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Folder Title:
[Fife] Symington for Governor Fundraiser 10/25/90 [OA 6896]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	21	1	1



Annette Alvarez *111-6612*
Press Secretary

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Phone 602-468-1990 FAX 602-263-7637

Paid for by The Symington '90 Committee

(Smith/Garmey)
October 23, 1990
5 P.M.
FIFE

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SYMINGTON FUNDRAISER
PHOENIX, ARIZONA
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1990
6:30 P.M.

Fife and Anne, thank you. Senator McCain, State party chairman Burt Kruglick, Senator Goldwater, our former Ambassador to Malta John Pritzlaff. Ladies and gentlemen, honored guests. Fife, I appreciate your generous introduction. //

Let me thank you for the chance to return to America's Grand Canyon State -- which next month we're going to keep one of our most Republican States. I'll never forget how kind you were to me in 1988 -- earning 60% of the vote. It's great to be back in Arizona. //

I also want to say what a privilege it is to be here on behalf of a good and talented man. For nearly a quarter-century, he has enriched Arizona. On November 6, his election can enrich America. // We need Fife Symington as your next Governor. //

((As Fife tells it, this visit arose from a phone call from that kinder and gentler human being, John Sununu. // John told him, "We've got a surprise for Phoenix that will really excite people." // Fife replied, "You mean big-league baseball's finally coming to Phoenix?")) //

For the record, I'm not taking sides. All I know is that Phoenix is in the expansion running -- and you're running to win. // Well, so is the man I'm here to support. // The Arizona

Republic calls him "a fresh face." And the Phoenix Gazette calls him "determined and hard-working." Then, there's Mr. Republican. // Not to embarrass Barry Goldwater, but what a difference it would have made had you been elected in '64. // Barry is Fife's honorary chairman -- calls him "a patriot and a hero." What do I plan on calling Fife Symington? Come next January, I think I'll call him Governor. //

((Let me begin by telling you what Barbara said when I told her I'd be visiting the home of the Cardinals: "Send me a postcard from Rome." // Actually, there is a similarity between the football Cardinals and the ones at the Vatican. The Dallas game shows it: the power of prayer. // Sadly, prayer was with the Giants last Sunday.)) //

Twelve days from now, you have the chance to exercise another kind of power -- the power of the ballot box. How? By voting for the "real leadership [Fife Symington] will provide for Arizona." //

All of you know Fife's story. ROTC in college -- hero in Viet Nam -- awarded the Bronze Star for Meritorious Service. Then, came back to America -- was stationed at Luke Air Force Base. He recalls: "I loved Arizona the first time I saw it. I thought I'd died and gone to Heaven."

Fife, how right you were. I remember reading Zane Grey in school -- but it didn't prepare me for the impact of seeing Arizona's splendor first-hand. // From that blue jewel of the

Desert -- Lake Powell -- to the majestic Sonoran Desert. It just doesn't get any better than this. //

That's why, after the service, Fife stayed here. Where he met another love / his wife, Ann. Together, they started a business. Raised five kids. Used the opportunity as old as the Old West to build, create, and help their neighbors. To achieve, in short, the American Dream. //

All of this shows why he may be Fife Symington the third, but on Election Day he's going to come in first. // So let me talk about the Symington brand of "real leadership for Arizona." On the one hand // the left hand, naturally // when the Democrats talk about things looking up, they mean taxes up / spending up / unemployment up/ inflation up. On the other hand, here's how Fife Symington and I want to keep things up for Arizona and America. //

Look, first, at crime and drugs. // Over sixteen months ago, we sent our Administration's crime bill to Congress. Since then, what? Delay by those who want to soft-pedal the need to be hard on crime. // Fife Symington knows better. He wants a workable -- a real -- death penalty for those who kill Federal enforcement officers. Let liberal Democrats sympathize with the criminals. On November 6, we'll elect man like Fife Symington who believe cop-killers should receive the punishment they deserve. //

Next, let's look at education -- where Governors play a special role. ((You know, both Fife and his opponent are Harvard

men. Since that's the case, you'd might as well as vote Republican.)) //

When it comes to education, Republicans know that excellence is obtained through higher standards, more accountability, and giving parents more choice in where their kids go to school. //

So last year our Administration unveiled its Educational Excellence Act proposals to help make American education Number One. // Let liberal Democrats measure progress made in dollars spent. On November 6, we're going to measure it by electing candidates who will give parents, teachers, and local administrators -- not distant bureaucrats -- the support to meet local needs. //

Finally, there's a last domestic issue where "real leadership" can help our generation, and our kids'. The Federal deficit.

[[BUDGET INSERT]]

All of us know we must stand up to aggression. We cannot simply stand by while an outlaw swallows up its neighbor and then ruthlessly proceeds to remove all traces of its existence from the face of the earth. We must defend civilized values around the world -- opposing the acts of brutality inflicted by Iraq. //

There are reports that at one hospital, Iraqi soldiers unplugged the oxygen to incubators supporting 22 premature babies. All died. / At another hospital, troops reportedly cut off the oxygen supporting the 75-year-old mother of a Kuwaiti cabinet minister. / Eyewitnesses have told of Iraqis turning 250 mental

patients, drug addicts, and others into the streets. This is the handiwork of a dictator who has little regard for the norms of civilized conduct -- an enemy of the world order of freedom, security, and prosperity we are working to build. //

Iraq's world is governed by the law of the jungle. We will insist on the rule of law. Iraqi aggression will not be allowed to stand. Saddam Hussein will be held accountable. The legitimate government of Kuwait will be restored. // If anyone doubts our resolve, remember another tyrant fifty years ago. And remember the Nuremburg trials. //

America will not remain in the Persian Gulf one day longer than necessary. But we will stay for as long as it takes to complete our mission. // We will keep faith with our friends, and allies -- as America, historically, has. Most of all, we will keep faith with the greatest servicemen and women any Nation could have. While they are defending us around the globe, we must defend them here at home. //

Twenty days from now, we can do that -- by keeping faith with America. Let's go to the polls. And let's remember what this State has been, and can become. //

Who can come to Arizona, and not feel the State's Indian heritage. Arizona is home to over 200,000 Indians, and its name derives from a word used by the Pima tribe, "Arizonac," meaning "spring" -- a time of renewal. Well, it may be autumn back in Washington -- but together, we can make November 6 a time of renewal for America -- a time to reaffirm the principles of our

Party -- a time to elect "real leadership" both for Arizona, and the Nation.

Let's keep a Republican majority in the State Senate -- and a majority in the House of Representatives. // Most of all, let's elect a man who will ensure fair reapportionment -- a man who mirrors America's pride / patriotism / and belief in the individual. My friend -- your next Governor -- Fife Symington.

Thank you for what you've done, and are doing. Thank you for this wonderful occasion. God bless America. And let's make Fife Symington the next Governor of the great State of Arizona.

#

(Smith/Garmey)
October 18, 1990
8 A.M.
FIFE

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SYMINGTON FUNDRAISER
PHOENIX, ARIZONA
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1990

Senator Goldwater, Ladies and gentlemen, honored guests.

Fife, I appreciate your generous introduction. //

Let me thank you for the chance to return to America's Grand Canyon State -- which next month we're going to keep one of our most Republican States. I'll never forget how kind you were to me in 1988 -- our 1-highest percentage of vote. It's great to be back in Arizona. //

I also want to say what a privilege it is to be here on behalf of a good and talented man. For a quarter-century, he has enriched Arizona. On November 6, his election can enrich America. // We need Fife Symington as your next Governor. //

((As Fife tells it, this visit arose from a phone call from that kinder and gentler human being, John Sununu. // John told him, "We've got a surprise for Phoenix that will really excite people." // Fife replied, "You mean big-league baseball's finally coming to Phoenix?")) //

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// Well, so is the man I'm here to support. // The Arizona Republic calls him "a fresh face." And the Phoenix Gazette calls him "determined and hard-working." Then, there's Mr. Republican.

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would have made had you been elected in '64. // Barry is Fife's honorary chairman -- calls him "a patriot and a hero." What do I plan on calling Fife Symington? Come next January, I think I'll call him Governor. //

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Finally, there's a last domestic issue where "real leadership" can help our generation, and our kids'. The Federal deficit. [[BUDGET INSERT TO COME. // Our plan ensures critical funds for Operation Desert Shield.]] //

All of us know we must stand up to aggression as we defend civilized values around the world -- especially, the acts of brutality inflicted by Iraq. // There are reports that at a hospital, Iraqi soldiers unplugged the oxygen to incubators supporting 22 premature babies. All died. / At another hospital, troops reportedly cut off the oxygen supporting the 75-year-old mother of a Kuwaiti cabinet minister. / Eyewitnesses have told of Iraqis turning 250 mental patients, drug addicts, and others into the streets. // Iraq's world is governed by the law of the jungle. We will insist in the rule of law. Iraqi aggression will not be allowed to stand. Saddam Hussein will be held accountable. The legitimate government of Kuwait will be restored. // If anyone doubts our resolve, remember another tyrant fifty years ago. And remember the Nuremburg Trials. //

America will not remain in the Persian Gulf one day longer than necessary. But we will stay for as long as it takes to complete our mission. // We will keep faith with our friends,

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Thank you for what you've done, and are doing. Thank you for this wonderful occasion. God bless America. And let's make Fife Symington the next Governor of the great State of Arizona.

#

Ted Garmey

Attached are suggested changes on the child care text. (Our office doesn't handle the crime bill.)

Some background information to explain the suggested changes:

--change from "mandate" to "establish" national child care standards is suggested to make the point while being more accurate. Both the House and Senate bills authorized federal committees to establish "model" or "recommended" standards. These standards wouldn't have been mandated on the States (tho they clearly were intended to put pressure on the States to conform, and the Administration stated that they were the "camel's nose" for mandatory national standards.)

--The cost of the Administration's child care bill is \$9 billion, not \$10. (At one point it was being rounded to \$10 but more commonly we've used \$9, which is the correctly rounded figure.)

--Funding for the House bill was \$29 billion, a figure we used in the SAP on it. (The Senate bill funding was \$18 billion).

The draft refers to 120 pages of mindless paperwork. That is the total number of pages of new law in the House bill, not all of which is "paperwork."

NOTE: The draft as marked up seems to be reasonably safe text. However, the tax portions of child care still are being negotiated, and there is some chance that a satisfactory resolution might not be reached. I'll try to let you know if the text needs to be changed or dropped.

B. Selfridge

11:43 SYMINGTON 90 CONH. P.02

Symington

FOR GOVERNOR

The Hon. Barry Goldwater
Honorary Chairman

FIFE SYMINGTON BIOGRAPHY

Fife Symington was introduced to Arizona while stationed at Luke Air Force Base in 1968 during his service in the U.S. Air Force. Like many others, he fell in love with Arizona and decided to make it his home. All five of his children were born in Arizona and his wife, Ann Pritzlaff Symington, has been an Arizonan since the age of six.

Fife's military career included service in Southeast Asia, where he was awarded the Bronze Star for Meritorious Service. He left the Air Force with the rank of Captain and returned to Arizona.

His civic involvements have included Chairman, Phoenix Citizens Police Protection Bond Committee, 1988; Vice President of the Board of Trustees for the Heard Museum; Men's Art Council member; Environmental Quality Commission of the City of Phoenix; the Arizona Children's Foundation; and the Executive Board of the Phoenix Community Alliance.

Fife's Republican Party credentials extend back to his college days, when he was one of a few Harvard students who openly supported Barry Goldwater for President in 1964. Barry Goldwater is currently Honorary Chairman of Fife's campaign for Governor. Fife is a former precinct committeeman in District 24 and served as Arizona State Republican Finance Chairman from 1982-1984. He has helped raise funds for numerous Republican candidates and was Finance Chairman of the John Rhodes for Governor Committee in 1988.

The Arizona Republic has described 44-year old Fife Symington as "a fresh face in a party that in recent years has had trouble nurturing a new generation of leadership." The Phoenix Gazette calls him "determined and hardworking ... a formidable person ... well-educated, thoughtful, successful in business with a long, impressive record of community service."

Post Office Box 16347
Phoenix, Arizona 85011-6347
602-468-1990

For more information, contact the Symington campaign.

Military Service Record

Fife Symington was commissioned as a Second Lieutenant in the United States Air Force after completing four years as a member of the Reserve Officer Training Corps (R.O.T.C.). He entered Boot Camp at Gunter Air Force Base in Montgomery, Alabama and went on to Electronics Warfare Training at Tyndall Air Force Base in Panama City, Florida.

His first permanent assignment was at Luke Air Force Base where he was stationed for two years. In 1970 he received orders for Southeast Asia during the Vietnam conflict. He was assigned to Udorn, Thailand and was attached to the 621st Tactical Air Command. Fife Symington worked as a Weapons Controller and was involved in Search and Air Rescue.

On May 22nd, 1971 he received the Bronze Star Medal for meritorious service as a Squadron Weapons Controller, Operations Section, 621st Tactical Control Squadron, Thailand, while engaged in ground operations against an opposing armed force from 12 June 1970 to 18 June 1971. The citation states, "The exemplary leadership, personal endeavor and devotion to duty displayed by Lieutenant Symington in this responsible position reflect great credit upon himself and the United States Air Force."

Fife Symington was honorably discharged from the service in 1972.

Information About...

Life Symington

EDUCATION:

- *Harvard University, B.A., 1968 - Liberal Arts Degree*
- *Gilman Country Day, 1964 - Baltimore, Maryland*

MILITARY SERVICE:

- *Captain, U.S. Air Force, 1968 - 2nd Lieutenant, served in Southeast Asia (14 months until June of 1971)*
- *Honorable Discharge in 1972*
- *Recipient of the Bronze Star*

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES:

Arizona State Republican Party Finance Chairman, 1982-84

Former Republican Precinct Committeeman, District 24

Campaign Coordinator - Bud Tims' Campaign for Reelection to Corporation Commission

Finance Chairman - John Rhodes for Governor, 1988

Dinner Chairman - "Senatorial Salute to John McCain," 1986

President - Arizona Childrens' Foundation, 1973

Board of Directors COMPAS, Phoenix

Board of Trustees, Vice President - Heard Museum

Director's Circle - Heard Museum

President - Heard Men's Council, 1975-76

Men's Art Council Member, since 1973

Air Posse, Deputy Sheriff - Maricopa County, 1972

Environmental Quality Commission of City of Phoenix, 1971-73

Member of Board of Directors - Southwest Savings and Loan Association, 1972-84

Member of Board of Directors - American Savings and Loan Association, Utah, 1983-86

Director - Valley Forward Association, 1973-88

Board of Directors, Chairman of Long-Range Planning Committee, Vice Chairman of the Board - SAMCOR, 1984-88

Trustee - Helen Clay Frick Foundation, Pittsburgh, PA

Chairman - Phoenix Citizens Police Protection Bond Committee, 1988

Executive Board - Phoenix Community Alliance, 1987-88

Information About...
Fife Symington
page two

PERSONAL:

- Born: 1945
- Wife: Ann Pritzlaff Symington
- Children: John Fife Symington, IV, born 1968
Scott Hambleton Symington, born 1971
Whitney Olin Symington, born 1977
Richard Edward Symington, born 1979
Thomas Pritzlaff Symington, born 1983

OTHER ACTIVITIES:

- Pilot - Commercial, multi-engine, instrument-rated, helicopter
- Fishing, Canoeing, Snow Skiing

PROFESSIONAL:

- Baring Brothers Merchant Bank - London, England, 1965 (Summer)
- *Officer*, United States Air Force - 1968-1972
- *Partner*, Lincoln Property Company, Commercial and Industrial Development - 1972-1976
- *Chairman of the Board*, The Symington Company, commercial and industrial development.

tried to kill an equitable death penalty -- a real death penalty -- for those who will Federal law enforcement officials.

Republicans have insisted that those who take a life should pay with their own. //

Crime legislation is still in Conference Committee. If Congress sends me a weak bill, I will veto it. If Congress sends me a strong bill, it will only be because of Republicans who insist that cop-killers get the kind of punishment they deserve.

Finally, education. Here's the record: Over the last three years spending on education -- local, State, and Federal -- has increased by more than \$50 billion. Our problem is not how much we're spending -- but how we're spending our money. //

... encouraged and rewarded excellence, while stressing

e *soon* Eighteen months ago, we sent Congress our Educational Excellence Act -- ~~which stressed reform, restructuring, and more parental choice in where their kids go to school.~~ *and greater accountability* Liberal

Democrats -- as usual -- flunked the test: They wanted to more than double funds -- and for what? More paperwork and Federal intervention. // Democrats want more spending -- more bureaucracy -- and more taxes on ~~Oklahomans~~. // Republicans want more accountability *greater flexibility* A higher standards -- and the true learning that comes from reading, writing, and arithmetic. //

g

You can see the problem. If Congress doesn't act, it hurts America. But the way those left-wingers think, if Congress does act, it hurts America, too. Here's the solution: Vote Republican on November 6. //

*RN says:
walking tight rope on
this issue. We are very
close to agreement
(A. 1 issue) - could be
reached in next
72 hrs.*

(Smith/Garmey)

((BUDGET INSERT))

Look at child care. Liberal Democrats wanted Federal intervention. A Federal Committee -- really, a straightjacket - - to mandate national child care standards. Their bill would have cost \$28 billion. Republicans demanded tax incentives to help families -- not government -- address child-care. Republicans ensured that local standards remain to meet local needs. Our bill cost ⁹~~\$20~~ billion.

It gets worse. Liberal Democrats aren't content with kicking God out of the classroom -- they want to boot Him out of child care, too. Democrats wanted 120 new pages of mindless paperwork -- much of which would restrict or eliminate religious-based child care centers. Thank goodness Republicans protected religious-based centers, and parents' freedom to use them. In short -- as usual -- Democrats wanted to expand the budget of the bureaucracy. Republicans ensured the bill we get from House-Senate Conference Committee will expand the horizons of our kids.

Next, look at crime. Here, too, the Loony Left is up to its old tricks. Liberal Democrats believe in perverting Lincoln's words. They think he really said, "God must have loved the criminals. He made so many of them." // Over ¹⁵~~6~~ months ago, I sent our Administration's Crime Bill proposals to the Congress. Yet we still have no bill. Here's why.

At every turn, liberal Democrats have tried to soft-pedal the need to be hard on crime. They sympathize with the

Selfridge comment

*Beverly
Selfridge
OMB*

criminals. Republicans, on the other hand, have demanded capital punishment -- we sympathize with the victims. Democrats have tried to kill an equitable death penalty -- a real death penalty -- for those who ~~will~~ Federal law enforcement officials.

Republicans have insisted that those who take a life should pay with their own.

~~Crime legislation is still in Conference Committee.~~ Although a crime bill has passed both houses of the Congress. If Congress sends me a weak bill, I will veto it. If Congress sends me a strong bill, it will only be because of Republicans who insist that cop-killers get the kind of punishment they deserve. Congress can't even get it into Conference Committee.

You can see the problem. If Congress doesn't act, it hurts America. But the way those left-wingers think, if Congress does act, it hurts America, too. Here's the solution: Vote Republican on November 6. //

obscure

procedures
fairly applied

(Smith/Garmey)

((BUDGET INSERT))

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Budget insert — Curt

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Bureau of Indian Affairs (Machahey): 602-542-3123

Apache greeting.
Guh - shu - doh - la - th 1
may goodness prevail
peace



THE NAVAJO NATION

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL FORM

90 OCT 16 PS:02

Transmittal to: Ted Garmey

Company Name: _____

Address: Washington

Fax Number: 202/456-6218

Total Pages 2 (Including cover page)

FROM: Kee Long

THE NAVAJO NATION / OFFICE OF BROADCAST SERVICES

P.O. Box 2310, Window Rock, Arizona 86515

Our Fax Number is: 602/871-7355

Date: October 16, 1990 Time: 3:00 pm

Operator: Paulette
is not received. Thank you.

Please call 602/871-6655 if all pages

MEMO: If possible, Please provide me
some information on the visit.

Sorry for the delay.

the
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Convergence

Chief Mannelito
was chief
Chuk the ladder

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three different worlds before emerging into the present world — the Fourth World or Glittering World. So, the Holy People put four sacred mountains in four different directions: Mt. Blanca in the east, Mt. Taylor in the south, San Francisco Peaks in the west, and Mt. Hesperus in the north, thus creating the boundaries of Navajoland.

Centuries ago, the Navajo people were taught by the Holy People to live in harmony with Mother Earth and how to conduct their many activities of everyday life. The Diné believe there are two classes of beings: the Earth People and the Holy People. The Earth People are ordinary mortals, while the Holy People are spiritual beings that cannot be seen. Holy People are believed to have the power to aid or harm Earth People.

When disorder evolves in a Navajo's life, such as illness; herbs, medicinemen (diagnosticians), prayers, songs and ceremonies are used to help cure the ailment. Some tribal members prefer modern day hospitals on the Navajo Reservation; some seek the assistance of a traditional Navajo medicineman, some combine both methods. Navajos believe that a medicineman is a uniquely qualified individual bestowed with supernatural powers to diagnose a person's problem and to heal or cure illnesses.

The Diné believe they are sustained as a nation because of their enduring faith in the Great Spirit. And because of their strong spirituality, the Navajo people believe they will continue to survive as an Indian nation forever.

being written down. Besides being a basic necessity of life, food welcomes visitors and expresses thanks.

Traditional Navajos usually cook by memory, measuring their ingredients with hands or fingers. If there is no modern stove, most food is cooked over an open fire.

Traditional cooks still use wild plants and vegetables such as spinach, onions, turnips, berries, cactus and cedar brush. For instance, cedar brush is used to add color, a flavor to a popular Navajo delight called blue corn meal pudding.



A gorgeous Navajo infant sits patiently with her mother during the popular baby contest of the Navajo Nation Fair.

...Traditional Dress

Many Navajos continue to wear traditional clothing daily. Others wear their velvet, turquoise and silver only during ceremonial or social gatherings.

The Navajo woman's traditional style of dress consists usually of foot or knee-high moccasins, a pleated velvet or cotton skirt, a matching long-sleeve blouse, concho and/or sash belt, jewelry and a shawl. Men also wear jewelry, moccasins and preferably a velveteen shirt.

It is believed that before an individual can receive help from the Great Spirit, one must first wear appropriate clothing in order to be recognized.

...Navajo Language

The Navajo people are very dynamic and creative people who strongly believe in the power of the mind to think and create; finding expression in the myriad symbolic creations of the Navajo language, art and ritual ceremonies.

The Navajo language embodies a high prevalence of humor in day to day conversation. Humor transforms difficult and frustrating circumstances into bearable and even pleasant situations.

The strong emphasis and value Navajos place on humor is evidenced in the First Laugh rite. The first time a Navajo child laughs out loud is a time for honor and celebration.

Aside from being the mother tongue of the Navajo Nation, the Navajo language also has played a highly significant role in helping the entire nation. During World War II, the Navajo language was used as a code to confuse the enemy.

Navajo bravery and patriotism is unequalled. Navajos were inducted and trained in the U.S. Marine Corps to become "code talkers" on the frontline. Shrouded in secrecy at the time, these men are known today as the famed Navajo Code Talkers. The Navajo language, scrambled by the Code Talkers, proved to be the only code that could not be broken during World War II. Although not all tribal members speak the language fluently, most Navajos have a deep respect for it.

10/16/90

Ted,
This is

well known
about the
Navajos,

The
Navajo
Code

Talkers

This page
was taken
out of
a brochure

Publish by
the Navajo
and written
by Navajo.

Kee

NAVAJO JARGON:

-Famous war chief Manuelito told the young members of his tribe to "climb the ladder" of education. In so doing, they would fulfill both themselves and the society.

-well known Navajo prayer: may everything be in harmony,
may we walk in beauty,
may we live in peace and harmony

CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA

1500 • The moderate climate and abundant food supply of California sustained a relatively large population of Indians before the arrival of Europeans. Historians have estimated that as many as 150,000 Indians inhabited California at the time of their first substantial contact with Spanish explorers during the latter half of the eighteenth century. This number accounted for one-eighth of all the Indians living in what would become the 48 contiguous states of the United States. California's Indian population was diverse. Their 135 spoken dialects in 20 linguistic families corresponded roughly to 100 tribes or nations. They also had a great degree of variety in their diets: the Yurok and other northwestern coastal Indians were fisherman, while the Yuma and Mohave, who lived along the lower Colorado River, were the only tribes to have a settled agricultural life centered around growing corn. For the remaining Indians in California, their principal food was the acorn. Central California Indians like the Mono and Maidu did occasionally partake of meat when it was easily accessible, but did not develop the highly honed skills of hunters. The ethnic and linguistic variety of California's Indian population would have by itself impeded their presenting a unified front against Spanish explorers and settlers. However, California's Indians were naturally more peaceful than their eastern cousins, who welcomed French and English settlers to the New World, and were usually quite receptive to Europeans. Nevertheless, the arrival of the White man did contribute to the decimation of the Indian population through the introduction of new diseases (smallpox, malaria and tuberculosis) and through the destruction of food supplies, especially during the Gold Rush period of the 1840s and 1850s. By 1900, there were only 16,000 Indians in the state of California.

EARLY EXPLORATION, 1533-1542

1533 • Having killed the ship's captain, Diego de Becerra, first officer Fortún Jiménez crossed the Sea of Cortes (present-day Gulf of California) and discovered the Baja California peninsula, mistaking it for an island. Ashore, Jiménez and 21 fellow mutineers died during an Indian attack.

1540 • Two exploration parties, under the separate commands of Hernando de Alarcón and Melchior Díaz, passed into the lower Colorado River valley and were reportedly the first Europeans to set foot on soil in the future state of California.

1541 • While exploring Baja California, Francisco de Bolaños was probably the first Spaniard to apply the name "California" to the region. Bolaños possibly took the name "California" from a popular fifteenth-century Spanish novel, *Las Sergas de Esplandian*. Its author, Garci Ordóñez de Montalvo, described the mythical island of "California" as lying "at the right hand of the Indies, near the Terrestrial Paradise" and the home of Black women armed with weapons of gold. The legendary valor and wealth of these "Californians" fueled the imaginations of many Spanish explorers of the New World. Also, like their English counterparts, the Spanish hoped to discover a direct passage through the Americas to the Orient. Such a "Northwest Passage" would render unnecessary the arduous voyage around Cape Horn at the tip of South America.

UNDER THE FLAG OF SPAIN, 1542-1821

SEPTEMBER 28, 1542 • Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, on a

Bay, which he named "San Miguel." Cabrillo's voyage marked the formal discovery of Alta California.

FEBRUARY 26, 1543 • Bartolomé Ferrer, in command of the voyage following the death of Cabrillo on January 3, 1543, sailed as far north as Cape Mendocino, the westernmost point on the California coast, before returning south. Failure to find either wealth or the "Strait of Anian" (the Spanish name for the Northwest Passage) led Spanish officials to discontinue the exploration of the California coast.

1564-1734 • "Manila Galleons," ships which plied the Pacific Ocean between Acapulco and the Philippines, occasionally anchored along the California coast for repairs and to replenish supplies. Some captains of the Manila galleons conducted extensive surveys of the California coast.

JUNE 17, 1579 • Francis Drake, in his *Golden Hind* filled with booty from Spanish shipping, entered present-day Drake's Bay below Point Reyes in Marin County and claimed for England the land he named "New Albion." On shore, Francis Fletcher, Drake's Anglican chaplain, conducted the first Christian religious service in California.

NOVEMBER 10, 1602 • Sebastián Vizcaino led a group of three ships to survey the California coast and to search for pearls, which had been found along the western coast of Mexico. On November 10, 1602, Vizcaino entered San Miguel Bay and rechristened it "San Diego de Alcala." Two days later Carmelite friars, who sailed with the expedition, said the first Mass in California. Vizcaino continued his exploration of the California coastline, renaming several points with titles that have remained in use to this day: Catalina, Santa Barbara, Point Conception, the Carmel Point, Point Reyes and Monterey Bay. Vizcaino's voyage took him and his crew as far north as the 43rd parallel. Vizcaino's expedition, Spanish officials saw, had convinced Spanish officials that if they wished to establish a permanent Spanish settlement in Alta California, they needed to act decisively.

1741 • Having proved the existence of a strait between North America and Asia in 1734, Vitus Bering, a Russian citizen in the employment of the Russian government, led a Russian exploration of the western coast of North America. Soon, Russian sea otter hunters gradually moved southward toward California.

FEBRUARY 10, 1763 • With the conclusion of the Seven Years' War (French and Indian War in America), France acquired many of France's North American holdings. As a result, Spanish officials feared French intrusions into Spanish California.

NOVEMBER 30, 1767 • Gaspar de Portolá, governor of Baja California, returned to Mexico.

JANUARY 9, 1769 • José de Gálvez, governor of New Spain, took the decisive step of ordering other Alta California sites. He ordered Carlos and the *San Antonio* to explore California with instructions to proceed to Monterey, where a settlement was to be established. Among the men on the expedition was Gaspar de Portolá, former governor of Baja California, and Junípero Serra, father of the first group to leave California.

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WH

AMERICA THE QUOTABLE

*Mike Edelhart and
James Tinen*



Facts On File Publications
460 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10016

THE WEST

miserable time. The desert is for movies and God-intoxicated mystics, not for family recreation."

Edward Abbey
The Journey Home
1977

* * *

"An' the prairie an' the butte-tops an' the long winds,
when they blow,
Is like the things what Adam knew on his birthday,
long ago."

Anonymous
Poem, "Medora Nights"
Quoted by Champ Clark
The Badlands
1974

* * *

"The West begins where the average annual rainfall drops below 20 inches. When you reach the line which marks that drop—for convenience, the 100th meridian—you have reached the West."

Bernard De Voto
Harper's Magazine
August, 1934

* * *

"Thunderstorms are rare on the high plains, but when they do occur they excel in all the elements of grandeur and sublimity. Nowhere is the lightning flash a more vivid and blinding glare. Nowhere is the thunder more stunning nor its roll more deep and prolonged. Nowhere does a man feel more intensely the nearness and power of the Creator."

Col. Richard Irving Dodge
The Plains of the Great West
1877

* * *

"As buffalo he is known everywhere, not only on the plains but throughout the sporting world; as buffalo he lives and moves and has his being; as buffalo he will die; and when, as must soon happen, his race has vanished from earth, as buffalo he will live in tradition and story."

Col. Richard Irving Dodge
The Plains of the Great West
1877

* * *

"On patches of dry grassland here and there, down in the bottoms or up on the buttes, there are prairie dog towns—areas sometimes as much as 100 acres in extent, thickly dotted with the small bounds of their cunning inhabitants."

The Federal Writers Project of the WPA
*North Dakota: A Guide to the Northern
Prairie State*
1950

* * *

"Low swells of prairie-like ground sloped up to the west. Dark, lonely cedar trees, few and far between, stood out strikingly, and at long distances ruins of red rocks. Farther on, up the gradual slope, rose a broken wall, a huge monument, looming dark purple and stretching its solitary, mystic way, a wavering line that faded in the north."

Zane Grey
Riders of the Purple Sage
1912

* * *

"Draw a line Santa Fe — Pueblo — Denver — Laramie — Butte — Great Falls; this line, following the shadow of the continental divide, is the West's heart line."

John Gunther
Inside USA
1947

* * *

"Oh, give me a home where the buffalo roam,
Where the deer and the antelope play,
Where seldom is heard a discouraging word
And the skies are not cloudy all day."

Dr. Brewster Higley
"Home on the Range"
1873

* * *

"The earth was covered with pebbles... heated by the sun to such a degree that they would scorch the naked foot to a blister. This is a segment [the West] of the great American 'Sahara'...."

John T. Hughes
Doniphan's Expedition
1847

* * *

"Y'know there ain't nothing but wind and sun upon them plains. Why, the wind blows so hard up there that if a man loses his hat he don't bother to go chasin' after it, he just waits to grab the next one comin' by."

Vance Johnson
Heaven's Tableland: The Dustbowl Story
1947, 1974

* * *

"As we crossed the Colorado-Utah border I saw God in the sky in the form of huge gold sunburning clouds above the desert that seemed to point a finger at me and say, 'Pass here and go on, you're on the road to heaven.'"

Jack Kerouac
On the Road
1955

* * *

"There have been only a few planned cities in the West until very recent years; much more important are the cities that never meant to be."

* * *

"The excitement of the land in the West was destroyed by the migration of millions—not by the cities. There still is magic in western land and air and water."

* * *

"These vast plains of the western hemisphere have become in time as celebrated as the sands of Africa; for I saw on my route in various places of many leagues where wind had thrown up sand in all the fanciful form of an ocean's rolling waves on which not a speck of vegetable life existed...."

Zebulon Pike, general and explorer
Quoted by Davison
Flood

* * *

"This region... may prove of infinite importance to the United States, inasmuch as it is calculated to serve as a barrier to prevent too great an increase of our population westward."

Zebulon Pike, general and explorer
Quoted by Davison
Flood

* * *

"As hard as we may try, we can no longer keep the plains behind. They are too much a part of our national experience. Increasingly, we shall find the plains to be a part of our natural experience."

Davison
Flood

* * *

"Influencing day-to-day life in many ways, the western 'surprises' as the ceaseless winds on the plains, midsummer frosts in the high mountains, the searing dehydrating heat on the plains, and that striking contrast between summer and winter shine and shade on High Plains."

Touring the West

* * *

ARIZONA

- 2 million acres of park and recreation land
- 98 lakes, 213 major rivers
- Lake Powell: "blue jewel of the desert"
- Lee's ferry- fishing
- dark blue forests of Mogollon Rim
- Grand Canyon- 277 miles
- Shootout at OK Corral
- Red sandstone villages of the Navajo Nation
- Spanish conquistadors (F. Coronado) left dissatisfied 400 years ago, failed to find seven cities of Cibola
- spring training for eight clubs incl. A's (Phoenix)
- Zane Grey
- Saguaro Cactus: 200 year life, 50 ft tall
- over 170,000 Indians on 20 million acres, from the 85 acre Tonto-Apache in Gila County to the 9.1 million acres of Navajo Nation
- turquoise
- GOP first to call for statehood in platform (1900,1908)
- TR (birthday: 10-27)
- Taft: signed statehood proclamation on 2-14-12
- 17 languages
- one of the fastest growing states
- Sandra Day O'Connor
- Michael Carbahal
- Navajo info.: Key Long, 602-871-7352

SYMINGTON FOR GOVERNOR: THURSDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1990

Issue Report II: 10-16-90

Curt,

We both understand the inherent problems of this event, but there is, believe it or not, a positive spin on J. Fife. Here it is: Sure the guy's eastern establishment etc., but he's spent his life trying to get away from that. Symington is a product of industrial age entrepreneurs (Carnegie, Morgan etc.), men who fulfilled the American dream, made their fortunes from the bottom up, from rags to riches etc. Like them, Symington believes in making it on his own. He was ROTC in college, went through Harvard with a "Goldwater for President" button on his lapel, joined the air force, went to Southeast Asia to fight for democracy, earned the bronze star. And when he returned, he didn't want to walk back into the east coast establishment, but a la Bush he went west to make it on his own. To this day, he loves the west because it is, still, an open and not-established land. I think an excellent speech could be crafted around this "coming out west, American dream" line, perhaps comparing to the 19th century frontier pioneers, and then connect to "freedom of opportunity" in modern day Republican society. Finally, through his development, Symington is helping to make Arizona into an "international capitol," attracting investment and tourism from around the globe.

