RIZZO

<u>VIDEO</u> <u>AUDIO</u>

(scene of Rizzo funeral at the Basilica up full :10 - :15)

NARRATION OVER SOUNDBITE

"HE WAS CALLED THE SUPER COP, THE CISCO KID, THE BIG BAMBINO, THE GENERAL. AND HE WAS CALLED A LOT WORSE THINGS. OFTEN ACCUSED OF DIVIDING THE CITY HE LOVED, FRANK LAZZARO RIZZO DREW MOURNERS AND ONLOOKERS FROM EVERY PART OF THE CITY AND BEYOND AT HIS FUNERAL ON JULY 19TH, 1991.

Lynne Abraham:

"He believed he was larger than life. But no one is larger than life..."

NARRATION

"LOVE. AWE. FEAR. HATRED. FRANK RIZZO ATTRACTED STRONG, CONFLICTING EMOTIONS. FOR SOME, HE REPRESENTED SECURITY, STABILITY AND STRENGTH. FOR OTHERS, HE EMBODIED REPRESSION, BRUTALITY AND THE CORRUPTION OF MACHINE POLITICS..."

Charles Bowser

"Frank Rizzo believed in good guys and bad guys, and he was the sheriff, and it was his job to get rid of the bad guys. And, and, and it was quick draw kind of justice . . . it was kind of naïve to say the least, but that really was the way he saw the world. He was the sheriff, and he knew what was right, and he was trying to do what was right..."

Tom Sugrue

"He's looking out onto a city who's economy is being profoundly transformed, which ordinary folks simply don't understand. Why are the jobs leaving Philadelphia? Why are our neighborhoods changing in composition? These are big forces that are shaping all of urban America in the period, and Rizzo offers a simple answer. And that answer is: 'Outside forces are threatening your security and stability, and we need to step in, intervene and aggressively stop the march of these outside forces...'

Fred Voigt:

"Philadelphia prides itself on being a city of neighborhoods. Frank Rizzo knew that. He catered to that. He was a product of it... But it's also a series of Balkan States. And he catered to that as well..."

Frank Rizzo:

(Confrontational quote---overwhelming your opponents with overwhelming force)

Jim Turner:

"... there's something, you know, that my grandparents said to me years ago. "Everyone is three people." And I said, "Well, how do you mean that?" And they said, "Who you think you are, who people think they are, and who people really are." So you may see Frank Rizzo as one person, and I see him as someone else."

NARRATION

"HOW DID THEY COME TO LOOK AT ONE MAN AND SEE SUCH DIFFERENT THINGS? HOW DID HE CREATE AN IMAGE THAT CAPTURED THE IMAGINATION OF SOME AND CRYSTALLIZED THE FEARS OF OTHERS? HOW DID HE BENEFIT FROM TURBULENT TIMES, AND HOW WAS HE A VICTIM OF THEM? AND HOW DID HE SIMULTANEOUSLY MAKE PHILADELPHIA A MORE AND LESS CHAOTIC PLACE?..."

"RIZZO" TITLE AND MUSIC UP FULL

(wedding bells up for :05)

NARRATION OVER SFX OF BELLS

"WEDDING BELLS CHIMED AT ST. MARY MAGDALENE DE PAZZI CHURCH IN SOUTH PHILADELPHIA IN 1918. RALPH RIZZO, AN IMMIGRANT FROM SOUTHERN ITALY, HAD CHOSEN THE AMERICAN-BORN TERESA ERMINIO TO BE HIS BRIDE. RIZZO, THE CITY'S FIRST ITALIAN-AMERICAN POLICE OFFICER, SETTLED WITH HIS NEW WIFE INTO A SMALL HOME ON ROSEWOOD STREET NEAR THE CITY'S LITTLE ITALY.

TWO YEARS LATER, FRANK, THE FIRST OF THEIR FOUR SONS, WAS BORN. HE WOULD INHERIT THE WARMTH AND GREGARIOUSNESS OF HIS MOTHER, AND THE STRONG SENSE OF RIGHT AND WRONG OF HIS FATHER..."

("He was a police officer, and he...(edit)...

knew what could happen to young people, and we were four boys, you know. We had didn't have any sisters. So, when you have four boys, you need a little discipline, you know what I mean?...(edit)...I think there's a lot of it rubbed off on Frank.")

NARRATION

"LIKE MANY ITALIAN-AMERICAN FATHERS, RALPH EXPECTED HIS OLDEST SON TO LEARN ABOUT LIFE ON HIS OWN. BURLY AND BOLD, FRANK WAS ONE OF THE TOUGHEST KIDS IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD, AND WAS READY TO USE HIS FISTS IN FREQUENT SCRAPES. HIS FRIENDS AND FAMILY ALWAYS SAID HE WAS NEVER A BULLY; HE WAS A 'DEFENDER OF THE LITTLE GUY'..."

("He was a street kid. And if there was a bully in the neighborhood, Frank wanted to take him on right away. And he usually was the victor, always. I never knew anybody that ever got the best of Frank Rizzo.")

NARRATION

"THROUGHOUT HIS LIFE, FRANK RIZZO WOULD EXTOL THE VIRTUES OF HIS UPBRINGING: FAMILY...NEIGHBORHOOD...PATRIOTISM. HE CREDITED HIS

FATHER WITH INSTILLING THESE VALUES---AND USING FORCE, WHEN NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN OBEDIENCE AND ORDER."

("None of the Democratic rules applied. My dad set tough rules...and you played the game by his rules, or you didn't play. There was no free-cut open forum, you know...boom, you get knocked down, you know, and uh, good system")

NARRATION

"EVEN AS A YOUNG BOY, FRANK WORKED HARD, FIRST FOR A HARDWARE STORE, THEN A BUTCHER SHOP, AND HE ALWAYS BROUGHT HIS EARNINGS HOME TO HIS MOTHER. HE WAS LESS DEDICATED TO HIS STUDIES, HOWEVER, AND ONE TEACHER YEARS LATER COULD RECALL ONLY TWO THINGS ABOUT HIM---HIS CONSTANT FIGHTING, AND HIS GOODHEARTED PARENTS..."

("He was an average student, but, I don't know, I guess he was too restless, you know. He was, when he started getting into his senior year, I think he finished up his junior year, then he quit school. He just had no desire to go, you know. I don't know why. I think he was bored, and he went into the navy.")

NARRATION

"RIZZO WAS DISCHARGED FROM THE NAVY THE NEXT YEAR FOR A RARE FORM OF DIABETES, BUT NOT BEFORE GAINING AN ADMIRATION FOR MILITARY DISCIPLINE AND STRENGTH. HE RETURNED HOME, TO WORK IN THE MIDVALE CORPORATION'S STEEL MILL. A NEIGHBORHOOD GIRL, CARMELLA SILVESTRI, HAD CAUGHT RIZZO'S EYE, AND HE TOOK HER AS HIS BRIDE IN THE SPRING OF 1942. WITH RIZZO'S NEW LIFE CAME THE DETERMINATION THAT HE NEEDED A NEW CAREER, AND HE DECIDED TO FOLLOW HIS FATHER INTO THE POLICE DEPARTMENT. LIKE ALL OFFICERS OF THE TIME, RIZZO NEEDED A PATRON IN THE REPUBLICAN MACHINE, WHICH FOR SIXTY YEARS,

RULED PHILADELPHIA POLITICS, NEIGHBORHOOD BY NEIGHBORHOOD, BLOCK BY BLOCK...'

#7 01:57:10

("And the Republican ward leaders were the strength, you know. And they doled out the jobs, and if you wanted to become a policeman or a fireman in those days, you had to have the okay from the ward leader. And if you didn't, why I'd think you'd have a little difficult time.")

NARRATION

"EVEN ON HIS FIRST DAY ON THE BEAT, RIZZO DISPLAYED BOTH THE SPIT-AND-POLISH IMAGE AND THE AMBITION THAT WOULD HELP HIM RISE TO THE TOP. ADMIRING HIS CRISP UNIFORM IN THE MIRROR, HE TURNED TO CARMELLA AND TOLD HER: 'I'M GOING TO BE POLICE COMMISSIONER ONE DAY..."

("Frank was immaculate. I mean he always, always, everything had to be neat and pressed. You know, he didn't even have a car when he became a policeman, and he used to ride the bus...(edit)...and he wouldn't sit down. The bus could be empty. He wouldn't sit down because his trousers would get creased, you know? He would stand up. And he wouldn't get ruffled or anything like that.")

NARRATION

"RIZZO WOULD SOON BEGIN TO GARNER HEADLINES, WHICH HIGHLIGHTED BOTH HIS FEARLESSNESS AND HIS WILLINGNESS TO USE HIS FISTS..."

("In fact, he had one guy, the guy was a bad guy from 12th & Mercy. And he parked his car illegally at 12th & Locust. He was going over to uh, the Celebrity Club, which Lillian Reese at the time ran. And he said, 'Hey, you're not allowed to park here.' And the guy just looked at him, he said, 'Mind your own f---in' business, you know. So Rizzo says, 'I told you to move that car! And, the guy come out (laugh) of the car, and he threw a punch at him, you know? He hit Rizzo. Well, that's all he had to do, Rizzo was a tough guy. And he, you know, gave him a few 'polliad', smacks around...(edit)...he gave him a

couple punches, you know...(edit)...The guy started to curse him and everything in the back of the car. And Rizzo hit him. Knocked his eye out.")

("His theory was, you're a policeman, you're in uniform, if you tell somebody, you know, that you're locked up for, for a crime or breaking the law or something like that, there. This guy is supposed to be docile and say, 'Oh, okay. Let's go.' And if he didn't say 'oh, okay, let's go,' and try to, fight you, he would say 'Beat the shit out of him!' That's all, period, you know.")

NARRATION

"IT WASN'T ONLY RIZZO'S PENCHANT FOR ACTION THAT WAS STARTING TO WIN HIM A REPUTATION. HE HAD THAT SOFTER TOUCH, TOO, AS A YOUNG SOLDIER WOULD LEARN ON A COLD DECEMBER NIGHT IN 1945..."

("Soon as we got off the bus at Broad & Erie, the first gentleman that walked up to us was Frank Rizzo, Officer Frank Rizzo from the 39th District. And he said, if you gentlemen are going for the naval base you're on the wrong corner, you have to cross over Germantown Avenue and get on Route #20, South Bend trolley, which takes you to the main gate at the naval base. We said, no sir, we're here on leave, we're coming, we're going home.")

("First thing he did was got us, we couldn't get a good taxi cab, it was not available at 3 am, so he got us the police cars to take us to our homes.")

NARRATION

"IN 1950, THE CITY'S REPUBLICAN MACHINE WAS CRUMBLING AND THE POST-NEW DEAL DEMOCRATIC STAR WAS RISING. FRANK RIZZO WAS PROMOTED TO SERGEANT AS A NEW GENERATION OF GOOD-GOVERNMENT REFORMERS SWEPT INTO POWER WITH A MANDATE TO REVITALIZE DOWNTOWN AND CLEAN UP CITY HALL AND THE POLICE FORCE..."

(Kefauver committee tape up full, then under)

"WHEN KEFAUVER'S INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE ROLLED INTO PHILADELPHIA
TO EXAMINE THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MOB, THE POLICE AND THE
POLITICAL ESTABLISHMENT, A HALF-DOZEN LEADERS COMMITTED SUICIDE
RATHER THAN ANSWER SUBPOENAS..."

