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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 22, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
COMMUNICATIONS AND DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

FROM: DAVID M. CARNEY
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: Fife Symington Gubernatorial race

Thought you might like to see these newspaper clips on Fife Symington's run-off race. This is for your information.

Gulf war could affect gubernatorial election

Associated Press

A war in the Persian Gulf could affect the scheduled Feb. 26 runoff election for governor between Democrat Terry Goddard and Republican Fife Symington, officials say.

With war imminent after a deadline for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait passed early today, campaign aides and other politicians are trying to predict its effect on Arizona.

"I think we're fishing in uncharted waters here on this question," said Rob Melnick, director of Arizona State University's Morrison Institute for Public Policy, a non-partisan center on public affairs.

Among the most pressing issue would be that Goddard, a lieutenant commander in the Naval Reserve, acknowledges that he might be called up for active duty at any time.

He has used up his "excused absence" status in the reserve, which relieved him of monthly drills before the Nov. 6 election. He began drills Sunday.

Goddard said he would serve if called. He is a gunnery and communications officer assigned to the USS Tarawa, based in Long Beach, Calif.

Goddard said that although he expects war to be "short lived," it still would affect the race simply from a coverage standpoint.

"Obviously, it would be a transcendent event, and no local news is going to be much of a factor if we've got a war-and-peace situation raging," he said.

If Goddard were called to active duty and then elected governor, Secretary of State Richard Mahoney would serve as acting governor in his absence, state officials say.

There are other possible effects.

A political consultant to Symington says a war could benefit the Republican.

Traditionally, Americans have supported presidents during international crises and that could carry over, said Jay Smith, an Alexandria, Va., consultant.

"If we do go to war, there would be a surge of patriotism," Smith said. "I think you will see President Bush's support increase. That might not be all bad for Fife Symington, and might heighten interest in a presidential visit, so that the presidential endorsement might be enhanced."

William Schneider of the Washington-based American Enterprise Institute, a conservative think tank, agreed.

"If President Bush comes out of this looking powerful, strong George of Arabia, you know, a great military victory that's likely to have some partisan impact."

Schneider acknowledged that Republican support could wither if a war was drawn out or had heavy U.S. casualties, however, he added it would take long after the election date for voter unhappiness to galvanize.

A war also would have an economic effect.

"If we go to war, the likely fallout is going to be economic, and it will be very immediate," Melnick said.

"Arizona's tough times could get immeasurably tougher and could make everything that's come to this point a damn tea party," he said, referring to the recent economic fallout resulting from the state's refusal to enact a paid holiday honoring Martin Luther King Jr.

Melnick speculated that voters may favor the candidate who appears more fiscally conservative, possibly Symington, a developer.

Also with a war, voter turnout could be low, which likely would help Symington since Republicans vote in higher percentages and already outnumber Democrats in Arizona.

A war's effect on runoff is unknown

Goddard call-up among X factors

By William H. Carmichael
The Arizona Republic

Would war between Iraq and the United States affect Arizona's runoff election for governor between Democrat Terry Goddard and Republican Fife Symington?

That question, the candidates campaign aides and political analysts say is as tough to predict as Iraq President Saddam Hussein's next move in the tense Middle East showdown.

"I think we're treading in uncharted waters here on this question," said Rob Melnick, director of Arizona State University's Morrison Institute for Public Policy, a non-partisan center on public affairs.

Several scenarios seem possible. The most obvious would be removal from the race of one of the candidates — at least physically.

Goddard, a lieutenant commander in the Naval Reserve, acknowledges that he might be called up for active duty at any time.

He has used up his "excused absence" status in the reserve, which relieved him of monthly drills before the Nov. 6 election. He began drilling Sunday.

"Anything could happen in a war situation," he said.

Goddard said he would serve if called. But, he said such a call-up would not be automatic with an outbreak of hostilities. Goddard, a gunnery and communications officer, is assigned to the USS Tarawa, based in Long Beach, Calif.

Goddard said that although he expects war to be "short-lived," it nevertheless would affect the race.

"Obviously, it would be a transcendent event and no local event is going to be much of a factor if we've got a war-and-peace situation raging," he said.

If Goddard were called to active duty during the runoff campaign and then elected governor, Secretary of State Richard Mahoney would serve as acting governor in his absence.

Symington said he is not sure what impact hostilities might have.

Goddard trailed Symington in the Nov. 6 general election by more than

— See WAF, page B3

on runoff is unknown

WAF, from page B1

4,000 votes out of 1 million cast, but neither man won a majority as required by the Arizona Constitution, thus forcing the runoff scheduled for Feb. 26.

Another scenario is the "rally around the flag" phenomenon.

Traditionally, Americans have supported presidents during international crises. Jay Smith, an Alexandria, Va., political consultant working for Symington, said that may translate into support for his candidate.