-tradition of public service: father was ambassador to Trinidad. Ran as Republican for Congress three times, but was defeated all three times in Democratic Baltimore. (humor opportunity: no wonder Fife came out west- get away from that Democratic political machine out east...

-ancestral home in Fife county, Scotland (...In fact, I understand that Fife's platform includes a proposal to annex that county of Scotland into Arizona's territory...)

-Symington's provided the stone from which Wash. Monument was built (...I understand Fife was a little upset when I had to close down the monument last week...)

-"weapons patroller" during war, scanning radar screens for enemy planes.

-Stationed at Luke AFB in Arizona after returning from Asia, looked around and said of Arizona: "I thought I'd died and gone to heaven"

-Long GOP history: Fife and Ann were both Republican precinct committeemen for Paradise Valley in 70's, later he was GOP state finance chairman (early 80's)

-*Two years ago, Symington lost in his bid for Legislative District 26 Precinct Committeeman. His wife beat him.

-Development work highlighted by the Camelback Esplanade (business center, hotels, mall etc.- largest of its kind) When the location came up for sale in the early 80's there was competition to buy from around the world. Symington's proposal was chosen. "It was a great victory for the local boys." "Attracting new business and attention to Arizona and the central corridor"

-See enclosed position papers

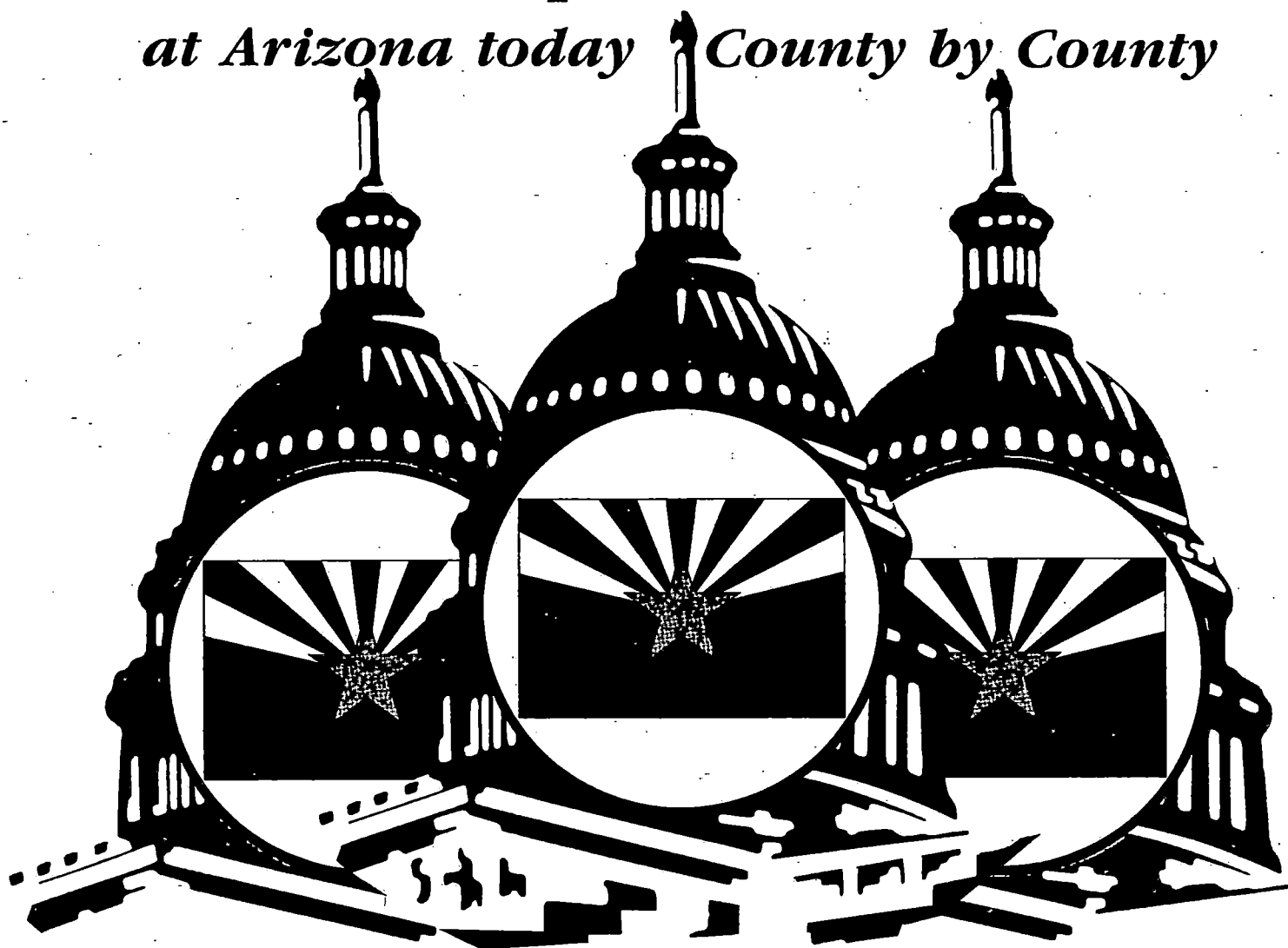
-personal anecdotes to come

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More Than An Almanac

ARIZONA FACTS

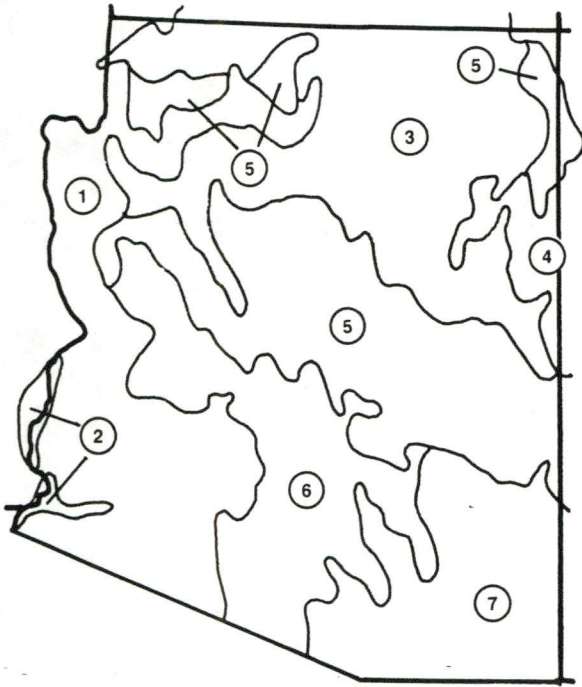
*A Comprehensive look
at Arizona today County by County*



Flying the Colors

LAND RESOURCE REGIONS

SOURCE: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE



LAND RESOURCE REGIONS AND MAJOR LAND RESOURCE AREAS OF ARIZONA

WESTERN RANGE AND IRRIGATED REGION

1. Sonoran Basin and Range
2. Imperial Valley
3. Colorado and Green River Plateaus
4. New Mexico and Arizona Plateaus and Mesas
5. Arizona and New Mexico Mountains
6. Central Arizona Basin and Range
7. Southeastern Arizona Basin and Range

LAND RESOURCE REGIONS

Arizona lies within a single Land Resource Region—the Western Range and Irrigated Region—and there are seven Major Land Resource Areas in the state: the Sonoran Basin and Range, the Imperial Valley, the Colorado and Green River Plateaus, the New Mexico and Arizona Plateaus and Mesas, the Arizona and New Mexico Mountains, the Central Arizona Basin and Range and the Southeastern Arizona Basin and Range. The state of Arizona features some of the most distinctive topography in the nation, and the various resource areas offer diverse soil types and vegetation. The region is semidesert to desert with plateaus, plains, basins and many isolated mountain ranges. Much of the land is used for range, but irrigation is practiced where water is available and the soils are suitable. Feed crops for livestock are grown on much of the irrigated land.

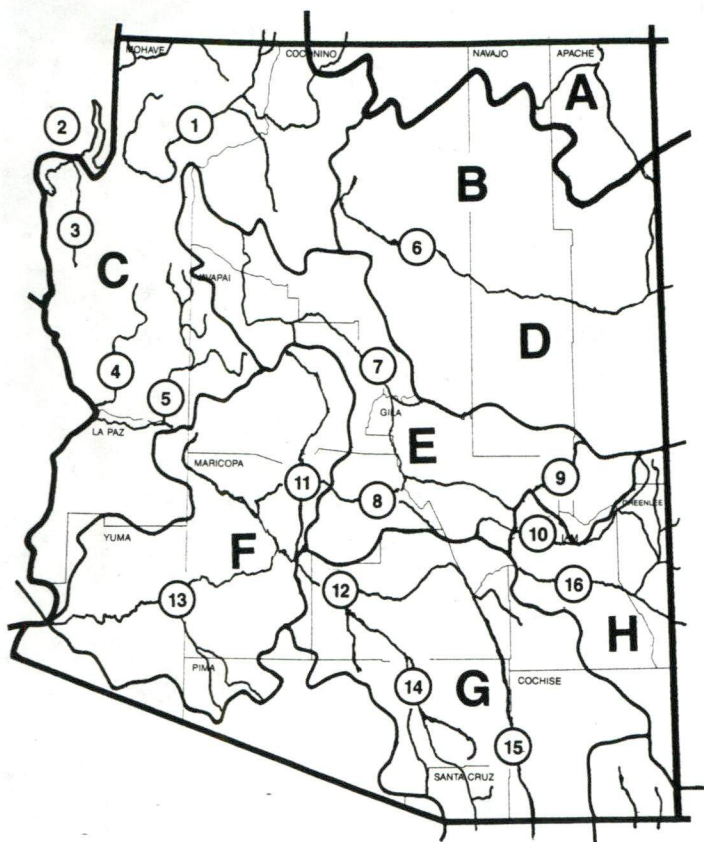
SONORAN BASIN AND RANGE About 80 percent of this area is federally owned, and much of the remainder is owned by local governments. It includes the counties of Mohave, La Paz and Yuma. Used only locally for grazing because of low forage production and the lack of water, the area features sections used intensively for recreation where motorcycles and off-road vehicles are driven. Elevations range from 330 feet to more than 11,000 feet in the mountains. Broad basins, valleys and old lake beds make up most of the area, but widely spaced, north-south trending mountains are found throughout. Precipitation is fairly evenly distributed throughout the year and ranges from two to 10 inches in the valleys to as much as 25 inches in the mountains. Water is scarce and irrigation for agriculture comes mainly from the Colorado and Mojave rivers. Some irrigation water is obtained from large springs. The soils are generally pale in color and occur in very thin layers from alluvial plains to mountain slopes. Most are low in organic matter and some are marked by accumulations of silicate clay. The area supports thin stands of desert vegetation. Bursage, Joshua tree, juniper, yucca, cactus, creosotebush and Mormon-tea are major species. Numerous annual forbs and grasses grow during years of favorable moisture. Saltbush, saltgrass, alkali sacaton and iodinebush grow on the alkali flats. Indian ricegrass, Joshua tree, desert needlegrass and galleta grow on the sandy soils.

IMPERIAL VALLEY Intensive irrigated agriculture is practiced in this area which includes a tiny slice of western Yuma County. Citrus fruits, dates, grapes, sugar beets, many kinds of vegetables, small grains, flaxseed, hay and tame pasture grasses are grown. Elevation ranges from sea level to about 660 feet above sea level. This nearly level plain is broken by steep-sided valleys and steep mesas. Almost all water for agriculture comes from the Colorado River, but wells provide irrigation water locally. Soils are deep with warm temperatures, coarse to moderately fine textured, some formed in recent alluvium. This area supports sparse stands of desert vegetation. Mesquite, arrowweed, yucca, saltcedar and cactus are dominant species. Numerous annual forbs and grasses grow during years of favorable moisture.

COLORADO AND GREEN RIVER PLATEAUS Approximately 90 percent of this area is rangeland grazed by sheep and cattle. About one percent, along the valleys of the major streams, is irrigated cropland where alfalfa, small grains for hay and corn for silage are grown. In most places, elevations range from about 4,300 feet to nearly 5,000 feet. Navajo Mountain on the Arizona-Utah line, however, towers more than 10,500 feet. In general, the surface consists of gently sloping to strongly sloping plains. The area includes the Painted Desert, Vermillion and Echo cliffs, the Glen Canyon Recreational Area and the Grand Canyon. Precipitation ranges from six inches or less to 14 inches at the higher elevations. Water is scarce in the area and though its flow is intermittent, the Little Colorado River drains the largest segment of the area. Soils generally are pale in color and range from alluvial plains to steep mountain slopes. Most occur on recently eroded slopes, some in mudflows, and are gravelly or cobbly alluvium. The area supports desert shrub and woodland vegetation. At high elevations, pinyon-juniper woodland and sagebrush have an undercover of galleta, blue grama, black grama and western wheatgrass. At the lower elevations, galleta grass, alkali

WATER RESOURCES

SOURCE: U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY/ARIZONA DEPARTMENT OF WATER RESOURCES



MAJOR SURFACE WATER AREAS AND RIVER BASINS OF ARIZONA

A. UPPER COLORADO REGION

B. LOWER COLORADO REGION

C. LOWER COLORADO SUBREGION

1. Colorado River
2. Lake Mead
3. Little Mojave River
4. Little Havasu River
5. Bill Williams River

D. LITTLE COLORADO SUBREGION

6. Little Colorado River

E. SALT SUBREGION

7. Verde River
8. Salt River
9. White River
10. Black River

F. LOWER GILA SUBREGION

11. Agua Fria River
12. Gila River

G. MIDDLE GILA SUBREGION

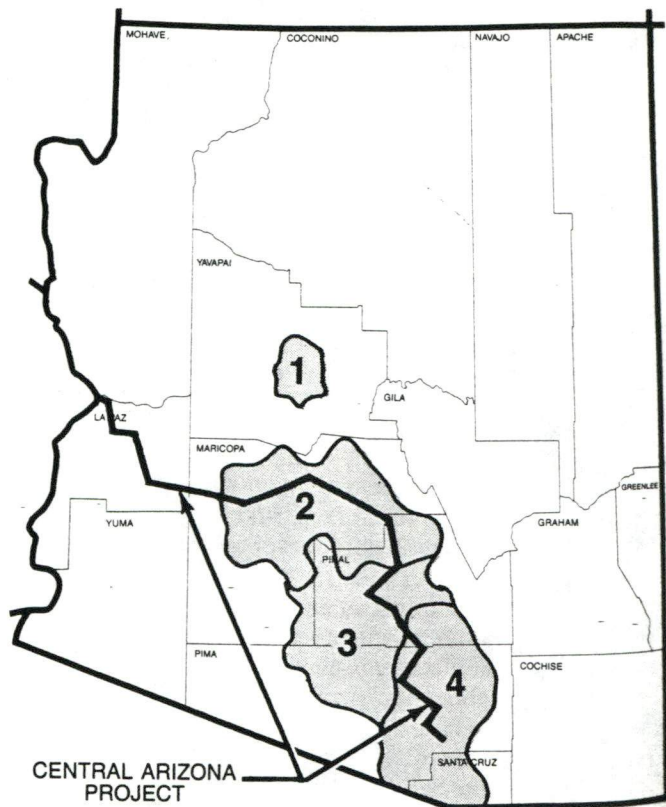
13. Gila River
14. Santa Cruz River
15. San Pedro River

H. UPPER GILA SUBREGION

16. Gila River

ACTIVE MANAGEMENT AREAS (AMA)

1. Prescott AMA
2. Phoenix AMA
3. Pinal AMA
4. Tucson AMA



ARIZONA WATER RESOURCES

The story of water in Arizona is a simple one: It's scarce. The main plot line of that story is just as basic: an imbalance exists between the water consumed and the dependable supply. Those facts, however, have set the state on a path to correcting the problem through innovative techniques and attention to conservation. Arizona's geographic location and population trends created problems that now are being addressed. Because of its location in the desert southwest, Arizona historically receives less precipitation than most other states. In addition, the population centers are in the more arid section of the state. As precipitation levels increase moving north across the state, the population level decreases. More than 80 percent of the Arizona population lives in the Phoenix, Pinal, Tucson and Prescott water management areas. Arizona is a dry state with a limited water supply. For many years, water use has exceeded the renewable supply at the expense of groundwater which accounts for more than 60 percent of the state's supply. Arizonans annually consume about two million acre-feet more groundwater than is replenished by nature. Attempts to meet demand with a meager supply resulted in overdrafting which, in turn, caused other problems such as land subsidence, earth

fissures and increased costs for pump lifts and other equipment used in the retrieval of groundwater. Arizona's answer to the mammoth problem and the dire consequences of inaction was a dynamic, innovative approach from two directions designed to merge in the future providing maximum benefit and long-term protection.

GROUNDWATER MANAGEMENT CODE By the late 1970s, political leaders and major water interests became convinced that something had to be done to stem the tide of depletion of a resource that had been a major factor in the dynamic growth of Arizona. Part of the answer was the Arizona Groundwater Management Code, considered the most comprehensive groundwater law in the nation. Adopted in 1980, the code has three primary goals, the first of which is to control the severe overdrafting occurring in the state. The second goal is to provide a means to allocate the limited groundwater resources to most effectively meet the changing needs of the state. The code's third goal is to augment groundwater through water supply development. To accomplish the goals, the legislation established a comprehensive management framework and set up the Department of Water Resources (DWR) to administer the code's provisions. Important aspects of the code include: targeting regulations to areas of the state where groundwater problems are most severe; establishing a system of groundwater rights and permits where no comprehensive system previously existed; setting specific long-term groundwater management goals and a comprehensive planning process to achieve them; requiring water users to share in the cost of implementing the code by paying withdrawal fees; integrating conservation programs with a major water resource development project (the Central Arizona Project); prohibiting new urban development in areas of severe overdraft unless a long-term assured water supply is demonstrated; allowing water to be transported from one area of the state to another; and encouraging sales and leases of water rights through the open market. The code established three levels of water management to respond to diverse groundwater conditions. The lowest level includes general provisions which apply state-wide. The next level addresses Irrigation Non-Expansion Areas (INAs), and the highest level, with the most extensive provisions, applies to Active Management Areas (AMAs) where groundwater overdraft is most severe. The boundaries of AMAs and INAs generally are defined by groundwater basins and sub-basins. The code created four AMAs—Phoenix, Pinal, Prescott and Tucson. INAs were set up in rural farming areas where the overdraft problem is less severe. Two INAs, Douglas and Joseph City, were created by the code. Another, Harquahala, was established in 1982. New AMAs and INAs may be designated by DWR if necessary to protect the water supply or on the basis of an election held by the residents of an area. Provisions that apply throughout the state include designation of groundwater basins, rules on transporting groundwater from one area to another, mandatory well registration and requirements for developers to evaluate and report water availability. The code allows the transportation of groundwater from one area to another, but if local water users are adversely affected by that transportation, they may sue transporters for damages, though they cannot stop the transportation from taking place. Throughout the state, the code requires the owners of existing wells to register those wells with DWR and to provide information

about the location, depth, size and pumping capacity. In all cases, drilling a well requires DWR authorization. Land developers are required to disclose information on water availability. Outside the AMAs, subdivision developers must either show that enough water exists to meet needs for 100 years or to disclose the inadequacy on all sales and promotion materials. The management goal in INAs is to prohibit the expansion of acreage irrigated with groundwater, restricting such activity to five years prior to an area's designation as an INA. The provisions for the state's four AMAs are the most comprehensive because of the size of the overdraft in those areas. In addition to 80 percent of Arizona's population, the four AMAs comprise 70 percent of groundwater overdraft. In the Phoenix, Prescott and Tucson AMAs, the primary management goal is safe-yield by the year 2025. Safe-yield is defined as a long-term balance between the annual amount of groundwater withdrawn and the annual amount of natural and artificial recharge. In the predominantly agricultural Pinal AMA, the goal is to preserve that economy for as long as feasible, while considering the need to preserve groundwater for future non-irrigation uses. To achieve the goal established for each AMA, five management periods were established by DWR, beginning with 1980-90 and continuing in 10-year increments until the 2020-2025 period. Each management plan contains increasingly rigorous water conservation and management requirements.

Each AMA includes a five-member advisory council which meets monthly with the AMA officials to discuss progress of plans and conservation options under consideration. Conservation programs have been developed in each AMA for agriculture, municipal and industrial water uses. Agriculture accounts for about 75 percent of total water use in the four AMAs. The primary objective is to reduce each farm's water use by increasing irrigation efficiency. A schedule of compliance for each management period allows farmers to adjust to new requirements. The strategy of the municipal programs in the AMAs is to reduce the average per capita water use in municipalities. Aimed at providers such as cities, towns and private companies, the provisions are designed to achieve reasonable and gradual decreases in average water use by providers over the five management periods and to increase conservation by individual users. The program for industrial provisions is aimed at users such as mines, electric power plants, turf facilities and sand and gravel operations. Industrial users are required to implement the most current, commercially available conservation technologies that allow a reasonable economic return. In addition to developing conservation requirements for different water user types, the code addressed other important considerations such as water quality, retirement of irrigated acreage, assured water supply and augmentation and reuse. The latter is an element of the code which directs DWR to study and develop ways to augment the state's water supplies. One method is artificial groundwater recharge which involves intentionally adding water to groundwater reserves using such methods as spreading ponds or injection wells. In 1986, the Legislature enacted a bill regulating the underground storage of water and establishing a permit system for wells used to retrieve stored water. Another augmentation method is to reuse treated wastewater, particularly for turf or irrigation. The Tucson AMA began an augmentation program in its first management period. Such

base around Phoenix, along with the accommodating climate, makes Arizona an ideal site for sporting activities. Phoenix features professional football and basketball teams, and numerous major league baseball clubs fan out across the state for spring training in the Cactus League. Beautiful surroundings and meticulously kept golf courses have combined with the ideal climate to lure professional golfers to Arizona, and the men's and women's tennis tours make stops, as well.

FOOTBALL The newest members of the Arizona sports community are the Phoenix Cardinals, who arrived in the Valley of the Sun in the spring of 1988. Competing in the Eastern Division of the National Conference of the National Football League (NFL), the Cardinals landed in Arizona after owner Bill Bidwell moved the team from St. Louis. The Cardinals have the distinction of being the oldest continuously operated professional football franchise. Coached by Gene Stallings, the Cardinals play their home games in Sun Devil Stadium in Tempe, which seats 72,000, and is also the home of Arizona State University. The Cardinals hold training camp each summer at Arizona University in Flagstaff. In their inaugural season in Arizona, the Cardinals opened slowly, made a bid for the division lead in the middle of the season and then finished at 7-9. Phoenix quarterback Neil Lomax led the NFL in passing in 1987 with more than 3,300 yards, and he was joined in the 1988 Pro Bowl by teammates Luis Sharpe, Vai Sikahema and Ron Wolfley.

BASKETBALL The hoops have been a part of the Phoenix professional sports scene since 1968 when the Suns began play in the National Basketball Association (NBA). Competing in the Pacific Division of the Western Conference, the Suns play their home games at the Arizona Veterans' Memorial Coliseum. The facility seats 14,471 and was built in 1965. Phoenix games are carried on radio, television and cable, and game times are 7:35 p.m. Monday through Saturday and 7:05 p.m. on Sunday. The Suns began the 1988-89 season under the helm of coach Cotton Fitzsimmons, who replaced John Wetzell after the 1987-88 campaign. Fitzsimmons also coached the team from 1970-72.

BASEBALL Arizona doesn't have a major league baseball team to call its own, but eight clubs call the state home during spring training. Because of climate and facilities, Arizona competes with Florida for the pre-season camps with its Cactus League. American League teams and their winter homes include the Cleveland Indians, Tucson; the Milwaukee Brewers, Chandler; the Seattle Mariners, Tempe; the California Angels, Mesa; and the Oakland Athletics, Phoenix. Annual National League visitors are the San Francisco Giants in Scottsdale; the Chicago Cubs, Mesa; and the San Diego Padres, Yuma. In early 1989, the Japanese Yakult Swallows also trained in Yuma.

GOLF An appealing climate and an abundance of world-class courses make Arizona a popular site on the Professional Golf Association tour. In January 1988, the Phoenix Open was held on the Tournament Players Championship course in Scottsdale, and the tour returned to the Grand Canyon State in November for the Seiko Tucson Open played at StarPass. The Ladies Professional Golf Association made a pair of tour stops in 1988, too. The Circle K LPGA Tucson Open was played March 17-20 on the Randolph North course, and the Standard Register Turquoise Classic was played the following week at the Moon Valley Country Club in Phoenix.

HISTORIC PLACES

The magnificence of the Grand

Canyon attracts countless visitors each year to Arizona, but it's only one of numerous drawing cards, many of which are of historic significance. One of the seven natural wonders of the world, the canyon offers multi-colored walls carved by the Colorado River. Other breath-taking historical features abound in the Grand Canyon State, including the Petrified Forest, Painted Desert and Colossal Cave. The historic boom towns sprang up in the late 1800s when gold was discovered, and the Vulture Mine in Wickenburg yielded more than \$20 million of the precious mineral. Some of the boom towns turned to ghost towns over the years, however, and they dot the landscape. "America's Largest Ghost Town" is Jerome, which produced a billion dollars worth of copper, gold and silver. It was designated "the wickedest town in the West" by a New York newspaper. Other historic towns include Bisbee, a copper-mining town, and Oatman, a gold-mining town that had its own stock exchange. Tombstone, Rawhide and Tortilla Flat are remnants of the gun-slinging past. Wyatt Earp, Bat Masterson and Doc Holliday garnered their reputations at Tombstone, where the Gunfight at OK Corral can be relived. Other attractions in "the town too tough to die" are Boothill Cemetery, the Bird Cage Theatre and the Crystal Palace Saloon. Reminders of the rugged Old West also can be seen in Arizona's mountains and cliffs. Montezuma Castle, a five-story apartment house built by the Sinagua Indians in 1250, was given its name by pioneers who discovered it. The castle, Fort Verde Historic Park and Tuzigoot National Park, home of more Indian ruins, are near Camp Verde in the Verde Valley. Fortaleza, an ancient fortification, petroglyphs and San Lucy, an Indian village, are near Gila Bend. Other Indian artifacts and cliff dwellings can be found at Navajo, Tonto, Walnut Canyon, Canyon de Chelly, Chiricahua, Casa Grande Ruins and Wupatki national monuments. Kinishba Ruins, Besh-ba-Gowah ruin, Homol'ovi II, Aravaipa Canyon and Prescott National Forest are homes of more Indian history. Cochise Stronghold, near Tucson, is a granite fortress used as a hideout by the Apache warrior. The famous Apache Trail, located east of Phoenix, was used by Apaches as a short-cut through the mountains to reach early Salt River Valley settlers. To protect the settlers, many cavalry posts were built. Fort Apache housed troops who battled the Apaches, and Fort Bowie was the scene of skirmishes with Indians led by Cochise and Geronimo. The fort, built southeast of Willcox in 1862, is the site of Geronimo's surrender. The nation's only active post is near Tucson at the Fort Huachuca Historical Museum, which is now the home of the U.S. Army Information Systems Command. Fort Yuma and the Yuma Territorial Prison were important to territorial development, and the St. Thomas Mission is located at the fort.

The state's most famous mission, the San Xavier del Bac Mission just south of Tucson, was built by Spanish missionaries 300 years ago and is used today as a spiritual center for the Papago Indians. Its domes, carvings, arches and flying buttresses distinguish it from other missions. The Mission San Jose del Tumacacori, located south of Tubac, was built by Franciscan friars and Indians in the early 1800s. Nearby is the Presidio de San Ignacio de Tubac, established by the Spaniards in 1752, where 50 cavalymen were stationed to control the Indians and further explore the Southwest. The century-old Our Lady of Guadalupe Church and Shrine is in Graham County. Besides cave dwellings and forts, Arizona

ARIZONA TODAY

is home to historic buildings and houses. The state's oldest standing schoolhouse is in Strawberry, and the Hubbell Trading Post on the Navajo Indian Reservation looks the same today as it did when it was built in 1878. The cabin where Zane Grey wrote some of his more famous novels is near the Mogollon Rim. Douglas is the home of the extravagant Gadsden Hotel, "The Last of the Great Hotels," which was built in 1929 and has been seen in movies. The first territorial governor's mansion is in Prescott, which was the first permanent capital of the Arizona Territory. The Mystery Castle, a dream house that took more than 18 years to build between 1920 and 1940, can be found in South Mountain. In some cases, one can travel along history in order to see history. People have been "getting their kicks" on Route 66 since the 1930s when it was the path used by Midwesterners in their Model Ts. Although the route, known as "The Main Street of America" and the "Path to Glory," stretches from east to west across the state, the only original part left runs between Ashfork and Topack. The route, which passes the hotel in Oatman where Clark Gable and Carol Lombard had their honeymoon, grew out of a path taken by an expedition using camels to find a wagon route to the Pacific Ocean. The experiment failed. Camels were not the only import to Arizona. The London Bridge was dismantled piece by piece and reassembled in Lake Havasu City, opening in 1971.

PUBLIC RECREATION AREAS There is a lot of outdoors in Arizona. The Grand Canyon dwarfs all other attractions in this state whose name is universally and inseparably bound with that of the largest natural wonder in the world. The Grand Canyon extends 277 miles along the Colorado River, averages 10 miles wide from rim to rim and splits the earth at depths ranging from 6,000 to 9,000 feet. The awe-inspiring gorge stands as an unparalleled treasure for naturalist, river-rafter, hiker, packer, camper, geologist and spiritualist alike. Nature trails around the rims and rugged foot and mule trails venturing to the floor of the Canyon beckon as an international lure to experience the massive forces and yawning eons embodied in the creation of our current world. Above the Canyon and beyond the Grand Canyon National Park, the Kaibab National Forest, including the Grand Canyon National Game Preserve, stretches out and provides a protected home for wildlife including big game and the Kaibab squirrel, with its white tail and tufted ears. As imposing as the Canyon is, it is only the crown atop a state replete with opportunities for outdoor recreation. The state of Arizona rolls out below the Grand Canyon with 20 state parks covering 34,000 acres and another four parks under development, seven national forests covering 11.5 million acres, two national parks covering 2.7 million acres, two national recreation areas covering 5.5 million acres, seven national wildlife refuges covering 1.7 million acres, 17 national monuments, 20 Indian reservations on 25 million acres, 98 lakes greater than 10 surface acres, 213 rivers and streams more than three miles long and 21 other large parks and recreation areas, in addition to smaller county and municipal parks. With only 3.4 million residents in the state, Arizona state and national parks recorded nearly 34 million visitors in 1987. At the opposite end of the state from the Grand Canyon and at the opposite end of the scale of a pure natural wonder, endures Arizona's second most famous claim to fame, the town of Tombstone. More than just an icon to the days of the lawless West which created the uneasy

climate for the shootout at the O.K. Corral, Tombstone now benefits from a different kind of climate—cool summers and moderate winters—which have allowed the town to become a year-round health resort. Arizona's rich recreational storehouse includes two more renowned and sprawling lures to the outdoors: Lake Powell and Lake Mead. Lake Powell, reaching down from Utah is the second largest man-made lake in North America, "the blue jewel of the desert." The little town of Page welcomes millions of visitors who pass through each year as they venture to the canyon-lined shores of Lake Powell to fish, boat, water-ski, para-sail, explore, photograph and relax in the great outdoors. On the west side of the Grand Canyon lies the Lake Mead National Recreation Area, which Arizona shares with Nevada. They also share a claim to the monolithic Hoover Dam, one of the highest dams ever constructed, and another of the Grand Canyon State's world-renowned attractions. The dam impounds Lake Mead, one of the largest man-made lakes in the western hemisphere, and which gives rise to six major recreation areas on its shores. Of these, Temple Bar lies in Arizona, 80 north of Kingman and offers boating, swimming, fishing, camping and other activities. Lake Mohave also is part of the huge Lake Mead National Recreation Area and offers a full range of water-related activities as well. An integral facet of the Arizona identity is found in the 20 Indian reservations that comprise 28 percent of the state. Excursionists can venture into the Indian worlds of past and present and combine exploration of land with exploration of spirit and history. Monument Valley Navajo Tribal Park presents one such opportunity, a colorful region spanning several thousand square miles within the Navajo Reservation in northeast Arizona near Four Corners. The park contains Mystery Valley, where isolated monoliths of red sandstone tower a thousand feet above the valley floor. Camping and picnicking are permitted and horseback and four-wheel-drive trips through the valley can be arranged. Navajo National Monument preserves the largest of Arizona's known cliff dwellings.