NARRATION

"SGT. RIZZO WAS ON THE FRONT LINES. HIS MISSION WAS CLEAR. CLEAN UP THE NUMBERS RACKETS. MAKE THE STREETS SAFE. END THE QUIET TOLERANCE OF PETTY VICE THAT HIS FATHER, AMONG OTHER COPS, PRACTICED IN SOUTH PHILLY. BY THE EARLY 1950S, THE PUBLIC WOULD BE HEARING RIZZO'S NAME MORE AND MORE. AN UNSUBSTANTIATED RUMOR HAD IT THAT HE CARRIED TWO PEARL-HANDLED REVOLVERS. AND HE EARNED HIS FIRST NICKNAME. "THE CISCO KID..."

#10 09:16:45

{("There was a barricaded man on Queen Street, and the guy was on the second floor, had a gun out the window, and he was shooting a passer-bys...(edit)...so Frank...went to Queen Street}...he went up the steps to the second floor, collared this guy that was shooting out the window, and as he was coming out, the kids in the neighborhood said, the Cisco Kid's got him, the Cisco Kid, and that's the story I got from the neighborhood.")

("He was like a western sheriff, and he was going to ride in and clean up the town....")

NARRATOR:

"RIZZO CERTAINLY DIDN'T MIND THE TALES OF HIS HEROISM. AND WITH HIS AFFABILITY AND COLORFUL CHARACTER, HE WAS A NATURAL FOR REPORTERS LOOKING FOR GOOD COPY..."

"BY 1952, RIZZO WAS PROMOTED TO ACTING CAPTAIN AND ASSIGNED TO BUST THE RACKETS IN A WEST PHILLY NEIGHBORHOOD CALLED 'THE BLACK BOTTOM'. IT WAS RIZZO'S FIRST EXPOSURE TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY.

AND ALTHOUGH HE EMPLOYED THE SAME KNOCK-DOWN-THE-DOOR TACTICS HE HAD USED ELSEWHERE, MANY RESIDENTS OF THIS VERY DIFFERENT AREA DIDN'T APPRECIATE HIS STYLE..."

("First off, he was a big strong guy. You know, and he always, always emphasized the two and he walked in, I mean, his chest was always out. You know, he was broad chested, and it's the way he walked. He had that, I would say, you know, cocky. Would never, never tell him that. Had the, like, a cocky walk, you know?")

NARRATION

"RIZZO WAS IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD FOR ONLY A SHORT TIME WHEN A GROUP OF BLACK COMMUNITY LEADERS STARTING HEARING COMPLAINTS ABOUT HIS TACTICS. BY THE TIME HE WAS PROMOTED TO THE CENTER CITY DISTRICT AFTER JUST FIVE MONTHS, RIZZO HAD WON OVER MOST OF THOSE LEADERS. ONE OF THEM TOLD A REPORTER: 'IF I NEEDED A POLICEMAN, HE'S THE ONE I'D WANT COMING TO SAVE ME..."

("That was the district that uh, served the community I was raised in.")

("He was a charmer. I mean, I think that What happens is that he had the ability to really charm people. And I mean, not necessarily being paternalistic, but he truly engendered a kind of warmth and gregariousness when you're around him, because he was fearless.")

NARRATION

"IN MAY OF 1952, POLICE COMMISSIONER GIBBONS ASSIGNED RIZZO TO QUELL VICE AND GAMBLING IN CENTER CITY. THAT'S WHERE THE ACTION AND THE HEADLINES WERE. FOR THE NEXT SEVEN YEARS, RIZZO AND HIS MEN PROWLED THE STREETS OF DOWNTOWN, RAIDING STRIP JOINTS AND GAMBLING PARLORS. CAPTAIN RIZZO ENDEARED HIMSELF TO HIS MEN BY STANDING BY THEM – ON THE STREETS AND IN THE COURTROOMS..."

#10 09:03:12

("He made me feel like the rank didn't make any difference, that we're both policemen. And he let you know that if you encountered any problems in the street, that he would be there for you. It's not like some commanding officers, they're there only in the good times, the bad times, you don't see them. With him, when you had a hearing the next morning after making an arrest...") #10 09:05:30

("You're new, and you're young. You don't know the procedures. But with your captain standing next to you, you feel pretty big.")
#10 09:06:45

("And, the men worked for him, they worked very hard for him, because he always had his hand on your shoulder, and he, and we all knew that if we did our job honestly and made an honest mistake, he would back us up.")

NARRATION

"HE WOULD LATER BE CALLED 'THE GENERAL,' BUT AS RIZZO ROSE
THROUGH THE RANKS, HE WAS NEVER AN ARMCHAIR GENERAL. EVEN AS
CAPTAIN, HE HANKERED FOR A GOOD FIGHT..."

("He was walking his district, seeing how

His men are performing, see what's going on in the district. And some drunken sailors took on two of the beat policemen on that particular night, and we were called in. It turned into a free for all, because the sailors were taking off on the uniformed policemen, and we came on the scene, and it was just one good time (LAUGHS). And we cleared them out.")

NARRATION

"THE SAILORS ALLEGATIONS OF BRUTALITY CAUSED A SMALL UPROAR, BUT COMMISSIONER GIBBONS CHAMPIONED RIZZO, IF RELUCTANTLY. YEARS LATER, HOWEVER, GIBBONS ADMITTED TO A REPORTER: 'RIZZO BEAT UP THOSE SAILORS FOR NO REASON. HE CAUSED ME NOTHING BUT TROUBLE...'"

ns quote here about nightsticks)

NARRATION

"RIZZO ALSO SAW HIS ROLE AS A DEFENDER OF FAMILY VALUES. HE EXPECTED FROM HIS MEN THE SAME MIDDLE-CLASS DECORUM HE WAS RAISED WITH: IF THEY WERE MARRIED, HE WOULDN'T STAND FOR ANY CANOODLING..."

("He would try, uh, to be like a priest...")

("Different guys, police, that we worked with, had like, maybe marital troubles or stuff like that. He would call them in and try to, try to settle it, you know?")

("You know, you got two kids, two beautiful children, ba, ba, ba, ba, ba. And anyway, he talked him back to going with his wife and get rid of the, 'What do you need these whores for?' You know, da, da, da, da, da.")

NARRATION OVER SFX

"A COUNTER-CULTURE SCENE WAS BURGEONING IN CENTER CITY. COFFEE HOUSES WERE SPRINGING UP WITH NAMES LIKE 'THE ARTIST'S HUT,' 'THE HUMORESQUE,' AND 'THE GILDED CAGE.' RIZZO RAIDED THEM, BECOMING THE HERO OF THE HOMEOWNERS, AND THE BANE OF THE BOHEMIANS..."

("So while we were inside, the police came in and announced that we were going to be taken in. They called our parents in and brought us into this big room, and Frank Rizzo came in and started to talk to them about what kind of places we were going---did they know what we were doing, and generally giving them a lecture on how bad it was to be in these places. And just let us go.")

("The coffee houses were hotbeds of left-

wing thoughts and conversations and chess playing. You know, that's a Russian thing. I'm sure that offended the traditional minds. And the idea was that there were things going on there that should be stopped. Probably having to do with drugs or white slavery, I'm sure of this. That sort of thing, it sort of played on the minds of the people who weren't there.")

("As he was talking to parents in the room, he turned to me, and I was standing there wearing a leather jacket...(edit)...He referred to the jacket as the beginning of going bad. And he said that he would like to take out his blackjack and take it to this guy. And I was taken aback by it and my mother was standing there nodding her head saying 'Yeah, that's right."")

NARRATION

"THE HOMEOWNER'S COMPLAINTS WERE NEVER DOCUMENTED, AND THE D.A. NEVER PRESSED ANY CHARGES. RIZZO, LONG BOLD IN HIS ACTIONS, WAS GROWING BOLDER IN HIS PRONOUNCEMENTS. HIS CALLS FOR ORDER ENDEARED HIM TO SOME PHILADELPHIANS, AND ALIENATED OTHERS. RIZZO, NOW AN INSPECTOR, WAS NAMED HEAD OF CENTRAL COMMAND IN CENTER CITY. HOWEVER, NOT EVERYONE BORE THE BRUNT OF HIS LAW-AND-ORDER CAMPAIGN. WHEN ANGELO BRUNO'S SOUTH PHILADELPHIA CRIME FAMILY STARTED TO EXPAND INTO CENTER CITY, RIZZO HELD A SUMMIT WITH THE MOB DON..."

("Rizzo wanted the mob to clean up its act.

And he met with Bruno and he wanted the mob to get out of Philadelphia, in terms of the murder, the drugs, whatever they were involved in. Stay out of Philadelphia. He wanted everything exported out of the city.")

("And he laid the law down to him. He said, 'Look, I don't mind this and I don't mind that. I don't want no drugs, and I don't want no killing. I don't this and that, and the other thing. And you know, Angelo Bruno respected Rizzo.")

("If you look at the history of the Philadelphia mob, they were relatively quiet and unbloody from about the mid 60s until he left office in 1980.")

NARRATION

"BY THE 1960'S, THE NEIGHBORHOODS OF PHILADELPHIA WERE COMING UNDER A MUCH BIGGER THREAT THAN THE MOB OR COFFEE HOUSES. A CHANGING ECONOMY WAS BLEEDING THE CITY'S JOBS, AND THE INDUSTRIAL DECLINE THAT HAD INFECTED OTHER NORTHEASTERN CITIES WAS FINALLY OVERTAKING THE DIVERSE MANUFACTURING THAT HAD MADE PHILADELPHIA THE 'WORKSHOP OF THE WORLD'..."

("Rizzo's constituents could look at the rotting hulk of an abandoned factory looming

over their neighborhood, but not really understand what it was that was leading those factories to close and move elsewhere.")

NARRATION

"ALL AROUND THE COUNTRY, THE MOSTLY WHITE MIDDLE CLASS WAS
FLEEING THE CITY FOR SUBURBIA, LEAVING BEHIND THOSE---BLACK AND
WHITE---WHO COULDN'T AFFORD TO LEAVE. BETWEEN 1950 AND 1970,
PHILADELPHIA LOST SIX PERCENT OF ITS POPULATION, WHILE THE SUBURBS
GREW BY ALMOST 30 PERCENT..."

("He's looking out onto a city whose

economy is being profoundly transformed, which ordinary folks simply don't understand. Why are the jobs leaving Philadelphia? Why are our neighborhoods changing in composition? These are big forces that are shaping all of urban America in the period, and Rizzo offers a simple answer, and that answer is, outside forces are threatening your security and your stability, and we need to step in, intervene, and aggressively stop the march of those outside forces...")

"IN 1963, AS RIZZO WAS NAMED DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, AND PUT IN CHARGE OF THE FORCE'S 6,000 UNIFORMED OFFICERS, CIVIL RIGHTS FLAREUPS BLAZED ACROSS THE SOUTH. IN BIRMINGHAM, PROTESTORS WERE ATTACKED BY POLICE WITH GUARD DOGS AND FIRE HOSES, AND FOUR GIRLS DIED WHEN DYNAMITE WAS THROWN INTO A CHURCH BASEMENT. A QUARTER-MILLION PEOPLE MARCHED ON WASHINGTON TO HEAR MARTIN LUTHER KING SHARE HIS DREAM ON AUGUST 28TH, ONE YEAR TO THE DAY BEFORE BLACK DESTRUCTIVE RAGE WOULD COME TO PHILADELPHIA..."