"If we do go to war, there would be a surge of patriotism," Smith said. "I think you will see President Bush's support increase. That might not be all bad for Fife Symington, and might heighten interest in a presidential race, so that the presidential endorsement might be enhanced."

Smith's counterpart in the Goddard camp, Frank Greer, could not be reached for comment despite numerous telephone calls to his Washington, D.C., office during the past week.

William Schneider of the American Enterprise Institute, a conservative think tank based in Washington, agreed.

"If President Bush comes out of this looking powerful, strong — George of Arabia, you know, a great military victory — that's likely to have some partisan impact."

Conversely, Schneider acknowledged, Republican support could waver if a war became bogged down or inflicted heavy U.S. casualties. However, he said, it would take long after the Feb. 26 election date for voter unhappiness to galvanize.

A third scenario centers on economics and a possible cutoff of oil.

"If we go to war, the likely fallout is going to be economic, and it will be very immediate," ASU's Melnick said.

Arizona's tough times could get immeasurably tougher and could make everything that's come to this point a damn tea party," he said, referring to the recent economic fallout resulting from the state's refusal to cancel a paid holiday honoring the late Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

Melnick speculated that voters may favor the candidate who appears more fiscally conservative, believing that he can steer the state through prolonged economic hard times.

"It may play out in Symington's favor," Melnick said, "but I say that with a great caveat."

Melnick believes that a host of pressing state issues would prevent war from overshadowing the governor's race.

The fourth scenario, with a war center turnout could be low.

"If nobody votes, to whose advantage is that?" Schneider said.

"It's usually to the Republicans' advantage, because in a place like Arizona, the Republicans are likely to be more highly motivated, especially if they figure he won the first time."

Registered Republicans outnumber registered Democrats in Arizona by more than 90,000 out of nearly 1.9 million eligible voters.

Then, there's the final scenario: War would have no impact.

Stephen Hein, a senior fellow in governmental studies at the liberal Brookings Institution in Washington, said that "it's a stretch" of the imagination to put the governor's race and the Persian Gulf crisis on the

THE
PHOENIX
GAZETTE

METRO

Poll shows war option support

U.S.-style King Day gets strong backing

By Pat Flannery
THE PHOENIX GAZETTE 1/15/91

Arizonans overwhelmingly favor going to war with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein if today's U.N. deadline for withdrawal from Kuwait is not honored, a new poll suggests.

The statewide KAET-TV poll released today found that 63 percent of those surveyed think the United States should "go to war" or "use whatever force is necessary" if today's U.N. deadline is not met.

The KAET poll also found Republican Fife Symington holding a 9-point lead over Democrat Terry Goddard among likely voters in the Feb. 26 gubernatorial runoff election.

And the poll indicates that by a 2-to-1

margin, Arizonans want a statewide vote soon to decide whether a paid Martin Luther King Jr. holiday patterned after the federal model should be enacted in the state.

A majority of 62 percent said they would vote for such a holiday — combining Washington's and Lincoln's birthdays into a single holiday to make room for King Day — if it were on the ballot.

The King holiday results resemble those of a Rocky Mountain Poll released
See ■ POLLS, Page B2

■ POLLS

From B1

Monday that showed 60 percent of Arizonans favor a King holiday patterned after the federal model.

The KAET poll, conducted by Bruce Merrill, an Arizona State University media researcher and pollster, surveyed 489 people and has a 4.4 percent margin of error. The Rocky Mountain Poll, conducted by Phoenix pollster Earl de Berge, is based on 548 interviews statewide and has a 4.2 percent margin of error.

"President Bush has the strong support of Arizona as he prepares to go to war, if necessary, to push Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait," Merrill said in a statement accompanying the poll. "There is little support for waiting further to see if economic sanctions will work."

Only 17 percent thought the U.S. should "wait for sanctions to work" while 7 percent endorsed a troop withdrawal and 1 percent said America should "pray." Twelve percent did not know what the U.S. response should be.

Symington holds lead

In the gubernatorial race, Merrill's results suggest that Symington has held his supporters more successfully than Goddard since the November general election in

which neither got enough votes to be declared a winner.

Nine percent of those who voted for Symington in November said they are undecided, while 16 percent of those who voted for Goddard said they are undecided.

And 1 percent of those who voted for Symington in November said they would switch to Goddard, while 4 percent of Goddard supporters said they would switch to Symington.

Symington held an 8 percent edge over Goddard in Maricopa County, while Goddard leads by the same margin in Pima County. They are relatively even in the state's rural areas.

Merrill, like most analysts, predicts turnout in next month's election will be a key factor in deciding the winner.

"A lower turnout in the runoff election will definitely benefit Symington," Merrill said. "Symington is leading Goddard by more than a 2-1 margin (54 percent-22 percent) among people over 65 years of age, and people in that age group vote in very high proportions. Their impact will be even larger if turnout is low."