Other treasures of the Arizona heritage can be found throughout the state. The Mountain Country surrounding the mythic Mogollon Rim lays out before the adventurer the unspoiled wilderness trod by Spanish conquistadors seeking the gold of the fabled Seven Cities of Cibola. Vast panoramas, marked only by the few shrouded trails blazed by pioneers, stretch out to the horizon and share with the modern-day wanderer the same dramatic beauty and peaceful awe, seamlessly interwoven with a thread of wild danger, that inspired the tales of Zane Grey. In dramatic contrast to the mountain wilderness, the Organ Pipe Cactus and Saguaro national monuments present yet another view of outdoor Arizona. The desert southwest is a forbidding environment, but such harsh worlds prove inviting and popular destinations for week-end and vacationing adventurers to brave the desert, if only temporarily. Visitors to the Saguaro National Monument will discover stands of the native saguaro cactus, state flower of Arizona, which can live up to 200 years and grow up to 50 feet tall. The monument grounds include desert rock formations decorated with Indian pictographs and designs, in addition to animal exhibits and nature walks in winter. The larger Organ Pipe National Monument contains two self-guided nature drives, in addition to flora and fauna exhibits, ranger-led nature hikes, campfire programs and primitive back-country camping.

and offers a children's zoo with more than 1,000 animals. Tucson's Arizona-Sonora Desert Museum, a facility in which native animals frolic freely in their natural habitat, has been called the most distinctive zoo in the nation. The rich diversity of Arizona's ethnic roots provides a wide variety of festival events, including "Tucson Meet Yourself" and "Hello Phoenix," which focus on each city's many ethnic groups and their traditional arts. The Mexican holidays of "Cinco de Mayo" and "16 of Septiembre" are celebrated with festivals statewide. Flagstaff's Festival of Native American Arts offers a seven-week interpretive program on Native American arts in the four corners area. Tucson's Scott Avenue Festival was conceived to attract visitors to the newly designated downtown arts district. Other major festivals include Tucson's International Mariachi Festival and Mesa's Day of the Dead Festival. Music festivals that offer a variety of classical and contemporary programming are available statewide including Flagstaff Festival of the Arts, Jazz Mesa, Lake Havasu Arts Festival, Sedona Jazz on the Rocks, Scottsdale Festival of the Arts, Summer Nights Festival, Tucson Jazz Society Summer Festival and Tucson Summer Arts Festival. The literary arts are not neglected in the Grand Canyon State. Both the University of Arizona and Arizona State University have highly ranked programs of creative writing. Tucson also is the home of the University of Arizona Poetry Center which presents a full season of readings and special projects. The Tucson Public Library has several writers in residence who conduct workshops throughout the community and coordinate the annual Tucson Writers' Conference. The Tucson Poetry Festival is one of many special events offered annually for the writing community. Nationally recognized independent presses include Bilingual Review/Press in Tempe, Ironwood, Sonoro Review and Suntracks in Tucson and Word Beat Press in Flagstaff. Patrons from the academic, business and legislative communities have joined forces under the Arizona Arts Commission to propel the arts into a prominent position in the state. Business leaders recognize the contribution that arts make to the overall image of Arizona and the affect they have on the state's ability to attract new business and to increase tourism. Ordinances have been passed in Glendale, Chandler, Casa Grande, Phoenix, Tucson and Scottsdale to set aside dollars out of construction budgets to purchase and integrate artwork into new and renovated facilities. Public art projects have been completed with assistance of the Arizona Commission on the Arts in 14 Arizona communities, 10 outside the metropolitan areas. Private sector developers are encouraged to allocate a percentage of their construction budgets for the purchase of artwork. Many have responded by making art a central part of their marketing plan in such projects as hotels, shopping centers and office buildings. The state's strong academic institutions contribute to the cultural environment both in the commissioning and displaying of artworks and in presenting low-cost performing arts to the community. Arizona educators have also made a strong commitment to the arts, officially recognizing them as an integral part of a well-rounded education. A 1987 report by the 50th Arizona Academy Town Hall declared that "the arts and humanities should not be considered frills in the academic programs of our educational institutions, but should instead be central components of required curricula, with additional funding for art education provided as needed." In an effort to promote the arts and other cultural offerings, the Arizona

Commission on the Arts was established in 1967. The commission is dedicated to enhancing the quality of life by ensuring that opportunities to attend cultural events and take part in creative experiences are available to all citizens. The commission achieves that mission through grants, programs and services in all arts disciplines for artists and non-profit arts and community organizations. The commission is composed of a 15-member, non-salaried board appointed by the governor to determine policy and make final decisions on grant allocations. The commission oversees numerous programs, including Art in Arizona Towns. It is a touring residency program which brings professional performing artists to rural Arizona communities. Each residency ends with a community concert. Art in Public Places assists cities, towns, governmental agencies and non-profit community organizations to commission works of art for permanent installation in places of public access such as parks, libraries, office buildings, community centers and hospitals. The Artists-in-Education program places practicing professional artists of all disciplines in residence in schools, libraries, museums and community centers, providing for interactions among students, teachers and artists. Artists Fellowships give recognition and encouragement to outstanding artists, allowing the opportunity for professional growth. The Bicultural Arts program promotes cultural exchanges between Arizona and Mexico to broaden awareness on both sides of the border. The Design program promotes excellence in design. It provides technical assistance to communities and non-profit organizations planning to develop housing for the arts, and to non-profit art organizations and artists to produce printed promotional materials. The Meet the Composer program promotes the living American composers, encourages the performance and commission of new music and develops audiences for contemporary music.

ARIZONA INDIANS

Native Americans have been a part of what now is called Arizona for thousands of years. Today, their presence continues to lend a rich cultural and social patina to the image of Arizona. Nearly 170,000 American Indians—more than five percent of the state population—live on 20 reservations which encompass nearly 20 million acres, or 26 percent of the land area. Often, the federally reserved lands include original tribal territory. The reservations range in size from the tiny 85-acre Tonto-Apache in Gila County to the gigantic Navajo Nation and its 9.1 million acres stretching across Apache, Navajo and Coconino counties and into New Mexico and Utah. It is home to more than 94,000 Indians and completely surrounds the 1.5 million-acre Hopi Reservation. Tribes represented in Arizona's Indian population include the Yavapai, Cocopah, Chemehuevi, Hopi, Mojave, Navajo, Apache, Yuma, Papago, Pima, Havasupai, Tewa, Hualapai, Paiute and Yaqui. Once almost entirely dependent on federal and state aid and work programs, most tribes in recent years have begun or improved efforts aimed at economic self-reliance. Projects and programs range from agricultural endeavors to tourism to on-reservation industrial parks. Though unemployment rates remain high at most reservations, the trend is upward for both labor forces and economic expansion. There is a great diversity among the various tribes themselves, and 16 separate languages are represented in the state. Each reservation has its own government, and many provide basic services such as electricity, and water and sewer.

if wholly derived from reservation sources. The federal government does not exempt individual Indians from income or other federal taxes. Arizona Indians are also exempt from state and local sales taxes on consumer goods purchased on the reservation, unless such taxes are imposed by the tribal government. Arizona does tax the property and business transactions of non-Indians who operate on reservations and Indians who live or work off reservations. The current Cocopah property tax rate is \$10.47 per \$100 assessed valuation. **SCENIC ATTRACTIONS** Train excursions from Yuma to the West reservation; several historical areas in Yuma. **SPECIAL EVENTS** Cocopah Land Acquisition Day, Cocopah Festivity Days, Miss Cocopah Pageant, Cocopah Street Fair.

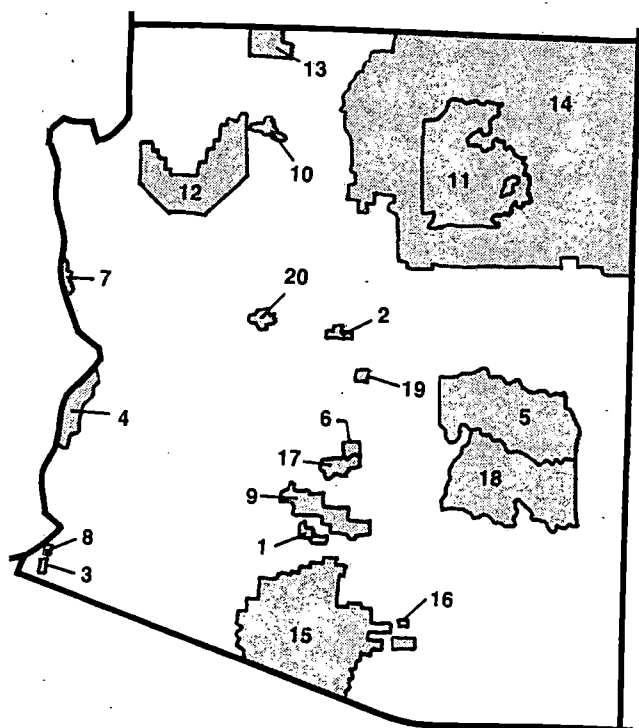
COMMUNITIES

COUNTY SEAT Yuma, County Courthouse, P.O. Box 1112,

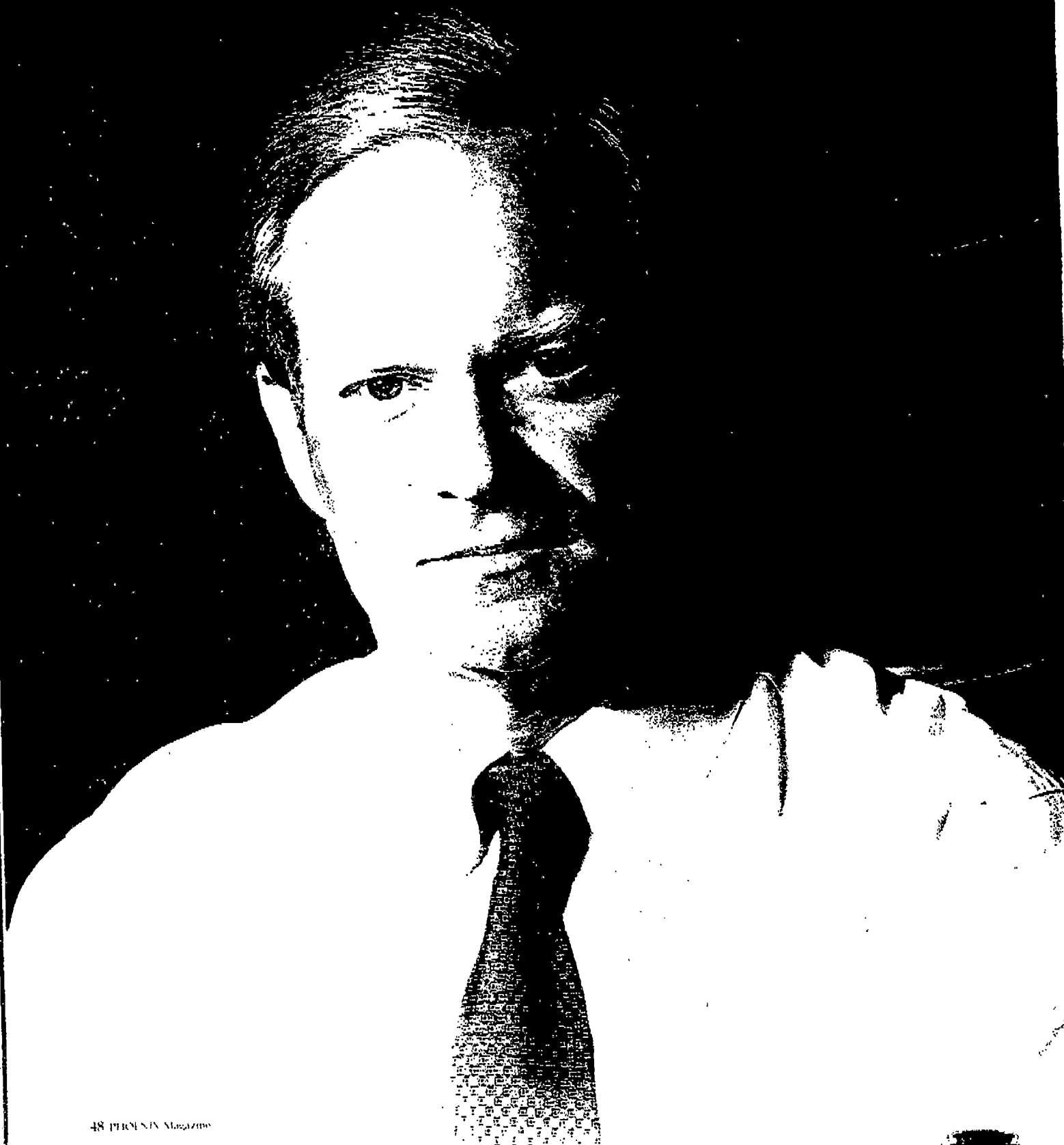
85364; Clerk of Court/County Clerk's Office, (602) 782-4534. **INCORPORATED COMMUNITIES** (1986 population and ZIP code) San Luis (2,910) 85349, Somerton (4,430) 85350, Wellton (940) 85356, Yuma (47,240) 85364. **UNINCORPORATED COMMUNITIES** (ZIP code) Araby, Asher 85356, Aztec 85352, Blaisdell, Bush Pit, Colfred, Crane 85369, Dateland 85352, Desert Wells, Dome 85369, East Yard, El Pueblito 85369, Engesser Junction, Fishers Landing 85369, Fortuna, Gadsden 85336, Growler, Hope, Horn 85352, Hyder 85352, Kim, Kinter, Kofa 85369, Kofa (sta.), Laguna 85369, Ligurta 85356, Martinez Lake 85364, McVay, Meadow Brook 85369, Midway, Mohawk, Noah, Norton, Owl, Palomas, Pioneer, Planet, Plomosa, Roll 85347, Somerton (sta.), Steam, Stoval, Swansea, Tacna 85352, Tyson, West Yuma 85369. **FOR ADDITIONAL LOCAL INFORMATION** Yuma Civic and Convention Center, P.O. Box 6468, Yuma, 85364, (602) 344-3800.

ARIZONA INDIAN RESERVATIONS

1. Ak-Chin
2. Camp Verde
3. Cocopah
4. Colorado River
5. Fort Apache
6. Fort McDowell
7. Fort Mojave
8. Fort Yuma
9. Gila River
10. Havasupai
11. Hopi
12. Hualapai
13. Kaibab-Paiute
14. Navajo
15. Papago
16. Pascua Yaqui
17. Salt River
18. San Carlos
19. Tonto-Apache
20. Yavapai Prescott



Source: Commission on Indian Affairs



Yesterday's over his shoulder

J. Fife Symington III makes no apologies for his wealthy and powerful background; but he wants to make his own marks on Phoenix and Arizona.

by Laura Greenberg

The pale blue eyes are at once gentle and stern, kind and sad, impatient and tolerant; the penetrating gaze speaks volumes of experience and privilege. Henry Clay Frick, who carved his initials across the hide of American capitalism, stares unflinchingly from an oil painting, trapped in gilded frame in his vested pinstripes and manicured beard on the wall of the third floor offices of the Esplanade. From this lofty view, the man — whose name is associated with the Carnegies and Mellons and Rockefellers and J. P. Morgan; the coke tycoon who made his first million by age 30 in 1879, whose company became United States Steel; the man who survived an anarchist assassination attempt and left a priceless art collection to America — watches the every move of his great-grandson.

When Frick's daughter gave the old man's leather-bound biography to her great-nephew, she wrote this inscription: "To J. Fife Symington III... May this biography of your great-grandfather inspire you to excel in everything you undertake..."

Nice morning, isn't it?" J. Fife Symington III asks rhetorically of the valet as he brakes his silver Lincoln beneath the porte cochere of the Ritz-Carlton. The voice is even and upbeat at 6:15 a.m., though the fetid air already bears the promise of another smothering summer day. Sliding out from behind the wheel, he moves with polished ease to open the passenger door for a female writer. A gentleman, cushioned in class, Symington edges his brand new machine into stuttering traffic that won't be gridlock for another hour.

J. Fife Symington III, heir to the fortunes of the Industrial Revolution, builder of the Ritz-Carlton and adjoining Esplanade towers, and Republican candidate for governor before anyone else has announced, is, fittingly, on his way to Chandler to chow down some breakfast and swill some coffee — "decaf, please" — with the local boys at Brunchies cafe. So far, the majority of notice his

PHOTO BY FOTO FOTO

early candidacy has brought him has been reporters dwelling on his "funny name" and "blue blood" heritage. Thus, we are foregoing another rubber-chicken-circuit-jawbreaker to break bread with the real people, and perhaps break the notion that Fife Symington is either a pampered wimp or a fat-cat developer and get down with his message that he is a mainstream, intelligent GOP choice over a crazed Evan Mecham in his own party or an ineffective Gov. Rose Mofford in the other.

Steering his own silver ship toward I-10 — no drivers, no limos — Symington already is on guard, exhaling an easy steam of practiced conversation on cars, business, burnout, family and a dozen other safe subjects. Occasionally a well rehearsed gem falls to separate him from the opposition: "Artemis Ward at the turn-of-the-century said, 'I'm not a professional politician and my other habits are good also.'"

He is energetic, likeable, endowed with the amenities, and if you talk to him for more than 10 minutes, he's bound to slip in something about grizzlies, salmon running in Alaska white water, sports, real-man talk. He seems caught between the *noblesse oblige* of the privileged and the raw industrial ghosts of his past who forged an America of brawling mills. Though he vibrates with vigor this morning, beneath his prominent blondish brows his eyes are rimmed red and he looks tired. Allergies. His white handkerchief is always within reach as he sneezes his way through the campaign.

John Fife — the family ancestral home was in County Fife, Scotland — Symington III left his fellow Harvard grads and the foxhunt/political set of the green toupee lawns of Baltimore for Arizona 17 years ago to make his own mark on America's new frontier. He had tough acts to follow: Besides great-granddaddy Frick, on his mother's side, the no-nonsense Pennsylvania coke tycoon who teamed with Andrew Carnegie to deal the firms that J. P. Morgan turned into U.S. Steel; on his father's side, uncle Stuart Symington was the long-time senator from Missouri who challenged John F. Kennedy for the presidency in 1960.

A great-uncle started Pan

American Airways. Father J. Fife II was a high-level executive with Pan Am, an ambassador to Trinidad and Tobago under President Nixon and a dogged Republican who competed repeatedly — and unsuccessfully — for a congressional seat in a Democratic-gimme district dominated, ironically, by the steel workers' union fought by Frick.

Fame and fortune veritably dances across Fife Three's lineage, but if you wanna git him, just call him a *blue* blood. Whisper it. It's an assignation that brings a rush of *red* blood to his

*"I need my hair cut,
I'm beginning to
look like an Afghan."
Another call: "Joyce?
We need to write
that letter to
Barry Goldwater..."*

face and stiffens his tailored body. For god's sakes, he's the Frick-Symington who heard the siren of the American West, chased the dreams that have lured the pioneers of this nation for 200 years. Here, he made peace with a whole neighborhood and city council and erected edifices on 24th Street and Camelback, some of the choicest dirt in the county.

Before the battle was won to build the project — \$500 million worth of five office towers and the hotel when completed, 60 percent owned by Japanese investors — Symington had spent \$3 million on his *Star Wars* style TV ads and collected 60,000 signatures in support. It so resembled a political campaign, stations felt they had to give the opposition equal time.

So, he's not some stiff collar smoking cigars in an overstuffed private club talking DuPont preferred; he splashes the Pacific Rim onto Arizona, and, for fun, runs sneak attacks with wet washclothes on his children. Growing up, his heroes

were Palladin, Marshall Dillon and Wyatt Earp — this peachfuzz Goldwater Republican out of step in the sixties. After Harvard, he enlisted in the Air Force and was assigned to the land of true grit at Luke AFB, before serving in Thailand during the Vietnam War as a weapons controller with the Tactical Air Command watching the Ho Chi Minh Trail across the river in Laos. When he got out, Phoenix drew him back, where he met and married more spunk and more money. "This is the only other home I've known," he says. "All five of my kids were born here."

The dewpoint starts its upward creep at 6:30 a.m. in his adopted hometown, mixing with the sun to spill watery mirages across the freeways; just a preview of the day's sizzle. He laughs easily about the Republicans' "pro-family" slogans. That's one litmus test in which he excelled, although there was a divorce from a four-year first marriage that bore his first two children before he married Ann Pritzlaff 13 years ago. Symington steers with his left hand while the fingers of his right punch the digital office numbers on his car phone.

"Fife, here..." the Lincoln becomes a command post for reminders and scheduling. He wants to catch up with the state Senate majority leader. "John Mawhinney, I need to see him... can't we find an extra day? I have a bunch of people from Tucson I need to see..." Another time: "I need my hair cut, I'm beginning to look like an Afghan." Another call: "Joyce? We need to write that letter to Barry Goldwater confirming that date in September..."

Goldwater was friends with his father, and leaped to endorse Fife III when he announced. A river of apologies flows from Symington to his passenger, but this driving machine is a roving branch office and if he doesn't work now, he won't get anything done. Driving is functional, not a joy or a chore.

The halo of pollution hovers above us, threatening to choke the Phoenix bird in its own ashes. Staring into the Valley haze, Symington is excited about alternative fuels. He thinks methanol is interesting — we'll never get people out of their cars in Phoenix, he says. Electric cars? Maybe, though the problem will be power. His own dashboard is

lit up like a Boeing 747, gauges glowing atomic green. But it's a modest Lincoln, decorated in sedate gray fabric. Simple. Classy.

The sleeves of his pale yellow oxford shirt are still buttoned, the pants are Mills-Touche style cotton khakis. The thin oxblood belt matches the leather shoes. Pens line his shirt pocket. The face is starched, near albino, and if he's caught in the sun too long, he'll take cover — a magazine will do, although he attends his son's soccer games in straw hat and shades. His broom of eyebrows and his pale face make his blue eyes look black in the sunlight.

At 43, Symington has the attractive, non-threatening countenance of a man who can get along with anyone; though he has an intense gaze and sometimes he will pinch his eyes together in a curious way, a good listener absorbing information. The directions to Brunchies are on a yellow Post-it in his black appointment book. He squints at them a couple of times as he searches Chandler's Arizona Avenue.

Pulling up minutes before 7 a.m., Symington shakes hands with Jerry Brooks, the former Chandler mayor who arranged this appearance, and smiles, "I'm early. That's unheard of for a politician." The fake wood tables are mostly empty, but in the back room — where no one smokes and local deals are done over home fries — one table is filled with large men with full-brim cowboy hats and guts that hang over jeans, a collective GOP endorsement if you ever saw one.

Symington joins the five important denizens and orders scrambled with bacon. And a fruit platter. Plus political decaf. Chatter. Fife drops his Artemis Ward line. He tells how yesterday he beat Phoenix Mayor Terry Goddard in a golf cart race before the Grand Prix. Piped-in c&w music competes and Linda Ronstadt wails, "It's the right kind of night for makin' love," while the men from Chandler ask this dude about other things that matter. Real estate, rising taxes, Mechem, and abortion.

The last one is sensitive: the table silences while Symington delicately explains he doesn't think anyone is really *pro-abortion* or *anti-life*. But, he would have a hard time telling a woman who's been raped or a victim of incest she can't have an abortion.

They discuss polls. Symington says his support jumped from 3 percent to 30 percent within 30 days after he announced April 12. "I have to believe I could go back to 3 percent because I'm the underdog. I'm the long shot and I don't want anyone to believe I'm out in front. It's the worst place to be." Linda and Fife both worry about love this morning.

Afterwards, climbing into Brooks' Audi for a tour of Chandler, Symington's head is on a swivel. He notices every structure with a builder's stare. "In your efforts to

*"I'm concerned that
we're going to do
the classic things
which you don't do
when you're headed
south in your
economy — which is
have a tax increase."*

bring business into the community, did you do any land subsidies or tax breaks, or did you just provide the infrastructure?" he asks.

"Nah," says Brooks. "I call it making a nest. We went out, built the roads, got the sewers extended, demanded quality development to make it look attractive for employees, and we sold them on good government and responsive government...."

Then it's a quick stop at the Chandler Tribune where Fife gets an unexpected work-over in an interview room designated "the vault," marked with a story-idea board, waxed Pepsi cups and coffee makings.

Q: *What do you think of Mofford's veto of the budget?*

A: "I think it's really unfortunate at this point in the cycle for the budget to get vetoed. I don't think we ever should have been in this position.... It could have been avoided, it's an indication of not good planning, not a lot of forethought, too much partisanship, lack of leadership, which is my favorite theme. Did you ever know

John Pritzlaff [his wife's father and former state Senate Republican power]? He's my father-in-law and was in charge of the state budget for many years...."

Q: *You had a more unified GOP then.*

A: "Yeah, but they were working under a Democratic governor. People would get together earlier, sometimes before the session started, and cross a lot of important thresholds.... What worries me — and I know there are great demands for funding of federally mandated programs — we're getting ourselves into serious economic problems in the state and you just don't go in and pass a \$300 million tax increase, it's the worst thing you can do, it will hurt business. They've been flirting with... a real estate tax and that whole industry is flat on its back. The time to do it is when things are going well. I'm concerned that we're going to do the classic things which you don't do when you're headed south in your economy — which is have a tax increase."

Q: *Well, Rose seems to be doing a lot of the right things, in that she seems to have been gaining some political stature and respect. At least, that's how some people are viewing it. How do you view the incumbent?*

A: "I think the staff choreographs her well, a lot of Babbitt style..."

Symington sits with his legs stretched out. The shoulders look relaxed, he's jes' hangin' out with the boys. Only the outline of his feet wiggling inside his leather shoes betray him.

A few days later, Tribune associate publisher Hal Dekuyser will write that Symington will be our next governor, barring any untoward surprises. Some veteran pols would laugh at this notion: they figure Symington will finish maybe third in a GOP primary chopped up by Mechem, and moderates who have money. From those back-rooms, Rose looks safe, barring any untoward surprises.

Already behind schedule from Chandler, Symington hurries the Lincoln into his driveway at the base of Camelback Mountain in Scottsdale. Tommy, 6, the youngest child, and Richard, 9, are kicking around a soccer ball with a friend. This fall, dad's going



Symington grabbed a hard hat and blueprints to pose for campaign photographs on the second tower of the Camelback Esplanade.

to be an assistant coach on Richard's soccer team. Both kids resemble him with pale complexions and lemon yellow hair.

Eight bicycles, a skateboard and other wheel toys are lined up in a bike rack. The Brady Bunch would be comfortable here. The house is large, not ostentatious, a ranch style with California twisted corners and angles that seem like puzzle parts, built 30 years ago by Jon Wong.

Inside the roomy kitchen, Sandy, the live-in housekeeper, is fixing iced-tea. Boys' Nikes with scuffed bottoms are in the middle of the floor. Ann Symington walks into the family room, gives a pleasant, but slightly exasperated smile because her arms are loaded down with laundry and she can't shake hands. Twelve-year-old Whitney, the Symington's only girl, is curled up in a

chair in front of a built-in TV, identical-looking parrots, Cherry Oh and Sweet Pea, hanging out on her shoulders. She buzzes numerous stations, rejecting *Beverly Hillbillies* and *All in the Family* before settling on a movie, *Arthur Two*. Ruffy, the large lap dog Siberian Husky, is flopped on the floor in a corner, lost in private dog-thought.

The comfortable living room has wood floors, an antique Persian rug, plump blue couches, recessed book shelves, and artifacts brought back from travels — some arranged for viewing on a brown baby grand. Two Curtis oils hang kitty-corner — presents that Fife and Ann gave to each other. Arrrrhhhh! Arrrrhhhh! the parrots beller.

He has brought reporters here before. Perhaps he wants the people who will judge him the harshest to

see exactly how he lives, he has no secrets. See, I live well, his home says, but I am not showy *nouveau riche*. Fife disappears into a bedroom to change from his Brunchies outfit to business clothes, emerging in a gray suit, red tie and black shoes. The only thing that remains is the pale yellow shirt.

Brushing Whitney's cheek with his lips, he breezes, "Bye sweetie, see you later..." "Bye, Dad..." In the driveway, Symington tries for notice from the boys. "Hey men, don't tear the house up too much, okay?" They hear him, but are involved in a minor dispute. He tries again. "No broken windows, okay?" He glances at the bicycles and quips, "We're ready for the next oil embargo."

Reaching for the car phone again as he clips down Camelback to the office, he says that as a teenager his

broadside Mecham and position himself as the GOP repairman to the monied folks at the Mainstream Republican Club meeting in Paradise Valley. But he will rewrite Smith's script to suit himself.

Gone is the polite tone when he discusses former governor Ev, and a whiplash tongue engages. "Mecham finds a conspiracy under every rock.... That type of personality absolutely *thrives* on the criticism and the living martyrdom. He sees himself as right in the face of the rest of the world and is very happy that way... and everyone else is wrong. I'm not a medical doctor, but a classical paranoid has a fixed, different, sense of reality and is very content with that — and if you attack it, you just feed it."

The Lincoln rolls down the ramps into the black hole of the Esplanade underground parking garage, the second largest in the country, with room for 6,000 cars.

J. Fife Symington III, Chairman of The Symington Company, swiftly moves into his third floor office where his assistants have spent the morning organizing his life. To prove it, there are 61 neatly printed messages spread out on an oak table near Joyce's desk. In Joyce Riebel's Rolodex there are 2,000 cards on file. "Please copy that article on methanol," he asks Karen Zanzucchi. "It's a *wonderful* article."

Wonderful, fantastic, amazing — a vocabulary rich in *Americana* — ordinary corny from a man of extraordinary background. Active with curiosity and philosophy, Symington maintains a genuine gee-whiz quality that money couldn't spoil. In the green office with floor-length curtains depicting a fox hunt and a warm carpet that has Scotland and the ambience of the Moors all over it, M. Scott Peck's argument for the devil, *People of the Lie*, sits on a dark wood table. Symington points to a passage he marked: evil always comes disguised behind the smile, the velvet glove. Does he believe in evil? Oh, yes, yes, he does....

Fife doesn't sit in the green swivel chair on a parquet island behind the antique desk. He stands; sifts through the mountain of papers and prioritizes. Joyce slides out a secretarial panel from her side and takes dictation. A quick letter to a reporter who wrote an article and

several personalized thank-you notes. Always, the amenities. Behind him, from the oil painting, Henry Clay Frick's blazing light blue eyes seem to follow like lasers wherever Symington moves. A constant reminder of gargantuan appetites and accomplishments to live up to.

In the early afternoon, Symington sits in a plaid chair in his office and speaks at length about his "name-brand family." The animosity it draws is just not understandable to him. "I am proud of it. I'm not running away from it," he repeats in various phrasings. "But people say, 'Oh he's a blue blood, ha, ha, ha.' Well what does *that* mean?... It means, 'You're a snob or an aristocrat, that you can't relate to the common man and that you're not one of us — how could *you* possibly relate to the concerns of the broader public?' That's basically it and it's a lot of crap.... And I have to deal with that and I do, head-on."

Stumping through northern Arizona, he says many people seemed surprised he was a regular mortal. Well what did you expect, he asked — a three-piece suit and a Rolls Royce? He didn't pick his ancestors, he points out, so he walks the tightwire between family pride and forever qualifying his background and bearing. It is both a blessing and an albatross to have rich, powerful, high-achieving lineage. It affords a comfortable life, but ruins it by setting overwhelming standards to surpass.

"I grew up on a farm in Maryland, and when I say a farm, I mean pigs and chickens and horses and cows, and we used to make our own bacon and kill our own chickens, a true farm. No, I never killed a chicken, I couldn't stand it, they get up and run around after they're beheaded. Did you ever see it? It's terrible. I don't like killing things. I love to fish, it's really therapy and I really enjoy it. But when it comes to — and I'm a fairly decent shot — I just don't like to kill animals. I love animals and I can't see it, it's not in my blood." Then he quickly adds, "But I'm a sportsman for sure."

The official Symington family genealogy does not describe his father as a farmer; the phrase chosen is "country squire." Has Fife ever been on a fox hunt? "Sure. It's wild and crazy. It's survival. You've

bathroom was home to a pet alligator — and a monkey named LuLu who would embarrass him by biting people on the "fanny" and fighting everyone. "My bathroom was unbelievable."

"Karen please, this is Fife..." — "And we had a skunk called Chanel No. 5 that was deperfumed." — "Hi, Fife. You know that speech that was faxed to me from Jay? That *needs* to be on word processing because when I get back on the 16th, I give it. And I also need to make some changes. It's not quite the way I want it.... Could you put it in the format I like, in bigger type... I need to study the speech today and tonight and talk to Jay in Washington. That's really an important speech...."

In the speech, written by his Washington-based political strategist J. Brian Smith, he is planning to

got 150 people on horseback trying to jump the same fence at the same time, and the foxes heading off into the country and the hounds are in full cry and it's crazy..." Karen knocks and breaks his excitement with the news that Symington's eye doctor is on the line. "He's worried about you," she says.

Symington sounds like a little kid and emits a sheesh sound back, "Tell him not to worry about me." Into the phone he says, "My eye doesn't hurt at all, it's just a little bloodshot in the right side, that's it." Still, he fits in an appointment during the lunch hour the next day. "Okay, boss," he signs off.

Where were we? The fox hunt. The interruption has broken his enthusiasm and his face pinches together in a maybe-we-shouldn't-discuss-this look. He hasn't been on a fox hunt in years, he now hastens to explain, this was when he was a kid and he really didn't like it that much. "Gosh, there's no way to really explain it." Then he dodges. "You know, they have coyote hunts down in Patagonia. It's just — it's no different than a cattle roundup and everyone gets on horseback. It's that same feeling... when you're with your horse and out in nature, but the hunt is more exciting because this one fox takes off across the countryside. If it's a red fox, it runs in the same line forever; if it's a gray fox, he goes around in circles which isn't much fun."

The talk switches to sports at Gilman prep school, where Symington says he was an honorable mention All State guard in football and a defenseman on the lacrosse team. He did well enough at Gilman to gain early admission to Harvard and studied history and 17th century Dutch painting. Today, 123 paintings and other artworks including many Dutch masters — worth millions — grace the Ritz-Carlton's walls.

After his tour in Southeast Asia he returned to Arizona in 1972 and never left. He got a real estate license and took some business courses at Arizona State University. He began selling commercial and residential real estate and used Back East connections to become Eastern Airlines' representative, in concert with Lincoln Properties and Trammell Crow, in its bid to acquire the Arizona Biltmore hotel and the

thousand surrounding acres — but was beat out by Talley Industries.

Later he became a partner in Lincoln and by 1976, when he left to go on his own again, he had already developed almost a million square feet of retail, office and industrial space in Arizona. Best known as the builder of the most ambitious project this town has seen, he ducks the developer label, calling himself an entrepreneur.

Symington paces around his office, dealing with easy paperwork. He squeezes drops into his red eyes. From the wall, great-grandfather scrutinizes him.

"Carnegie and Frick couldn't get along in their old age, they used to fight a lot. So they eventually sold the company to Morgan. Great-granddaddy owned all the coke mines, and that was essential in the Bessemer process to make the steel strong — you had to have coke. So Carnegie had to come to him. Carnegie was the promoter and the salesman, but great-granddaddy was the one who actually built the business, ran the corporation and really built the first fully integrated corporation in America. He was quite a businessman. He started out making well below minimum wage as a telegraph operator for Union Pacific. He was one of the 'non-blue bloods' of his generation; he was totally self-educated, went out and taught himself accounting and studied and apprenticed and just picked himself up by his bootstraps. He didn't have a dime to his name, just borrowed some money and speculated on some coal leases and just did it all on his own..."