(soundbite)

NARRATION

"RIOTING AND LOOTING CONVULSED THE COLUMBIA AVENUE RETAIL DISTRICT. RIZZO WANTED TO UNLEASH HIS 600 OFFICERS ON THE RIOTERS. POLICE COMMISSIONER HOWARD LEARY OVERRULED HIM, OPTING INSTEAD TO LET THE VIOLENCE BURN ITSELF OUT. 48 HOURS LATER, THE WHITE-OWNED BUSINESS DISTRICT ON COLUMBIA WAS DESTROYED. 300 LOOTERS WERE ARRESTED. BUT ONLY TWO PEOPLE DIED..."

("I think it was a question of fortitude, who had the most. I think...(edit)...Rizzo, at the time, had the fortitude and his other bosses didn't have as much, so they sent him off the field, you know.")

NARRATION

"RIZZO WOULD ALWAYS CALL LEARY 'A GUTLESS BASTARD' FOR SACRIFICING COLUMBIA AVENUE. BUT RIZZO WOULD LATER BENEFIT FROM PHILADELPHIA'S LONE RAMPAGE OCCURRING ON SOMEONE ELSE'S WATCH. COLUMBIA AVENUE APPALLED MANY PHILADELPHIANS, ESPECIALLY THOSE IN VULNERABLE NEIGHBORHOODS. MANY LIKED RIZZO'S TOUGH TALK, AND HIS EAGERNESS TO MEET FORCE WITH FORCE. HIS STATURE GREW THE

NEXT SUMMER, TOO, WHEN AS DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, HE PERSONALLY MANNED THE BARRICADES AT GIRARD COLLEGE, AN ALL-WHITE SCHOOL UNDER MONTHS-LONG SIEGE. 1965 WAS THE YEAR OF THE WATTS RIOTS, BUT IT WAS ALSO THE YEAR ALABAMA STATE TROOPERS ATTACKED MARCHING DEMONSTRATORS IN SELMA. RIZZO'S MUSCLE-FLEXING WAS BEGINNING TO SEND VERY DIFFERENT SIGNALS TO BLACKS AND WHITES..."

(reminiscences by student Ted Hicks, and activist Novella Williams)

NARRATION

"RIZZO ALWAYS BELIEVED RACE HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH ANYTHING. <u>HE</u> WAS FOR LAW AND ORDER. <u>HE</u> WAS FOR NEIGHBORHOODS. <u>HE</u> AND HIS MEN WOULD TACKLE ALL TROUBLE-MAKERS, REGARDLESS OF COLOR..."

(Bowser Kensington story)

("Individually, he had tremendous long-lasting relationships with people of color...(edit)...but(edit)...I think the concept of group demands on Frank Rizzo sent him up the wall. Cause, you know, most of the demands made on him came from people of color and during this timeframe, but he probably would have the same reaction today of---to other group demands.")

(Rizzo Besieged Majority quote here?)

NARRATION

"RIZZO'S DISTASTE FOR DEMANDS ERUPTED ON NOVEMBER 17TH, 1967.

SCHOOL SUPERINTENDANT MARK R. SHEDD, A LIBERAL EDUCATOR, HAD INVITED A GROUP OF BLACK HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS TO VISIT HIM AND AIR THEIR DEMANDS FOR BLACK HISTORY COURSES. 3,000 STUDENTS FROM HIGH SCHOOLS ALL OVER THE CITY MARCHED TO THE PARKWAY. CIVIL

DISOBEDIENCE SQUAD BOSS GEORGE FENCL, WHO HAD A SMALL GROUP OF POLICE ON HAND, RADIOED FOR REINFORCEMENTS, AND RIZZO, WHO HAD SINCED BEEN NAMED POLICE COMMISSIONER, RUSHED TO THE SCENE.

SUDDENLY, A QUIET DEMONSTRATION TURNED INTO CHAOS..."

(film soundbite)

NARRATION

"HOW IT STARTED IS OPEN TO VARIOUS INTERPRETATIONS..."

ments on the incident---WalterPalmer, Spencer Coxe, Charles Bowser)

(Rizzo says police will do their job!)

("The switchboard just lit up. No one, no one understood the power of Frank Rizzo with the people. Really, it was just amazing. They got mail by the mail truck---filled. I mean, mail---people don't write!")

NARRATION

"RIZZO WOULD SHOW AGAIN HOW HARD HE WAS TO PIGEONHOLE.

FOLLOWING THE ASSASSINATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, BLACK
RESENTMENT WAS SIMMERING, AND RIZZO SKILLFULLY SHOWED RESTRAINT
TO THE LOCAL REACTION..."

("And here was an angry group of blacks marching on Chestnut Street...(edit)...and with all the store fronts ready to have the glass broken. And he kept his troops on the side streets. There was not a single policeman visible; well, maybe they were visible at a distance, but the marchers did not have the sense that they were being surrounded or threatened, and nothing happened. And this was an example of perfect police practices, as far as I was concerned.")

"INDEED, CROWD CONTROL WOULD BE ONE OF THE HALLMARKS OF RIZZO'S REIGN AS POLICE COMMISSIONER. HE AND GEORGE FENCL WOULD BUILD AN ELABORATE NETWORK OF INFORMANTS TO INFILTRATE LIBERAL ORGANIZATIONS..."

(clip of Fencl describing files of names of protestors)

NARRATION

"MAYOR JAMES TATE WAS NOW LEARNING HOW HARD IT WAS TO CONTROL RIZZO, BUT ALSO HOW VALUABLE HE COULD BE. TATE, WHO HAD NAMED RIZZO POLICE COMMISSIONER, WAS FACING A TOUGH ELECTION CHALLENGE IN 1967 FROM THE POPULAR REPUBLICAN D.A. ARLEN SPECTER. WITH SPECTER BREATHING DOWN HIS NECK, TATE UPPED THE POLITICAL ANTE BY PROMISING TO REAPPOINT RIZZO AS COMMISSIONER IN HIS SECOND TERM..."

("And a lot of people thought that Specter was gonna be elected outright. I mean, he was ahead in the polls. He was a much better campaigner. He was a much better candidate, but he wasn't necessarily for Frank.")

("And Tate said, yes he was gonna remain police commissioner, and Specter said he wasn't sure.")

NARRATION

"TATE'S DEFT POLITICAL MOVE PAID OFF. HE SHOCKED THE FAVORED SPECTER WITH A RAZOR-THIN VICTORY, A VICTORY THAT HE OWED LARGELY TO FRANK RIZZO.

RIZZO'S APPEAL MIRRORED THAT OF CONSERVATIVES LIKE RICHARD NIXON AND RONALD REAGAN. IN 1968, THE CAMPAIGNING NIXON MADE A POINT OF VISITING THE MAN HE CALLED 'THE TOUGHEST COP IN AMERICA..."

(Nixon soundbite about Rizzo)

("Rizzo was at once an unconscious

reflection of this bubbling grass roots conservative politics, but at the same time, he was an architect. He's someone who put out a message that, I think, played a role in the reconfiguration of local and national politics, and the shift of large segments of the white electorate to the right. He was a precursor of the Reagan Democrat in fundamental ways.")

MUSIC UP:03, THEN UNDER

"JIM TATE MAY HAVE BEEN THE MAYOR, BUT IT WAS FRANK RIZZO WHO WAS GARNERING THE HEADLINES. HE MADE OUTRAGEOUS PRONOUNCEMENTS, AND PERSONALLY DIRECTED HIS COPS WHEREVER TROUBLE FLARED UP. NOTHING DEFINED RIZZO'S IMAGE MORE VIVIDLY THAN THE PHOTO OF THE COMMISSIONER, RESPLENDENT IN HIS TUXEDO, ARRIVING ON THE SCENE OF A HOT SPOT WITH HIS NIGHT STICK TUCKED JAUNTILY INTO HIS CUMMERBUND. RIZZO SINCERELY FELT THAT LEFT-WING AGITATORS WERE A THREAT TO AMERICAN LIBERTY.")

(Rizzo quote about loudmouths having all the freedoms)

NARRATION

"IN THE SUMMER OF 1970, AS THE NATIONAL BLACK PANTHER PARTY WAS GATHERING IN PHILADELPHIA FOR A RADICAL 'CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION,' RIZZO BELIEVED THAT HIS FEARS WERE BEING REALIZED..."

(police radio audio of shooting report)

NARRATION OVER MUSIC

"A PARK GUARD WAS DEAD AT THE HANDS OF UNSEEN TERRORISTS.

BOOBY-TRAPPED HAND GRENADES WERE FOUND IN THE PARK. SEVERAL

OTHER OFFICERS WERE SHOT AND WOUNDED..."

(police radio report of Gibbons shooting)

NARRATOR OVER MUSIC

"THE CITY WAS STUNNED, AND RIZZO'S POLICE SWUNG INTO ACTION. UNDER THE COMMAND OF GEORGE FENCL, POLICE RAIDED TWO BLACK PANTHER HOUSES IN SEPARATE AREAS OF THE CITY, EVEN THOUGH NO PANTHERS HAD BEEN IMPLICATED IN THE ATTACK. POLICE EXCHANGED GUNFIRE WITH THE PANTHERS..."

(Reggie Schell description of incident)

(film of Rizzo comment on the raid)

NARRATION OVER MUSIC

"THE CONTROVERSIAL PANTHER RAID WAS THE CLIMAX OF RIZZO'S 28-YEAR POLICE CAREER. FIVE MONTHS LATER, HE RESIGNED AS COMMISSIONER AND ANNOUNCED HIS CANDIDACY FOR MAYOR. FOR YEARS, RIZZO HAD COURTED AND BEEN CULTIVATED BY PHILADELPHIA'S KINGMAKERS---MEN LIKE INQUIRER MAGNATE WALTER ANNENBERG AND VETERAN CONGRESSMAN BILL BARRETT. RIZZO WAS CONVINCED, AS HE PUT IT, THAT HE WAS 'THE ONLY GUY THAT CAN SAVE THIS CITY.' MANY, BUT NOT ALL AGREED..."

(1971 vox pop on Rizzo here)

NARRATION

"DISAVOWING EXTREMISM OF THE LEFT AND THE RIGHT, RIZZO ASKED ALL VOTERS TO SUPPORT HIM. EVEN SO, HE AND HIS AIDES DECIDED TO STAY OUT OF BLACK WARDS, PROCLAIMING, 'THOSE WHO DON'T LIKE ME, I COULDN'T WALK UP BROAD STREET ON MY KNEES AND GET THEIR SUPPORT'..."

(Reggie Schell and Novella Williams comments about letting Rizzo in)

NARRATION

"RIZZO'S RACIAL GAMBIT WAS WORKING. WHITE VOTERS LOVED HIM, AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, WHICH HAD FEARED WHITE FLIGHT TO THE REPUBLICANS, WAS THE BENEFICIARY..."

(Frank DiCicco quote here)

NARRATION OVER MUSIC

"THE DEMOCRATIC MACHINE WAS BACKING RIZZO, BUT HE DID NOT RUN FOR THE NOMINATION UNOPPOSED. HE WAS SOON JOINED BY U.S. CONGRESSMAN BILL GREEN, RUNNING AS A LIBERAL REFORMER, AND STATE LEGISLATOR HARDY WILLIAMS, THE CITY'S FIRST SERIOUS BLACK MAYORAL CANDIDATE..."