Meanwhile, the King holiday seems destined to go before Ari-

zona voters again, with Gov. Rose Mofford, lawmakers and the public favoring another statewide vote.

King numbers

Merrill's poll found 61 percent of registered voters favor an election on the federal King Day model "sometime in the next few months," while 32 percent oppose that and 7 percent are undecided.

The margin of support held up roughly the same in Maricopa and Pima counties, but eroded significantly in Arizona's rural counties, where support for another vote dwindled to 52 percent, with 39 percent opposed.

Asked how they would vote in such an election, 73 percent of Pima County respondents and 62 percent of Maricopa County respondents said they would favor the federal-type holiday for Arizona. That margin fell to 55 percent in other counties.

De Berge's poll found that among most likely voters, 52 percent supported the national model and 41 percent opposed it.

"Opposition to the (holiday) proposal tends to be most visible in rural Arizona, and among retirees and voters with less than a college education," de Berge said.

Merrill's poll clearly showed how age was a factor. It found that 79 percent of respondents younger than 30 favor the holiday. As age increased, that support decreased, to a low of 42 percent among those age 65 or older.

But de Berge's poll found support for the holiday strengthened among a number of constituencies, including white-collar voters (70 percent), urban voters (64 percent), Republicans (61 percent), conservatives (54 percent) and longer-term residents (69 percent).

In an unscientific poll taken at Ironwood High School in Glendale, seniors were asked whether the U.S. should go to war.

Survey results released today showed that 109 seniors favored a war, 91 were unopposed and three were unsure. The poll was conducted Friday by the Student Council at Ironwood, 6051 W. Sweetwater Ave., where there are about 350 seniors.

"Some people thought we shouldn't go to war because of oil and that's not a reason for blood to be shed," said Stasi Schumacher, student body secretary. "Some thought we should go to war because no single man should have the power to take over a country."

Symington lead 5 points over Goddard, poll says

By William H. Carillo
The Arizona Republic 1/17/91

If February's gubernatorial runoff election were held today, Republican Fife Symington would have a lead of 5 percentage points over his Democratic challenger, Terry Goddard, according to The Arizona Republic Poll.

The survey of 642 registered voters, which was released Wednesday, indicated that 46 percent of registered voters surveyed statewide supported Symington and 41 percent backed Goddard.

The telephone poll, conducted from last Thursday through Sunday, also found that a plurality of Symington supporters believed their candidate would not raise taxes this year if elected, while a plurality of Goddard backers felt their candidate would.

The survey, conducted by Winona Market Research Bureau Inc., is the latest of three polls in two days indicating that Symington leads Goddard as the countdown to the Feb. 26 runoff continues.

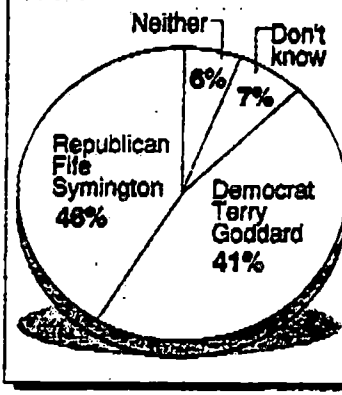
Six percent of those surveyed in The Arizona Republic Poll said they would vote for neither candidate, while 7 percent were undecided.

The survey also asked respondents whether they thought their candidate, if elected, would raise taxes this year.

THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC POLL RUNOFF ELECTION FOR GOVERNOR

Asked of registered voters

If a runoff election for governor were held today, who would you vote for?



The Arizona Republic

Among Symington supporters, 41 percent answered yes and 45 percent said no. Fourteen percent said they didn't know.

Among Goddard backers, 46 percent said their candidate would raise taxes, 32 percent said no, and 22 percent said they didn't know.

Barbara Nelson of Scottsdale, one of Symington's supporters, told the

poll that the GOP candidate would raise taxes, but not in the first year.

"We're in a recession; people are unemployed," she said, adding that the increased demand for social services resulting from the recession would make a tax increase under a Symington administration likely.

Peggy Kater of Why was one Goddard backer surveyed who said the Democratic contender would not raise taxes.

"I think he's a good man for the job," Kater said, adding that the state suffered "no tax troubles" during the tenure of Goddard's father, former Gov. Samuel Goddard.

The survey, done by random-digit dialing, has a margin of error of plus or minus 4 percentage points.

On Tuesday, the Behavior Research Center's Rocky Mountain Poll listed Symington's lead over Goddard at 45 percent to 42 percent among all registered voters.

A survey conducted for KAET-TV (Channel 8), also released Tuesday, showed Symington leading Goddard 49 percent to 40 percent among people most likely to vote, with 11 percent undecided.

Among all registered voters, Symington leads Goddard 42 percent to 36 percent, with 22 percent undecided, the KAET-TV poll said.