Symington's mother remembers her grandfather and passed on to her son that he was truly a man of special quality, gentle, but with a first-rate organizational mind. In Fife's home are the last twenty bottles of Overholt Rye Whiskey, vintage 1912, from the distillery of Frick's grandfather, Abraham Overholt. Has he ever snuck a swig? "No," he laughs, "you'd need a paramedic standing by."

The Frick Museum is his great-grandfather's house on 70th Street in Manhattan. Among the two hundred paintings of the Frick Art Collection are works by nearly every luminary — Gainsborough, Titian, Velasquez, Turner, Van Dyke,

Rubens, Rembrandt, Whistler, Vermeer, Corot, Monet, Diaz, El Greco, Rousseau, Renoir, et al. He left the city of New York \$15 million to administer it.

Today, Fife III says he's no billionaire — by the time the blood has filtered down to his generation, what's left is the name and not really the cash. "I'm very proud because both sides of my family have done a lot for this country. It's a tradition, and not just to be proud of — but to compete with. It almost forces you to get in there and make your own mark if you're at all competitive, and I am. I have a great time and challenge out there trying to make my own way and do my own thing..."

Symington takes a break to don a hard hat and haul a roll of blueprints up to the third floor of the twin Esplanade tower under construction. He poses for a photographer doing campaign promo shots, outlined in the polarizing glare, the sun spotting the green glass of the completed Esplanade building behind him.

"Real estate attracted me because it's just so damned creative," he says over a sent-in lunch of albacore tuna salad. "I don't know if others on the outside appreciate it that much, but putting something like this together is like building a mini-city... you deal with government, and private investors and institutions that have money. You borrow money, you retain architects and engineers and lawyers.... You have to be the team captain."

After lunch, we are attacked by grizzly bears. They emerge from the enormous pines along a wild Alaskan River, swaggering toward us, chestnut-brown, bobbing fur masses of muscle and claws and jaws that can crush in an instant. Two cubs guarded by a 9-foot mean mother — big trouble. Sloshing in the water, searching for food with her snout, the she-bear wheels and stops twenty feet from us — the Alaskan guide hollers, "Hey, hey, hey!"

"How many rounds do you have in your gun?" Fife wants to know. "Enough for all three of them," the guide assures him.

Mama bear finally reconsiders and lumbers off, diving face-first into the icy water for a sockeye salmon, plowing out of the stream with a large fish flopping its last in



After lunch we met

her jaws. Awesome. Fife thanks the guide for yelling her off. "She was going to have us for supper."

Another close call on Camelback. The scene is on videotape in Symington's office — an exciting memory of last year's fishing trip with his father. Fife kept the tape rolling throughout the encounter, and now narrates with relish, staff members gathered. Along with pictures of Ann and the kids, old man Frick and George Washington, several prints of grizzly bears adorn his office area.

The office phone rings. Fife gets it. Discussing politics into the receiver, he still has one eye trained to the tape. "This guy is really getting close... watch this... watch this, this is incredible!"

In a later phone conversation, Symington is still talking about it: "What's so incredible, is you can smell the damn bears, they really stink, that was the grizzly bear, that was the biggest bear on the continent and oh, weren't they majestic?..." He switches to a couple of Pima County GOP bears. "The good news is the Mungers are on board and they're delighted and that's key."

Campaign mechanic Smith can counter with a role-model anecdote he heard from another father-son outing: "I think it was in Spain, and Fife was on a hunting trip with his father and there was a pack of wild boars coming up — they're real ferocious animals. His father had a rifle and shot at the lead boar and wounded it, so all the other boars took off in the opposite direction. But this one started charging up the hill at the two of them, and Fife III was 14 and he jumped up into the nearest tree, petrified out of his mind, and watched as his father very calmly took aim at the boar and fired his last round, hitting him again. Still, the boar kept coming right at him and he flipped the gun around and held the barrel and swung it and hit the boar just as it was lunging at him and knocked it down the hill."

In a corner of the room where the grizzly video rolls, a teenager continues stuffing envelopes with campaign literature, keeping the political machine cooking. In another corner of Symington's office is a handmade wooden golf club and a golf ball, brought to Fife by son

Fife IV after he spent a year at St. Andrew's in Scotland.

Fife IV, 20, and a Harvard sophomore, is the 27th generation of an unbroken, 900-year line of male Symingtons tracing their history back to County Fife. Fife III spent much of his own youth in foreign places — Spain, Ireland, Scotland, Brazil, Argentina, as his father opened up airways for international travel. He remembers the stirrings of his political conscience about age 12, after reading *Conscience of a Conservative*, Goldwater's manifesto against Big Government spending and the welfare state. Before the final buds of puberty had sprouted, J. Fife Symington III was a committed Republican and politician-in-training.

He brings out *Scotch and Soda* by Charles Symington, a black and white genealogy book and skims through it, orating his family history. "There had been a whole bunch of Symingtons. You've heard of Robert Fulton? Well, he stole my ancestor's design for the first steamboat.... Steamboat William Symington, was a brilliant engineer and he invented it...."

"Thomas Symington was a major

X [in the Civil War for the confederacy, and you've heard of Pickett's charge at Gettysburg...." The charge, of course, was a disaster for the South, but Thomas, Gen. Pickett's top aide, survived because his horse was shot and hid him when it fell on top of him. "He was the one who helped build the Washington National Monument," Fife continues. "All the foundations for the Washington Monument came out of the Symington quarries."

A heavy marble statue of Thomas — founder of the original Symington Company — on this day lies in pieces in crates in the Symington family room. A shipment from his father. Fife plans to reassemble Thomas at his headquarters in the Esplanade.

Then there was "Bamps" — a grandfather on his mother's side — a poet, scholar and naturalist who studied bones and declared camels native to North America, having reached other continents over the land bridge. Fife speaks with warm affection of the man who represented the thoughtful side of the physical Symingtons.

Fife wraps up his family story by remembering his last visit to Stuart Symington last year, basically a goodbye visit before the famous senator died. "I'll never forget, he said, 'I know what you think, you think I was too liberal.' He said, 'But let me tell you something, until you get there and you're elected to the office, you can't believe the demands, the needs that have to be taken care of.' He said, 'The pressure on you is enormous to do more and provide more' and he said, 'There is no way someone on the outside can understand what it's like to be the United States Senator dealing with these problems that you face every day, the wants and the needs of the people. You just could never understand it.'"

In a box on the table behind his desk is a deflated blow-up toy. Before Symington heads out to shake more hands, he blows it up — a grand old blue elephant.

Then he leaves to meet Olga Soto, the leasing coordinator for the Mercado at Seventh and Van Buren streets, an ambitious project being developed by The Symington Company, Chicanos Por La Causa, Inc./Tiempo and the city of Phoenix. The

Mercado will be a large market of ancient Aztec motifs blended with colonial Spanish styles, housing shops, restaurants, day-care and a Hispanic cultural center. Olga wants to introduce Fife to Guillermo DeLeon from the Mercado in Guadalupe. It's after 3 p.m. and the road south is filled with adults playing bumper cars scrambling to get on and off the Superstition.

The relentless afternoon sun takes up chunks of energy, and Fife meets the owners of several Guadalupe stores. He's not fluent in Spanish

*"We're going to
knock the city
on its fanny
with the Mercado."*

yet, though he has made a commitment to himself to be there in eighteen months. Meanwhile, Olga translates. In a small restaurant, Symington accepts a cup of brute strength coffee — he doesn't even ask for decaf — and thanks the men for their promised support. They discuss Mexican-Americans and being a Republican... Fife is told that 80 percent of Guadalupe is Yaqui, and is surprised.

On the way home, Olga and Fife keep conversation flowing. They discuss retail stores. "Have you talked to... you know your culture better than I do, but how can we not have piñatas?" the businessman asks. "There will be piñatas in the candy store," Olga promises him.

"We're going to knock the city on its fanny with the Mercado," he says, then punches the digital phone to speak with his secretary. This carefully orchestrated campaign that allows Ann and Fife time together has slipped up and Fife is angry that Ann is expecting him for dinner when he has a meeting and won't

be home until at least 8 p.m. This can't happen, he insists. Back in his office, staring helplessly at the paper heaped on his desk, he wonders, "How am I going to get through the next two days? I have no time for myself!"

Before announcing Fife's decision to run for governor, he and Ann discussed it with the entire family. Did everyone understand what it really means? "Who knows? Do any of us really know? Ask me in a year," Ann says. Whitney fretted over the pains of peer pressure. "Mom, at school I'm already called a rich bitch because of Esplanade," she worried. Ann told her, "Whitney, people are just looking at that project, they're looking at the public image of your father — whether we do this or not — they are not looking at what he is or what kind of person he is.... There are a lot of kids who have more money. It's who you are, not what you have."

Ann Symington's gold hair is just above her shoulders; swinging when she walks. The face expressive, the smile not practiced. The only makeup she wears is some dark pink lipstick. Symington says of Ann, she's "not just his other half, but his superior half."

She is a product of the Pritzlaffs, a prominent Midwest mercantile family, and the Olins of chemical fortune. The parallels between her and Fife seem to have made them for each other. While her father was ambassador to Malta, his was ambassador to Trinidad. Both fathers attended Princeton. Ann's mother worked on Goldwater's campaign for years. Ann attended Scripps College in California and majored in psychology, eventually receiving her teaching credentials in San Francisco.

"I met Fife when I was home on spring vacation during my junior year in college. My parents were in Tucson at an art opening and Fife had come down with someone else but they gave him a lift back to Phoenix, during which time my parents grilled him," she laughs. "My mother's from St. Louis and all the Symingtons she's known were Democrats, but here was this man...."

"I had a boyfriend who they did not approve of — and my parents figured out a way before they took

Fife home to introduce us. We met in that other room. Can you *stand* it? Talk about roots and tradition, we met right in that sun room and it took him a week to ask me out — he was really concerned because he was a divorced man....” They were married three years later.

Earlier, at 21, Symington was married after his Harvard graduation to Leslie, the mother of his two oldest children, Fife IV, and Scott, 18. Married young, much of that time he was in Southeast Asia. When he came home, his marriage had spun out and they were divorced. One of his lawyers told Symington that his was the first joint custody case in Arizona. Leslie and Fife have remained friends.

Tommy, skipping his remote control boat through the blue water of the pool, calls for help when an accident occurs and the batteries go for a dive. Mom calmly produces a Phillip’s screwdriver from a garage closet and sets about putting a smile back on her son’s face. Ruffy ambles across the kitchen and Ann calls the beast “Fifey,” then laughs — she’s losing track of names.

Ann Symington doesn’t dodge questions about whether it’s a liability coming from money. Turning her face toward the ceiling, wanting to make someone *understand*, she explains that both she and Fife come from families with money, but they also come from families with *background* — the money was earned by amazing people, she says, and adds it’s both a gift from God and a tremendous responsibility.

Born in Milwaukee, 37 years ago, Ann Pritzlaff Symington came west to Arizona when she was 6 years old, and moved into the home she lives in now when she was 8. Three years ago, she and Fife bought the home from her parents.

“No,” she says, “we were not raised to think of ourselves as patrician or blue blood, and the realization doesn’t come into play until someone points it out.” She leans back, looks at herself and says, “Did you know you were *this*?” You get a bit defensive about it because you don’t think of yourself as different.... I’m not sitting by my pool and never have. I can’t sit still any longer than Fife can... it wouldn’t be a choice.

“One of the great things my

parents afforded me was a lot of travel.... I valued that, because I have a sense of a lot of different cultures and there are people who think the way that I live is pretty strange.” She’s discussing the Masai tribe in East Africa where she visited with her family when she was 13 and 17. “They wear red clay in their hair and drink goat’s blood.” Ann first attended public school in the Kaibab district, then moved to the prestigious Miss Porter’s when she was 15.

About her husband, the candi-

*“We have great
marshmallow fights.
Great washcloth
fights.... Kids
have got to
have fun.”*

date, she says, “He likes a good fight, he thrives on it. Sometimes I think he gets going so fast, though he’s very thoughtful, that he doesn’t take the time to pay attention to me... but *all* married couples go through that. You have to remember to put each other first. And what we’re doing, when we are in town we’re going to block out one meal or perhaps two and that’s inviolate because we have to survive this as a couple and a family.”

In Ann Symington’s room is a piece of paper. At the top of it, the word “Commitment” stands out in bold lettering. It might sound corny, she says, but that’s why they’re in the race for governor. They love this state, this is where their children live, she says.

“I’m having to get used to being more public,” Symington explains, recalling the day he was boarding a plane with Tommy for Disneyland. “Three TV stations jumped on us because the attorney general just issued his opinion that Mecham could run and they wanted to know

my opinion... so all of a sudden, all hell broke loose at the airport and of course it scared the heck out of Tommy and he was trying to flee off into the crowd and they were trying to interview me and I was chasing after him and it was really difficult and I felt really badly for him. So I’m nervous about the kids being spotlighted....”

• But he tries to keep up the family play. “We have great marshmallow fights. Great washcloth fights. For those, you make sure nobody knows you’re going to start the war. You get about four washcloths and you get some nice cold water and get them nice and spongy; then you go find where everybody is and nail ‘em. Then you have the advantage. Like any family, we do wild and crazy things. The marshmallow fights are good because you wing ‘em, they stick to the ceiling, they never really hurt anybody. Kids have got to have fun, to blow off steam, and every now and then, the marshmallows are launched.”

To strategist Smith, more important than playing down Fife’s background or money is actually getting his name *known*, and the money his candidacy can raise. In July, \$100,000 in campaign contributions were already in; another \$400,000 pledged. He figures it will cost \$2 million for the GOP primary and a million more if Symington survives to the general election in November 1990.

How will he handle the blue blood issue? “Do we have to get around it?” he asks. “How did the Kennedy family, how did the Rockefeller family get around it? I don’t know you need to get *around* it. I mean, he is what he is, he comes from distinguished lineage and family and the idea that I’ve got to put him in a dirty T-shirt and have him swigging beer down in South Phoenix in order to be elected is preposterous.”

Charles Symington, in tracing the family genealogy back to two Harrison presidents and Robert E. Lee, concludes his book with a quotation by his mother’s grandfather, Confederate Lt. Col. William Willis Blackford: “...Good birth is only despised by those who do not possess it, and only boasted by those who have nothing else to recommend them....”

PM

THE YANKEE DOODLE DEVELOPER

J. Fife Symington III has the name and credentials of an East Coast dandy, but a Westerner's love for land deals and brawls. Oh, yeah — he might just run for governor.

By Charlotte-Anne Lucas

The salmon were running in Alaska, and a grizzly bear and her cubs were loping downstream toward an afternoon feast. But J. Fife Symington III was too absorbed in his fly-fishing to notice until a roar from the huge she-bear brought him up. They were heading straight for him.

Knowing it's unwise to surprise a grizzly, Symington repeatedly yelled "Hey, bear!" as he moved out of their path. As it turned out, the bears—now 15 feet away—wanted salmon, nothing more. Still, Symington's guide kept his rifle trained on the mother and her 300-pound cubs.

Symington took aim too, but with a video camera. He shot the most riveting five-minute home movie his friends will ever see. Even when the 10-foot-tall mother lunged directly toward Symington in pursuit, it turned out, of a yard-long salmon; the camera never flinched.

Reflecting on the incident, Symington shrugs and says that staying calm was simply the sensible thing to do, the most basic rule of grizzly encounters being: Never panic and run. "If you run away, they'll eat you," he says. "You have to stand your ground."

Whatever else is said about J. Fife Symington III, he's never been known for running away. In the past five years, he's made a habit of running headlong into volatile situations that would have prompted many other people to dig a deep hole and hide.

When he needed city approval to build a megadevelopment on one of Phoenix's most controversial corners, he didn't go into the back door of City Hall. He promoted the project through a multimillion-dollar advertising blitz the likes of which Arizonans had never seen.

In 1987, when the staunch Republican decided Gov. Evan Mecham had become a liability, he put his money and his mouth out front, becoming the first prominent businessman to publicly and financially support Mecham's recall. Then last fall, he decided that Proposition 100 (the "Official English" referendum) was a bad idea, and this flaxen-haired man appeared on televised debates

to denounce the measure as "racist," a step "back into the dark ages" that was bad for business.

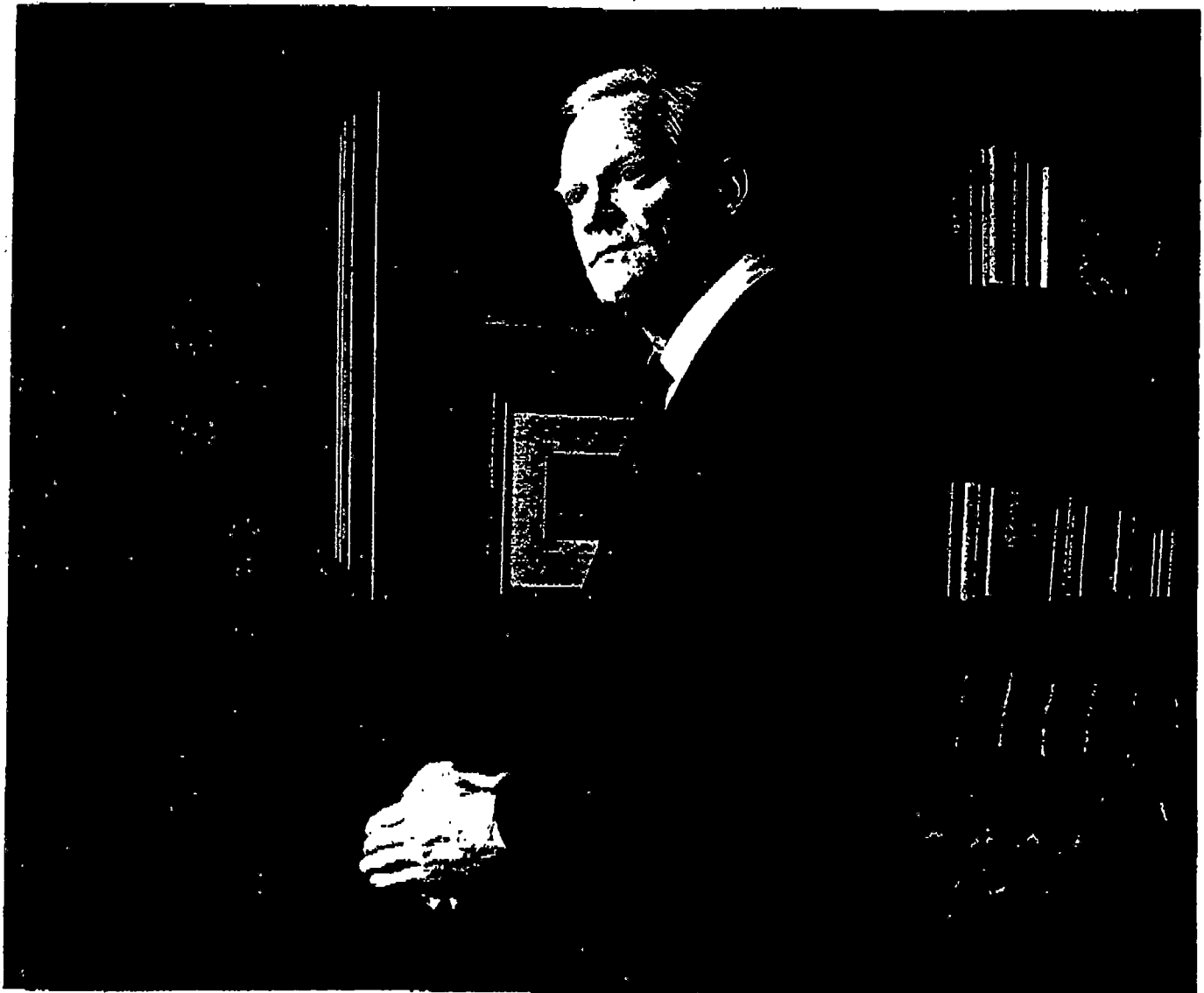
Now Symington, whose name smacks of Eastern establishment and national politics, is being asked to consider running for the top political office in Arizona.

On this winter morning, J. Fife Symington has pushed the dark shutters back from his office windows, giving a clear view of the Phoenix Country Day School across the wash. Still, the room is almost dark—the deep, mossy green decor soothes the eyes and the nerves. He picks up a pair of binoculars from the table, interrupting the interview for a moment. "I hope you don't mind," he says, adjusting the focus as he looks through the lenses toward the private school. "But my daughter is competing in a track meet over there, and I promised her I'd watch."

According to Symington's resume, he has five children: the youngest is in kindergarten and the oldest (John Fife Symington IV) is a freshman at Harvard. But ask his friends, and they'll tell you he has another child—the Camelback Esplanade.

From the beginning, Symington treasured this project as if it were his offspring. But at the same time, he knew it was unwanted—by people who lived near the proposed site, at the southeast corner of Camelback and 24th Street. Rather than try to change their minds, Symington made a "strategic decision" to take his case to the whole city. "The only way to my mind that we could change the way people think," says Symington, "to make the kind of departure with the past that was required to build a really great, mixed-use project at 24th and Camelback, was to make it a citywide battle and awaken a lot of people's consciousness and create a debate about what lies ahead for this city." And, he adds, "The most effective way was through the television medium, to treat it as a campaign."

To that end, in 1985 Symington poured an estimated \$5 million into a sophisticated ad campaign designed to



In Symington's office is a portrait of his great-grandfather, Henry Clay Frick, a founder of U.S. Steel and the Frick Art Collection.

win support for the Esplanade development. The television ads used special effects reminiscent of the movie *War*, making it appear as though actual people were walking through tiny scale models of the project. The shopping mall proposed in those ads would have been bigger than any other in the U.S., and the crystal-shaped office towers made Emerald City look dim by comparison. In all, the project would have consisted of 2.5 million square feet.

The Esplanade, the television spots promised, would help Phoenix become "a great city, not just a big city." Sounding almost like a call to the ballot box, the ads said: "On March 6, say yes to Camelback Esplanade."

Looking back at Symington's Esplanade campaign is like watching a slow-motion film of a brick crashing into a wall of glass. No one in Phoenix had ever done anything like it before. It got people's attention. But rather than seducing them, it stunned them.

The campaign had overtones political enough to prompt local broadcast stations to give free air time to opponents. Those against it included some well-known citizens: Dino DeConcini (U.S. Sen. Dennis DeConcini's brother) and Circle K Chairman Karl Eller's wife, Stevie, both of whom lived in nearby neighborhoods.

Yet Symington's team of pollsters, lobbyists, behavioral scientists and media experts gathered signatures from 60,000 people across the city who supported the project. Technically, the signatures signified little if anything. For unlike Symington's hometown of Baltimore, where zoning issues can be decided by referendum, Phoenix leaves such matters to the City Council. Still, Symington believed that council members would be impressed by proof that 60,000 citizens supported the project.

The night of the hearing, the council had to move to the nearby Palace West Theater to accommodate the crowd of about 1,700 emotion-charged citizens. Led by Mayor Terry Goddard, newly elected on a pro-neighborhood platform, the council ordered Symington to come back in 45 days with a proposal for a 1.5 million square foot development—a million short of his request.

Today, Symington says he regards that outcome as a victory. "In retrospect, we were successful," he says. "Many of us felt that we would have to lose to win. And that's what happened." He came back to the council and got approval for a downsized project that was still bigger than anything outside of the Central Corridor. "Had we not moved aggressively...with the campaign."

Before the Esplanade project, almost no one had ever heard of Symington.

Symington says. "I think we probably would have gotten a lot less approved."

Overnight, the Esplanade saga gave Symington a very visible presence in the business community. "We made a star out of him," says one of the people who worked on the Esplanade campaign.

It also won Symington the respect of those who view him as the enemy—neighborhood groups. "If he says he's going to build something," he'll build it, says Phoenix Councilwoman Linda Sue Nadolski, a neighborhood advocate elected last year to represent homeowners in the Esplanade area. "It's not an idle threat."

Had Symington truly regarded the outcome of his City Council hearing as a victory, he would not likely have been inclined to seek a second hearing. Yet he did.

And had he truly regarded his media blitz as a successful promotional ploy, he would not likely have taken the exact opposite tack the second time around. Yet he did.

As Symington tells it, his plans for the project simply evolved in such a way that 1.5 million square feet was no longer adequate; he wanted an additional 200,000 square feet. Needing the council's approval, this time he approached in a quiet—some say sneaky—way. Says Symington, "I was not interested in having a huge confrontation or another media feeding frenzy." This time, he says, "there was no way we were going to carry on a holy war" over the project.

As his point man, Symington hired former Arizona Senate Democratic Minority Leader Alfredo Gutierrez, a lobbyist who has considerable influence at City Hall.

When Gutierrez walked in to talk with the mayor and council members about Symington's desire for another 200,000 square feet, he got a chilly reception. But after three months, he quietly managed to persuade Goddard and others on the council that the additional zoning was a "pretty reasonable request."

At the same time, Symington approached the newly elected Nadolski, who says she came into office ready to do battle with him. "My initial reaction was, 'You've got to be kidding,'" Nadolski says. But in the end, she found he had considerable support from the neighborhoods and carried a proposal that was not precluded under the city's master plan. The most she could do was tie him to a written agreement to spend \$2.5 million in street widening and repairs next to the Esplanade.

"Now," says Gutierrez, "the only debate left is whether you like the buildings or not."

The Ritz-Carlton Hotel is pink. The newly completed office tower is sheathed in green glass. "Pink and green," says Gutierrez. "It's very unique in this town."

Still, resentment lingers among some neighborhood groups over what they call "Esplanade II." They contend that Symington was bound by the zoning agreement

that a breach of trust occurred when the city and Symington decided to change that agreement. "That was a very public compromise [in 1985], and a very unpublic change to the compromise," says Heather Litton, president of the Arizona Biltmore Estates Village Association, a critic of the project.

When he first approached City Hall about building the most ambitious project Phoenix had ever seen, J. Fife Symington wasn't exactly a household name in these parts. Most people, in fact, had never heard of him. And, as it happened, his first encounters with people didn't always inspire a lot of trust. For instance, although Goddard now professes admiration for Symington, their first meeting wasn't exactly auspicious. "He looked like, acted like and smelled like another version of the land speculator," recalls Goddard. "I was not favorably impressed."

Besides being unknown, Symington's name had a pompous ring to it. It brought to mind the image of a dandy, the sort of person who could win contests without ever dirtying his hands. It was a name that seemed to signify wealth, tradition, East Coast aristocracy, Ivy League schools, long stays in Europe—impressions that did in fact describe the roots of J. Fife Symington III.

The first part of his name comes from his family's ancestral home in Fife County, Scotland. As for his surname, it is steeped, as they say, in history. There were Civil War-era Symingtons, bankers who, because they owned the fastest ships, ran blockades for the Confederacy. There were Symingtons whose rock quarries provided the stone for the Washington Monument. Of course, there is Fife's recently deceased cousin, Stuart Symington, the former U.S. senator from Missouri who was runner-up for John F. Kennedy's running mate in 1960 and chairman of the Armed Services Committee during the Vietnam War.

Then there are his non-Symington relatives: great uncle Johnny Hamilton, a World War I flying ace who went on to co-found Pan American World Airways; great-uncle Bob McClain, owner of the now-defunct Philadelphia Bulletin and the Santa Barbara (Cal.) News-Press; and great-grandfather Henry Clay Frick, who, among other things, founded New York City's Frick Art Collection, and teamed up with Andrew Carnegie to start a little company called the Carnegie-Frick Steel Works, which would become U.S. Steel.

Despite the strong Democratic leaning of relatives such as Stuart, Fife Symington inherited Republican loyalties from his father, a top executive of Pan Am. When the family wasn't living or traveling in Europe, Fife's father was campaigning as a Republican candidate for Congress. Three times he ran, and three times he lost in the Democratic stronghold of Baltimore.

There was also the powerful influence of his father-in-law, Barry Goldwater. The sessions in



In the dining room of the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, Symington recalls fighting like a mother bear' to win approval for the project.

father's library with the former Arizona senator impressed Fite so much that he boldly wore a "Goldwater for President" button on his lapel when he entered Harvard in 1964, something only about five others on campus dared to do. "I was immediately ostracized by many people," he says.

When he and others got the Young Republican Club to take a pro-Goldwater stance, the Harvard Crimson "really went after us," he says. Along with other ROTC students, he had to pack his uniform in a paper bag and go off campus for drills. Once, he returned to his dormitory to find an epithet scrawled in ketchup across his door: "Symington is a fascist."

Symington calls Harvard a "rude awakening" that left him discouraged and disillusioned. "I love to debate," he says, "but up there, people were very intolerant of anything but the very liberal view."

At Harvard, Symington majored in a subject not usually associated with conservative politics: 18th century Dutch painting. Twenty years after leaving school, he recently made public use of that training for the first time. At the new Ritz-Carlton, Symington left selection of the plush and exotic furnishings to the official Ritz interior decorator. But when it came to choosing more

than \$2 million worth of art to hang on the walls, says Symington, "we duked it out." The smile on his face says that, in the end, he won.

After graduation, he had an experience that took the edge off his hawkishness: He entered the Air Force and got sent to Southeast Asia. Even before that, he had logged hundreds of hours flying and was certified to pilot anything from commercial jets to helicopters. But now, a depth perception problem kept him out of fighter cockpits and relegated him to serve as a "weapons patroller," a sort of combat air-traffic controller who coordinated air-to-air refueling missions and scanned radar screens for enemy planes during combat.

He spent 14 months based in northeastern Thailand, fighting the war across the river in Laos where the Ho Chi Minh Trail wound its way south. He earned a Bronze Star for his work on dozens of search-and-air rescues, and got a postgraduate degree in how not to wage war.

"I saw how ineffective the war effort was, the way that we were fighting the war," Symington says. "I went over quite a hawk, and I came back feeling like quite a dove."

When Symington returned in 1972, he was stationed

Symington was the first prominent businessman to publicly support the campaign to recall former Gov. Evan Mecham.

at Luke Air Force Base in Arizona. "I thought I'd died and gone to heaven," he says. "I always had this sort of romantic vision of the West."

He liked Arizona so much that after being discharged, he decided to stay and try making a living in real estate. "I really wanted to get out on my own and make my own business," he says. "I felt it was important to get away from my family back East. I'm related to too many people in Maryland."

There was also the feeling that Arizona held more promise than did long-established cities back East. "We're just a young town," he says of Phoenix. "And the fun part about it is that we get to make the city—the city isn't already made. Baltimore, on the other hand, is basically a cooked dinner—it's already made."

Symington made his first big gains at Lincoln Property Co., where he founded a commercial and industrial office. He learned as he went. He negotiated Lincoln and Eastern Airlines' offer to buy the Arizona Biltmore, but got outbid by Talley Industries. At first, he oversaw construction—from beginning to end—of warehouses in the Tucson and Phoenix areas.

As a partner in Lincoln, he shared in both the profits and losses of each project. "Some of them were successful and some of them weren't," he says. "I made all the mistakes you can make. I was told to go out and build all these buildings, and I'd never built a building in my life." But it worked out in the end.

Eventually, Symington says, "I just got sick of building warehouses," and he branched out into developing office complexes. Among his projects are the Priest Industrial Park in Tempe, Nantucket Square I and II in Phoenix and Lincoln Center in Scottsdale.

By 1976, Symington had developed nearly 900,000 square feet of garden-office, retail and industrial space across the state. That year, he decided to leave Lincoln and form the Symington Co.

He says he "brought a couple of key people" with him, and between them, enough money (he won't say how much) to capitalize the operation on their own.

When he started the company, Symington says, "We were basically putting projects together. We had and still have private investors who come in with the equity capital to get it built."

In the early 1980s, Symington decided to pursue the most sought-after property in Arizona: the undeveloped southeast corner of 24th Street and Camelback. "I always loved that piece of property," says Symington, quickly adding that he wasn't alone. "Everyone in the world was trying to buy it—Trammell Crow, Olympia York—all the large international development companies. But nobody seemed able to get it. We said 'Well, we're just the local guys, and we're small. But maybe we can figure out a way to do it.'"

The property was owned by the Friedman family of Philadelphia, and it was not for sale. "It was more than just a piece of real estate to the family," says Symington. "They were perfectly content to just have

it stay there forever. So it would take some kind of special offer to interest them in selling it.

"So we sat down and we figured that, number one, unlike your typical real estate acquisition, we would have to go in totally without contingencies. We would have to walk in the door and say, 'Here's your money. Full price. Not contingent on zoning or anything.'"

"Number two, when we walked in the door to do that, we really had to have the money. Number three, we had to have a pretty convincing plan for development. Number four, we had to prove to them that we were the local guys and we could get the zoning done, versus others who couldn't."

"So we addressed all of those matters. In our first meeting with the Friedmans, we walked in the door and said, 'We're here to buy your property and we'll buy it non-contingent and it's all cash and we're ready to close in 30 days.' They looked at us and laughed and said, 'Sure, tell us another story.'"

Eight months later, the deal was done. It involved a partnership between Symington Co., Southwest Financial Group, Shimizu of Japan and the Friedman family. "We were elated," Symington says, "and we were very proud. They said the reason they picked us in the end was that they felt our concept for development was terrific and they had a lot of confidence that we could get the zoning, because we were local. So we really won one for the hometown group."

"Then as you know," he concludes, "we fought like a mother bear to get the project approved."

Symington, of course, is no stranger to politics. Besides his own family's deep political involvement, he married a woman, Ann Pritzlaff, from a politically active family. Her father, John Pritzlaff, was a longtime state senator.

After marrying, Fife and Ann for years served as Republican precinct committeemen from Paradise Valley. Fife also served as the GOP's state finance chairman in the early '80s. It was then that he stumbled a bit, politically speaking.

At the request of Republican Jim Gardiner, Symington raised about \$30,000 for Gardiner's 1983 runoff campaign against incumbent Phoenix City Councilman Ed Korrick, then a vocal Symington critic. But when Korrick's campaign discovered that donation checks were made out to the Republican Party as "designated contributions" to Gardiner's campaign (meaning Gardiner could say the money came from the party, rather than name individual contributors) all hell broke loose.

Symington says it was a "brilliant political move" for Korrick's campaign to take the issue to the papers. Indeed, "we lost the election over it," he says.

"The whole thing was perfectly legal," Symington says now. (Election-law specialists in the Arizona attorney general's office agree that the procedure was legal at the time, but say 1987 campaign disclosure laws

As Symington enters the Ritz dining room, the man at the grand piano strikes up a dramatic chorus of *Hail to the Chief*.

prohibit such action now.)