("There's many people to this day who believe that Hardy Williams ran to split the black vote in the Democratic primary so that Frank Rizzo would get the lion's share of the white conservative vote and that he would get the nomination for the Democratic party.")

("I saw nothing in that campaign, nor have I

seen anything since that campaign, that would in any way indicate to me that there was any relationship between Hardy Williams and Frank Rizzo. I was the day to day campaign manager for that campaign.")

("When the campaign was over, I was left with the responsibility of paying off the election day expense out of my pocket...(edit)...my money. Not Frank Rizzo's money---my money, out of my pocket.")

NARRATION

"STALKING HORSE OR NOT, WILLLIAMS

HELPED RIZZO TO DIVIDE AND CONQUER THE OPPOSITION. ON THE EVE OF THE PRIMARY, FRANK RIZZO BEGAN A TRADITION THAT WOULD SEE HIM THROUGH POLITICAL BATTLES FOR THE NEXT TWENTY YEARS. HE RETURNED TO HIS BOYHOOD HOME ON ROSEWOOD STREET FOR THE CLIMAX OF THE CAMPAIGN..."

(soundbite of Rizzo rally on Rosewood St.)

NARRATION OVER SOUNDBITE

"THE ADULATION ON ROSEWOOD STREET WAS A MICROCOSM OF RIZZO'S APPEAL IN WHITE WORKING-CLASS NEIGHBORHOODS ALL OVER THE CITY. THE NEXT DAY, RIZZO SWEPT TO VICTORY OVER GREEN BY NEARLY 50,000 VOTES. HARDY WILLIAMS PROVED TO BE A MINOR FACTOR IN THE TALLY. THE DEMOCRATIC MACHINE HAD BEATEN THE REFORMERS' CHALLENGE..."

(Ken Mugler campaign spot here)

NARRATION

"REPUBLICAN CITY COUNCIL MEMBER THACHER LONGSTRETH HAD RUN UNSUCCESSFULLY FOR MAYOR IN 1955, AND WAS READY TO TRY AGAIN. HE

CAME OUT SWINGING AGAINST THE POPULAR RIZZO, LAUNCHING HIS CAMPAIGN WITH THE SIMPLE SLOGAN, 'RIZZO IS A BULLY..."

#1 00:11:50

("It was a part of our strategy, that if we could provoke him into some of his more unreasonable statements, that, that we would gain substantially from that. And what we were trying to do was make him lose his temper and say things which would get him in trouble with the moderates because he was a hip-shooter. And sometimes the things that he said were ridiculous...)

("I never saw my mother or father naked."))

(and sometimes they were very, very mean.")

("I'm gonna make Attila the Hun look like a faggot!")

#2 00:22:30

("But on each occasion his handlers...(edit)... got him under control and a whisper from the sidelines or waving of hands behind the television camera or whatever the case might be.")

(Rizzo and Thach parry and thrust in debate)

("And one of the things that I think he did that made him a very formidable candidate was that in that particular election he controlled himself in pretty much an exemplary way.")

("I was not known as Thacher Longstreth, the Republican candidate, I was known as the guy that's running against Rizzo. My name recognition wasn't very high as far as the black community was concerned, but his was very high, and they didn't like him. So, just whoever the person that was running against him was going to get support that they would not have otherwise given.")

#2 00:25:00 ("In my election, I got so many black votes against Rizzo that if I had gotten the usual number of Republican votes that almost any Republican got, the hard core that support you, I would have won. But I

didn't, because the hard-core Republicans, they liked what they were hearing from Rizzo, and they voted for him.")

NARRATION

"IN THE END, LONGSTRETH'S BEST EFFORTS CRUMBLED INTO DUST. ON NOVEMBER 2ND(?)1971, RIZZO SWEPT TO VICTORY OVER LONGSTRETH BY A SOLID MARGIN. AFTER HIS VICTORY SPEECH, RIZZO STOPPED BY THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER TO GREET SOME OLD FRIENDS. WHEN A POLITICAL REPORTER SHOWED RIZZO THE VOTE TALLY, THE RESULTS WERE CLEAR TO SEE. RIZZO HAD CARRIED ONLY ONE PREDOMINANTLY BLACK WARD. RIZZO REALIZED AT A GLANCE THAT IN ONE SENSE, HE HAD JUST BEEN ELECTED MAYOR OF HALF THE CITY..."

(soundbite of inaugural parade, followed by (Rizzo speech here)

NARRATION

"RIZZO QUICKLY ESTABLISHED A STYLE OF ATTEMPTING TO SOLVE THE CITY'S PROBLEMS, ONE CONSTITUENT AT A TIME..."

("And these were little old ladies from Kensington, south Philly, North Philly who called and would faint when they heard, 'Mrs. Jones, this is Frank Rizzo. I mean, many times I sat there across his desk and they'd hang up on him. They thought it was a joke, and he'd call 'em back. And he'd say, 'Ma'am, don't hang up. This is Frank Rizzo.' Bop, bop, bop, boom and, he said, 'What's your problem?' And maybe it was an abandoned car. Maybe it was a stop sign. Maybe the trash was irregular. And God forbid whatever department that was, that's who he called. I mean, if it was a streets problem, the Streets Commissioner was on the phone 30 seconds later.")

"RIZZO'S HONEYMOON DIDN'T LAST LONG, AT LEAST WITH THE PRESS. ONE WEEK AFTER HIS ELECTION, THE NEWLY-FEISTY INQUIRER PUBLISHED A SERIES OF ARTICLES PROBING CORRUPTION IN THE POLICE DEPARTMENT. RIZZO CHALLENGED THE RESULTS IN PUBLIC, BUT 43 COPS WERE ARRESTED AS A RESULT OF THE INVESTIGATION. THIS WAS A DISTURBING TURN OF AFFAIRS FOR RIZZO, WHO HAD ALWAYS LIKED REPORTERS..."

(Sal Pal quote here about new Inquirer aggressiveness))

NARRATION OVER MUSIC

"AFTER TAKING THE OATH OF OFFICE, RIZZO TURNED TO A GROUP OF INVESTORS TO FINANCE A LAVISH RENOVATION OF HIS OFFICE, FUELING SUSPICIONS IN THE PRESS THAT DEALS WERE BEING MADE FOR CITY CONTRACTS..."

(Rizzo-Goldman soundbite)

NARRATION

"THEN, THE MAYOR DECIDED THAT IT WAS TIME TO MOVE UP TO FINER DIGS THAN THOSE HE ENJOYED ON PROVIDENT STREET IN MT. AIRY. ONCE AGAIN THE PRESS STARTED TO HOWL. HOW WAS THE MAYOR TO AFFORD SUCH A MANSION ON HIS \$40,000 A YEAR SALARY? RIZZO PULLED THE PLUG, CALLING HIS DECISION 'ONE OF THE MOST SORROWFUL DAYS OF MY LIFE...'

(be right, look right quote here)

"RIZZO WAS IN OFFICE LESS THAN A MONTH WHEN HE LED A TRIUMPHAL PARADE OF REPORTERS TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT NIXON AT THE WHITE HOUSE. TO THE DISMAY OF DEMOCRATS BACK HOME, RIZZO WOULD LATER BACK NIXON'S 1972 CAMPAIGN.

(Rizzo quote about Nixon being greatest president)

NARRATION

"NIXON MADE SURE HIS FRIEND BENEFITTED, SENDING PHILADELPHIA A
HEFTY SLICE OF THE FEDERAL PIE. THE LARGESSE SET THE STAGE FOR AN
EXPLOSION OF CITY HALL PATRONAGE ROLLS, FUELED BY POLITICAL
CONSIDERATIONS, AND BY RIZZO'S GENUINE LOVE OF SOLVING PEOPLE'S
PROBLEMS BY HANDING OUT JOBS..."

("Well, you know, Rizzo was an interesting person. He always wanted to help people, and he wanted to help them get jobs, and authorities were always a good place to put people to work. And he sent over a bunch of people. One clerk I remember, a woman, who couldn't speak English, and wanted me to hire her as a clerk-typist. And I said, 'Well, who's going to speak to her? This is a very nice lady, foreign-born person, I'm sure this lady will be a fine person when this person learns how to speak English and use a typewriter.")

NARRATION

"AS THE MAYOR'S SQUABBLES WITH HIS PARTY ESCALATED, HE TOOK A PAGE FROM HIS HEROES NIXON AND J. EDGAR HOOVER. THE MAYOR DIRECTED AN AIDE TO FORM A SQUAD OF 40 DETECTIVES TO LOOK INTO POSSIBLE MUNICIPAL CORRUPTION. COINCIDENCE OR NOT, THE MAIN TARGETS OF THE PROBE WERE TWO OF RIZZO'S CHIEF PARTY RIVALS, CHAIRMAN PETER CAMIEL AND CITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT GEORGE X. SCHWARTZ. BOTH MEN REPORTED BEING FOLLOWED IN UNMARKED CARS

AND HAVING THEIR PHONES WIRE TAPPED. IT WAS A STYLE OF OPERATION
THAT WAS NOTHING NEW FOR RIZZO, WHO HAD GATHERED FILES FOR YEARS
ON EVERYONE FROM ARLEN SPECTER TO CARDINAL JOHN KROL..."

("I took some positions which were opposed to some of the more trenchant unions, and as a result of that, had some threats and some unpleasant things that happened. And we finally had a police officer assigned to the house because of threats that were being made on the children, four children. And the police officer lived there, oh, for six months, I guess, I mean, quite some period of time. And he got a call, he called me up during the campaign, and he got a call from Rizzo. And Rizzo said, 'You lived in that house for six months. If you can give me some dirt on Longstreth, I'll make it worth your while after I become the mayor.' And this guy called me, who, we got to be pretty friendly, and told me it. I said, 'Well, just let it go by.'")

NARRATION

"WHEN THE NEWSPAPERS REPORTED THE EXISTENCE OF THE SQUAD, RIZZO SAID THAT, YES, IT EXISTED, BUT THAT ITS ONLY PURPOSE WAS TO FERRET OUT CORRUPTION. D.A. SPECTER AGREED, BUT ONLY AFTER QUASHING A STAFF REPORT DESCRIBING SQUAD ACTIVITIES AS 'THINLY VEILED ATTEMPT TO SMEAR' SCHWARTZ AND CAMIEL..."

("I think that Rizzo genuinely believed that his opponents were crooks, and he genuinely believed that the way to get them, they're crooks, is assign cops to them. The people running the operation, I think, had a totally different agenda, which is to destroy his political enemies.")

("Oh, don't get me wrong; I, I think Rizzo would have loved to have seen his political enemies destroyed, but I think he also thought they were crooked, and he wanted to catch them. He, uh, he became a, a politician, but he never stopped being a cop.")

NARRATION OVER MUSIC

"IN THE SUMMER OF 1973, RIZZO'S ONGOING BATTLES WITH THE PRESS AND THE DEMOCRATS CAUSED HIM, AND THE CITY, FURTHER EMBARRASSMENT. CAMIEL ACCUSED RIZZO OF OFFERING HIM A BRIBE TO SUPPORT MANAGING DIRECTOR HILLEL LEVINSON FOR D.A..."

("To which I took umbrage, and I said What's going on, Frank, what are you trying to pull?"))

