioner William C. Richmond and Managing Director Leo A. Brooks—have resigned.

In the 1983 race, Rizzo toned down his style and cast himself as the "new Rizzo." His campaign was uncharacteristically temperate, and he abandoned the tough-guy style and colorful one-liners that had made him famous and divided the city along racial lines. Yet, if he chooses to run against Goode he may discard that approach this time around in an all-out attempt to stir up the white electorate in a city that lately has been suffering from increased racial polarization.

#### Racial tensions

In November of last year a group of whites, protesting the presence of a black family in their Elmwood neighborhood, forced the family to flee and later torched their home. The crowds that gathered had grown so large and become so vociferous that Goode imposed a state of emergency in the Southwest Philadelphia neighborhood that lasted for six weeks. That drastic action indicated just how serious the racial tensions in this city had become. Although Philadelphia is well known for its inviolate ethnic enclaves, it was widely regarded as a city relatively free of racial bitterness until that incident.

The Rev. William Yeats, chair of the South West Task Force, a group created to help ease racial tensions in the area, says he'd "never encountered such racial hatreds as he did during the peak of the protests last year," adding that the situation in his neighborhood remains tense. "Most of the people here are good, decent people, but there are some who are experts at playing on fears, ignorance and prejudice, and they manage to keep the neighborhood racially charged."

Although there seems to have been an increase in racial antagonisms, there are also occasional breakthroughs. John DeMarco, a 13-year-old from the city's Frankfort neighborhood, testified against a man who defaced a black couple's home with Ku Klux Klan markings, and the judge sentenced the man to one year in prison and slapped him with a \$2,500 fine for "ethnic intimidation." The boy's mother had urged him to testify, and she appeared on several talk shows to explain her motives and express shame for her neighbor's behavior.

The Citizen's Committee for Unity, formed in February 1985 in the wake of increasing racial violence, has initiated a number of programs designed to help bring the city's races together in forums where they can express their concerns and fears in a supportive setting. Several of these programs were showcased last month during Interracial Outreach Week, but observers say much more needs to be done to

cultivate more congenial race relations in the city.

The process of gentrification is both a problem and a solution. Attracting enterprising, tax-paying residents to the inner city is the dream of every big-city mayor; but creating methods to accommodate the less affluent people they displace is a nightmare. The process is occurring in most of the country's major cities, and Philadelphia has devised one of the more imaginative approaches to the problem.

The City Council has passed an ordinance that will defer or abate property tax increases for long-time residents of neighborhoods in the process of gentrification. This would create two classes of taxpayers and, although it's still a controversial approach, most of the city's affected populations have given it a ringing endorsement.

#### So much to do

Like most black mayors, Goode is trying to do many—sometimes contradictory—things at once. His goals are to improve the city's economics by attracting capital and talent, while providing services for those segments of the population who produce little capital. He's also trying to create a hospitable environment for those with discretionary income without further alienating those dependent on governmental income. Goode wants to create jobs, especially for blacks and other minorities, and bolster the image of his city as well. So far, with the huge exception of the MOVE incident, he's succeeded more than he's failed.

Similar to many other old industrial cities, Philadelphia has reached a pivotal point in its transformation from an economy based on manufacturing to one based on services and high technology. Recent studies indicate a strong recovery is underway that includes a renaissance of cultural and entertainment attractions, rejuvenated businesses and a real-estate boom. The city still needs jobs, and North Philadelphia recently was described by one urban expert as the "grimmiest ghetto in all of America in this year 1986. It is our American Holocaust Museum."

If spirit alone could solve the problem, Goode would have solved it long ago. He is an unbridled booster of the city, and his enthusiasm is contagious. "This city is definitely on the move," says Michelle Johnson, a 27-year-old single parent from North Philadelphia. "You can feel the spirit everywhere."

The black community appears to have faith in Goode and is ready to storm the polls on his behalf. Yet not all blacks feel this way, of course. "Wilson Goode is kind of like affirmative action gone crazy," says Chuck Stone, an assistant editor and columnist for the *Philadelphia Daily News*. "To me, everybody is so mesmerized by Goode's blackness that they overlook too much."

Stone, who is black, adds, "The black community was just ecstatic that it had finally elected a black mayor and pulled even with Los Angeles and Chicago. The whites were proud because they had finally elected a black mayor and that had to prove that they were not racists. So now Goode is here and we better hold on to him, no matter what...."

Most blacks here, however, regard Stone's antipathy toward Goode with suspicion. The Inquirer's Lewis thinks Stone may have a personal gripe against the mayor. "Stone's criticisms are too consistently vehement to pass for reasoned argument. There seems to be something personal in his attacks," Lewis says.

Personal or not, Stone is probably right about the basis of Goode's appeal to the black community. If Rizzo enters the race, odds are that even Stone will vote for Goode. ■