Even Korricks, who is no longer on the council, says there "was nothing illegal" about what Symington did. "It was just a little bit unethical," he says.

By 1987, Symington's name was in the headlines again. Although he had contributed \$2,000 to the 1986 gubernatorial campaign of Evan Mecham, he now was convinced Mecham had surrounded himself with "terrible people" and was "self-destructing" in a way that "was certainly hurting the state and hurting the party." Symington became the first prominent Republican businessman to step forward and give \$2,000 to the campaign to recall Mecham.

Mecham Recall founder Ed Buck said he was initially suspicious that Symington's support would come with strings attached; for instance, Buck feared Symington would ask the recall movement as a whole to support John Rhodes for governor in the recall election. "But that wasn't the case," says Buck.

"I was very impressed by Fife," Buck goes on. "Even though it might have been the very first time J. Fife Symington had sat down with a no-name homosexual," and even though he was embarking on a public stance "that was not necessarily to his advantage," Symington demonstrated a willingness to do what he thought was right, says Buck.

Symington says he still admires Mecham's "tenacity and toughness" and his "absolute devotion to keeping government spending under control.... If he has a choice of raising taxes or reducing the size of government, you know that he's going to reduce the size of government. And I couldn't agree with him more."

Last fall, Symington stepped out again. In mid-October he held a press conference at the state capitol to announce his opposition to Proposition 106 on the November ballot. "I was initially for 106," says Symington. "That was my kneejerk reaction." But the more he learned about the so-called "Official English" proposal, he says, the more "it became very apparent to me that we were dealing with the big lie."

He is emotional about it still. "I'm really burned up about it," he says. And he is also pragmatic—106, he says, is bad for business. "Here we are, trying to become a big, sophisticated state, play ball on the international scene, bring in all this wonderful investment capital from around the world," he says, "and we pass a law that is a throwback to some earlier time."

By election night, he had appeared on a televised debate, and raised thousands of dollars for the anti-106 cause. Any regrets? "I wish I had gotten involved earlier and I wish I could have done a better job of raising money for them," he says. "I feel strongly you've got to fight for the things you believe in."

What's in these battles for him? "I've always thought that the worst thing you can be is silent in the face of bad things," he says.

Not that it's purely a matter of principle. With a grin, he admits that "I like to get in there and mix it up."

It is lunchtime at the newly opened Ritz, and Symington is showing off the building to a guest. Around every corner, this slightly built man with the bushy blond eyebrows is met with respectful salutations from hotel workers. He is, after all, an owner. As Symington pokes his head into the dining room, the man sitting at the grand piano winks and launches into a dramatic chorus of *Hail to the Chief*.

The piano man may be joking, but nowadays there is serious talk of Symington serving as chief of something much bigger than a hotel. Specifically, he is often mentioned as a potential Republican candidate for governor in 1990.

"He's one of the most serious [and] most formidable potential candidates the Republicans have to offer," says Gutierrez. Echoing that opinion is political consultant Rod Pritchett, who orchestrated Symington's Esplanade ad campaign and whose clients now include Mayor Goddard, who is widely regarded as a likely Democratic candidate for governor in 1990. A race between Symington and Goddard "would be like Thor and Zeus meeting—two Titans," says Pritchett. "I'd love to be involved in that race."

Chuck Carlise, a fellow developer, says Fife has the right ingredients for public office. "You have to have a fair-sized ego and a fairly thick skin," says Carlise. "He's shown he has both of those."

Another close friend, former Arizona House Majority Leader Burton Barr, believes that Symington "does harbor political ambitions."

But having political ambitions and executing them are two different things, as Barr is quick to point out. The name J. Fife Symington III, Barr notes, would not exactly establish a commonality with "the man on the street." Moreover, Symington already has a losing track record as a politician. Last fall, he lost a bid in legislative District 26 to be elected precinct committeeman. (His wife, running in the same election under her well-known maiden name of Pritzlaff, won. "She beat me out," Symington laughs.)

What are Symington's own thoughts about running for governor?

He acknowledges he's been approached by certain people. "There have been discussions like that, but I don't know if those people are my friends or my enemies," he says with a grin.

He suggests it isn't likely he will run, but then adds, "I'm not saying that I wouldn't consider it." Finally, he says: "That would be a momentous personal decision, requiring a great deal of thoughtful analysis."

Symington says he is certain of one thing: If he does run, he will have no trouble withstanding the pressure. "That was the one thing the Esplanade did for me," he says. "I learned that I can take [being] in the middle of a feeding frenzy of the media."

"If I feel that what I'm doing is right and reasonably correct," he goes on, "I'll defend my position honorably, and I'll stay there—stay in the ring." □

"Spirit Of The Desert Bighorn"



"Spirit of the Desert Bighorn," by Scottsdale artist Pat Mathiesen is a welcome guest at the Camelback Esplanade.

The first in a series of wildlife sculptures by Scottsdale artist Pat Mathiesen was unveiled in April at The Camelback Esplanade in Phoenix. "Spirit of the Desert Bighorn" is the first of what will be the Esplanade Collection of Arizona Desert Life, a series of animals of the desert, including white-tail deer and a family of javelina.

"Spirit of the Desert Bighorn" features three one and one-half life-sized desert bighorn sheep atop a mountain crag. The boulders spill downward into the surrounding fountain and out onto the Esplanade plaza. Mathiesen was commissioned to begin the series over two years ago by The Symington Company, managing partner and developer of The Camelback Esplanade. This first in the series stands on the north side of the Esplanade facing Camelback Road.

"When Fife (Fife Symington, chairman of the board of The Symington Company) and I discovered we shared a deep reverence for the outdoors, we began to think about how to express that in sculpture at the Esplanade," said Randy Todd, president of the company. "We found an artist who not only shared our feeling but communicated it through her art. Pat Mathiesen has done a tremendous job and we are thrilled."

"Sculpture is my way of expressing the intensity of my feelings for these animals," said Mathiesen. "We did the desert bighorn sheep because Fife and Randy agreed that of all the desert animals, the bighorn exemplifies the spirit of the desert. The ruggedness, the beauty. We

wanted to capture some of that spirit so people could, one-to-one, relate to it.

"That spirit is one of freedom and strength. Perhaps we can remember it wasn't that long ago their tracks crossed this way. The spirit of these animals is still here. Listen and feel it. In the end we are one, the desert bighorn, the dragonfly and I."

"We are proud to have these non-paying guests here," said Fife Symington. "Their presence embellishes the Esplanade and is our way of celebrating the heritage of Arizona."

Mathiesen's most recent work, the heroic-size bronze entitled, "One With The Eagle," was erected at the entrance to the Scottsdale Airpark and Airport last fall. Her life-size bronze "Viola" was commissioned by the Wm. M. Grace Company for the entrance to the Prescott Sheraton Resort to honor Yavapai Chieftess Viola Jimulla and her granddaughter, Patricia McGee. She also has commissioned bronzes in Chicago and Milwaukee in developments owned by Trammell Crow.

Mathiesen produced a limited edition of bronze maquettes, miniatures of the bighorn sculpture. Six of the maquettes were donated by The Symington Company to the Arizona Bighorn Sheep Society who will use the proceeds of the sale for the preservation of endangered bighorn sheep in Arizona.



Fife Symington and Pat Mathiesen discussed last minute details of the unveiling ceremony.

The Arizona Nature Conservancy

Speaking at the unveiling ceremony on behalf of The Arizona Nature Conservancy was Dan Campbell, vice president of the 24-year-old organization founded to safeguard rare and endangered animals and plants. "Ten percent of Arizona's wildlife is nearing extinction, 532 species are threatened or endangered," said Campbell. "Today we own 140 square miles of Arizona, valuable



Three bronze bighorn sheep atop a rocky crag surrounded by a fountain. Rocks cascade downward through the fountain, spilling into the plaza.

habitats for our vanishing wildlife."

The Arizona Nature Conservancy efforts began with the purchase of the Patagonia-Sonoita Creek Sanctuary in 1966. Today, the Conservancy acts as protector and guardian of ten preserves for future generations. "We have just reintroduced five native fish to the Hassayampa River Basin," said Campbell.

"Former governor Babbitt, Congressman Morris Udall and Senator Barry Goldwater have agreed to co-chair an initiative to protect Arizona's habitats. The Arizona Heritage Fund Initiative will provide resources to protect our natural and cultural heritage for future generations."

The Arizona Heritage Fund

Over 60 groups have endorsed the initiative, which would be placed on the ballot in November to give Arizonans an opportunity to establish the Arizona Heritage Fund. The initiative earmarks \$20 million, derived from the Arizona lottery, to be divided equally between the Arizona Game and Fish Department and the Arizona State Parks Department. Land purchased and programs financed by the Arizona Heritage Fund would help assure Arizona's continued biodiversity and scenic beauty. The Arizona Heritage Fund is based on the idea that as Arizona grows and prospers it makes good sense to reinvest some of today's wealth to protect her heritage ... to reinvest in Arizona.

Other states support recreational and wildlife and natural area protection projects through bond initiatives or lottery funds. California in 1988, passed a \$776 million bond and has since dedicated another \$650 million per year of cigarette tax revenues. Nevada has a \$48 million

bond referendum on the ballot for parks and wildlife that will be voted on next November, while Colorado dedicates a portion of lottery funds for conservation. Other states use general fund appropriations, real estate transfer taxes and special fees.

Arizona's State Parks Acquisition and Development Fund, established in 1988, provides \$2 million for parks, not nearly enough to meet the needs. The State Parks Natural Areas program exists but has never received funds for the protection of natural areas. General wildlife programs in Arizona Game and Fish depend primarily on voluntary income tax check-offs totaling approximately \$250,000 per year. Most of the Game and Fish Department programs have traditionally depended on revenues from hunting and fishing license fees and, therefore, non-game programs have been limited.

The Arizona Heritage Fund would provide an additional \$1.7 million each year for park acquisition and development; \$3.5 million for regional and local parks; \$.5 million for trails; \$1.7 million for cultural and historic preservation; \$1 million for environmental education; \$2.1 million per year for acquisition and maintenance of natural areas; \$2.5 million for habitat acquisition and protection of state threatened fish and wildlife and associated biotic communities; \$1.5 million to the Game and Fish Department's Habitat Evaluation/Protection Program; \$3.5 million for the identification, inventory, acquisition and protection of key wildlife areas; and \$1.5 million for urban wildlife projects.

For more information about the Arizona Heritage Fund, call 256-6712 (Phoenix); 791-0763 (Tucson); or 774-5100 (Flagstaff). ✕

10/16/90 FYI -
D46

TALKING POINTS ON HOUSE DEMOCRATS' BUDGET ALTERNATIVE

Income Tax Increase

- o On October 15, 1990 Chairman Rostenkowski circulated to all members of the House an alternative deficit reduction plan which will be offered as an amendment to the plan reported by the Committee on Wednesday, October 10. The Democrats' Ways and Means alternative includes a \$93.6 billion across-the-board income tax increase.

Slippery Slope on Personal Exemptions

- o The proposal reduces the tax benefits of the personal exemption by removing indexing for inflation. This will increase taxes on everyone except the wealthiest 1 million taxpayers. They had already lost their personal exemptions in the 1986 tax bill. Who is next?

The Return of Bracket Creep

- o The Democrats' proposal brings back bracket creep with a vengeance. Since World War II every taxpayer was subject to ever-increasing taxes through inflation. Bracket creep was the favorite tool of the tax and spenders. This was stopped by 1985 with indexing of personal exemptions and tax brackets. By reversing this policy, Democrats would now return us to silent rate increases for everyone.

The Effect on Typical Taxpayers

- o It increases income taxes for people in all brackets.
 - A married couple with two children, who have taxable income of \$34,000 in 1991 would pay income taxes of \$5,100 under current law. Under the no-indexing provision of the Democratic alternative, they would pay \$5,413.50, an increase of \$313.50, more than 6 percent.
 - A single person with no dependents who has taxable income of \$21,000 in 1991 would pay income taxes of \$3,150 under current law. Under the no-indexing provision of the Democratic alternative, she would pay \$3,301.50, an increase of nearly 5 percent.

A Permanent Tax Increase

- o These tax increases are permanent. Even if indexing is delayed for just one year, the increase will apply for every year thereafter.

DATE: 10/13 TIME: _____ a.m./p.m.TO: Ted GarmeyORGANIZATION: The White HouseFAX NUMBER: 202-456-6218FROM: Mark BarrORGANIZATION: SYMINGTON '90 COMMITTEEFAX NUMBER: (602) 263-7637NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER SHEET 23

REMARKS: Information on file. Symington.
The Symington Plan is being
Fed Ex to you.

IF PROBLEMS OCCUR WITH TRANSMISSION, PLEASE CALL - (602)468-1990

SENDER: _____

Valley of the Sun - larger metropolitan area,
including Scottsdale, Paradise
Valley, Tempe, Mesa,
Glendale & Sun City

AZ = frontier territory ruled by the Three C's -
cows, copper & cotton

Chiles - key to spicy cuisine & characterizes the
culture. Colorful bundles called
ristras ~~as~~ serve as decoration

Superstition Mountains - just east of Phoenix,
tales of lost treasure & villainous men;
including the Lost Outlawman gold mine

1872 - the ^{Barry} Goldwater family opens its first
dry goods store in Phoenix

1900 - Wm. McKinley first Pres to visit Phoenix

Tahoe West in Scottsdale

ARIZONA

Oct. 25

2-tier - Symington for Gov. / Dinner

Annette Alvarez } Press, Symington
Debbie ~~Reagan~~ ^{Pagan}

V of A
Wildcats
Symington
sm. Scott
symphonies

ASU Sun Devils - homecoming
Phoenix Cardinals - football
(Phoenix Suns)
Phoenix Roadrunners - hockey
Phoenix Firebirds - farm team, San Francisco Giants

Camelback Mnt. - shaped like camel's back

State Fair -

Symington - Luke AFB - Viet
F15?

Quayle just here - Wickenburg N.S.
RR here last Sun.

***PLEASE FILL OUT COMPLETELY!!!!

SIGN-IN SHEET

MEETING FOR: Phoenix, AZ Symington Fundraiser

DATE: 10/10

NAME/TITLE	ORGANIZATION/ADDRESS	HOME PHONE	OFFICE PHONE
Patricia Conrad	WHL Advance		202-456-7365
Judd Swift	"		"
Joe FISHER	Registry Resort		
Charles Dodd	"		
Chris Stanton	"		
Maria Chame	"		
Kelly Casper	"		
ROBERT JACKSON	ENG. DEPT. REGISTRY		X-1089
Jodie Butz	Credit Manager		X 1095
Guille Lindo	Executive HSKR.		X 1086
ROBERT REUTER	ASSISTANT BELL CAPTAIN		X 1025
Mary Raddelford	Front Office Manager		X 1013
Shirley Boyce	Reservations Mgr		X 1022
Christy Casteel	RNC / AZ GOP		957-7770
Cathy Crouser	RNC / AZ GOP		957-7770
Richard Peterson	RNC / Chairmans office AZ GOP		" "
Linda Stiles	Az. Rep. Party	867-7639	957-7770
Janet K. Johnson	Symington	253-8399	468-1990

***PLEASE FILL OUT COMPLETELY!!!!

SIGN-IN SHEET

MEETING FOR: Phoenix AZ - Symington Fundraiser
 DATE: 10/10/90

NAME/TITLE	ORGANIZATION/ADDRESS	HOME PHONE	OFFICE PHONE
GERARD Tobin	Symington Campaign	998-1756	468-1990
Peggy Dooley	WH Speechwriting		202/456-7750
Kelly Hansen	Southwest Audio Visual Phx. AZ.	279-4425	258-4911
JUAN ARUNDO	Registry Resort	—	991-3800
Jim Bintlzer	Wit Communications		202-355-4060
Donna & Al Haez	Symington Campaign	279-6461	468-1990
DEBBIE REAGAN	SYMINGTON CAMPAIGN	834-6091	468-1990
JERRY PATTON	U.S. SECRET SERVICE	202 - 395-6340	
Cathy Hutchins	Wit Political	202 - 456-65	0 991-3800
Michael Metee	7171 N. Scottsdale	840-7068	991-3800 x 1075
SHANNON M. RUD	7171 N. SCOTTSDALE		
Bryan Dickey	Registry Resort	991-3800 Rm 423/424	991-3800 x 1003
Leo Tomen	Wit Advance		

4 ALASKA/ARIZONA

ey Votes					
Homeless \$	—	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	FOR
Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
Deficit Reduc	—	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

lection Results					
988 general	Don Young (R)	120,595	(62%)	(\$626,377)	
	Peter Gruenstein (D)	71,881	(37%)	(\$402,477)	
988 primary	Don Young (R)	62,803	(91%)		
	George Johnston (R)	6,214	(9%)		
986 general	Don Young (R)	101,799	(56%)	(\$487,261)	
	Pegge Begich (D)	74,053	(41%)	(\$269,560)	

ARIZONA

"Frontier days are still a living memory," John Gunther reported when he visited Arizona in the 1940s. "People can recall fights with Apaches right around the corner, and the first white child born in Tucson still lives there, aged 77." In 1940, Arizona was sparsely settled, a wide expanse of desert and mountains with only 550,000 people, scattered in dusty crossroads settlements, copper mining company towns, and whistlestop towns on the Santa Fe and Southern Pacific lines. To most Americans at that time Arizona was exotic, the home of the Grand Canyon and the Painted Desert, a place most had never visited but which everyone knew from Western movies—where the cowboys rode out against the Indians over the desert and the sun set behind giant Saguaro cacti.

Then the air conditioner, the jet airliner, and water made possible the affluent urban civilization of 3.3 million that is Arizona today. Air conditioning made life here bearable in the hot summer months. Jets made Arizona accessible first for vacationers and then for businessmen. And water—collected in this almost entirely rainless desert from anything resembling a river and piped in at great expense from the Colorado River—initially made possible Arizona's farm industries and, more important, the vast cities of Phoenix—one of America's fastest-growing major metro area in the 1980s—and Tucson. Three-fourths of Arizonans live today in two cities that are almost entirely the creation of post-World War II America: amid grid streets laid out over deserts, shopping centers and schools clustered where not long ago there was nothing but sagebrush, with water now abundant enough to keep golf courses green and artificial wave machines churning.

For the Midwesterners and Texans who flocked here from the 1940s, the Easterners who started arriving a little later, and the Californians fleeing their own overdevelopment in the 1970s and 1980s, this new Arizona is a fresh start, a chance to build in a desert once owned by Spain and Mexico a quintessentially American civilization. The state is not built on resources: Arizona's copper industry is near exhaustion despite the recent rise in prices and its agriculture is in decline. Instead Arizona lives on technology, which is to say ideas. Phoenix has been attracting high-tech industries since Motorola built a research center for military electronics there in 1948; the dry climate is good for precision manufacturing and the cultural environment attracts well-educated technicians, people who like certainty and order and discipline. That is true also of Arizona's retirees, who tend to be more affluent than average—though they do not

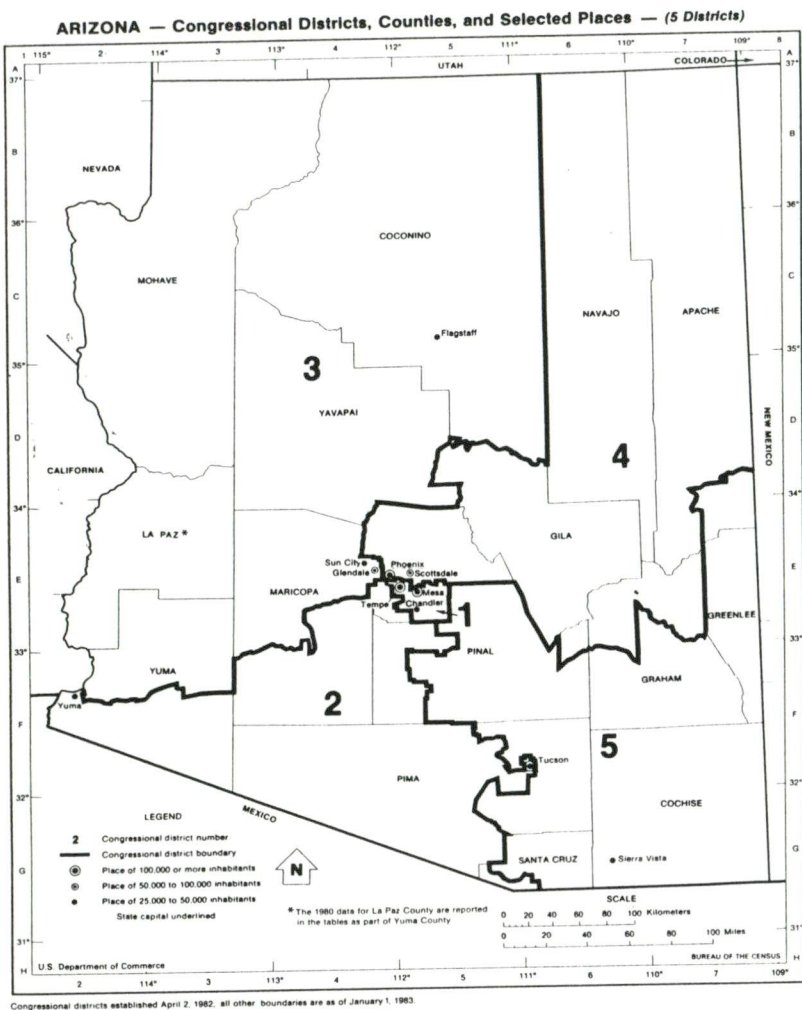
form any unusually large percentage of the state's population.

The political and cultural inclinations of the new Arizonans are at the same time untraditional and conservative. There is something vibrant and chaotic and not at all traditional about life in Phoenix—the untrammelled growth, the absence of an established order and, sometimes, of established standards of legality and fair play. The establishment occupies a very thin layer atop local society, and except for a few pioneer families most Arizonans are newcomers. Underneath that top layer, there is plenty of money but few standards; plenty of crooked land salesmen, fast-buck artists, and drifters who would have been at home in Raymond Chandler's Los Angeles (though not in the more mature and sophisticated Los Angeles of today). Even so, the new Arizonans see themselves as defenders of old-fashioned free enterprise and traditional moral values, building a new America that, like Disneyland, is a more gleaming and spotless embodiment of old values than the old America ever was.

As Arizona grew, it changed politically, from an old-fashioned, practical-minded Democratic state to a brash, idea-guided Republican one. The old Arizona sent politicians to Washington to funnel government subsidies to the state's dependent economy. So Carl Hayden, Democratic congressman from statehood and Senator from 1927 to 1969, tried to prop up the price of copper and secure water—more precious here than oil—for the cotton, citrus, and cattle farmers. Hayden was the father of the Central Arizona Project enacted after a 21-year fight in 1968; but its original purpose—providing cheap water for farming—has been superseded by the needs of Arizona's thirsty cities. Then, starting with Barry Goldwater's election to the Senate in 1952 (to replace the then Senate Majority Leader, Ernest McFarland), postwar Arizona started sending politicians to Washington to advance their theories and ideas. Goldwater's book *The Conscience of a Conservative* and his big reelection win in otherwise Democratic 1958 made him a national figure and the spiritual leader of Republicans who wanted to roll back the New Deal and pursue, at least in Asia and the Pacific, an aggressive foreign policy. His frank, often blunt and impolitic articulation of his beliefs brought him so much devotion and volunteer support from all over the country that he won the 1964 Republican presidential nomination despite his malapropisms, his modesty, and his evident distaste for running. Goldwater's candidacy turned out to be a harbinger, not a throwback; it did not lead to a repeal of New Deal programs, but did produce a conservative reaction to the Great Society programs that Goldwater's defeat allowed Lyndon Johnson to pass.

Goldwater's conservative ideas had already set the political tone for Arizona. The new Arizonans seeking to root a new American society in desert soil found the state's old "pinto" Democrats unappealing—dusty, rural, old, and more concerned about a few federal dollars when the real growth of the local economy seemed to come from private business. They found the Goldwater Republicans appealing—including some young Arizonans who became prominent in Washington: John Rhodes, Richard Kleindienst, William Rehnquist, Sandra Day O'Connor. Their success is symbolized not only by the fact that Arizona is the only state which has voted Republican in every presidential election since 1948, but by the success of their leaders at the national level: in January 1989, George Bush was sworn in as president by Chief Justice Rehnquist, and Dan Quayle, who spent most of his childhood years growing up next to the Paradise Valley Golf Club, was sworn in as vice president by Justice O'Connor. Who would have thought it in the 1950s, when three of the four were living in Phoenix and the fourth across the desert in Midland, Texas?

Even so, Arizona like other western states elects Democrats here and there; successful and talented Republicans have an innate distaste for government, and few will have anything to do with it. So it was a Democrat, Bruce Babbitt, who dominated state government here for a decade—and set the terms and conditions for Arizona's future growth for decades more. At a cost of some \$3.5 billion, the Central Arizona Project diverts Colorado River water up to the Phoenix and Tucson areas, and almost all of it originally was intended for agriculture.



Governor. Bruce Babbitt came to office in 1978 after the resignation of one governor and the death of another to head a minimalist state government: Arizona was the last state in the interstate highway system, the last in the Medicaid program, the last state with a state park system. From an old Flagstaff family, he is an environmentalist who likes to go backpacking, a liberal whose convictions were formed in a summer in Latin America and while working in a U.S. antipoverty program, a Phoenix lawyer who respects the new Arizona that has grown up in the years after World War II. He loved the nuts and bolts of government and used the governor's veto to force the legislature to adopt one program after another. His major achievement was brokering a groundwater compact, reducing water allocations to farmers (who started off using almost 90% of Central Arizona Project water), giving more to cities, and reserving some for the mines, so that groundwater will not be exhausted or polluted by 2025. He also got through the nation's toughest water quality bill, while he subcontracted many social services to flexible,

delivery-oriented nonprofit groups. In 1985 he concentrated entirely on children's programs.

Babbitt did not seek reelection in 1986, and ran for President instead. His failure to win much support in the Iowa caucuses and New Hampshire primary was attributed to his weaknesses as a television performer and his insistence on the need to raise federal taxes. But for a moment he was on the verge of doing much better in Iowa and if the *Des Moines Register* had endorsed him instead of Paul Simon, he might have emerged as a serious candidate. It was suggested during the campaign that he would make a brilliant OMB Director in a Democratic administration and there may even be tough jobs this man who governed so well in Republican Arizona could even fill admirably in a Republican government.

Arizona has not—this is an understatement—had a governor like him since. In 1986 it had a three-way race between Superintendent of Public Instruction Carolyn Warner, a Democrat who beat Babbitt's choice; Bill Schulz, a Democratic businessman who ran as an independent; and the surprise winner of the Republican primary, Pontiac dealer and onetime legislator Evan Mecham. Mecham won with 40% of the vote, and went on to get himself in terrible political trouble. He rescinded Babbitt's proclamation of Martin Luther King's birthday as a state holiday; a technicality, he said, claims that the governor can't proclaim holidays. He defended the use of the word "pickaninny" in a textbook he endorsed. His education advisor defended parents' right to oppose teaching of evolution in the schools. He called the United States a "Christian nation" at a synagogue breakfast. He hired a man for the revenue department who had not filed his income taxes on time, and a man for the liquor commission who was under investigation in a slaying. The NAACP called for convention-goers to boycott Arizona, and Republican politicians said he was costing the state business and contracts.

Barry Goldwater suggested he resign. Senator John McCain and Congressmen Jim Kolbe, Jay Rhodes, and Jon Kyl did likewise. In December 1986 enough signatures were filed on recall petitions to force an election in May, and Republicans, furious at a politician who reflects their conservatism like a funhouse mirror, started impeachment proceedings in the legislature. Mecham was convicted by the Senate in April, though he was acquitted by a jury later of failure to disclose a \$350,000 campaign loan. Secretary of State Rose Mofford, a Democrat from the old mining town of Globe and a veteran of 47 years in state government who wears her silver hair in distinctive beehive, succeeded to office. She survived a bit of controversy when it was charged that her own disclosure forms were not complete. But she recovered and showed mastery over the legislature in 1988. She declares she will run for a full term in 1990 and, while there are sure to be Republicans opposing her, she earned good job ratings in her first two years. If she were not to run, another Democrat who might be Phoenix Mayor Terry Goddard, son of a former governor, head in 1989 of the National League of Cities, and an innovator in city government. Some possible Republicans include Evan Mecham—once again, as well as developer J. Fife Symington (who has received the endorsement of Barry Goldwater) and possibly Jim Kolbe of the 5th District.

Senators. Dennis DeConcini, Arizona's senior senator, is one of those moderate Democrats not from the South but from states that are Republican in national elections—Arizona, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, North Dakota—whose instincts on many issues are conservative and who often cast swing votes on key legislation. DeConcini has been a key vote especially often because he takes time to make up his mind and sometimes bases his decision on details which other senators have not given much thought to. This was true in his first term on the Panama Canal Treaties, when he insisted on making public his own interpretation that the United States was not pledging to refrain from using military force to keep the canal open in the future—a point the Carter administration and Panama's leaders wanted to fudge, but which seemed worth making when the United States tried to topple Manuel Noriega. In his second term DeConcini cast a critical vote on the Judiciary Committee, after some excruciating and not entirely enlightening questioning, against Judge Robert Bork—a vote that helped make the Bork

nomination a party-line issue and doom it in the Democratic Senate.

DeConcini came to the Senate with little experience outside Tucson, where his family has been politically prominent for generations, and where he served as county prosecutor. In the Senate he has drawn up and passed an anti-drug bill, and has emphasized aerial patrolling of borders—Tucson is just 64 miles north of Mexico. He also pushed through a revision of trademark law in 1988. On Appropriations he has set his heels in against missile sales in the Middle East and elsewhere. He supports the anti-Communist UNITA group in Angola and champions the Women, Infant and Children (WIC) nutrition program. He does not neglect Arizona issues, working for a new Mount Graham telescope, seeing that the Central Arizona Project money keeps flowing, and supporting transfer of the Indian School land in central Phoenix to developers in return for 108,000 swamp wilderness lands in Florida. He chairs the special committee on Indians that in 1989 uncovered mismanagement by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and kickbacks by contractors to Navajo tribe leaders.

Sometimes DeConcini's positions have caused him problems. He was attacked in 1988 for profits made by buying land and then selling it to the federal government for the CAP or other projects; he claimed that he knew nothing about the government's interest. He was also attacked for bypassing the National Endowment for the Humanities and passing a bill giving \$7 million to 94-year-old choreographer Martha Graham to record her ballets, when DeConcini's son-in-law worked for her public relations firm, and for meeting with and accepting campaign money from Arizona-based savings and loan entrepreneur Charles Keating.

These charges and his 12-year-old statement that he would serve only two terms were DeConcini's main electoral problems in 1988. He won his first term in 1976 after the Republicans had a fierce primary that hurt winner Sam Steiger; DeConcini won with 59% in the Democratic year of 1982. In more Republican 1988, he faced Keith DeGreen, a financial planner who sometimes pitched his services on TV—and who also didn't bother to vote in 1982, 1984, or 1986. DeGreen raised little money and made little headway; even so, in Republican Maricopa County—Phoenix and its suburbs, with more than half the state's population. DeConcini ran only barely ahead. He won almost 3–1 in Tucson and Pima County and almost 3–2 in the small counties, however, for a convincing statewide win.

John McCain, was elected to the House only one year and to the Senate only five years after he moved to Arizona—a fast rise even in this migratory state. But, as he says, “the longest place I ever lived in was Hanoi.” McCain is one of the very few career military men in Congress, the son and grandson of admirals, a Navy fighter pilot and prisoner of war in North Vietnam for 5½ years. He came to politics with other qualifications as well: he spent his last four years in the Navy as a congressional liaison, and so has been on Capitol Hill for most of the last decade. And he moved to Arizona because it's the home state of his wife. His crucial race was in 1982, when he won a four-way Republican primary to succeed Congressman John Rhodes by a 32%–26% margin. Reelection was easy, and he was strong enough a contender for the Senate (when Goldwater retired in 1986) that he drew no serious Republican primary opposition, while Bruce Babbitt, interested in the White House, declined in March 1985 to make the Senate race.

McCain's greatest asset is his character: he can be pugnacious, but he works hard, says what he believes, and is capable of apologizing—as he did in 1986 for calling the senior citizen development Leisure World “seizure world.” His politics is Republican and conservative, but he has not been a down-the-line supporter of the Reagan administration. He was a fierce supporter of contra aid, even when the administration gave up on it, but he spoke against sending Marines to Lebanon; he supported building new aircraft carriers against Navy Secretary John Lehman's critics, but he voted to kill the troubled Bradley fighting vehicle. He has worked with the right-and-left caucus on military reform. He dislikes talking about his years as a prisoner in Vietnam, but spoke out in favor of setting up a U.S. “interest section” there to negotiate on MIAs and Amerasians.

His discovery of problems in Arizona has led him to urge doing more to help Indians, and he thinks Republicans must work hard to earn the votes of Hispanics. He became something of an environmentalist, pushing to passage a bill to ban aircraft flights in the Grand Canyon and supporting the successful fight to stop Cliff Dam.

McCain beat a serious Democrat by a 60%–40% margin in 1986. Mentioned briefly as a vice presidential possibility in 1988, he has the potential of a long and interesting Senate career.

Presidential politics. What Arizona does that is interesting in presidential politics is produce candidates: Barry Goldwater in 1964, Morris Udall in 1976, Bruce Babbitt in 1988. Of different politics and temperament, they are all intellectually honest, personally candid, genuinely engaged in ideas while retaining a lively sense of how the real world works; each has a good sense of humor and is refreshingly unfull of himself; and each lost big.

What Arizona does in presidential elections that is not interesting is vote: it is among the most Republican of states and has not voted for a Democrat since 1948—longer than any other state. Its caucus process produces some interesting results—the defeated head of the Navajo tribe went to Atlanta in 1988 and Evan Mecham went to New Orleans; New York Mayor John Lindsay won his only victory here, far from home, in 1972. Most candidates spend little time in Arizona, and thus miss out on seeing what this newest version of America looks like and understanding how it works.

Congressional districting. Arizona has gained one congressional district in each of the last three censuses, increasing the state's delegation from two districts in the 1950s to five in the 1980s. It will probably rise to six in 1992. After the 1980 Census the Republican legislature drew a plan with one solidly Democratic district, connecting the Hispanic and black neighborhoods of Phoenix and Tucson, and four districts which have turned out to be pretty solidly Republican. It's not clear who will control the post-1990 redistricting, but demography helps the Republicans: the biggest population gaining area is Phoenix where you will find, except for black and Hispanic areas, almost no neighborhoods that regularly support national Democratic candidates.