NARRATION

"RIZZO HOTLY DENIED IT. WHO WAS TELLING THE TRUTH? THE DAILY NEWS HAD A GREAT IDEA: IT WOULD SPONSOR A LIE-DETECTOR TEST. RIZZO AND CAMIEL, MANO-A-MANO WITH THE MACHINE. {CAMIEL ACCEPTED, AND SO DID RIZZO, MUCH TO THE HORROR OF HIS ADVISORS..."

("I told him, 'an Irishman and an Italian should never be allowed to take a liedetector test, because they're too emotional!")

NARRATOR OVER MUSIC

"RIZZO CHARGED AHEAD, DECLARING HIS FAITH IN THE LIE DETECTOR. A POLYGRAPH EXPERT HOOKED RIZZO UP TO THE MACHINE AND ASKED HIM A SERIES OF QUESTIONS, INCLUDING: HAD HE OFFERED A BRIBE TO CAMIEL? RIZZO ANSWERED, 'NO.'

THE MACHINE DIDN'T BELIEVE HIM..."

headline and music up full)

("He had a press conference that day. He didn't say, 'Oh my God, what have I done!' That would not be Rizzo. Yeah, at the press conference, which was a riotous press conference, as you can imagine, there's the results of a lie detector test. The whole city's talking about it, and he proclaims at the press conference that he might be able to understand how they could say he and Carroll flunked. He couldn't understand how they could say that Pete Camiel passed (LAUGHTER)"

NARRATION OVER SFX

"AS THIS SIDESHOW UNFOLDED, THE MAYOR WAS GETTING ON-THE-JOB TRAINING IN THE REALITIES OF PHILADELPHIA POLITICS. 'THE ONLY GUY WHO CAN SAVE THIS CITY' WAS BEGINNING TO REALIZE THAT SOLVING PROBLEMS IN CITY GOVERNMENT WASN'T EASY---CLEANING UP THE REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY, FOR EXAMPLE..."

("There were allegations of corruption in the department from, anything from taking kickbacks from riggers and demolition contractors, to buying properties at inflated costs, to questions of what kind of dirt was on a lot, improper fill, everything that could possibly be corrupt about an organization, those were some of the things that were facing me as the Executive Director.")

("It didn't take too long to find out that the mandate that I had was somewhat thinner than what I had been led to believe. And when I met with redevelopers and told them I had this mandate from the mayor, the developers and the others that I dealt with went right back to the mayor and called him and said, 'What's going on?' And then he would call me up and say, 'What's gong on?' I said, 'I'm carrying out your mandate. He said, 'Well, I didn't mean that you should do X, Y and Z.' I said, 'Well, this is what the situation is and you know, I'm trying to make this work right. And he gave me a little bit of leeway, but it becomes apparent that I wasn't considering the political consequences, cause that wasn't my role. My role was to clean it up. And I didn't have to consider the political consequences, and he did. And it was soon made abundantly clear to me that what I was doing was politically not helpful to him.")

NARRATION

"CITY FINANCE DIRECTOR LENNOX MOAK WAS ORDERED TO EASE ABRAHAM QUIETLY OUT THE DOOR. WHEN SHE REFUSED TO GO, SHE GOT A DOSE OF BAREKNUCKLE POLITICS, PHILADELPHIA-STYLE..."

("They started to do, engage in Nixonian

dirty tricks...(edit)...They spread rumors about everything about my personal life, none of which was true...(edit)...And for them to engage in these dirty tricks and these false stories to ruin my reputation was ugly and mean and dirty.")

NARRATION

"THE RIZZO ADMINISTRATION WAS HIRING WORKERS AT A GENEROUS RATE, BLOATING THE PAYROLL AT CITY HALL. RIZZO WAS PARTIALLY MOTIVATED BY HIS HEATED BATTLE WITH CAMIEL FOR CONTROL OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. IN HIS FIRST TERM, RIZZO EXPANDED THE MAYORAL AND MANAGING DIRECTOR'S OFFICES TEN-FOLD, AND TRIPLED THE NUMBER OF CITY EMPLOYEES WITH CIVIL SERVICE EXEMPTION. AT ONE POINT, 10,000 PEOPLE WAITED IN LINE IN THE RAIN FOR 280 JOBS WHICH HAD ALREADY BEEN GIVEN TO POLITICAL INSIDERS..."

("Anyone who doesn't think getting jobs is part of politics doesn't know anything about politics.")

NARRATION

"IN THE MIDST OF ALL OF THIS, THE RIZZO ADMINISTRATION DID BOAST SOME SOLID ACCOMPLISHMENTS. CITY REP HARRY BELINGER OVERSAW A LARGE EXPANSION OF PHILADELPHIA INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT. WORK BEGAN ON THE GALLERY, A DOWNTOWN SHOPPING MALL MEANT TO LURE CITY SHOPPERS AWAY FROM THE SUBURBAN MALLS. RIZZO USED HIS CLOUT WITH THE FEDS TO INVIGORATE THE PHILADELPHIA NAVAL SHIPYARD, AND PHILADELPHIA'S YOUTHFUL COMMUNITY COLLEGE FOUND A FRIEND IN CITY HALL. THE TOPOGRAPHY OF CENTER CITY CONTINUED TO RISE, AND THE ADMINISTRATION PUSHED FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A CENTER CITY RAIL TUNNEL TO CONNECT SUBURBAN AND READING STATIONS..."

("By the time Rizzo came in as mayor, the

business community felt much better with him than they had with the three predecessors covering the previous 12 years, whatever it was. And I think that that feeling was accentuated when I went back to the Chamber because I made it very clear to my members, and particularly the board members, that this was a man who was far more pro-business than anybody we had for a long, long time, and he was.")

NARRATION

"MEANWHILE, RIZZO'S WAR WITH THE DEMOCRATIC HIERARCHY RAGED ON.
AFTER SOME INITIAL FEUDING WITH GOVERNOR MILTON SHAPP, RIZZO TRIED
TO MEND FENCES WITH HARRISBURG TO KEEP STATE MONEY FLOWING. BUT
SHAPP WAS NOT IN A GENEROUS MOOD. HIS PENNSYLVANIA CRIME
COMMISSION ACCUSED THE POLICE DEPARTMENT OF 'ONGOING,
SYSTEMATIC, WIDESPREAD CORRUPTION,' AND BLAMED RIZZO FOR SETTING
THE TONE. MANAGING DIRECTOR LEVINSON WAS INDICTED ON CHARGES OF
RACKETEERING AND VIOLATING THE CITY CHARTER BAN ON POLITICKING BY
CITY OFFICIALS..."

("Milton Shapp and Frank Rizzo did not get along, to say the least. And Milton Shapp, through his special prosecutor, saw this as a way of getting to someone close to Frank Rizzo. They didn't want me. I mean, I was---I'm nothing. I mean, but what they used it for once they indicted me, was to squeeze me to try and give them Frank Rizzo. And that's really what it was all about.")

NARRATION

"THE CHARGES AGAINST LEVINSON, POLITICALLY MOTIVATED OR NOT, WERE ULTIMATELY DROPPED ON A GRAND JURY TECHNICALITY. AS RIZZO LOOKED TOWARD A SECOND TERM IN 1975, HE KNEW THAT HE NEEDED PEACE WITH LABOR, HIS CORE CONSTITUENCY.

DISTRICT 33 COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES WAS LOOKING FOR A NEW CONTRACT. AMONG OTHERS, THE UNION REPRESENTED THE STREET CLEANERS, AND COUNCIL

LEADER EARL STOUT, A RIZZO SUPPORTER, KNEW THE MAYOR WAS NOT UP FOR A FIGHT..."

("We were standing for election, and to have a strike at that time would have been a very difficult thing for us to handle both politically, and also in terms of the operation of the city.")

("And when trash piles up for two, three weeks on the streets of the City of Philadel-phia in the middle of the summer, you've got yourself a major, major problem. I mean, there's a lot of services that get shut down at a time when they are mostly needed, and we felt that under the circumstances, the most responsible thing for the city was to pay the cost.")

NARRATION

"STOUT SAID HE WAS GOING TO BANK ON FRANK, AND THAT'S JUST WHERE HE TOOK HIM. THE ADMINISTRATION AGREED TO A 12 PER CENT ONE-YEAR RAISE FOR THE UNION, AT A TIME WHEN OTHER WORKERS WERE GETTING 4 PER CENT. ADDITIONALLY, THE CITY SURRENDERED THE RIGHT TO REVIEW THE UNION'S BOOKS, GIVING FULL CONTROL TO STOUT. LABOR PEACE HAD BEEN ACHIEVED, BUT AT A HIGH COST..."

("This is the thing that used to make me so angry, was because he talked so tough. But then, he surrendered to the unions or he'd surrender to the Church, or he'd surrender to whoever, a powerful force, that was coming, that was beaming in on him.")

NARRATION

"AS HIS FIRST TERM WAS WINDING DOWN, RIZZO HAD SURVIVED TUSSLES WITH THE MEDIA, THE CRIME COMMISSION, LIBERAL CRITICS, AND DEMOCRATIC OPPONENTS. HE HAD KEPT HIS PLEDGE NOT TO RAISE TAXES, AND HAD BRUSHED ASIDE A CHALLENGE FROM HIS OWN PARTY IN THE PRIMARY. AND AS THE NOVEMBER ELECTION APPROACHED, THINGS WERE

LOOKING UP FOR THE MAYOR. THE MAYOR'S COMPETITION THIS TIME WAS THE POPULAR REPUBLICAN CITY COUNCILMAN TOM FOGLIETTA. BUT THERE WAS ALSO A WILD CARD, CHARLES BOWSER, WHO WAS RUNNING AS AN INDEPENDENT. BOWSER HAD WANTED THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION, BUT CAMIEL TURNED HIM DOWN, SAYING THE CITY WASN'T READY FOR A BLACK MAYOR. BOWSER DECIDED NOT TO TAKE NO FOR AN ANSWER, AND INSTEAD FORMED HIS OWN PHILADELPHIA PARTY, READY TO BATTLE FRANK RIZZO FOR THE MAYORALTY..."

("He wanted to know why I was running against him. And I told him I said, "Well, Frank, you know, I thought you were a good Police Commissioner, but I think you're a lousy Mayor." I said, "You're lettin' too many guys run you show, and they're not running it properly." Yeah, I mean, I told him.")

NARRATION

"'ALL I WANT IS FOR CHARLIE BOWSER TO STAY IN THE RACE,' SAID RIZZO, AS HE ANTICIPATED ANOTHER OPPORTUNITY TO SPLIT THE OPPOSITION.
RIZZO PROMISED NO NEW TAXES, AND EVEN BURNISHED HIS 'CISCO KID' IMAGE BY SUSTAINING A BROKEN HIP AT THE ARCO REFINERY FIRE IN AUGUST..."

(I'll march in the parade with a cane if I have to...")

NARRATION

"BOWSER HAMMERED AWAY AT THE MAYOR, ON CITY FINANCES, AND ON A MORE PERSONAL LEVEL..."

(Bowser calls Rizzo an indecent individual)

"BUT NO ONE LISTENED. ON NOVEMBER 4TH, THE MAYOR SMASHED HIS OPPONENTS BY OVER 177,000 VOTES ON HIS WAY TO RE-ELECTION. FULLY ONE-THIRD OF THE BLACK VOTE WENT TO RIZZO. BOWSER CAME IN SECOND, WITH FOGLIETTA FINISHING THIRD. IT WAS A CLEAR MANDATE FOR RIZZO'S ANTI-CRIME, NO NEW TAXES STANCE. BUT WITHIN TWO WEEKS OF THE MAYOR'S SECOND INAUGURAL, FINANCE DIRECTOR MOAK HAD SHOCKING NEWS---THE CITY'S FISCAL HEALTH WAS IN FAR WORSE SHAPE THAN HE AND RIZZO HAD CLAIMED. RATHER THAN SLASH THE CITY'S BURGEONING PATRONAGE ROLLS, THEY CALLED FOR EMERGENCY STATE AUTHORIZATION FOR A 29 PERCENT INCREASE IN CITY TAXES. THE SEEDS OF DISCONTENT, WHICH HAD LONG GERMINATED IN THE LIBERAL COMMUNITY, NOW BEGAN TO SPREAD INTO THE CITY AT LARGE. WITHIN WEEKS, RIZZO'S TEMPER WOULD IGNITE THAT DISCONTENT INTO A FLASHPOINT."

(GRAPHIC OF "THE SKEPTIC" ARTICLE)

NARRATION

"THOUGH A PROUD MASTER OF THE BRUTAL BARB HIMSELF, RIZZO DID NOT TAKE WELL TO SATIRE. HE SUED THE INQUIRER OVER THE CRUDE PARODY. HE WAS UNSUCCSESSFUL, AS HE WOULD BE EACH TIME HE CHALLENGED THE MEDIA IN COURT. FIVE DAYS AFTER THE ARTICLE APPEARED, A PICKET LINE FORMED AT INQUIRER HEADQUARTERS, OSTENSIBLY PROTESTING UNFAIR COVERAGE OF UNIONS. DEMONSTRATORS BLOCKED ALL ENTRANCES AND EXITS, INCLUDING THE TRUCK DELIVERY PLATFORMS..."

("I was in the City Hall bureau. Heard about the demonstration. Walked up to the Inquirer Building, which is still where it is on Broad Street, and saw a lot of people surrounding the building and blocking the entranceway, and also blocking people from coming out.")

("Saw the union goons who were there

supporting Frank Rizzo actually pummeled a photographer, an older gentleman, and threatened several others. The worst and most scary part was when the federal marshals came to serve an injunction which the Inquirer's lawyers had obtained. And remember, all of this is done by phone because none of Inquirer executives can get out of the building. So they have applied and gotten their lawyers by telephone to get this federal injunction. The federal marshals show up with the injunction and the goons actually threatened them and the police department, including George Fencl who's now lorded as a great hero. I watched him do nothing. I saw him later that day---later that evening rather, and confronted him personally and asked him, and he looked at me and he said, 'I got my orders from City Hall. There was nothing I could do.")

("There was no doubt in my mind or any other reporter's mind who heard the comment, that he meant Frank Rizzo directly.")

(Rizzo pickets quote)

("I don't believe it was, it was from the mayor. I just, I just don't believe that. Could it have been from somebody subordinate to the mayor? Yeah. I think there, there, there were people who worked for the mayor who I think, if they thought something would please the mayor, would, would do something without thinking about the ramifications of it. I don't mean people high up around the mayor. But speculating, speculating.")

NARRATION OVER MUSIC

"AFTER A TENSE, 12-HOUR STANDOFF, A U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE FINALLY ISSUED AN ORDER LIMITING PICKETS TO TWO PER ENTRANCE, AND THE PRESSES ROLLED. OUTRAGE SWEPT THROUGH THE CITY AND THE NATION. NO ONE COULD REMEMBER A TIME WHEN A MAJOR NEWSPAPER HALTED PUBLICATION UNDER DURESS. HARRY BELINGER, WHO HAD SPENT MOST OF HIS PROFESSIONAL LIFE IN THE PRESS, TENDERED HIS RESIGNATION..."

("I mean the building where I worked, and the people that I worked with. I mean, you know, this attack on the family.")

("Well, let's say, let's say that I left shortly

thereafter...(edit)...It was really time for me to leave, and that was, that was a factor in it. Not the only factor.")

NARRATION OVER MUSIC

"THE INQUIRER INCIDENT...THE TAX TURNAROUND...THE CLOSING OF A PUBLIC HOSPITAL... PERVASIVE PATRONAGE... RIZZO'S REFUSAL TO MEET WITH THE PRESS...ALL OF THIS HAD A GALVANIZING EFFECT ON THE CITY'S LIBERAL COMMUNITY, IN ONE WORD---RECALL..."

("My father was an immigrant to this

country, and it made me scared to see, kind of not being able to rely on the police to break up problems. So I, who had opposed the recall as an idea prior to that, 'cause I thought he won fair and square, and that it's not appropriate to do anything about that. That made me change my mind. And that caused me enough concern that the, the notion of feeling afraid in your city or your country wasn't something that made feel good at all about the country or the city. So that's why I ended up participating.")

NARRATION

"YANOFF, A DEFEATED CITY COUNCIL CANDIDATE, CHARLES BOWSER, AND OTHER LIBERAL ACTIVISTS ANNOUNCED A MOVE TO RECALL THE MAYOR. IT SURPASSED THE 145,000 SIGNATURE REQUIREMENT IN LESS THAN THREE MONTHS. EVEN DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL HOPEFUL JIMMY CARTER ADDED HIS VOICE TO THE RECALL EFFORT AS HE CAMPAIGNED ACROSS PENNSYLVANIA. THE PUBLIC WAS OUTRAGED, MOSTLY OVER RIZZO'S TAX INCREASES, AND POLLS SHOWED THE MAYOR WAS LOSING SUPPORT ALL OVER THE CITY. RIZZO LAUGHED OFF THE RECALL EFFORT IN PUBLIC..."

("I look at them idiots and I laugh, because I'm here, and they've got to get to me, ya know.")

"BUT WAS PRIVATELY WORRIED. THE MAYOR AND HIS OPPONENTS CONTESTED THE RECALL FOR MONTHS..."

("The recall initiative was a fraud. The court very readily threw out their petitions. There were God knows how many false affidavits taken. It was just as simple as that. God knows we counted every single one. Any time there was the slightest doubt, yea or nay, we said, yea, you know, count it. And the false ones outweighed the legitimate ones.")

("I mean, if people signed their names and didn't put their middle initial in they were, whole petitions were thrown out. There was an earlier original review of the petition signatures that were, that, in which so many were thrown out it was absurd. I think that Greg Harvey who was an attorney, volunteered with us; and he just was excellent in fighting to get many of those put back. But the reality was that we did an awful lot of training of people---asking them to please sign their name the way the are registered to vote. But, you know, sometimes people don't remember if they put their initial or their whole name in the middle name, as their middle name, and the would get it thrown out for that.")

NARRATION

"THE SEE-SAW BATTLE WAS FINALLY DECIDED ONCE AND FOR ALL ON SEPTEMBER 30TH, WHEN THE PENNSYLVANIA SUPREME COURT RULED THAT RECALL WAS UNCONSTITUTIONAL UNDER STATE LAW. THE RECALL MOVEMENT HAD FAILED, BUT HAD BROUGHT TOGETHER A STRONG COALITION OF RIZZO OPPONENTS, AND HINTED AT THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME..."

("Frank Rizzo was the pre-eminent cause of registration, right? I mean, you want to put on a voter registration drive? You didn't need a voter registration drive, you need Frank Rizzo, okay? If you were in a community, if you're organizing in a community that loved him, boom, you got it! If you were in a community that feared or hated him, boom you got it! There are some people who would say, I'm one of them, that whole, that his continued

political activity, directly led to black empowerment. He was able to get people to register, for the very same basic underlying reasons.")

NARRATION OVER MUSIC

"AS THE CITY LOOKED FORWARD TO WELCOMING THE WORLD TO CELEBRATE THE NATION'S BICENTENNIAL, RIZZO GAVE A SCOOP TO REPORTERS LARRY EICHEL AND JERRY MONDESIRE..."

("The two of us are sitting across from him and were talking about the coverage of the Bicentennial by the Federal Government at that point and the city police force. And he just offhandedly remarks that he's asked President Ford, I think at that point, to have federal troops in the city to guard against, 'outside agitators and demonstrators who might come to demonstrate and disrupt the Bicentennial celebration.' And I'm not sure whether it was Eichel or myself who then turned to him and said, 'Mr. Mayor, you've asked for federal troops?' And he says, 'Yes.' And then we said, 'Well, do you want these troops to be carrying weapons and helmets?' And he's back in his chair and he says, 'Oh no, guys. I just want 'em to have side arms!")

NARRATION

"THE DEMONSTRATORS AND AGITATORS NEVER DID SHOW UP IN FORCE.
UNFORTUNATELY, NEITHER DID THE TOURISTS, UNDOUBTEDLY SCARED OFF
BY THE MAYOR'S DIRE PREDICTIONS OF STRIFE IN THE CRADLE OF LIBERTY.
IT WAS A LOST OPPORTUNITY FOR THE CITY TO SHINE. RIZZO'S OPPONENTS
WERE FURTHER MOTIVATED BY REPORTS IN THE PRESS THAT THE POLICE
FORCE WAS OVERSTEPPING ITS AUTHORITY WITH NO DISCIPLINE FROM THE
MAYOR, OR FROM COMMISSIONER JOSEPH O'NEILL. IN 1977, THE INQUIRER
PUBLISHED AN EXPOSE' ALLEGING WIDESPREAD ABUSE OF POLICE
DETAINEES. MEANWHILE, PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER'S JUSTICE
DEPARTMENT ASSIGNED CRIMINOLOGIST AND FORMER NEW YORK CITY COP
JAMES FYFE TO STUDY THE USE OF DEADLY FORCE BY PHILADELPHIA'S

POLICE DURING THE RIZZO ADMINISTRATION. HIS REPORT BLAMED RIZZO FOR AN ANNUAL 20 PERCENT INCREASE IN POLICE SHOOTINGS SINCE 1972..."

("A Philadelphia copy was no more likely than

a New York cop to shoot someone who had a gun or a knife and was attacking the officer, but Philadelphia cops were 3,700% more likely to shoot unarmed people who were running away from them.")

("In one case, two cops were---two plain

clothes officers were standing on the street exchanging a phony role of money, when a kid, uh it contained 14 dollars, and a kid on a bicycle swooped down and grabbed the 14 dollars and took off. And the officers fired nine shots at him and missed, and killed a bystander. And no one did anything about that. In another case, a mentally retarded guy threw a brick through a hardware store window and stole two toilet seat covers and a bath mat. And an officer shot and killed him.")

("It could conceivably be something of this

nature where a policeman attempted or did fire at someone, someone else possibly might have been hit. There's no doubt in my mind about that, that that could happen. Okay. The same as you see today with these automobile accidents where unfortunately they're trying to get to a scene some place and crash into a civilian automobile and somebody dies. These things do happen.")

("Law enforcement was held sacrosanct by Frank Rizzo to the point of absurdity. To a point where you could not have a legitimate democratic society if you continued to use Frank Rizzo's definition of law enforcement. There has to be question of all authority, especially when there are tremendous and dire consequences and someone is either savagely beaten, let alone killed.")

("My wife and I instructed our son, that at

that time was about 11 or 12 years old, that if he was on his way from school or gout with his friends to a basketball game or to a skating rink, that if he was stopped by the police, give them no reason to take the stop any further than just some mere questions. Give them no reason to feel fearful---to almost cower. To drastically, to be a self-protective mechanism because there was just too many incidents and too much legend as, and fact about how the police treated young blacks once they had you in custody.")