The People: Est. Pop. 1988: 3,466,000; Pop. 1980: 2,718,215, up 27.5% 1980–88 and 53.1% 1970–80; 1.38% of U.S. total, 25th largest. 21% with 1–3 yrs. col., 17% with 4+ yrs. col.; 13.2% below poverty level. Single ancestry: 10% English, 7% German, 4% Irish, 2% Italian, 1% Polish, French, Swedish, Scottish, Dutch, Norwegian. Households (1980): 74% family, 39% with children, 62% married couples; 31.7% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$228; median house value: \$56,600. Voting age pop. (1980): 1,926,728; 13% Spanish origin, 4% American Indian, 3% Black, 1% Asian origin. Registered voters (1988): 1,797,716; 767,716 D (43%), 821,323 R (46%), 209,212 unaffiliated and minor parties (12%).

1988 Share of Federal Tax Burden: \$10,964,000,000; 1.24% of U.S. total, 24th largest.

1988 Share of Federal Expenditures

	Total		Non-Defense		Defense	
Total Expend	\$12,248m	(1.39%)	\$8,238m	(1.26%)	\$4,395m	(1.92%)
St./Lcl Grants	1,177m	(1.03%)	1,175m	(1.03%)	2m	(1.38%)
Salary/Wages	1,763m	(1.31%)	892m	(1.33%)	871m	(1.33%)
Pymts to Indiv	6,019m	(1.47%)	5,540m	(1.42%)	479m	(2.57%)
Procurement	3,034m	(1.61%)	385m	(0.83%)	3,034m	(1.61%)
Research/Other	256m	(0.69%)	246m	(0.66%)	10m	(0.66%)

Political Lineup: Governor, Rose Mofford (D); Secy. of State, James Shumway (D); Atty. Gen., Bob Corbin (R); Treasurer, Ray Rottas (R); Auditor, Douglas Norton (I). State Senate, 30 (17 R and 13 D); State House of Representatives, 60 (34 R and 26 D). Senators, Dennis DeConcini (D) and John McCain (R). Representatives, 5 (4 R and 1 D).

1988 Presidential Vote

Bush (R)	702,541 (60%)
Dukakis (D)	454,029 (39%)

1984 Presidential Vote

Reagan (R)	681,416 (66%)
Mondale (D)	333,854 (33%)

GOVERNOR

Gov. Rose Mofford (D)



Assumed office April 1988, term expires 1991; b. June 10, 1922, Globe; home, Phoenix; Phoenix Col., U. S. Defense Industrial Col.; Roman Catholic; widowed.

Career: AZ Tax Commissioner 1943-54; Asst. Secy. of State, 1955-75; Asst. Dir., AZ Dept. of Revenue, 1975-77; Secy. of State, 1977-1988.

Office: State Capitol, West Wing, Phoenix 85007, 602-542-4331.

Election Results

1986 gen.	Evan Mecham (R)	343,913	(40%)
	Carolyn Warner (D)	298,986	(34%)
	Bill Schulz (I)	224,085	(26%)
1986 prim.	Evan Mecham (R)	121,614	(54%)
	Burton S. Barr (R)	104,682	(46%)
1982 gen.	Bruce E. Babbitt (D)	455,760	(62%)
	Leo Corbet (R)	236,857	(32%)
	Sam Steiger (I)	36,680	(5%)

SENATORS

Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D)



Elected 1976, seat up 1994; b. May 8, 1937, Tucson; home, Tucson; U. of AZ, B.A. 1959, LL.B. 1963; Roman Catholic; married (Susan).

Career: Army, 1959-60; Practicing atty., 1963-65, 1968-73; Special Counsel, A.A. to Gov. Samuel P. Goddard, 1965-67; Pima Cnty. Atty., 1973-76.

Offices: 328 HSOB 20510, 202-224-4521. Also 700 E. Jefferson, Ste. 200, Phoenix 85034, 602-261-6756; 97 E. Congress, Ste. 120, Tucson 85701, 602-629-6831; and 20 E. Main, Ste. 315, Mesa 85201, 602-261-4998.

Committees: *Appropriations* (8th of 16 D). Subcommittees: Defense; Energy and Water Development; Foreign Operations; Interior; Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government (Chairman). *Judiciary* (4th of 8 D). Subcommittees: Antitrust, Monopolies and Business Rights; Constitution; Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks (Chairman). *Rules and Administration* (5th of 9 D). *Veterans' Affairs* (3d of 6 D). *Select Committee on Indian Affairs* (2d of 5 D). *Select Committee on Intelligence* (6th of 9 D). *Joint Committee on the Library*. *Joint Committee on Printing*.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	55	44	64	100	50	33	16	40	21	16
1987	60	—	62	75	—	27	—	—	33	26

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS	1987 LIB — 1987 CONS
Economic	45% — 54%	44% — 50%
Social	34% — 65%	44% — 55%
Foreign	44% — 54%	45% — 54%

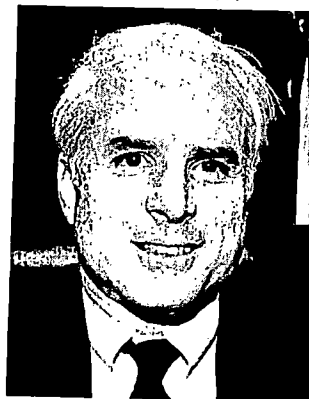
Key Votes

1) Cut Aged Housing \$	AGN	5) Bork Nomination	AGN	9) SDI Funding	AGN
2) Override Hwy Veto	FOR	6) Ban Plastic Guns	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	7) Deny Abortions	FOR	11) Aid To Contras	AGN
4) Min Wage Increase	FOR	8) Japanese Reparations	FOR	12) Reagan Defense \$	—

Election Results

1988 general	Dennis DeConcini (D)	660,403	(57%)	(\$2,640,650)
	Keith DeGreen (R)	478,060	(41%)	(\$238,369)
1988 primary	Dennis DeConcini (D)	195,540	(100%)	
1982 general	Dennis DeConcini (D)	413,951	(59%)	(\$2,086,401)
	Pete Dunn (R)	292,638	(41%)	(\$884,517)

Sen. John McCain (R)



Elected 1986, seat up 1992; b. Aug. 29, 1936, Panama Canal Zone; home, Phoenix; U.S. Naval Acad., 1958, Natl. War Col., 1973-74; Episcopalian; married (Cindy).

Career: Navy, 1958-80; Dir., Navy Senate Liaison Ofc., 1977-81; U.S. House of Reps., 1982-1986.

Offices: 111 RSOB 20510, 202-224-2235. Also 5353 N. 16th St., Ste. 190, Phoenix 85016, 602-241-2567; 2675 E. Broadway, Tucson 85716, 602-629-6334; and 151 N. Centennial Way, Ste. 1000, Mesa 85201, 602-835-8994.

Committees: *Armed Services* (5th of 9 R). Subcommittees: Conventional Forces and Alliance Defense; Manpower and Personnel (Ranking Member); Projection Forces and Regional Defense. *Commerce, Science and Transportation* (6th of 9 R). Subcommittees: Aviation (Ranking Member); Communications; Consumer. *Select Committee on Indian Affairs* (Vice Chairman of 3 R).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	10	15	17	33	50	80	68	100	64	60
1987	15	—	20	42	—	91	—	—	100	67

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS	1987 LIB — 1987 CONS
Economic	27% — 70%	21% — 74%
Social	19% — 78%	13% — 85%
Foreign	0% — 92%	0% — 76%

Key Votes

1) Cut Aged Housing \$	FOR	5) Bork Nomination	FOR	9) SDI Funding	FOR
2) Override Hwy Veto	AGN	6) Ban Plastic Guns	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	7) Deny Abortions	FOR	11) Aid To Contras	FOR
4) Min Wage Increase	AGN	8) Japanese Reparations	AGN	12) Reagan Defense \$	—

Election Results

1986 general	John McCain (R)	521,850	(60%)	(\$2,228,498)
	Richard Kimball (D)	340,965	(40%)	(\$657,908)
1986 primary	John McCain (R)	205,965	(100%)	
1980 general	Barry Goldwater (R)	432,371	(50%)	(\$949,992)
	Bill Schulz (D)	422,972	(49%)	(\$2,073,232)

FIRST DISTRICT

Phoenix is the prototypical Sun Belt city, a metropolis that 40 years ago almost no one would have predicted would be one of America's great urban centers. But today it is. It is almost totally the product of the air conditioned years after World War II. In 1940 Phoenix had 65,000 residents; in 1950, 106,000; by 1970 the metropolitan area had nearly one million, in 1980 1.5 million, in 1988 1.9 million. This almost instant metropolis was created not in response to geographical imperative but in spite of it. Neither the copper mines of southern Arizona nor the cotton farms irrigated by the Gila River water needed a city anything like the size of Phoenix, nor is there any thickly populated hinterland in the vast land between the Rio Grande and Los Angeles for which this is the natural commercial center. Nor is Phoenix a giant retirement village. Though there are huge retirement developments northwest of town, Phoenix's economic base has been in research and development and high-tech manufacturing, and its population tends to be young, family-oriented, on the way up from whatever level of society they were born into.

Technologically advanced, with little visual evidence of tradition or heritage beyond the ersatz 1970s Indian and Mexican styled commercial fronts, Phoenix is politically conservative. Not conservative in the Burkean sense, however, here conservatism means devotion to abstract principle, to the ideal of the untrammelled free market, opposition to unionization and minimum wages, abhorrence of government welfare programs. Of all the nation's states, Arizona probably comes closest to this conservative ideal, but it is still an ideal, not a reality. Phoenix, reluctantly, drinks and swims in federally provided water, complains that it has too few 90%-federally-financed freeways, enjoys easy access to federally protected national parks and monuments. But most idealists understand the need to compromise with the practical world. Such abstract politics come naturally, it seems, to engineers and technicians, whose work it is to make unruly nature conform to concrete principle and abstract rule, and to upwardly mobile migrants, who have staked their lives on change and movement and who believe—or want to—that the system works fairly.

The 1st Congressional District of Arizona is the only one wholly within the Phoenix metropolitan area. It includes some of the comfortable neighborhoods east of downtown Phoenix and north of Sky Harbor Airport. The district dips south of the almost-always-dry Salt River and includes some black and low-income neighborhoods, but it also extends to the high-income areas near the Arizona Biltmore and takes in the southern half of high-income Scottsdale. To the south and east it includes two East Valley suburbs, each with more than 100,000 people—Tempe, home of Arizona State University and the Fiesta Bowl, and Mesa, whose central focus is one of the nation's few Mormon temples. To the south is the old desert town of Chandler, which is

becoming part of suburbia now that freeways bring it within easy driving distance of Phoenix.

This solidly Republican district (it has only a handful of reliably Democratic precincts) has been represented for almost all of the last four decades by members of one family, John Rhodes and his son Jay. John Rhodes, a crew-cut young migrant from Kansas to Mesa, was first elected in the Eisenhower landslide of 1952 and served as House Minority Leader from 1973 to 1980; he stepped down voluntarily and retired from the House in 1982. He was replaced by John McCain, a former Vietnam POW, who was elected Senator in 1986 and was succeeded in the 1st by Jay Rhodes, the winner of a seriously contested four-candidate Republican primary.

Jay Rhodes was not just a name candidate. Like McCain he served in Vietnam—he was the only congressman's son to serve on the ground there. He was active in civic affairs in the Phoenix area and on the board of the Central Arizona Project. In his first term in the House he took a lead role on important issues. As a junior member of Morris Udall's Interior Committee he worked as Udall's "right hand man" on Arizona issues, keeping the money flowing into the Central Arizona Project, and making the tough decision of dropping the environmentally challenged Cliff Dam to do so. He floor managed the bill to swap the government's Indian School in central Phoenix for environmentally unique acreage in Florida. He negotiated an agreement on Salt River-Pima-Maricopa Indian water rights. He was one of the congressmen who urged Governor Evan Mecham to resign, and when it appeared there would be a recall election supported his father's candidacy for governor.

Rhodes also had his moments of passion. In a debate on contra aid, in response to opponents who called for peace in Nicaragua, he noted that the Vietnamese who had been his interpreter and military counterparts were now either slaves or dead. "Yes, peace came to Vietnam," he said. "It was the peace of repression, of poverty, of imprisonment, of death, of slavery." From a district and state where Republicans are clearly the majority, he has been frustrated by being in the minority in the House. He seems to be well thought of in Washington and in his district, and was easily reelected in 1988.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 721,800, up 32.7% 1980–86; Pop. 1980: 543,747, up 47.8% 1970–80. Households (1980): 69% family, 35% with children, 58% married couples; 36.0% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$257; median house value: \$60,600. Voting age pop. (1980): 399,698; 9% Spanish origin, 3% Black, 1% American Indian, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 171,884 (65%)
Dukakis (D)..... 90,383 (34%)

Rep. John J. Rhodes III (R)



Elected 1986; b. Sept. 8, 1943, Mesa; home, Mesa; Yale U., B.A. 1965, U. of AZ, J.D. 1968; Protestant; married (Ann).

Career: Army, Vietnam; Mesa Bd. of Educ., 1972–76; Practicing atty., 1970–77, 1980–1986.

Offices: 412 CHOB 20515, 202-225-2635. Also 2345 S. Alma School, Mesa 85202, 602-831-6433.

Committees: *Interior and Insular Affairs* (9th of 15 R). Subcommittees: Energy and the Environment; General Oversight and Investigations; National Parks and Public Lands; Water, Power and Offshore Energy Resources. *Small Business* (11th of 17 R). Subcommittees: Exports, Tax Policy and Special Problems; Procurement, Tourism and Rural Development.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	10	17	7	18	13	96	80	100	100	69
1987	4	—	6	14	—	96	—	—	93	77

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS			1987 LIB — 1987 CONS		
Economic	7%	—	91%	0%	—	89%
Social	13%	—	84%	0%	—	90%
Foreign	0%	—	84%	0%	—	80%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	John J. Rhodes III (R)	184,639	(72%)	(\$291,961)
	John M. Fillmore (D)	71,388	(28%)	(\$11,855)
1988 primary	John J. Rhodes III (R)	54,984	(100%)	
1986 general	John J. Rhodes III (R)	127,370	(71%)	(\$493,182)
	Harry W. Braun III (D)	51,163	(29%)	(\$31,528)

SECOND DISTRICT

Not far from the skyscrapers of downtown Phoenix and downtown Tucson, across dry river beds and in the shadow of giant outcroppings of mountains, along the railroad tracks that were for decades Arizona's only connection with the rest of the United States, are the dilapidated and shabby neighborhoods. This is where the poor people of Phoenix and Tucson live, with the vacant lots between the small stucco houses and the gaudy roadside establishments that could easily grow back into small patches of desert. These neighborhoods, plus some better-off adjacent areas, form Arizona's 2d Congressional District. It owes its shape to politics: the Republican legislature wanted to concentrate as many of the state's Democratic precincts as possible in this one district, leaving the others largely Republican. Also included is Yuma, 180 miles across the desert southwest of Phoenix, an agricultural center on the Colorado River and on many days of every year the hottest place in the United States. The few towns connecting these three points have mostly been excised from the 2d, leaving a few Indian reservations and a lot of desert. That leaves a district in which 30% of the adults are of Spanish origin, 5% black, and 4% Indian.

Nearly half the district's population is in Phoenix, including the city's downtown and the state Capitol, but it also includes most of Tucson, except for the affluent fringe. Overshadowed demographically by Phoenix, Tucson has always been the more Democratic of the two cities—somewhat more blue-collar, more Mexican-American (the 2d's part of Tucson is 42% Hispanic), less high-tech, not blessed with so many corporate headquarters, with a Democratic Pulitzer rather than a Republican Pulliam newspaper.

Morris Udall, one of the leading and most productive politicians of his generation, is the congressman from the 2d District. First elected to Congress in 1961, to replace his brother Stewart Udall who became Secretary of the Interior, Mo Udall has many legislative accomplishments. One is the 1974 campaign finance law, the source of much carping, but a measure which has substantially improved the political process. Another is the civil service reform of 1978.

Udall labored for years in the dull vineyards of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee: this bill moved, finally, at least a little toward making government employees more accountable.

Udall's most noted efforts have been in the environmental field. Since 1977 he has chaired the Interior Committee, which has jurisdiction over national parks, mining and mineral exploration, government land, Indian tribes, and American overseas possessions. He has always been counted as a friend, though not an automatic vote, by environmentalists. During the Carter years, when the committee and the administration were of similar views, he had a number of accomplishments, most notably the 1977 strip mining law and the 1980 Alaska Lands Act. In the Reagan years, Udall got through a nuclear waste act in 1982 and a wilderness act in 1984, and worked at riding herd on the James Watt and Donald Hodel Interior Departments. He led deliberations over the potentially awesome issue of nuclear plant liability, taking a stand between those of the nuclear industry and the environmentalists.

In 1987 and 1988 he spent much time on Arizona issues, including the swap of Phoenix's Indian School for environmentally important wetlands in Florida, the Salt River-Pima-Maricopa Indian water settlement, banning airplanes from beneath the rim of the Grand Canyon, allowing telescopes on Mount Graham. He is alert to Arizona's economic needs, shepherding the Central Arizona Project toward completion and authorizing a Phoenix Outer Loop. Farther afield, he acted to protect the Manassas Battlefield National Park in Virginia from development and to allow an 18-month moratorium on establishing new nuclear waste sites.

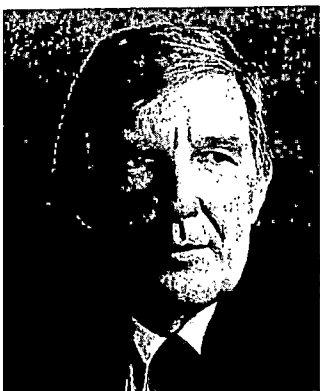
Udall has shouldered his responsibilities amid political disappointments and personal tragedies which would crush many others. He ran for President in 1976 and lost to Jimmy Carter, finishing second in six primaries, but never first. In the late 1970s his proposals for public campaign financing languished in the House, and his mining law revision got him into deep trouble—tough challenges in 1978 and 1980—back home. He was stricken with Parkinson's disease in 1980 and late in the decade his vigor was perceptibly diminished. Always known for his jokes and funny stories, he published a book, *Too Funny to be President*, in 1988. But he suffered more tragedy when his wife committed suicide that summer. Yet he remains formidable legislatively in the House and politically in the 2d District. There have also been honors: the westernmost point in Guam was named Udall Point in 1989, a counterpart to the Udall Point named for his brother in St. Croix in 1968: they are the westernmost and easternmost points in the United States.

Electorally, Udall has had an easier time of it since he decided in 1982 to run in this 2d District rather than in the much less Democratic 5th that includes the east side of Tucson and the copper mining country around Bisbee. He has been reelected easily, even in 1986 when he was challenged in the primary by Tucson state Senator Luis Gonzalez. There have been rumors for several years that Udall was about to retire, and if he does he will probably be succeeded by one of the Hispanic legislators from the area. But so far this most productive member of his generation is fighting against hard odds to work on, and winning.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 581,300, up 7.4% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 543,187, up 21.9% 1970-80. Households (1980): 71% family, 42% with children, 56% married couples; 39.8% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$185; median house value: \$40,300. Voting age pop. (1980): 372,734; 30% Spanish origin, 5% Black, 4% American Indian, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Dukakis (D)	77,493	(55%)
	Bush (R)	60,606	(43%)

Rep. Morris K. Udall (D)



Elected 1961; b. June 15, 1922, St. Johns; home, Tucson; U. of AZ, J.D. 1949; Mormon; married (Norma).

Career: Air Force, WWII; Pro basketball player, Denver Nuggets, 1948-49; Practicing atty., 1949-61; Pima Cnty. Atty., 1952-54.

Offices: 235 CHOB 20515, 202-225-4065. Also 373 S. Meyer, Tucson 85701, 602-629-6404; and 522 W. Roosevelt, Phoenix 85003, 602-261-3018.

Committees: *Foreign Affairs* (19th of 28 D). Subcommittees: Arms Control, International Security and Science. *Interior and Insular Affairs* (Chairman of 26 D). Subcommittees: Energy and the Environment (Chairman); Insular and International Affairs; Mining and Natural Resources; Water, Power and Offshore Energy Resources. *Post Office and Civil Service* (14th of 15 D).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	75	80	86	64	81	13	10	0	29	12
1987	82	—	86	79	—	0	—	—	7	9

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	77%	—	22%	73% — 0%
Social	81%	—	18%	70% — 28%
Foreign	84%	—	0%	81% — 0%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	AGN	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Deficit Reduc	FOR	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	—	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Morris K. Udall (D)	99,895	(73%)	(\$99,607)
	Joseph D. Sweeney (R)	36,309	(27%)	(\$3,065)
1988 primary	Morris K. Udall (D)	34,350	(100%)	
1986 general	Morris K. Udall (D)	77,239	(73%)	(\$447,112)
	Sheldon Clark (R)	24,522	(23%)	

THIRD DISTRICT

You can still find vestiges of the old Arizona in the state's 3d Congressional District, which takes up most of the western part of the state. Here are old mining towns like Wickenburg, surrounded by dude ranches and flanked by gas stations, and pleasant county seat towns like Prescott that, but for the mountains, look like they were plucked from the Midwest. But in this territory new towns and retirement villages have suddenly sprung up in the desert; here you will find places like Lake Havasu City, proud owner of the transplanted London Bridge. More important demographically, the Phoenix metropolitan area has been moving west and northwest through the desert, so that today 60% of the 3d District's residents live on its eastern edge, in Phoenix and Maricopa County. Here are modest income suburbs like Glendale and the huge retirement

community of Sun City just northwest of Phoenix.

This vast influx of people has changed this district from "pinto" (i.e., conservative) Democrat to Republican. Sun City and Lake Havasu City are heavily Republican; these are relatively affluent Midwesterners and others who started voting in many cases in the prosperous 1920s and have not abandoned their party since. The district's part of Phoenix, a strip along the northwest side that is affluent, although not fashionable, and the next-door suburb of Glendale, with nearly 100,000 people, are filled mainly by families with children—a reminder of the suburbia that was so common in the 1950s; similar except for climate to the neighborhoods in which Sun City residents raised their families 30 years ago. Voters here are heavily Republican too. Interestingly, about 13% of the residents of these areas are of Spanish origin: it is a mistake to picture Mexican-Americans in Phoenix as huddled in an impoverished ghetto, for most live in rather pleasant, and diverse, neighborhoods like this.

The congressman from the 3d District, Bob Stump, has a similar political history: he has gone from "pinto" Democrat to Republican himself, literally. He started off as a cotton and grain farmer, in the rich irrigated lands west of Phoenix. He was elected to the state legislature at 31 in 1958, when Democrats were still the majority party there; he was state Senate president in 1975-76, when the 1974 election gave them a majority again. His politics have been solidly conservative; although his farm benefited from subsidized federal water, he has been a foe of government spending generally. When the 3d District's Sam Steiger ran for the Senate in 1976, Stump won a close race for the Democratic nomination and won the general election easily.

In the House, Stump always seemed to belong more with the Republicans than the Democrats, and in 1981 he voted for the Reagan budget and tax plans and for administration policies generally. So that year he decided to switch parties and put on the label that most of his constituency had long since worn. It was a successful move. He won 64% as a Democrat in 1980 and 63% as a Republican in 1982—one of the smoothest party switches of all time. His only possible vulnerability before was in the Democratic primary, and now he was safe from that. Republicans gave him a seat on the Armed Services Committee, where he is one of the most reliable and uncritical supporters of the Pentagon. Generally Stump is a congressman who quietly adds his one vote to the legislative balance, on the side most of his constituents want, and makes few waves, even when he holds a position, which he achieved in 1985, like ranking minority member of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. His fervor seems directed mostly at foreign policy issues. He sponsored a successful amendment to remove restrictions on U.S. aid to the UNITA rebels in Angola. He fervently supports the Nicaraguan contras. He ballyhoos the fight against terrorism and, at home in the national security establishment, he advocates the use of lie detectors.

Stump does not appear to be an original thinker on these matters; his statements are written in a militaristic seldom composed outside five-sided buildings. But he does advance with obvious sincerity views which are surely shared by the 3d District which is happy to reflect him overwhelmingly.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 665,600, up 22.1% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 544,870, up 90.8% 1970-80. Households (1980): 78% family, 39% with children, 69% married couples; 24.3% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$222; median house value: \$58,300. Voting age pop. (1980): 389,150; 9% Spanish origin, 4% American Indian, 1% Black, 1% Asian origin.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	165,706	(64%)
	Dukakis (D)	89,460	(35%)

Rep. Bob Stump (R)



Elected 1976; b. April 4, 1927, Phoenix; home, Tolleson; AZ St. U., B.S. 1951; Seventh Day Adventist; divorced.

Career: Navy, WWII; Cotton and grain farmer; AZ House of Reps., 1959-67; AZ Senate, 1967-76, Senate Pres., 1975-76.

Offices: 211 CHOB 20515, 202-225-4576. Also 230 N. First Ave., Rm. 5001, Phoenix 85025, 602-261-6923.

Committees: *Armed Services* (4th of 21 R). Subcommittees: Investigations; Research and Development. *Veterans Affairs* (Ranking Member of 13 R). Subcommittees: Hospitals and Health Care; Oversight and Investigations (Ranking Member).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	0	0	8	18	0	100	99	100	85	93
1987	4	—	9	7	—	100	—	—	100	88

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	0%	93%	0%	89%
Social	0%	95%	0%	90%
Foreign	0%	84%	0%	80%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Bob Stump (R)	174,453	(69%)	(\$319,690)
	Dave Moss (D)	72,417	(29%)	(\$26,281)
1988 primary	Bob Stump (R)	58,250	(100%)	
1986 general	Bob Stump (R)	146,462	(100%)	(\$135,636)

FOURTH DISTRICT

For eight months in 1987 the northbound lane of Pima Road in Scottsdale, Arizona was closed—not for repaving or laying utility pipes, but because of a dispute between local government and Indians, a late skirmish in the 350-year-old war between settlers and Natives. For Pima Road, running straight north and south, separates Scottsdale, one of Phoenix's most affluent suburbs, from the Salt River-Maricopa-Pima Reservation: on one side are condominiums and subdivisions and shopping centers with Western motifs, on the other is vacant land. When the city of Scottsdale paved the Indians' side of Pima Road, which they rented for \$7,606 a year, without even asking, the Indians closed their half of the road. Eventually the state came in and raised the rent to \$435,000; the Indians agreed to allow the Pima Freeway to be built entirely on their land, if they could build commercial development at interchanges.

Pima Road is, metaphorically at least, the spine of Arizona's 4th Congressional District, which takes in both the affluent neighborhoods in northeast Phoenix and its suburbs and the Indian reservations over the mountains in the far northeast corner of the state. In Phoenix and Scottsdale and Paradise Valley, in the shadow of and behind Camelback Mountain and Squaw Peak, the sunlight falls on the desert with a kind of hush; the careful landscaping of houses and condominiums contrasts with the buff stone of the mountains that punctuate Phoenix's plains and with the brown earth and vagrant cactus plants on the land that has been left undeveloped. Art galleries in shopping centers are full of Western paintings, but inside the houses you can find furniture of just about any period you want. The planting of such a comfortable and secure civilization in such an inhospitable environment—it seldom rains, but when it does anything near a usually dry creek bed can get washed away—is one of the generally unappreciated triumphs of American civilization.

The cultural conflict is matched by political differences. The Navajos have their own turbulent politics, in which Tribal Chairman Peter MacDonald, elected in 1978 and 1986 and defeated by Peterson Zah in 1982, was forced to step down in 1989 because of charges of kickbacks by contractors to his relatives; they have also been voting in increasing numbers, and heavily Democratic, in regular elections. The 4th District's portion of Phoenix and its suburbs is one of the most heavily Republican parts of the country. In between, the 4th hops northeast over the Mazatzal Mountains and the Sierra Ancha to pick up the copper mining towns of Globe and Miami; the Fort Apache Indian Reservation; the dusty Route 66 towns of Holbrook and Winslow; lined with gas stations; and the reservations to the north. This is mixed political terrain, with some Democratic patches. But 79% of the votes are on the Phoenix side of the mountains, and in most elections the 4th District is heavily Republican. There has been serious competition every time no incumbent has been running, and every time the Republican has won. The current congressman is Jon Kyl, son of a former Republican congressman from Iowa—the family's migration matching those of so many constituents—who first won in 1986. He had serious competition in the primary from onetime (1973-77) Congressman John Conlan, who evoked strong opposition not only for his fundamentalist religious beliefs but for what some thought was his untrustworthiness; Kyl, with support from Barry Goldwater and much of the Phoenix business establishment, won 60%-28%. In the general election developer Phil Davis might have given Conlan a tough race, but Kyl won with 65%.

At home Kyl was a lawyer specializing in water law, head of the Phoenix Chamber of Commerce, active in many Republican campaigns: a part of the local establishment. In Washington he is something of a bomb-thrower. On the House Armed Services Committee he emerged in his first term as one of the most active enthusiasts for the Strategic Defense Initiative, opposing the committee's efforts to scale it down and drop the space-based interceptor. At the same time he was one of those congressmen seeking a law to allow the closing down of unnecessary military bases. He has joined with firebrands like Robert Dornan to denounce Jim Wright's actions on Nicaragua. At the same time, he has not neglected local affairs. He was the first Republican House freshman in the 100th Congress to get a bill passed and signed into law, a measure letting the Payson School Board buy 60 acres of government property for a below-market \$425,000. Kyl was reelected without difficulty in 1988 and seems to have a safe seat.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 670,400, up 23.3% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 543,493, up 65.9% 1970-80. Households (1980): 76% family, 42% with children, 64% married couples; 27.6% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$267; median house value: \$66,200. Voting age pop. (1980): 375,192; 12% American Indian, 4% Spanish origin, 1% Asian origin, 1% Black.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	167,264	(65%)
	Dukakis (D)	88,773	(34%)

Rep. Jon Kyl (R)



Elected 1986; b. April 25, 1942, Oakland, NE; home, Phoenix; U. of AZ, B.A. 1964, LL.B. 1966; Presbyterian; married (Caryll).

Career: Practicing atty., 1966-86; Chmn., Metro. Phoenix Chamber of Commerce, 1985-86.

Offices: 313 CHOB 20515, 202-225-3361. Also 4250 E. Camelback Rd., Phoenix 85018, 602-840-1891.

Committees: *Armed Services* (16th of 21 R). Subcommittees: Research and Development; Investigations. *Government Operations* (8th of 15 R). Subcommittees: Legislation and National Security; Employment and Housing.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	0	9	3	18	19	100	90	100	93	83
1987	0	—	0	7	—	96	—	—	93	86

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	0%	93%	0%	89%
Social	0%	95%	0%	90%
Foreign	29%	70%	0%	80%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Jon Kyl (R)	206,248	(87%)	(\$316,476)
	Gary Sprunk (L)	30,430	(13%)	
1988 primary	Jon Kyl (R)	51,242	(100%)	
1986 general	Jon Kyl (R)	121,939	(65%)	(\$1,010,914)
	Philip R. Davis (D)	66,894	(35%)	(\$822,030)

FIFTH DISTRICT

Arizona's first frontier was in its southeast corner, in the little towns tucked into the valleys just north of the Mexican border. This was the first part of the state to be settled, and for many years the critical part—the site of most of Arizona's copper mines. Copper prices were in a slump for a decade until the late 1980s, and Arizona's mines have had to lay off workers because the market is swamped by lower-cost foreign production. But the pit mines outside Bisbee and Morenci, and the spirited little towns that grew up alongside them and nearby—Tombstone and Douglas, Clifton and even in its early days Tucson—are evidence of the importance of copper to Arizona.

Arizona's 5th Congressional District includes this copper country and, much more populous, the whole east side of the city of Tucson and its suburbs. A new district created after the 1980

Census was intended by the Republican legislature to be a Republican district. It includes the prosperous east side of Tucson and Green Valley to the south, fast-growing Sierra Vista around the Army's Fort Huachuca to the southeast, and a bunch of towns on the road from Tucson to Phoenix. In national politics it is Republican, but it was one of the nation's prime marginal districts in 1982 and 1984; only since 1986 has it been safely Republican.

That is a tribute to Congressman Jim Kolbe, the only Republican ever nominated in the 5th, who lost narrowly to Bisbee Democrat James McNulty in 1982 and then came back and beat him in 1984. Kolbe came to Congress with a reputation as a moderate in the Arizona legislature, spurring Arizona to finally enter the Medicaid program and moving forward ground-water legislation. He won the 5th District with a conservative appeal, campaigning against tax increases, championing the balanced-budget constitutional amendment, and urging a line-item veto.

He still straddles the lines between different kinds of conservatives. His voting record is among the most conservative in the House on economic issues, but mixed on cultural and foreign issues. He is pro-choice on abortion and was one of the Republican Members of Congress to call for the resignation of Governor Evan Mecham. He spoke out against bashing Mexico for not enforcing drug laws, and he thinks cutting the deficit is the nation's number one problem. He takes care to champion some local causes, as when he calls for minting a copper dollar. He won a seat on the Appropriations Committee in his second term, and has had no problems winning reelection in 1986 or 1988.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 604,800, up 11.4% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 542,918, up 55.6% 1970-80. Households (1980): 75% family, 39% with children, 64% married couples; 30.8% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$216; median house value: \$57,800. Voting age pop. (1980): 389,954; 14% Spanish origin, 2% Black, 1% Asian origin, 1% American Indian.

1988 Presidential Vote:	Bush (R)	137,081	(55%)
	Dukakis (D)	107,920	(44%)

Rep. Jim Kolbe (R)



Elected 1984; b. June 28, 1942, Evanston, IL; home, Tucson; Northwestern U., B.A. 1965, Stanford U., M.B.A. 1967; United Methodist; married (Sarah).

Career: Navy, Vietnam; Asst. to IL Bldg. Authority Architect, 1970-72; Asst. to IL Gov. Ogilvie, 1972-73; Vice Pres., land planning firm; Real estate consultant; AZ Senate, 1977-82.

Offices: 410 CHOB 20515, 202-225-2542. Also 1661 N. Swan, Ste. 112, Tucson 85712, 602-322-3555; and 77 Calle Portal, Ste. B-160, Sierra Vista 85635, 602-459-3115.