(Sheldon Albert perspective on need for strong police patrol, and how mistakes are part of the price you pay for security)

("These officials, politicians, they swear to uphold the Constitution, not to destroy it, not to water it down, and not to use the fears of the people to allow them to gain more power by eroding it away. Because people will say, 'Well okay, if you got to knock some heads, do that. And then, when maybe one day their husband comes home from work, and a cop stops them, profiling, and stops him and shoots him on the highway, then they say, 'What's happening, what went wrong?' What went wrong was you said it was all right for it to happen here.")

NARRATION OVER MUSIC

"IF LAW-AND-ORDER WAS ONE PILLAR OF RIZZO'S MINDSET, THE OTHER HAD ALWAYS BEEN THE SANCTITY OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD. IN ONE SOUTH PHILADELPHIA AREA CALLED WHITMAN PARK, RESIDENTS HAD FOUGHT A HOUSING PROJECT FOR OVER TWENTY YEARS, AT ONE POINT LYING IN FRONT OF BULLDOZERS TO THWART THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S PLANS. AND THE RIZZO ADMINISTRATION SUPPORTED THEM, FOREGOING MILLIONS OF FEDERAL DOLLARS RATHER THAN PROCEED WITH THE PROJECT..."

k explaining why hardworking everyday people get no preference for housing)

ng that Rizzo administration was wrong on Whitman Park not for racial reasons, but for ignoring larger needs of the community as a whole)

NARRATION

"FOR YEARS, RIZZO HAD TOYED WITH THE IDEA OF TRYING TO CHANGE THE CITY CHARTER PROVISION LIMITING THE MAYOR TO TWO TERMS. BUT IN MARCH, 1978, THE MAYOR VISITED A CATHOLIC SCHOOL NEAR WHITMAN PARK, WITH A SURPRISE. HE TOLD HIS ADORING AUDIENCE THAT, INSTEAD OF CHALLENGING THE CITY CHARTER, HE WOULD DEVOTE HIS ENERGIES AS A PRIVATE CITIZEN TO FIGHTING THE AGENDA OF THE LIMOUSINE LIBERALS.

TRUE TO HIS NATURE, THE MERCURIAL MAYOR WAFFLED ON THE ISSUE. IN AUGUST, AN EVENT WOULD TAKE PLACE THAT MADE UP HIS MIND..."

NARRATION OVER MUSIC

"A GROUP OF BACK-TO-NATURE RADICALS WHO CALLED THEMSELVES 'MOVE' HAD SETTLED INTO A LARGE VICTORIAN HOME IN THE POWELTON VILLAGE AREA OF WEST PHILADELPHIA. THEY CARRIED RIFLES AROUND THEIR COMPOUND AND HARANGUED NEIGHBORS DAY AND NIGHT WITH OBSCENITY-LACED INVECTIVE ABOUT THE EVILS OF THE MODERN WORLD. FOR MONTHS, THE CITY NEGOTIATED WITH MOVE, LOOKING FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO A TENSE SITUATION..."

("And in the MOVE confrontation, I became one of the chief negotiators for trying to bring down the police barricades.")

("We able to get five or six MOVE members from out of prison in exchange for the process, the processing of MOVE members that were inside the compound. And for allowing the FBI and the Food/Drug Administration people to go in and inspect for bombs and/or guns.")

("We were able to get a negotiated settlement. And the compound came down. The police withdrew. The platform was taken off the front of the building. And MOVE members moved out of the compound.")

NARRATION

"BUT THE AGREEMENT WAS SHORT-LIVED, AND MOVE MEMBERS DRIFTED BACK INTO THE COMPOUND. THEY WERE GIVEN 90 DAYS TO VACATE THE PREMISES. BY AUGUST 8TH, WITH MEMBERS STILL FIRMLY ENTRENCHED, THE POLICE MOVED IN TO ENFORCE THE EVICT ORDER..."

("And so now, I'm back out there 7:00 in the

morning, and trying to do something which I know is going to be impossible. I go inside the compound, asking them to give me the children, ask them to let me take out the women---no, no, no. Just get off our property. Get the, tell 'em to leave our property alone, etc. And then one thing after another, it just escalates.")

("I knew all hell was going to break loose, so I hit the ground. And so did everybody else.")

(CBS news film of MOVE battle)

NARRATION OVER SOUNDBITE

"SHOTS WERE FIRED IN EVERY DIRECTION. TWO COPS AND TWO FIREFIGHTERS WERE STRUCK AND WOUNDED. WHEN THE FIRING STOPPED, ANOTHER CASUALTY WAS FOUND. OFFICER JAMES RAMP LAY MORTALLY WOUNDED, A BULLET IN HIS CHEST. THE FIRST TRAGIC CHAPTER IN THE MOVE SAGA HAD ENDED.

NOW, RIZZO WAS MORE DETERMINED THAN EVER THAT ONLY HE COULD SAVE THE CITY FROM THE FORCES OF DISORDER. HIS INDECISION HAD ENDED---HE WAS GOING FOR A THIRD TERM. THIS TIME, RIZZO'S OPPONENTS WERE WELL-PREPARED, AND FORMED THE CHARTER DEFENSE COMMITTEE, DEDICATED TO KEEPING THE TWO-TERM LIMIT INTACT, AND NOT COINCIDENTALLY, STOPPING RIZZO..."

("Well, that helped to keep us going 'cause, you know, you need something to focus on. I mean, if he hadn't tried to change that Charter, this thing may, the whole movement may have fallen apart, but it didn't.")

(Man in the Street interviews here)

NARRATION

"RESPONDING TO CALLS FROM MOST BLACK LEADERS FOR HIS DEFEAT IN THE CHARTER EFFORT, RIZZO SAID HE WAS TIRED OF HIS OPPONENTS URGING BLACKS TO 'VOTE BLACK'. WHAT HE SAID NEXT GOT HIM IN TROUBLE... "

(Rizzo vote white comment here)

NARRATION

"LIKE MANY RIZZO PRONOUNCEMENTS, THE REMARK WAS EITHER IMPETUOUS, OR CALCULATED, DEPENDING ON WHERE YOU STOOD. IN EITHER CASE, THE MAYOR KILLED WHATEVER BLACK SUPPORT HE HAD LEFT. AND THE CITY AS A WHOLE WAS TIRED OF THE TUMULT. ON ELECTION DAY, THE VOTERS RENDERED THEIR VERDICT ON CHARTER CHANGE..."

(Daily News 'NO' headline, music up full)

NARRATION

"RIZZO ACCEPTED THE VOTERS' CHOICE GRACIOUSLY, AND SETTLED DOWN INTO THE FINAL YEAR OF HIS MAYORALTY. IN 1979, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, A RIZZO ENEMY DURING THE CARTER ADMIN-ISTRATION, KEPT AFTER THE MAYOR, FILING A SUIT WHICH CHARGED A WIDESPREAD PATTERN OF POLICE BRUTALITY ON RIZZO'S WATCH. AFTER TWO MONTHS OF LEGAL BATTLING, A FEDERAL JUDGE RULED THAT WASHINGTON COULD NOT SUE CITIES FOR POLICE BRUTALITY..."

(James Fyfe on how the courts eventually changed their mind on that issue)

NARRATION

"ON ELECTION DAY IN NOVEMBER, 1979, RIZZO'S OLD DEMOCRATIC PARTY RIVAL BILL GREEN WAS ELECTED MAYOR WITH A PROMISE TO NAME A BLACK, WILSON GOODE, AS MANAGING DIRECTOR. THE CITY WAS MOVING INTO A DIFFERENT ERA WITH A NEW KIND OF LEADERSHIP. ON JANUARY 7TH, 1980, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN NEARLY 40 YEARS, FRANK RIZZO WAS OUT OF A JOB..."

(Rizzo with his family, dog, parrot)

NARRATION OVER MUSIC

"FRANK RIZZO'S NEW LIFE ON CREFELD STREET WAS COMFORTABLE.

CARMELLA HAD GOTTEN HER MAN BACK, AND FRANK GOT TO KNOW HIS

GRANDSON JOEY A LITTLE BETTER. EVERY SATURDAY MORNING, RIZZO GOT

TOGETHER WITH HIS FRIENDS OVER BREAKFAST TO TELL JOKES AND

MONITOR CITY POLITICS. THERE WAS ONLY ONE PROBLEM..."

("He was bored out of his mind. And he also understood what they were writing about him, that he was a divisive factor, hostile to blacks, and he left a legacy that people were trying to clean up. He didn't like that, and he wanted to rewrite history.")

NARRATOR

"RIZZO'S RESTLESS RETIREMENT TOOK AN UNEXPECTED TURN IN 1982, WHEN MAYOR GREEN MADE THE SURPRISING ANNOUNCEMENT THAT HE WOULD NOT SEEK RE-ELECTION THE FOLLOWING YEAR. RIZZO REACHED FOR THE OPPORTUNITY LIKE A HUNGRY MAN GRABBING FOR FOOD..."

("He was not the type of person who was gonna disappear. He had to be involved. Since 1941 when he first put on a policeman's uniform he was involved. And it would have been difficult for him not to get involved.")

NARRATION

"GREEN'S WITHDRAWAL ALSO OPENED THE DOOR FOR HIS MANAGING DIRECTOR, WILSON GOODE. BY 1982, OVER 40 PERCENT OF THE CITY'S DEMOCRATIC VOTERS WERE AFRICAN-AMERICAN. LIKE THE WHITE WORKING CLASS IN 1971, THEY SENSED THAT THEIR TIME WAS FINALLY ARRIVING. BLACK MAYORS HAD ALREADY BEEN ELECTED IN NEWARK, LOS ANGELES, CHICAGO AND OTHER LARGE AMERICAN CITIES. GOODE HAD A MESSAGE: FRANK RIZZO'S TIME HAD PASSED..."

nti-Rizzo ad montage here)

NARRATION

"ON PRIMARY DAY, GOODE DEFEATED RIZZO, WHO MUSTERED ONLY TWO PERCENT OF THE BLACK VOTE. RIZZO TOOK THE LOSS HARD, BUT PLEDGED HIS SUPPORT TO GOODE IN THE GENERAL ELECTION..."

("Frank Rizzo never understood how I could beat him. And he never accepted the fact that I beat him. And yes, he gave support in 1983 because there was no choice. And I think that his interest at that time was tied to his support for me.")

NARRATION

"GOODE DEFEATED REPUBLICAN JOHN EGAN IN THE NOVEMBER GENERAL ELECTION, BECOMING THE CITY'S FIRST AFRICAN-AMERICAN MAYOR. FRANK RIZZO WENT BACK TO HIS UNCOMFORT-ABLE RETIREMENT. GOODE HAD CAUGHT THE CITY'S IMAGINATION, DEFTLY HANDLING THE CITY HALL HEIGHT-LIMITATION DEBATE AND AVOIDING THE NFL EAGLES' PROPOSED MOVE TO ARIZONA. THERE WAS EVEN TALK OF WILSON GOODE AS A VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE IN 1984. BUT ON MAY 13TH, 1985, EVERYTHING CHANGED..."