Committees: *Appropriations* (21st of 22 R). Subcommittees: Commerce, Justice, State and Judiciary; Military Construction.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	20	22	8	27	31	80	77	100	93	70
1987	8	—	6	21	—	87	—	—	93	73

ARIZONA/ARKANSAS

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS			1987 LIB — 1987 CONS		
Economic	0%	—	93%	0%	—	89%
Social	28%	—	71%	23%	—	76%
Foreign	24%	—	74%	25%	—	74%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Jim Kolbe (R)	164,462	(68%)	(\$434,665)
	Judith E. Belcher (D)	78,115	(32%)	
1988 primary	Jim Kolbe (R)	38,306	(78%)	
	Al Rodriquez (R)	5,094	(10%)	
	Walt Weber (R)	5,875	(12%)	
1986 general	Jim Kolbe (R)	119,647	(65%)	(\$619,296)
	Joel Ireland (D)	64,848	(35%)	(\$31,166)

ARKANSAS

You can see him in Bentonville, a town of 9,000 in the Ozarks, driving a 10-year-old Ford pickup with cages for his bird dogs in the back: Sam Walton, the Arkansan who, in an era of glitzy rich, is America's richest man. The Arkansas Sam Walton started out running dime stores in after World War II was one of the nation's poorest states. The cotton and rice lands of the Mississippi Delta and the hardscrabble hills west of Little Rock had some of the nation's lowest wages and education levels, and so many people were leaving that the state's population declined. But as national growth trickled down to Arkansas, Walton had the intuition that large discount stores in small towns could be immensely profitable, and in 1962 opened his first Wal-Mart 8 miles down the road in Rogers. In 10 years there were 16 Wal-Marts; by 1988 there were more than 1,000, with \$12 billion in sales, and Walton's stock ("it's just paper") hovered between \$6 to \$8 billion. Wal-Mart's success gives a capsule economic history of Arkansas and the rural South and Southwest: after years of stagnation and outmigration, they started growing again in the early 1960s enough to support a downscale retail chain, and by the late 1980s their stronger economies and culturally conservative atmosphere were holding enough young people to make Wal-Mart prosper. Wal-Mart's secrets include friendliness to customers, tough dealing with vendors, ultra-quick distribution, and profit-sharing with its 215,000 employees. At the end of the 1980s the question before Arkansas is whether it can succeed as a state with that same mixture of high competence and country style.

It is a question posed more starkly in Arkansas than in other states. Arkansas begins with fewer resources: in area it's the smallest state between the Mississippi and the Pacific, in population it's the smallest state in the South; it is not blessed with any major industry or great resource. It is the land that was left over when Louisiana and Missouri were carved out of the Louisiana Purchase and what is now Oklahoma was fenced off as Indian Territory. Settled by poor farmers with large families, few slaves, and little cash, it has no Atlanta or Dallas or even

Memphis to be a focus of growth, and though average in 1940-80, it still hadn't caught up—grew slowly in the 1980s, it fell a little further

To increase the state's chances for long-term success, Clinton, in 1978, has concentrated on trying to upgrade the economy. In 1983 he pushed through a reform package that included a raise for working teachers, a teacher pay raise, and higher achievement levels both rose abruptly, but the sales tax hike did not generate enough revenue. The legislature twice turned down his tax package, and Clinton commissioned a study by business interests. Legislators were bought off by business interests. Clinton declined to pass Clinton's tax program. As 1989 approaches, education program for 1989: teacher raises of \$10,000 at Arkansas universities, allowing parents to choose between other programs to increase the number of Arkansians in commission of businessmen led by Sam Walton standards, higher salaries, and more pre-kindergarten speaking around the state in favor of his package until just before the legislature met in January 1989 will be a kind of verdict on his governorship—in 1989, the tax package was soundly defeated by the Reagan tour the state with a restructured package.

Clinton wants a high school diploma for every child

Clinton wants a higher-skill, higher-wage economy. With Mississippi's Ray Mabus and the Middle South initiative to attract foreign investment south of the river. But much of Arkansas's recent growth is on the hill country of northern and northwestern Arkansas. Increased spending and not much interested in the political struggle pits various Democrats against the Republicans. Little Rock internationally infamous by the Republican Winthrop Rockefeller replaced him in the governor's office from segregationist demagoguery and opened the door to more governors—Dale Bumpers, David Pryor, and Clinton. It was a target state in 1988 general election for the party vote—winning about as many votes as Walter White in the 1984 Reagan total.

Governor. Bill Clinton, the nation's youngest govt is clearly the dominant figure in Arkansas politics, a graduate of Yale Law, a Rhodes Scholar, with a shot for national office. Then he was defeated in 1980 by refugees at Fort Chaffee (which also cost Jimmy Carter). By 1982 he seemed more Arkansas: he sported a shaggy Hillary Clinton instead of using her maiden name, and declining to run for Democratic national chairman, governorship that year.

Clinton is a good speaker who can rouse Arkansas
inspiring rhetoric, and he speaks often around the st
speech when he was named the sole nominator of Mi



THE Symington Plan for Arizona

Symington
FOR GOVERNOR '90

Paid for by the Symington '90 Committee
REPUBLICAN

INTRODUCTION

For too long, Arizona has needed strong, competent leadership. We have suffered under an absentee Governor who was constantly campaigning out of state; a Governor who avoided recall only by impeachment; and a Governor who became an interim caretaker.

During these years, our state has drifted into trouble. Today, Arizona's economy is floundering, and our schools need help. Long-range planning is inadequate. Arizona cannot afford to continue drifting. We must do better.

The proposals set forth in the Symington Plan have been formulated with the assistance of many Arizonans. The Symington Plan represents a program which will effectively tackle the major problems of our day, including economic development, fiscal planning, schools, environment, drugs, children and families, and health care. Many of these changes and innovations can be accomplished without any increase in state spending. Others will be financed by a creative reallocation of existing resources.

We need to get this state moving again so Arizona can realize its full potential for all of us as an outstanding place to live and work. As I present this Plan, I am asking for the support of every Arizonan to help turn these ideas into reality.

Fife Symington

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1. PUTTING ARIZONA'S FISCAL HOUSE IN ORDER

Huge tax increases for Arizona's working men and women are the wrong way out of fiscal trouble and the last thing we should do in a soft economy. Government does not create wealth. Government will not create future prosperity in this state. Business does that. Business must survive, grow and expand. Clearly, the next governor must focus on the expenditure side of the state budget and force the state to live within its means.

It is time for decisive fiscal executive action. As Governor, in my first State of the State address -- on January 14, 1991 -- I will call for an immediate cut of six percent in all state operating and administrative budgets, except K-12, for the remainder of the fiscal year. I will also propose that state government live with those cuts for the entire next fiscal year.

I will initiate an in-depth analysis of state program services in an attempt to find further areas to reduce expenditures. Department heads working in a Symington Administration will be required to prioritize and produce monetary cuts in programs where at all possible. Such expenditure reduction and prioritization are vital if we are to avoid the huge tax increases of recent years and still provide needed services.

I will push for a budget reform bill, such as that vetoed by Governor Mofford during the last legislative session. This bill will institute private sector budgetary practices, like three year strategic planning and annual agency accountability for results, into state government. It will allow more time to be focused on the ten largest spending components of state government (over 90% of total spending) by placing all other agencies on biennial budgets. It will allow the focus of the budget process to be on the merits of programs and spending levels rather than on how many file cabinets an agency needs. This will give us an ongoing mechanism for identifying and evaluating alternative service deliveries and costs.

I will establish a task force on privatization to seek and evaluate areas where the private sector rather than state government can more effectively and efficiently provide services.

I will provide incentive programs for state workers to identify cost savings and promote other innovative concepts to control spending.

The potential for cost cutting initiatives in Arizona is considerable. Financial World, an economic magazine published in New York, recently ranked Arizona No. 46 among the states in "competence of management." Only Vermont, Massachusetts (with its budget deficit in excess of one billion dollars), Louisiana and West Virginia are managed worse than Arizona. If ever there was a credible indictment of the ability of the current Administration to manage the state effectively, this is it.

My training and experience in the private sector will enable me to create budgets that meet our needs while not exceeding our ability to pay. As a businessman, I am accustomed to having to plan budgets and meet payrolls. I know how to develop budgets and, when necessary, revise figures in the face of economic realities. These management skills will enable me to deal with the state's finances.

A. Fiscal 2000

Creating a balanced budget that is adequate to meet our needs in the second fastest growing state in the country is made more difficult by what the Arizona Joint Select Committee on State Revenues and Expenditures calls our "structural deficit." In its final report -- which has become known as Fiscal 2000 -- the Committee provides a detailed examination of our state's fiscal condition.

The report reveals that over the past ten years, state revenues have increased at an annual rate of 2.3 percent, while expenditures have increased at an annual rate of 3.8 percent.

Moreover, the report shows that over the next ten years, state revenues are projected to increase at an annual rate of 4 percent, while annual expenditures for existing programs are projected to increase at an annual rate of 5.6 percent.

If these trends continue, by the year 2000 state revenues will have increased 60 percent, while expenditures for existing programs will have increased by

93 percent. This imbalance would translate into a budget deficit in the order of one billion dollars by the year 2000.

The findings of the Fiscal 2000 Committee must be taken seriously. They are based on extensive data as well as input from fiscal policy experts from both within and outside Arizona.

The Fiscal 2000 Committee has done an excellent job of identifying and explaining the structural deficit confronting Arizona now and in the years ahead. Unfortunately, the Committee did not do as good a job in identifying solutions to the problems. What must we do to bring expenses into line with revenues each year between now and the turn of the century?

B. Cutting Expenditures

As Governor, I will recruit small teams of top corporate executives who will meet with the key agencies of government on a monthly basis. With their expertise and management insight, we will be better able to develop enhanced operating procedures and find ways to save money. These "loaned" executives can spur the drive towards efficiencies and innovations throughout government. By fostering this kind of communication we can start an incubation process that will result in some very creative strategies to help our economy.

For example:

- We can save enormous amounts of money by privatizing those services in the state that can be done more efficiently by the private sector.
- The Department of Economic Security, our largest state agency, had been functioning for years without a financial manager. This is symptomatic of the disregard for frugal management of tax dollars.
- The basic budget process needs to be reformed. Although the Governor has line item veto power, the state has been using lump sum budgets which don't allow a Governor to get at onerous lines of expenditure. This "creative accounting" must be transformed into a budget structure that reveals rather than conceals expenditures.

Finally, our state has been damaged by a lack of leadership. As Governor, I will be a full partner in the budget process. The legislature should not have to do the work of the administration. The Governor must present, defend and negotiate the state's fiscal policy. With full participation of the Governor, we can avoid the continual increases in spending that led to this year's 8.4 percent increase and higher taxes.

C. PALB -- A Bold, New Approach

I do not claim to have all the answers. If elected, like any new governor I will mobilize the considerable resources available to the state's executive branch, consult with the finest, most skilled fiscal experts I can find, and get to work on a budget that works for Arizona.

I have worked on a proposal that, if implemented, would allow us to focus on the long-term structural deficit. This proposal is unconventional and bound to be controversial. This should not disqualify it from serious discussion and consideration. Indeed, if ever there was a time for bold, innovative approaches to the state's fiscal condition, it is now.

One way for Arizona to reduce its structural deficit in the years to come is for the state to institute lease-purchase financing involving some or all of its state owned buildings. By financing those buildings through the use of tax-free certificates of participation, the state could create a trust fund of between 1.5 and 2 billion dollars.

I call this the Property Asset Leaseback Initiative (PALB Initiative). It would diminish the need for any new taxes for two to three years and would provide a breathing period in which to implement structural reform in government operations and programs. In addition, through prudent investment, the trust fund could grow to over 3 billion dollars in a 20 to 30-year time period. Constitutional safeguards would be imposed to protect the trust from depletion by the legislature.

2. ARIZONA'S ENVIRONMENT IN THE 1990'S

The single feature that sets Arizona apart from other states is its unique environment. We have been truly blessed with environmental beauty that is a magnet for people from all over the world. Nothing is more important to determining our future quality of life than what we do to protect our state's environment. The hard truth is that our environment is being threatened as never before. A 1988 survey by Zero Population Growth ranked Phoenix as having the "worst environmental ills" of 192 cities surveyed. Phoenix was the only city to receive the lowest rating for all four environmental indicators in the survey: Air quality, hazardous waste, water and sewage.

The environmental problems we face are wide ranging:

- Toxins have been discovered in the Phoenix, Tucson and Scottsdale water supplies, threatening the drinking water we take for granted.

- Hazardous wastes are dumped not only by Arizona industries, but by industries coming in from out of state.

- Our landfills are overflowing with waste -- much of which is recyclable.

- Our precious open spaces need greater protection from the state. The state should be more aggressive in purchasing open spaces -- and in protecting them so that future generations can experience what Arizona has to offer.

A. Solid Waste and Recycling

We live in a throw-away society. For too long we have taken convenience for granted and ignored the environmental impact of our incredible trash creation. As a result, Arizona -- like so many states -- has overflowing landfills that are already reaching capacity. Creating new landfills is almost universally unpopular: No one wants a dump in their backyard. Because of this dilemma, we simply must find new and better ways of dealing with our solid wastes. Arizona needs an effective, enduring policy for reducing solid waste levels in our state. I believe that we must adopt the environmentalists'

three R's -- Reduce, Reuse and Recycle.

This past year, the Arizona legislature finally passed legislation to prescribe wastepaper recycling procedures throughout the state. The effective implementation of this bill is vital to our state's well being. It is absolutely critical that the state government act in partnership with private enterprise to ensure that this law is effectively implemented, and to ensure that the demand for recycled paper is as strong as the supply.

But recycling of wastepaper is just a beginning. We also need to incorporate all recyclable materials in this program, including aluminum, steel, glass, paper and plastic products. We should, however, create a program that will give local government some flexibility in determining how our recycling programs should be implemented in their communities. Such a program would not only ease the burden on landfills but would also send a strong signal that, in Arizona, the throw-away mentality is a thing of the past.

The state should establish goals and guidelines to help in this creation and sustenance of the recycling industry. But we need a partnership between the public and private sectors -- and a governor who will lead us toward that partnership. I envision a public/private partnership which can put some true economic muscle behind the recycling industry in this state. State government should also create incentives which allow entrepreneurial activity to flourish in the recycling industry.

Arizonans should have easy access to information about recycling. I will establish a toll-free number for information on local recycling organizations and related issues. I want state government to help change the attitudes of Arizonans whose responsibility for solid waste currently ends at the trash can.

In addition to recycling, solid wastes can be turned into energy. We need to investigate the modern technology of trash-to-energy plants which decrease the volume of solid waste by 90 percent and which create electricity in the process as an alternative to our current old-fashioned method of waste dumping. I think such plants, if proven to be economically viable, are an attractive option that should be a component of Arizona's future environmental policy.

B. Toxic And Hazardous Waste

The real battleground where we must draw the line is in the areas of illegal toxic and hazardous waste dumping. Because our laws in Arizona are not as tough as those in surrounding states, we are seeing the importation of wastes into this state. Arizona seems in danger of becoming the dumping ground of the Southwest. We face such situations as these:

- An incinerator at Maricopa County Medical Center has been used to burn infectious wastes from out-of-state.

- Oil and sludge from the bottom of oil tankers is being imported from California and sold as cheap fuel in Arizona.

- The Environmental Protection Agency has identified five toxic waste sites in the Phoenix area as among the worst in the nation.

- The ENSCO facility near Mobile grew from one to three incinerators over the past eight years. No one was paying attention until the monster grew out of control.

I find these facts plainly unacceptable. Arizonans expect their political leaders to solve problems like these and the time has come to give them the action they deserve.

One of the biggest reasons Arizona is becoming a hazardous waste dumping ground is that our hazardous waste disposal fees are too low. California, the West's biggest producer of such waste, has fees many times higher than Arizona. Accordingly, California looks to Arizona -- with its bargain basement disposal fees -- to solve its problems. We must raise our fees to a level comparable to California and other Western states. If fees are equal, Californians will avoid transport costs and dispose of their wastes elsewhere.

The Western governors should meet and negotiate an "interstate compact" establishing a system of incentives for safe and legal disposal of hazardous waste. This should necessarily entail a cradle-to-grave philosophy, whereby producers and commercial users of hazardous materials must be held responsible throughout their products' lifecycle, from production to disposal.

Producers and large-scale users should ante up a direct use fee to finance the production of facilities to store, recycle or incinerate hazardous waste. Having already made an investment, there will be a greater incentive to send wastes to legal facilities rather than dump them illegally.

In addition, hazardous waste disposal facilities should be smaller and more numerous to reduce the highway miles the waste must travel. Interstate transport should be minimized, if not eliminated altogether. This can best be accomplished, again, through coordination and cooperation of the governors through the Western Governors' Association.

People who knowingly pollute the environment are criminals, just like drug dealers or investment swindlers. In a Symington Administration, such criminals will be treated like anyone else who threatens the lives and property of Arizonans. Fining major toxic polluters is not enough -- they should serve prison time alongside other felons. And if their sentence is a fine, it should be a heavy one that takes into account the potential long-term environmental damage that they have caused. For example, if a polluter contaminates a water supply, judges should factor in the huge economic costs of losing an invaluable resource when handing down the appropriate sentence.

C. CLEAN AIR

Gone are the days when sick people came from the East to Arizona for its clean air. Today the smog that hangs over our urban areas evokes comparisons with Los Angeles. We are currently destroying the very air that sustains us. Again, however, no one has stepped forward to provide the leadership essential to solving our air quality problems. It is time to implement some effective, common sense clean air policies.

The EPA has reviewed Maricopa County's air quality plan and has found it lacking. In addition, federal amendments to the Clean Air Act will make compliance even more critical. While I find the EPA's threat to prohibit the use of older, less fuel efficient aircraft at Sky Harbor plainly ludicrous, that threat underscores the seriousness of the issue.

Mass transit, including the possibility of light rail transit in the Valley and

between Arizona's major cities, deserves careful consideration in Arizona's long-range plans. The Federal Interstate Highway system will be officially completed in 1992, and Arizona must be ready to tap those surplus funds to put together environmentally progressive transit systems for our communities. In order to do that, we must start planning now to ensure that our system will win the support and ridership of Arizona residents.

A small and concrete step I will take as Governor is to mobilize the state government work force to utilize mass transit on a regular basis. With interagency coordination, we can automatically get up to 40,000 more people riding buses, or car pooling to reduce the number of vehicles on the road, and the amount of smog in the air.

The technology for clean, affordable electric vehicles now exists -- and Arizonans should take full advantage of it. As Governor, I will make sure the state government does its part to fight emissions by purchasing electric vehicles for the state fleet. Municipalities, too, should be given further incentives to utilize electric vehicles and clean burning fuels in their cars and buses. Also, through tax incentives I intend to support those in the private sector who choose alternative-fuel powered vehicles. Arizonans should set the worthy goal of becoming America's highest per capita user of alternative-fuel powered vehicles by the year 2000.

In addition, our state universities should be the home of top-flight research in this area and in the field of solar energy. This past summer, Arizona State University students participated in a national competition -- a race of solar powered vehicles designed by the students. ASU's team performed ably, but its overall finish was disappointing. This is emblematic of our entire state's disappointing performance in the field of solar energy utilization. Five years from now, when a similar competition is held, I want ASU, and Arizona as a whole, to win that race. That's the kind of progress we need to make.

Finally, I will propose that Arizona sponsor a 1991 Propulsion Symposium. We will invite the top experts from around the world -- Germany, France, Japan, and even NASA -- including the advanced technology scientists and engineers from major automotive companies. The focus will be on the desert southwest and on its special needs. By drawing on their knowledge

we will better understand our future options. Perhaps we will be able to accelerate our transition away from the internal combustion engine and towards non-polluting technology.

In addition to continuing to work for cleaner engines and cleaner fuels, we can immediately allow greater citizen input before the Air Pollution Control Board. At the present time there is no standing for citizens to argue their concerns before the board when air quality permits are issued.

D. Water Quality

Arizona's future depends on a reliable and clean water supply. In spite of this fact, persons and industries continue to pollute our precious groundwater and overdraft our aquifers.

We should punish groundwater polluters more harshly than other polluters. In an arid state like Arizona, water is a particularly precious commodity -- and those who destroy it should be held accountable. As Governor, I will support a provision that would set substantial mandatory fines for small groundwater polluters, and high fines and mandatory prison time for major polluters. I think someone who knowingly devalues our quality of life deserves to pay dearly.

While we should severely punish those who poison groundwater, we should also support those who are dedicated to cleaning it up. Through tax incentives and Arizona's student assistance programs, I will support statewide university research into ways we can treat polluted groundwater. Why shouldn't Arizonans devise the environmental technologies of the 1990's?

The technology exists today to recycle waste water into environmentally safe water for land irrigation. Arizonans are beginning to use recycled water throughout the state for irrigation. A Symington Administration would require all irrigated public lands to use recycled water, and would encourage all private organizations to do likewise wherever possible.

E. PROTECTING OUR NATURAL OPEN SPACES

The issue of protecting open spaces is one of particular importance to me. The fact that I make a living building things does not mean that I will tolerate reckless development. Ill-planned over-development has already taken its toll in the major urban counties of this state and we can no longer afford this type of senseless destruction. A Symington Administration will never permit the destruction of Arizona's natural beauty under the guise of economic development or for any other reason.

As Governor I will push for the formation of a public/private partnership with environmental organizations, sportsmen and ranchers to protect our desert and wildlife habitats throughout Arizona. I want to see the state intensify its efforts to protect our special desert ecosystems through aggressive land acquisition by the Arizona Game and Fish Department and Arizona State Parks Service. They should be given a mandate to acquire and protect the state's environmentally sensitive areas. I can think of nothing more important than preserving our distinctive lands for future generations.

To attain the funds needed to acquire these lands, I support the goal of the Arizona Heritage Fund: To earmark 20 million dollars a year in lottery proceeds to protect our wildlife.

Contamination of Arizona's unique environment is destroying our state's identity. Arizona is a wonderful place to live because of its diverse and rare habitat. Our physical beauty is a treasure which I am committed to preserving.

3. ARIZONA'S SCHOOLS: **ACHIEVING EXCELLENCE BY THE YEAR 2000**

There is no higher responsibility in our state government than ensuring that Arizonans have the best educational system possible. The importance of education permeates virtually every issue confronting our state. Our quality of life and our ability to compete for jobs depend heavily on the condition of our schools. Our children are preparing to enter the job market in a world where education is more important than ever.

Today, Arizona's schools face major problems. Only 64.5 percent of our children graduate from high school. Only five other states have a higher drop-out rate than Arizona. I'm not satisfied with this. We must do better. Voters and teachers are frustrated, and they want to see fundamental change in our educational system.

As Governor, I will make improving our schools one of the highest priorities of my Administration. We need a Governor who isn't afraid to take new approaches and try new ideas.

Arizona spends well below the national average per pupil. In fact, we rank 32nd in educational expenditures among all states. But the ACE initiative, which adds \$100 per student per year without accountability, is not the answer. We need to spend wisely; not just more. We have been funding failure. We must fund success. As Governor, I will see that effective educational programs get the budget priority they deserve, while also aiming at achieving genuine reform of our education system. It is imperative that we untangle the web of our education budget and determine how much money is actually making it into the classroom.

One of my first acts as Governor will be to bring state education leaders, state officials and leaders from business together to formulate a plan to improve Arizona schools in every important category over a four-year period -- and to achieve excellence by the year 2000. I will call it "Project Education."

As part of Project Education, I will solicit the candid views of those on the

front lines of the battle in the classrooms -- Arizona's teachers. I will do this by mailing to teachers a confidential survey asking a number of questions. What do they think of the present school curriculum? What do they think about classroom size and the length of the school year? Would they like more flexibility and control over curriculum? And so forth. The results of this survey will serve as a "road map" toward a number of specific proposals that I will make as Governor.

There are several concepts which should guide school reform in Arizona. Some of these ideas have succeeded in other states, while others are particularly tailored to Arizona's specific educational needs. I believe that Project Education should be philosophically founded on these principles.

A. Accountability

An essential factor in providing efficient services is accountability. If those providing services are accountable to those using and paying for the services, good performance is recognized and rewarded. This principle is applicable in education.

The Legislature addressed this issue during the last session by passing its "Goals for Educational Excellence" program. According to the new law, the State Board of Education is required to assess proficiency in reading, writing and mathematics for pupils in grades 3, 8 and 12. The Board must also publish yearly "report cards" for each school district to measure students' scores on essential skills tests, standardized tests and dropout rates.

This does not go far enough. We need to compare each school's performance to others locally and in the state. Also, the report cards should be more comprehensive: We should show all citizens of this state how our schools are performing -- not only in statewide testing and SAT scores, but in student-teacher ratios, truancy rates, operating costs and other quantifiable criteria. The results of these tests should be made available to the public, perhaps by printing them in the newspaper as the Los Angeles Times does. As any successful business is accountable to its management and its customers, Arizona schools should be accountable to parents.

B. Parental Choice

Once parents have this information, they should be free to send their children to the schools of their choice. The better schools would flourish in such a competitive environment. Those schools which fail to attain a superior designation would receive assistance from the state in an effort to rehabilitate what was shown to be a struggling program. Failing these efforts, a total restructuring of a particular school may be necessary.

In Minnesota, parents have choice and are given a transportation subsidy if they choose a school outside their district. The results have been encouraging. Improvements are evident. Minnesota currently has the highest graduation rate in the country -- almost 91 percent. In addition, through the use of improved technology, additional state spending, and the inauguration of parental choice of schools, Minnesota high schools have doubled foreign language offerings and quadrupled advanced-placement courses.

C. The Merit Fund

Finally, teachers in a given school may find an exciting and innovative approach to the educational needs of their students that has previously been unaddressed. We need to empower our teachers to form new learning centers by submitting proposals on both the local and state levels.

One of the consequences of the bureaucratization of education is the edifice complex. A good school is far more than a building. The oldest -- and some of the best -- schools consisted of a wise person with a handful of pupils gathered at his or her feet. The two key ingredients of a successful school are teachers with something to teach and students who are willing to learn.

Some reasons for starting a new learning center might be:

- To offer a curriculum beyond the core with special emphasis on a particular discipline or field (such as a science or the performing arts);
- To offer a particular method of teaching or type of learning

environment, from McGuffey to Montessori, Back to Basics or the whole language;

- To establish a location more convenient for parents, such as at, or near, places of work;

- To provide more discipline, more homework and a more serious attitude toward the eradication of drug use.

The basic idea is to provide an avenue for the educational flexibility and innovation necessary to raise Arizona's level of academic achievement. But how do we realize this concept?

Educational Merit Fund - One percent of the state's portion of the budget for K-12 schools, which this year would total approximately 15 million dollars, would be placed each year in a special merit fund to encourage innovation and excellence in education. Groups of teachers who want to form new learning centers would be able to compete for part of this merit money. Each proposal would state the goals of the new learning center and explain the intended curriculum. The State Board of Education would select an appropriate number of superior applications. Monies from the merit fund would go toward learning center start-up costs, including an extra week of pay for teachers and administrators at each school selected for planning purposes. The rest of the fund would be invested in an interest-bearing account.

Over three years, a bonus equal to a month of pay would be awarded to teachers and administrators who achieved their stated goals. The same bonus would be paid to teachers and administrators of the top ten percent of Arizona schools whose students make the greatest improvement over the same period.

This plan provides the opportunity to reform, the incentive to reform, and a mechanism to measure the effectiveness of reform. The time has come for Arizona to shake up its education system and make some fundamental changes.

D. Local School Policy-Making

The more decisions we make at the local level, the more responsive and effective our schools will be. Each of our over 4,000 schools, within the constraints of its budget, should be able to decide for itself how it will operate -- at what hour classes begin; at what hour they conclude; how long class periods will be; class size; whether or not evening or weekend classes will be offered; and so forth.

Administrators and teachers should be the primary judges of performance and qualifications of their peers. Input from parents should also be included in the process. In addition, the role of local school boards is absolutely critical to the future health of our local schools. They need to keep current on the many developments occurring in the educational arena, such as "distance learning." But most important, they must constantly answer one critical question: "How well are the children learning?"

E. Encouragement for Teachers

Greater emphasis must be placed on teachers, for they are the backbone of the system. One of the most pressing problems is our diminished ability to attract and retain top quality teachers. Several studies have revealed that fewer talented college students are interested in careers in teaching, while more good teachers are leaving the profession because they can earn far more in another line of work. This trend will continue until we upgrade the pay, the working conditions, and the overall job satisfaction of our teachers.

- **Alternative Certification** -- One thing we can do to open the doors for more teaching talent is to certify teachers who have undergraduate degrees in an area other than education. Such an alternative teacher certification program would offer students an instructional point of view other than the traditional education-degree teacher. Arizona has many talented and experienced persons who would make excellent teachers if we would simply make it possible for them to contribute.

- **Career Ladders** -- I support the recently established career ladders pilot program, which enables teachers to progress in salary and professional stature as their performance in the classroom improves. I will push for this

program to be expanded on a statewide level.

- **Curriculum Control** -- We need to provide teachers and on-site administrators with greater involvement in the academic policies and decision-making of our schools. Teachers and on-site administrators should be given more control over what goes on in the classroom. The State Board of Education and the local school boards should set clear, realistic goals for student achievement. This could include a core curriculum. Teachers, however, need to be allowed to work with the local school boards and parents to determine how the goals will be met. Teachers should have a greater say in the way their classes are conducted by allowing them to devise the curriculum and select the appropriate teaching materials. Higher levels should suggest a range of suitable materials. But the final decision should be made at the local level by the teachers and local administrators.

F. Financial Aid for Higher Education

Our goal must be to ensure that no Arizona high school graduate who is qualified to attend college will be denied that opportunity due to a lack of financial assistance. Providing more money for student aid is one of the best investments Arizona can make.

First, the state will be repaid with interest once the college graduate has entered the work force. Second, when we let students from families of limited means know that they will be given the opportunity to pursue an education and land a well-paying, interesting job, we redirect many who might otherwise turn to a life of crime, drugs or mediocrity. Make no mistake: student aid is a winner for Arizona.

- **Division of Higher Education Student Financial Assistance** -- I want to start a department that will coordinate all financial assistance programs offered in Arizona. The Division of Higher Education Student Financial Assistance will have a broader mandate than simply administering the program for good students who are financially needy. It would coordinate all financial assistance programs in addition to providing outreach and counseling services for students and their families. It will provide "one-stop shopping" for all college-bound students seeking financial assistance of any kind.

- Tuition and Books Scholarships at State Universities --

Qualified students should not be denied higher education because of economic factors. I will, therefore, support legislation that provides free tuition and books for any Arizonan who graduates in the top 5 percent of his or her class and/or scores 25 or above on the ACT exam, provided he or she comes from a family with less than \$30,000 annual income. To maintain the scholarship, the student must maintain a "B" average in college.

Arizona's future depends on an educational system that is flexible, responsive, and internally competitive. We need a system which treats teachers like professionals and encourages them to innovate and create new educational possibilities. We need a system which provides resources for financially limited students. We need a system that is singularly equipped to rigorously prepare Arizona's future leaders. Finally, we need a system which is passionately dedicated to educational excellence. We must make Arizona's education system the very best in the nation.

G. Special Help for At-Risk Children

Efforts to provide our children with a quality education will fail if those children arrive at school unable to take advantage of the educational opportunities available to them. Arizona's children may be disadvantaged for a variety of reasons. Some parents are indifferent to their children's educational needs or are ill equipped for parenting. The children may have learning disabilities, emotional problems, or physical handicaps; they may come from non-English speaking homes and have language problems or be the victims of racial or ethnic prejudice.

The principal goal of the National Governor's Association, which has been endorsed by President Bush, is to have all children in America start school ready to learn by the year 2000. I would like to see Arizona do its part in accomplishing this goal. We should commit to providing preschool education for thousands of disadvantaged 3- and 4-year olds who are left out of the federal Head Start program. Currently, the federally and county-funded Head Start serves only 17 percent of the 30,000 Arizona children who are eligible.

Educators have repeatedly shown that the best way to cut welfare and prison costs and to create productive citizens, is to work with preschool children, particularly from low-income and unstable homes. Although this kind of preschool program will require state funds, the business community has demonstrated its commitment to education by pledging \$500,000 in private funds for the program if the legislature agrees to fund it.

As a border state, we have a large population of children for whom English is a second language. It is imperative that bilingual classes are available to these children so they are not hindered by language difficulties and can enter the educational mainstream. It is also essential that our public schools are attentive to the health of their students. I advocate having an appropriately trained nurse in each of our schools.

Preschoolers are not our only children in need. Only four states have a higher drop-out rate than Arizona's 36 percent. Laws passed in other states aimed at keeping students in high school by revoking their driver's license if they drop out, have been successful. One state, West Virginia, has seen 900 dropouts return to school after implementing this law. Similar legislation has been introduced in Arizona and I support it.

Thirteen Arizona teenagers under the age of 18 become pregnant every day and teenagers are now taking their own lives at a higher rate than ever. In fact, Arizona ranks second in the nation for adolescent suicides and is 86 percent higher than the national rate. These figures present an enormous challenge to our schools, communities, churches and to all who deal with adolescents. Several attempts to fund programs to deal with these problems have not survived the legislative process. The need for solutions, however, is pressing. I will improve the coordination of existing resources, improve our behavioral health system and institute a statewide prevention effort as a first step in addressing these problems.

4. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: **TIME FOR A TURNAROUND**

Arizona has virtually unlimited economic potential. I was first attracted to this state not only because of its beauty, but because of its potential for growth. Arizona is filled with people who have the vision, creativity and energy to fuel a vibrant, expanding economy.

Because of the lack of strong leadership and a clear sense of direction, however, Arizona's economic potential has not been realized. Today Arizona is in a slump. In a 1989 report card given by the Washington-based Corporation for Enterprise Development, Arizona was one of only four states given an "F" for economic development policy. We were ranked 49th in business support, 49th in development finance, and 49th in economic development policy. The state's bungled efforts to attract business to Arizona have repeatedly made front page news. Arizona's economic future demands much better.

As a businessman, I understand the challenges and realities of doing business in Arizona. I know that the goal of the state is to help business, not get in the way. I want to bring back economic prosperity and stability to both urban and rural Arizona. I want to help existing businesses and open doors for those who have problems getting a start.

We must first focus our attention on fundamental changes. We must hold the line on taxation so that businesses as well as individuals can prosper. We must improve our educational system to provide a skilled and attractive labor force for business. We must generate incentives for better employee health care benefits; provide funds for effective marketing of this state's potential; and greater input from the rural counties. We need a thoughtful, long-range plan to get this state's economy back on the track.

A. Supporting Existing Businesses

I believe deeply in the economic power of creative, hard-working men and women. As Governor, I intend to make the fostering and support of small and mid-sized businesses a top priority. Since the late 1970's, extensive

research has shown that the vast majority of new jobs in the U.S. are created by small and young firms. The stronger and the more diverse Arizona's businesses are, the more jobs they will create.

But instead of supporting Arizona's existing businesses, recent administrations have focused on out-of-state recruitment prospects, trying to buy jobs by offering million-dollar, non-repayable cash grants, and offering tax abatement deals and other incentives that are not available to the state's existing businesses.

The recruitment of new business investment is a critical element of any economic development program. Even the most brilliantly conceived recruitment campaign will be a waste of time and money, however, if while we are chasing all over the country to recruit new businesses, companies that are already here close their doors and leave.

Capital Creation

This past legislative session, the Arizona Capital Company Bill was introduced. This bill would have created an effective mechanism for encouraging capital formation. Without executive leadership to support this legislation, the bill died in committee.

We can have all the dreams and strategic plans in the world to boost economic growth but without capital we will accomplish little. With the demise of the savings and loan industry and significant problems in the banking sector, Arizona is faced with a liquidity crisis. The state should evaluate using the concept of "linked deposits" to mitigate the problem. Basically, the state would deposit funds in qualified financial institutions at low interest rates. These institutions would then be required to write low interest loans to Arizona businesses in targeted areas. Privatization efforts like this can make a significant difference to our local economies. The state maintains millions of dollars in interest bearing accounts. We should consider using a small portion of these funds to assist the economy. As Governor, I will push for legislation that will provide the seed capital which is critical to help Arizona businesses grow and prosper.

Regulation Relief

One of the problems thwarting business in this state is over-regulation. Working with business organizations across the state, I will direct a "regulation inventory" to find out where the state is putting up unnecessary barriers that punish good businesses. Then I will work with the agencies and the legislature to reduce the red tape.

Taxes

When tax structures are created, legislators know they must be concerned about the reaction of individual constituents and they are made aware of the wishes of large business by professional lobbyists. Unfortunately, the small businesses don't have as large a voice and they are bearing the brunt of taxes. As Governor, I will be sensitive to the need to avoid over-burdening small business with taxes. I believe in private solutions instead of public solutions. I believe we must do everything we can to nurture small business.

B. Supporting Minority Efforts

Success in business is frequently a measure of who you know as well as what you do. Unfortunately, many of Arizona's minorities have been unable to break into the established business culture because they lack information and don't know where to get it. We can't afford to let ambitious and talented people fail because they never had the chance to get in the door. As Governor, I will continue the policies of inclusiveness I have always followed in private business. I will make sure there is an organized effort to help minorities start their own businesses and create business opportunities for minority firms. I support the establishment of a procurement committee to make sure minority owned firms get their share state business.

Minority groups will see role models in my appointments to state positions. Special minority representatives will work with each economic development program to ensure dissemination of information and give whatever help is needed so that all Arizonans can reach their full potential.

C. Women in the Workplace

In the past decade we have seen a revolution in the workplace. Women hold positions at all levels of the public and private sector. Arizona's economic future in the 1990's will depend in large part on the status of women in both the workplace and society at large. As Governor, I intend to ensure that the women of Arizona have equal access to all opportunities that our state has to offer.

I strongly believe that a growing, dynamic economy is the single most important factor to the future of all Arizonans -- especially women. An expanding economy provides employment opportunity at all levels. It provides both entry-level jobs for women entering the work force, and advancement opportunities for those already employed. Still, there are certain areas where I think we can do better.

Equal Pay for All Arizonans

I have always believed that a person should be paid relative to performance. Sex, race, religion or disability have no bearing on the ability to get a job done. In my business, I have always compensated employees based solely on their job performance. I believe that this personal practice is simply right and as Governor, I intend to guarantee that all Arizonans have protection from discrimination in the workplace.

- Tougher Enforcement -- I will instruct the Attorney General to vigorously prosecute any employer who pays female employees a lower wage than their male counterparts for identical labor.

- State Pay Review -- As Governor, I will review state employee pay policies to ensure that equal pay guidelines are strictly followed.

D. The RTC and the Real Estate Collapse

Every day, it seems, the cost of paying for the failure of the savings and loan industry grows. We face the biggest disaster in public finance since the Depression. Arizona has been particularly hard hit, having lost virtually all of its savings and loan institutions to federal control. The RTC is faced with

trying to sell billions of dollars worth of Arizona real estate owned by the failed thrifts.

To emerge from this troubled situation, we need to pursue policies that will lead to quick disposal of troubled real estate. We need to advocate seller financing from the RTC since financing for real estate transactions in Arizona has all but vanished. We need to encourage the reinstatement of tax incentives at the federal level for the owning of RTC or repossessed real estate. This will bring back the private syndication market and add price support for a declining market. Finally, we must challenge federal regulatory policies which are causing artificial declines in equity values and loan portfolios in our financial institutions.

E. Restructuring Arizona's Economic Development Bureaucracy

Arizona's economic development has been stifled by too little leadership and too much bureaucracy. Presently, there is little coordination between the various entities entrusted with fostering economic growth. The Department of Commerce must be made leaner and more focused.

In a Symington Administration, the Commerce Department will focus on supporting existing businesses. The Department will give priority toward helping new and smaller businesses, encouraging the formation of development capital, providing rural areas of the state with economic development and support, and identifying and correcting weaknesses in Arizona's business climate. And through enhanced communications with other departments, we can ensure that all departments of government focus on common problems.

F. Tourism

Arizona's tourism industry pumps 5.5 billion dollars into the economy. Imagine running a huge corporation that generated that much revenue and only spending 5 million dollars promoting it! This is what we do in Arizona and it makes no sense. As Governor, I will seek to triple this budget to 15 million dollars. It's important for us as a state to remember to always lead with our strengths. Aggressive expansion of tourism is in order!

A simple approach to promoting tourism is to establish welcoming centers to greet visitors and inform them of cultural and sightseeing opportunities. We need to utilize our agricultural inspection stations for this purpose and become more hospitable to tourists.

G. Transportation for the Future

Air and rail linkages are vital to any successful economy. With a view to the future, Arizona can become a global player in the world of commerce. We are already a major exporting state and also benefit from significant foreign investment.

In order to capitalize on these opportunities, we must move forward with a regional jetport. Whether we like it or not, we are in a world-wide competition for commerce and we will need a 21st century jetport to keep an edge.

Often overlooked is the economic potential of high speed rail linkages between Tucson-Phoenix, Phoenix-Los Angeles, Phoenix-Las Vegas. Magnetic levitation trains, called MAGLEV's, which operate at speeds in excess of 250 miles per hour are the wave of the future. As Governor, I will appoint a committee to evaluate and pursue this tremendous opportunity for Arizona.

H. Business Recruitment

The Governor is the chief economic development spokesman for the state. The Governor's office is an essential force in enunciating economic development policy and programs to both the appropriate governmental agencies and the private sector. I plan to personally provide the leadership necessary to encourage new businesses to relocate in Arizona.

With the Commerce Department focusing on in-state economic issues, the responsibility for business recruitment will shift. The entity best equipped to attract new, out-of-state business is the Arizona Economic Council.

Recruitment of new business is best accomplished by the private sector. The best way to entice businesses to relocate to Arizona is to make existing

businesses happy to be here. Businesses thriving in a sympathetic, low-tax, pro-business environment will become the best salesmen for this state.

I. Establishing Advisory Boards from the Private Sector

Arizona is blessed with large numbers of competent businesspeople. We should put this talent to work for us all. I will create advisory boards comprised of individuals from small, mid-sized and large companies from both rural and urban Arizona, we can utilize their knowledge and experience to formulate sound economic policies. These individuals will advise my Administration on policies that will encourage the establishment of new businesses, stimulate the growth and expansion of existing businesses, enhance the development of capital formation policies, and address the special needs of businesses owned by women and minorities.

J. Local Economic Development Groups

More of the responsibility for economic development should be shifted to the local level to increase responsiveness and effectiveness. Local communities are best able to determine what needs to be done to enhance their economic growth, and improve prospects for new job creation and investment. Accordingly, a Symington Administration will channel more resources and attention to these entities.

K. Rural Economic Development Advisory Council

What's good for Phoenix, is not necessarily good for the rest of the cities and towns in Maricopa County or in greater Arizona. The Symington Administration's Commerce Department will, therefore, include people who come from all parts of the state and all segments of society. Policy must be set by people who reflect the wide diversity of our state.

As Governor, I will form a council to advise my Administration on matters related to the revitalization of rural Arizona's economy. This council will include representatives from Arizona's rural counties, leaders from businesses in these counties, and representatives from the state's rural economic development entities and interests.

L. A New Commitment to Communication

Arizona has a vast array of economic resources. We have talented business professionals, a highly skilled work force and great universities and colleges. I believe that it is important for these sectors to be in close communication. These sectors have for too long had only informal means to communicate and confer. The Department of Education, the Board of Regents and the community colleges can work together with business leaders to offer courses which meet our business needs. It is a governor's job to provide a formal mechanism that will facilitate direct communication between those entities and interests. By fostering this kind of communication, we can start an incubation process that will result in some very creative strategies to help our economy.

M. An Arizona Economic Roundtable

As Governor, I plan to invite leaders from small, large and minority-owned businesses, labor leaders, as well as leaders from our academic community, to a yearly roundtable on Arizona's economy. Such a roundtable will identify key economic issues and concerns of the state. Such a forum will encourage the communication necessary to enhance strong, continuing economic development.

N. Arizona in a Global Economy

Arizona Department of Commerce figures indicate that over 30 percent of all products manufactured in Arizona are exported. In addition, almost 90 percent of all Arizona cotton is exported as well as 25 percent of our citrus production. These figures underscore the reality of the ever growing interdependence of our state's economy with that of the global marketplace.

Foreign trade and investment play a major role in our state's economy. A very significant share of our state's employment -- over 100,000 manufacturing jobs alone -- is directly dependent upon international markets. We also profit from an estimated \$1.5 billion in foreign investment in Arizona.

We have, however, just begun to realize the enormous potential of

international trade. There are huge economic benefits for existing business to find markets outside Arizona's borders. We need to develop an aggressive strategy to tap these markets and to attract foreign investment to create new jobs in Arizona. This process is usually begun by opening trade offices in the countries with whom we hope to do business. To date, Arizona has established only one trade office -- in Taiwan. It is essential that Arizona establish additional trade offices for us to do our part in correcting our country's trade balance. Before doing so, we must first organize our efforts. Our strategy should include:

- Coordination of the state's efforts with the private sector prior to making any decision on future offices overseas.

- The City of Phoenix, Arizona Department of Commerce, City of Tucson and City of Glendale have all sent trade missions to Japan. As Governor, I will propose an annual trade mission for the entire state, coordinating all such efforts.

- Maintenance of a joint legislative study committee on international trade which would oversee the long-range strategic planning efforts for international trade, investment and tourism for the State of Arizona.

Having done preliminary, organizational work, I will focus next on establishing trade offices in the following countries:

1. Mexico -- Obviously a top priority as our largest export market and because natural economic linkage.

2. Europe -- With the decline of the Soviet military threat, the startling and dramatic changes in eastern Europe and the emergence of the European Economic Community, this is probably the most exciting arena of economic activity in the world.

3. Canada -- Our second best trading partner and tourism market after Mexico, it is an important market for job creating investment for Arizona as well.

4. Japan -- Without a trade office we cannot effectively trade with

Japan and keep up with the 38 states who have established offices there.

In addition to trade offices, I will promote trade missions as an effective means of generating export sales of Arizona products and services. Arizona firms who produce complimentary products would schedule meetings with potential buyers or distributors of the products. Because of the targeted nature of the event it is easier to attract the interest of high ranking decision makers in the foreign country where research has indicated that a market exists for the Arizona firms.

Special attention should be paid to Mexico, a country whose importance to our economy is growing. As a result of our proximity and our long-time ties to the state of Sonora, we are in an ideal position to take advantage of the proposed Free Trade Agreement between the United States and Mexico. Shoppers, investors and tourists bring large sums of money into our state. The maquiladora businesses have proved a boon to border communities in Mexico and the United States. As Mexico's economy strengthens and as its policies encourage privatization and capitalism, we will have an economic partner of increasing importance. As Governor, I will increase communications with the Governor of Sonora and make sure the Arizona-Sonora Commission is adequately funded and has a strong economic agenda.

Arizona's economic resources are first-rate. Our climate is ideal. Our natural beauty is a magnet to people throughout the world. With these advantages, plus sound economic policies, strong leadership, and a clear sense of direction, we will provide economic opportunity, prosperity, and security for all Arizonans throughout the 1990's.

5. DRUGS AND CRIME: TIME FOR A NEW ATTITUDE

The drug problem is one of the most important challenges facing Arizona. This problem threatens our future. Drugs are stealing the soul of our state and nation. When Florida, with the help of the federal government, cracked down on drug smuggling the drug lords looked for an easier point of entry - that place is Arizona. Thirty percent of the nation's drug supply comes through Arizona. We have become the trampoline for drugs bounced out of Mexico into the rest of the country. Unfortunately, not all the drugs leave our state; they find their way into our schools and neighborhoods. These are the shameful facts which we must change. They will change when I am Governor of Arizona.

A. New Attitudes, New Tactics

There is no one solution to the drug problem. Rather, the situation requires a variety of tactics.

- Fighting drugs requires a defiant attitude -- an attitude based on the conviction that if we are courageous, resolute, and diligent in a strategy of scoring small victories, we will achieve something significant over time.

- The war on drugs requires a coordinated law enforcement effort dedicated to strict enforcement of current laws and the achievement of goals shared at the state, county, and municipal levels. Arizona has been designated as one of five national high-intensity drug trafficking areas. We must take advantage of this dubious distinction and the 19 million dollars of federal support it brings us. As Governor, I will establish a cabinet level position to bring together the efforts of the National Guard, the Department of Public Safety, the Department of Health Services, the Department of Economic Security, and the Department of Education to focus on how money and programs should be allocated. Together we must launch a coordinated and directed effort to eliminate illegal drugs in our state.

- The fight demands a coordinated community effort as well. Parents, educators, social workers, medical professionals, students and the rest of us must commit ourselves to changes in attitudes and behavior at the family and community level. We must be tenacious in our efforts to rid schools of drugs

and alcohol.

- Our fight requires compassion. I intend to ensure that all drug-addicted Arizonans who seek treatment have access to the best care possible. While we must punish those people who use drugs, we must also show mercy to the victims of drug abuse who want to quit. If we are willing to use a number of new tactics to fight hard for even small victories, we can stem the flow of drugs into Arizona.

I will use the Governor's office as a focal point for Arizona's drug war effort. There are many organizations and groups working on the drug problem at the federal, state and local levels. I will coordinate these efforts so that we achieve maximum benefit.

We need a three pronged attack, consisting of prevention, enforcement, and treatment. This will be my P.E.T. project.

Prevention

- Drug Free Rallies: As Governor, I will visit as many schools as I can to lead well-organized, hard-hitting rallies aimed at helping children make smart choices and convincing them that drugs are truly a dead end.

- Drug Education: Every school should have an effective drug education program. Our universities should include drug education in their teacher education curriculum.

- Jobs for Youth, Providing Hope: As Governor, I will propose the creation of a program aimed at providing jobs for teenagers. Employers will be asked to join in this program to provide young people with a positive substitute for drug-related activities.

- Arizona Media Against Drugs: Why not enlist the resources of Arizona's media in the fight against drugs? There is probably no more powerful tool for influencing public attitudes. In Dallas, broadcasters recently joined together in an innovative gesture of concern for their community. They devoted an hour of prime time to broadcast a special

program about Texas' war on drugs. The stations received an audience share of over 70%! As Governor, I will meet with representatives from the media and marketing community who are willing to devote their energy and expertise to attacking the drug problem. Together we can deploy a powerful new weapon in our war on drugs.

- Drug-Free Workplace: As Governor, I will insist that all state departments have in place drug-free policies that mean business. Businesses which receive state contracts or grants will be required to implement drug-free workplace policies.

Enforcement

The drug lords have shown us no mercy. I will show none to them! I will pursue drug dealers criminally, civilly and administratively. There will be no sanctuaries in Arizona for drug dealers. I do not believe the drug laws can be too tough. Punishment for serious drug offenses should include the option of the death penalty.

- Law Enforcement Coordination: I will convene an executive level conference of law enforcement agencies from the state, county, municipal and federal levels. We will set common goals designed for a coordinated assault to close the drug supply line into Arizona and prosecute those who operate it at all levels.

- Drug-Free School Zones: Selling drugs anywhere is a serious crime, but selling drugs to our school children is a tragedy that must be stopped. The legislature has approved drug-free zones of one thousand feet around our schools. I suggest anyone caught selling drugs or providing alcohol to students inside this zone should receive double the maximum sentence. No parole. No exceptions.

Distinctive Drug Free School signs would be placed around each school, serving as a visible reminder of the defiant attitude every Arizonan needs to exhibit against the menacing problem of drugs. These signs would emit a positive signal, that this is where Arizona draws the line on drug traffic, and they would send out a clear message -- stay away from our children!

- Post Arrest Review: People arrested for drug offenses would have all state benefits reviewed, including state licenses, scholarships, welfare and health benefits. We will increase asset identification and forfeiture of drug dealers' property.

- Drug Disaster Areas: The Governor should have the ability to designate certain neighborhoods as drug disaster areas. This would provide a vehicle for increased prevention and education efforts, increased enforcement, increased street and park clean up, and additional help in identifying treatment, health and welfare options. Access to certain streets could be controlled to deter drive-by shootings and limit traffic routes for drug dealers. We need to support the efforts of citizens who are trying to take back their neighborhoods from gangs and drug dealers.

Treatment

This state is filled with caring, compassionate people who help those in distress. While we can and must fight the drug war mercilessly, we must also treat its victims -- the drug addicted who are crying for help. They are not walking away from treatment but often walk away from long waiting lists. As Governor, I will work toward providing treatment for all who seek it. The state will seek out and support drug rehabilitation and counseling programs that are already at work in our state.

- Coordination: Just as I will work with law enforcement and education leaders, I will work with public and private leaders in the drug treatment community to map out a coordinated state-wide treatment strategy.

- Corrections: Most hard core addicts come in contact with the criminal justice system at some point in time. I will see that the Department of Corrections provides substance abuse rehabilitation programs.

- Programs: We will identify a full range of treatment options and do a better job of matching patient and program.

B. Crime

According to the U. S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, Arizona now has the

fourth highest rate of violent crime in America. Only Texas, Florida and Washington, D.C., have higher per capita rates of murder, rape, assault and armed robbery. This is completely unacceptable.

It is no secret that the drug problem accounts for the greater part of these statistics. All crime, however, is not drug-related. As Governor, I will be committed to reducing crime in all its forms, for Arizona must be a safe place to live.

First, crime is frequently a response to economic hardships. A sound, growing economy will provide hope and opportunity to those who might turn to crime. Second, criminals are persons who have largely failed in our educational system. My plan to reform Arizona's educational system will keep students in school and enhance the self-worth of each student.

These reforms will reduce the number of teenagers who turn to crime because the educational system has failed to interest and include them. Last, we must realize that the current correctional system creates repeat offenders. We must, therefore, create a prison environment which is truly "correctional."

New Approach to Arizona's Prisons

Prisons must do as much to reduce future crimes as they do to keep convicts off the streets. While some convicts should never re-enter society, many can do so, and Arizona's prisons should prepare them for a law-abiding life. I do not believe that the current system is doing this well enough.

- **Increase Inmate Labor** -- Prisoners should be put to work. As Governor, I will encourage private businesses to employ prisoners to work on tasks that can be done within the confines of prison. Prisoners should be paid a wage which will be used to help defray the cost of their incarceration and pay restitution to the victim. The remainder can be deposited in a savings account to be drawn upon after release. I also believe the state can increase the already effective prison labor program on state projects. Non-violent criminals can work on public land maintenance, and there are many other possibilities to expand Arizona's existing prison labor program.

- **Explore Prison Privatization** -- As is the case in many prisons across the

country, Arizona's prisons are over-crowded. New prisons must be built. I believe that the private sector can build and operate prisons more efficiently than the state. Such private prisons would provide incarceration without the burden of additional state expenditures, with the state merely paying a fee for prison services. Such facilities have worked in other states. A Symington Administration would explore this very workable option.

Bringing Victims Back into the Judicial Process

For too long, the civil rights of criminals have been doggedly insured at the expense of the victim of a crime. While our judicial system must protect the rights of the accused, it should not consider those rights superior to those of the victim.

- **The Victim's Bill of Rights** -- As Governor, I would support the adoption of a Victim's Bill of Rights. Such a measure would provide a clear list of rights that victims of crime would be entitled to in any judicial procedure. I think it is time that Arizona made it clear to victims of crime that their rights are respected and guarded by our state judicial system.

Encouraging Careers in Law Enforcement

A career in law enforcement is one of the highest forms of public service available in this country. We should encourage young people to explore a career in Arizona's law enforcement forces.

- **State Criminology Scholarship** -- I will propose a limited number of full tuition scholarships to state universities for outstanding students who wish to study criminology.

- **Greater Law Enforcement/School Cooperation** -- I believe that officials from the law enforcement community should play a greater role in Arizona's schools. Officers should give presentations on topics like drugs and safety in every grade, so the seeds of respect and mutual understanding are planted early and nurtured continuously.

6. IMPROVING OUR HEALTH CARE SYSTEM

The Norman Rockwell version of the doctor-patient relationship is, for most of us, long gone. The 1980's have seen a revolution in the financing and structure of our system of medical care. Fundamental changes have taken place in the way health care providers get paid. Dramatic changes have also occurred in the way medical practices are organized. The growth in prepaid group practices, "surgicenters" and the "unbundling" of hospital services are indicative of the magnitude of the recent changes in the delivery system. As consumers, we have been forced to swim in a health care alphabet soup in which doctors' groups are called IPA's, medical diagnoses are called DRG's and health insurance companies are referred to as PPO's or HMO's. Even Arizona's health care program for the poor, which is known as Medicaid in all other states, is called AHCCCS here.

The problems on the health scene are enormous and well-known to all of us. The solutions are far less obvious.

While every Arizonan should have access to basic health care, we must first decide what basic health care should include and then we must determine how that care will be provided and funded. The next step is to develop a long-range strategic plan for health care which not only sets forth what services should be provided but also includes a realistic projection of the cost of those services. All the participants must join in the process: The public and private sectors; the state and federal government; small and large employers; insurance carriers and health care providers. Finally, health care consumers must also be part of this dialogue and must realize that their willingness to participate will determine what kind of system we ultimately have. The question of funding any program must always be addressed in light of the budget deficit we face. Before considering any increase in spending, I will make sure we are taking full advantage of all available federal funds and expand on cooperative efforts between the public and private sector.

The Legislature will, once again, wrestle with these issues during its next session and I will strongly support and encourage their efforts. Further, I will work closely with policy makers in the executive and legislative branches of the federal government to ensure that Arizona's concerns are addressed

in any solutions that are proposed on the national level. Several subjects require particular attention.

A. The Uninsured

Access to care for the uninsured and under-insured is the biggest problem facing health care today. The numbers of uninsured are growing and the ranks are being swelled not just with the poor or the unemployed, but more and more by the middle class. I believe the AHCCCS pilot program for small employers is a promising start in the right direction. I strongly oppose mandatory employer coverage; however, risk pools, waivers for coverage of mandated benefits and coverage for people considered uninsurable due to prior illnesses all need to be considered. The implementation of any of these options must be accomplished with regard to their effect on the state, its employers and its citizens.

B. Prenatal Care

Statistics showing that three dollars are saved for every dollar spent on early, comprehensive prenatal care is a persuasive argument for expanding this program in Arizona. We rank 45th in the nation in getting women into early prenatal care and fourth worst in the nation for the number of women receiving late care in pregnancy or none at all. These distressing statistics translate into correspondingly high rates of infant mortality and low birth weight babies who are at far greater risk of death or life-long problems. It makes sense for both ethical and financial reasons to provide prenatal care. The first stay in a hospital intensive care nursery costs an average of \$29,000.

We must include, as part of prenatal care, special services directed at helping drug addicted women. In 1989, 152 "crack" babies were born at Phoenix Memorial Hospital. That number should double this year. This is an expensive tragedy, the cost to the social service system is over \$55,000 per baby.

Prenatal care is an ideal area for public/private partnerships. In fact, additional assistance from the state's businesses, private charities, health organizations and related interest groups will be required if our maternity services are to be improved. Several praise-worthy private sector initiatives

are already underway. These programs point up the significant role the private sector can play in improving prenatal care in Arizona. The state, however, should not shirk its responsibility. It must underwrite prenatal care for those who need it and are unable to pay for it.

C. Rural Communities

With respect to health care, rural counties must not be neglected. Clearly, however, the rural areas are currently under-served. There are positive steps being taken, such as the recent creation of the Maricopa Area Health Education Center. This private agency will work to establish clinical education sites in rural and under-served areas of Maricopa County for students in medicine, nursing, pharmacy, physical therapy, dentistry, radiology and a host of related fields. This program will be funded initially by the federal government and will look to state and local support for its continuation. This kind of program should be expanded as needed throughout the state.

We should also consider providing forgivable loans to students in the health profession who are willing to practice in rural or under-served areas. I would promote the training and greater use of mid-level practitioners to serve these areas as well.

D. AIDS

Education is the key component to preventing AIDS. Many outstanding educational programs could be implemented at little additional cost to the state. Education should begin in schools, at appropriate developmental levels, as part of standard health education. A combined effort on the part of the state, private employers and families should be made to combat the spread of AIDS.

E. Mental and Behavioral Health

Arizona is in the process of adding substance abuse and behavioral health services for AHCCCS-eligible children up to age 18. This is an important first step in covering behavioral health services. Arizona must move forward to expand this coverage to adults as well so that we can erase our shameful

record as the worst state in the nation in funding for behavioral health.

Arizona needs to develop a comprehensive mental health system. It needs to be a cost-effective, unified system which coordinates programs and funding. I support the concept of a Department of Mental Health which would report directly to the governor. This department would be responsible for the delivery and coordination of all mental and behavioral health services, including alcohol and substance abuse, for all age groups. This department would also coordinate as many as possible of the state, county, municipal and private sector behavioral health organizations, agencies, consumers and families.

F. Individual Responsibility

The term "health care" is a misnomer to describe our system. What we have is a disjointed payment model which determines how to pay for people's medical expenses. We don't have a system which focuses on keeping people healthy. Obviously, a humane government needs to provide for those unable to care for themselves, but I think it is time to stress the individual's responsibility for his or her own health. We need a state-wide program supporting the holistic approach to health, emphasizing education about diet, exercise and lifestyle. Greater emphasis on health education will certainly save this state money over the long run.

G. Tort Reform

Skyrocketing medical malpractice insurance premiums are contributing greatly to increased health care costs. I do not favor a limit on actual damages in personal injury lawsuits, but some limits on damages for pain and suffering and lawyer's fees are appropriate.

I favor a change in the Arizona constitution which would allow for tort reform. Of course, a vote of the people would be necessary for this constitutional change.

7. CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

The crisis of Arizona children and families is a denial of the values we as a people profess to have. Investing in children and families will come first on my list for concern and action.

A. Helping Arizona's Homeless

Families with children make up over one-third of Arizona's homeless population, and are the fastest growing segment. A major cause of homelessness is the lack of affordable housing. To deal with this problem, I will support the creation of a housing authority to ensure the development of low-income housing programs and oversee the Housing Trust Fund. This fund, established from unclaimed bank accounts and utility deposits, would be used to finance low-income housing projects. In addition, public-private partnerships should be encouraged to create affordable housing. I would propose that the state help finance builders who will agree to reserve 20% of any residential project for low-income housing. I would also work to reinstate federal subsidies to low-income housing which have been severely cut over the last decade. The glut of real estate owned by the RTC have created opportunities for churches and charitable organizations to help the homeless. Programs have been initiated to purchase homes at reduced prices and allow them to be used as transition homes for homeless families. I support these efforts and envision the state's role as assisting with funding and cutting the "red tape" to allow the private sector to be responsive to this pressing need.

The 39th Legislature authorized the creation of an office within the Department of Economic Security to address the issue of homelessness, including coordination and assistance to public and private organizations that serve the homeless. This office will submit an annual report to the Governor. My goal would be to ensure that homelessness becomes and remains a top priority. The Office for the Homeless can and should maximize the federal and private funding available to us, and should provide state-level policy direction and promote joint efforts by state agencies to address the problem.

Many in our homeless population are employable individuals, but when they

are without telephones, mailboxes, child care, or appropriate clothing, getting a job can seem impossible. Existing job training and employment opportunities must be made accessible to them. Programs offered by the Arizona Department of Economic Security should have outreach components and well coordinated resources such as transitional housing and child care. Our community colleges are an excellent resource for providing job training for the homeless and should be more fully utilized.

In addition, we should adopt programs shown to have been effective in other states, which determine what services families need to hang on to fragile living arrangements and avoid becoming homeless.

B. Child Care

One of the most significant trends in our labor force has been the increase in the number of working mothers. This influx of women into the work place and resulting changes in family structure has created a need for good, affordable child care. Many Arizona employers have initiated child care assistance programs and have benefited from a happier, more productive work force with less absenteeism, tardiness and turnover. Legislation has been passed which provides for a state income tax credit for employers who provide day care facilities or assist their employees in obtaining day care. I support this law and will urge expansion of the tax credit.

C. Legal Protection for Women

We should take steps to ensure that women are fully protected by Arizona's legal system.

- Stiffer Penalties for Domestic Violence -- I believe that the present system is too lenient toward men who abuse their wives. I will urge legislation toughening existing domestic violence laws.

- Stricter Collection of Child Support Payments -- Divorce is difficult enough on families without the added financial burden of uncollected child support. When a husband is legally required to pay child support and doesn't, the legal system should move quickly and firmly to compel payment. As Governor, I will push for stricter enforcement of existing child support

laws and, if necessary, propose more stringent guidelines.

D. CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT

In Arizona, Child Protective Services, a section of the Department of Economic Security, is responsible for services designed to serve children and families who are at risk of or who are victims of abuse and neglect.

Last year, Child Protective Services received 32,000 reports of abuse and neglect. They are able to investigate only 1,450 cases per month. While the numbers of child abuse reports are increasing, funding for Child Protective Services and the broader child welfare system has lagged behind, leaving us without the resources and services to do the job of protecting and caring for those of our children who have no one else.

We must intervene with adequate funding and service, otherwise those who are not helped at this juncture may become statistics in our behavioral health or correctional system.

8. PRIDE IN ARIZONA

Arizona has suffered through a period of intense political turmoil, followed by a lack of focus and an inability to set priorities and deal effectively with a number of problems. We can change this as we head into the new decade.

One of the most important tasks facing the next administration will be to re-establish Arizona's image around the nation and the world as a place of opportunity and a state where things are done right. Throughout most of its history, Arizona has enjoyed a positive reputation. But in recent years our state's image has suffered. Arizona's economic performance, drug problem and political climate have all been discussed by the national news media. As recently as last January, nationally syndicated columnist, George Will, wrote an article about Arizona entitled, "Flat Earth Politics." Noting that "most of the 3.5 million Arizonans are perfectly normal, walking-around Americans," Will observed, "They have had to get used to turmoil." In April, Time Magazine ran an article about Arizona politics, and noted of our state, "It is not a place for the politically faint of heart." This is hardly the image we want to project.

A. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Holiday

Arizona should celebrate the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the way that 47 other states do. Dr. King is a great symbol for civil rights who stood for equal opportunity and brotherhood. I am convinced that his personal insistence on a course of non-violent protest spared this nation a major bloodbath at a critical point in our history. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. By refusing to celebrate the King birthday, a holiday established by the U.S. Congress, Arizona sends an incorrect and harmful signal that its citizens are insensitive to the civil rights of minorities. We must establish an appropriate celebration of Dr. King's birthday.

B. Volunteer Services Project

We cannot expect others to feel good about Arizona until Arizonans feel good about themselves. We need to rekindle state pride in our past, and generate renewed optimism about our future.

I propose to create a Volunteer Services Project within the Administration to promote volunteerism in Arizona. There are limits to what government can do for people, but there are no limits to what people can do for themselves. Given a government that creates a climate where people are encouraged to use their talents to their fullest, we in Arizona will make the most of our opportunities.

The first program to be implemented by the Volunteer Services Project will be a four-year Arizona Pride effort to encourage communities to research their past, plan for their futures, complete community projects and invite everyone who has ever lived in the community to return for an Arizona Pride celebration in 1994. From Bisbee to Show Low and beyond, Arizona towns are rich in history and tradition. We need to find ways to reach back and find what it was that made Arizona such an interesting and promising frontier land. The television stations could play an important role by agreeing to air, as public service announcements, commercials in which prominent Arizonans, as well as Arizonans in positions of responsibility and authority, tell about some interesting aspect of Arizona's past.

In the 1970's, as America began preparations to celebrate its bicentennial, television spots featured Americans from all walks of life and dealt with aspects of our nation's past. We can start a similar program in Arizona. History teachers throughout the state could provide scripts to the Volunteer Services Project. The Arizona Historical Society could provide photographs and other reference material.

As Governor, I will search for ways to restore pride in our state. It is important that we re-establish Arizona's once positive image -- not just because it helps our economic circumstances, but because we all have the need to feel and believe that Arizona is a very special place in which to live, work, and raise a family.

C. Cultural Diversity

The strength of Arizona is in its people. Arizona is a place where diverse cultures meet. The descendants of ancient Native American inhabitants, the Hispanic offspring of the Conquistadors, the great-grandchildren of sturdy Mormon pioneers as well as recent arrivals from the Midwest all have the

opportunity to work and live together in this the youngest of the 48 contiguous states.

In our diversity, in our commitment to an open society, affording equal opportunity to everyone, without reference to race, religion, sex, or ethnic background, lies our strength. No one's talents and abilities should go wasted or undeveloped because of prejudice or bigotry. We must celebrate our diversity and be proud of it.

In recognition of this legacy, I have supported the Martin Luther King holiday and will continue to do so as Governor. I ask the support of all Arizonans as we renew our dedication to the cause of brotherhood.



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