(MOVE Disaster footage up :10, then under)

NARRATION

"THE RADICAL GROUP "MOVE" WAS BACK, THIS TIME IN A ROW HOUSE AT 6221 OSAGE AVENUE. THIS TIME, THE CITY DROPPED A POWERFUL BOMB ON THE HOUSE'S ROOFTOP BUNKER. FIRE EVENTUALLY CONSUMED 61 HOMES AND TOOK THE LIVES OF 11 MOVE RESIDENTS, FIVE OF THEM CHILDREN. THE FIRE DEPARTMENT STOOD BY AND WATCHED WHILE THE FIRE RAGED. WILSON GOODE WAS LEFT TO SHOULDER THE BLAME, AND AFTER 16 MONTHS IN OFFICE, SUDDENLY HAD THE LOOK OF A LAME DUCK. THE REPUBLICANS SAW THEIR BEST CHANCE IN DECADES TO WIN BACK CITY HALL, AND RIZZO ALSO SAW AN OPENING. IN DECEMBER 1986, RIZZO ANNOUNCED THAT HE WAS RETURNING TO THE REPUBLICAN FOLD AFTER 20 YEARS IN THE DEMOCRATIC WILDERNESS. IN 1987, HE GOT THE GOP NOD FOR MAYOR, AND IMMEDIATELY WENT AFTER GOODE..."

(montage of campaign ads)

NARRATION

"THE HARD-HITTING CAMPAIGN BETWEEN TWO CANDIDATES WITH A PAST INSPIRED STRONG PASSIONS IN THE CITY. ONE OBSERVER CHARACTERIZED THE ELECTION AS A CHOICE BETWEEN 'THE EVIL OF TWO LESSERS.' THE RACE WAS CLOSER THAN ANYONE COULD HAVE EXPECTED, AND WHEN ALL WAS SAID AND DONE, IT ALL BOILED DOWN TO ELECTION DAY ITSELF..."

("We developed a strategy at that time to pull all of our workers off the polls. And to go knock on doors, and pull people out of their houses.")

("You just go to a house and you, 'You haven't voted; we need to have you come and vote. Wilson Goode is losing, losing to Frank Rizzo. Come out and vote.")

NARRATION

"ON NOVEMBER 3RD, BUOYED BY 97 PERCENT SUPPORT IN THE BLACK WARDS, WILSON GOODE SQUEAKED TO VICTORY OVER FRANK RIZZO BY 18,000 VOTES, THE CLOSEST MAYORAL CONTEST SINCE 1967. THIS TIME, HAVING COME SO CLOSE, RIZZO WAS NOT AS GRACIOUS IN DEFEAT..."

(video of Rizzo refusing to succeed)

("Only man who beat him twice, only man who beat him once. Only man who ever beat him. Ha, ha, ha!")

NARRATION

"THE NEXT YEAR, TALK RADIO CAME CALLING, AND NOW, AT AGE 67, IT WAS RIZZO'S TURN TO PLAY MEDIA GADFLY..."

(scene of Rizzo on the air)

NARRATION

"IT WAS A LUCRATIVE JOB, AND RIZZO WAS IN HIS GLORY. THE ACT WAS PRETTY MUCH THE SAME EVERY BROADCAST: THINGS WERE GREAT IN THE OLD DAYS, AND WERE GOING TO HELL IN A HANDBASKET NOW..."

("I can remember very vividly...(edit)...a woman calling and saying that she's been calling the city for weeks, 'I can't get the squirrels and bats out my, out of my attic.' Frank Rizzo put her on hold then put---picked up the phone and called somebody in the City Parks Department or whatever it was, or the Sanitation Department, spoke to that person on the phone,

then picked up the lady's line and said, 'You'll have it done by the end of the day.' Hung up, and she called back the next day and talked to him on the radio about how the city came out to her house and cleaned up the attic. He was the mayor in exile even while Wil---and this used to drive Wilson Goode up a tree.")

NARRATION

"MEANWHILE, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAD FOUND A NEW, YOUNGER RISING STAR, D.A. RONALD CASTILLE. HE WAS A VIETNAM WAR HERO, AND A PUGNACIOUS PROSECUTOR. IN 1991, REPUBLICAN BOSSES WOULD BACK CASTILLE FOR MAYOR. BUT RIZZO WAS NOT GOING TO BACK DOWN; HIS RADIO SHOW HAD BEEN CANCELLED, AND RIZZO LAUNCHED AN INSURGENT CAMPAIGN FOR THE REPUBLICAN NOD. AND IT WOULDN'T TAKE LONG FOR CASTILLE'S SMOOTH SAIL TO THE NOMINATION TO HIT SOME ROCKY SHOALS..."

(shot of 3/8/91 Chuck Stone column on Castille)

NARRATION

"DAILY NEWS COLUMNIST CHUCK STONE REPORTED THAT CASTILLE HAD ONCE BRANDISHED A HANDGUN IN FRONT OF A COP. WAS THE WAR HERO REALLY A LOOSE CANNON? DOUBTS ABOUT CASTILLE'S CHARACTER BEGAN TO EMERGE, AND WITH BUSINESSMAN SAM KATZ ALSO IN THE RACE, THE BATTLE FOR THE REPUBLICAN MAYORAL NOMINATION WAS TIGHTENING UP. IN 1991, LOCAL GOP LEADERS FOUND OUT WHAT JIM TATE AND PETE CAMIEL HAD LEARNED THE HARD WAY DECADES EARLIER: ONCE YOU INVITE FRANK RIZZO ONTO THE STAGE, YOU BETTER BE PREPARED FOR HIM TO TAKE OVER THE SHOW. AS HE HAD IN 1975, RIZZO WON THE 1991 PRIMARY WITHOUT HIS PARTY'S BACKING, EDGING OUT CASTILLE BY 1,400 VOTES..."

(Rizzo victory speech)

("Frank Rizzo was never the heir apparent to anything except his own personal political Power.")

("I can't name another urban political figure in the country other than Frank Rizzo who ran and won and beat the power structure in two different political parties, Democrat and Republican.")

NARRATION

"FORMER DISTRICT ATTORNEY ED RENDELL MADE A STRONG CANDIDATE FOR THE DEMOCRATS. LAW AND ORDER ISSUES WOULD LOOM LARGE IN THIS CAMPAIGN; IT WAS THE ERA OF THE CRACK COCAINE EPIDEMIC, WHICH WAS LAYING WASTE TO THE INNER CITY. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HIS POLITICAL CAREER, RIZZO CAMPAIGNED HARD IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY, WHICH WAS BEARING THE HEAVIEST BRUNT OF THE DRUG PLAGUE. RIZZO WAS NOW SEVENTY YEARS OLD. HE WAS OVERWEIGHT, WORKING WITH A REBUILT HIP AND STILL WAGING HIS LIFELONG BATTLE WITH DIABETES. AS HE TORE INTO THE CAMPAIGN, PEOPLE NOTICED THAT HE WAS SLOWING DOWN..."

("And you could see he started to limp very markedly. And then he started to sweat, and the one thing, the one thing you never saw Frank Rizzo do was sweat.")

NARRATION

"AS SPRING PASSED INTO SUMMER, RIZZO PRESSED DOGGEDLY ON. HE CONTINUED WITH HIS OVERTURES TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY AND GATHERED MORE OF ITS SUPPORT. ON TUESDAY, JULY 16TH, FOLLOWING A VISIT WITH BLACK LEADERS, RIZZO VISITED HIS CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS. HE WENT INTO THE REST ROOM TO WASH UP FOR LUNCH. WHEN HE FAILED TO EMERGE AFTER 15 MINUTES, HIS AIDES OPENED THE DOOR, AND FOUND RIZZO UNCONSCIOUS ON THE FLOOR. HE HAD NO PULSE..."

(Tony Zecca annoucement here)

on Rizzo from Charles Bowser, Tom Sugrue, Joe Rizzo, Hillel Levinson, Thacher Longstreth)

FOR A MOMENT, PHILADELPHIANS CAME TOGETHER, SOME OUT OF GRIEF,
OTHERS OUT OF CURIOSITY; SOME WHO HAD REVERED HIM, OTHERS WHO
HAD REVILED HIM. THE MAIN CLICHÉ – "YOU EITHER LOVED HIM OR YOU
HATED HIM" – FINALLY SEEMED INADEQUATE.

IT'S NOT UNUSUAL FOR PEOPLE TO LOOK AT A PUBLIC FIGURE AND SEE
DIFFERENT IMAGES. BUT FRANK RIZZO, VOLATILE AND COLORFUL, DEALT IN
LOVE AND FEAR, AND HE TAPPED INTO A CITY'S CONFLICTED EMOTIONS
ABOUT POWER AND AUTHORITY.

03:06:49:28

Hillel Levinson: What are they gonna say? Or what do I hope they're gonna say? (LAUGHTER) Okay. Well I hope they look past what the man said and looked at what he did. Because I believe that if they can really get past that public persona that he brought on himself. I mean, I'm not blaming anybody else. I think he was a good Mayor. I think he did good things for the City of Philadelphia. I think, in all honesty, I, I think we left it in much better condition than we found it in January of '72 when we left in January of '80...

It's fun to talk about that public persona. It's much more boring to talk about what he really did for the City of Philadelphia . . .

00:19:13:04

There are bricks and mortar city mayors, bricks and mortar politicians who make their name on construction, and renewal, and redevelopment. Rizzo was ultimately not a bricks and mortar mayor. Uh, he was the nightstick-in-the-cummerbund mayor. He made his reputation by dint of his personality and, and by his, his, uh, his appeal to, uh, growing desire for re--reassertion of authority and law and order. Uh, and that distinguishes him from some of his counterparts in the era. Even

though, to be sure, he was, he did work on bricks and mortar projects while he, uh, was in City Hall. that wasn't ultimately what he believed would be his, his, uh major legacy to the, to the city.

2:42:36:13

In the 60s when he was the Deputy Commissioner and Commissioner, cities were burning, every city, big city in the country burned. Did Philadelphia? It was Frank Rizzo. That, just that is, is a monument to him, for him to be that strong, that he could control that. Nobody got hurt. Nobody got shot and killed in Philadelphia. How about when Cleveland, Detroit, Washington, Chicago, all these cities, LA, all burning. Did that happen here?

1:02:55:18

I think Philadelphia would probably be better off if he'd never been Mayor. I think that he, he, either, either by happenstance or by plan became the champion of the White Supremacist. Whether it was fair or not, and I think that he slowed up by the fact that some people tried to put him into a position of supporting Whites only that was not appropriate and was not fair, but they did it. And he was their hero. He was their knight on a white horse. He was the person that was going to keep Philadelphia White; and 20 years ago, the White/Black situation, I think, was much worse than it is now. And as a consequence, Rizzo was champion of some people who were not to the best interest of Philadelphia in terms of bringing Afro-Americans into a more significant place, both in the government and in business opportunities and things of that kind.

1:04:04:06

And so from that standpoint I would think that we probably would have been better off if he had not been here during those particular times. Other times, he would have, his style of government was so charming, so attractive, so much fun to work with him that I think he could have gotten other things done, probably quite effectively. But he, to me, the relationship of Blacks and Whites in a city like ours today is the most important thing that we have to solve, and I don't think that he was really the right person to, to, to solve it at that particular time.

01:03:39:15

Some people considered him to be a saint, and some considered him to be a demon. And he was a human being, I mean, he made mistakes like everybody else. He did some good things like everybody else. I know he didn't intend to be a saint, and I don't think he intended to be a demon. We sometimes become the victims of what other people see in us that we would never feel ourselves. That's somebody else's projection....This whole business about 'larger than life' – no one is larger than life. What we are is part of life. We live our lives for good or ill as long as we can. And that's all Frank Rizzo did.