Goddard's support is slipping, polls say

By William H. Carlisle
The Arizona Republic 1/16/91

Democratic gubernatorial candidate Terry Goddard's support among Arizonans who voted for him in November appears to be softening, according to a statewide poll released Tuesday.

The survey, conducted Sunday for KAET-TV (Channel 8) by Arizona State University professor Bruce Merrill, said Republican Pife Symington leads Goddard 49 percent to 40 percent among voters most likely to vote, with 11 percent undecided.

Merrill attributed Symington's lead to his ability to hold onto voters who went to the polls for him in the Nov. 6 general election.

Among all registered voters, Symington leads Goddard 42 percent to 36 percent, with 22 percent undecided, the poll said.

Another poll out Tuesday, the Behavior Research Center's Rocky Mountain Poll, listed Symington's lead over Goddard at 45 percent to 42 percent among all voters.

Merrill's survey indicated that eight out of 10 Goddard supporters said they will vote for him again in the Feb. 26 runoff election. Nine of 10

Symington supporters said they will vote for their candidate again.

"The results of the two polls released today are why few people take them seriously this far before an election," said a statement issued by Goddard's campaign headquarters.

Symington also disputed the poll's findings, saying, "We're equal dogs. I think it's a dead heat. The key will be in getting out the vote."

Merrill agreed that voter turnout will be key to the outcome of the runoff election, adding that turnout may be lower than November's because of the absence from the ballot of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. holiday issue. Low voter turnout generally is thought to benefit Republicans, because they outnumber Democrats in Arizona.

Merrill's survey of 489 registered

Arizona voters on Jan. 13 has a margin of error of plus or minus 4.4 percentage points. The margin of error for the subgroup of those most likely to vote was not available.

The Rocky Mountain Poll was based on telephone interviews conducted Jan. 2-7 with 436 registered voters statewide. It has a margin of error of plus or minus 4.27 percentage points.

Phoenix Gazette
1/16/91

Campaign

Is Terry Goddard desperate?

Terry Goddard's shrill, personal attacks on Republican Fife Symington keep a promise he shouldn't have made.

T rue to his pledge, former Phoenix mayor Terry Goddard has changed the tenor of his gubernatorial campaign to one of aggressiveness; seeking out opportunities for publicity, and pushing for public encounters with his opponent, Republican Fife Symington.

But this is one pledge Goddard ought not to have kept.

His new-found "aggressiveness," has turned into desperation, his seeking publicity has provided shrill political theatrics and his push for public encounters has allowed Symington to set the campaign agenda.

Most troubling of all is Goddard's recent lurch toward wild, personal attacks on Symington, including charges that the Republican represents the "politics of high risk and failure."

Goddard notes that attached to Symington's Esplanade development are "huge debts to banks and insurance companies (that) are going to hang over the ninth floor like a shadow. His creditors are going to call the tune."

Adds Goddard, "When J. Fife borrows money and it doesn't work out, he just walks away."

This is the sort of tripe one would expect of a candidate whose campaign is sagging. Bingo.

Goddard, already a 4,000-vote loser to Symington in the November election, is embarked on a

reckless assault that ill serves his candidacy and fails to illuminate the very real talents and accomplishments about which Goddard can legitimately boast.

But the tactic does something else. It sucks Goddard into the public scrubbers as well, where media bristles recently uncovered a deposition from Sen. Dennis DeConcini, D-Ariz., provided to the Senate Ethics Committee.

In that deposition, DeConcini reportedly reveals that he solicited contributions from Charles H Keating Jr. for Goddard's 1983 mayoral race. Goddard, said DeConcini, "specifically asked me if I could raise some money from Mr. Keating and his associates."

What makes these facts particularly odious is, as *The Gazette's* John Kolbe has pointed out, that Goddard attacked his 1983 mayoral opponent Pete Dunn for taking \$21,000 from Keating and, suggesting Dunn had sold out to the "powerful few who are controlling our city."

Goddard not only sought Keating money in 1983, but in fact received additional campaign contributions from him in 1985, — later dismissing the acceptance as "a mistake ... a momentary lapse."

Symington was our choice for governor for the November election, and is our choice for governor in the February run-off. He is not the desperate candidate.

Goddard, Symington prepare for second heat

They're back.

After nearly two months retooling their campaigns and replenishing their coffers for the Feb. 26 runoff election, Democrat Terry Goddard and Republican Fife Symington Tuesday held back-to-back kickoffs for Phase Two of the Governor's Race That Wouldn't Die.

Crowded into the quaint Spanish-style building that houses Goddard's campaign headquarters, Democrat loyalists perched along the second-floor balcony as television crews positioned their equipment for the event.

In an old-time campaign speech punctuated by orchestrated cheers and boos from the crowd, Goddard unveiled his new underdog campaign persona — loud, angry and, above all, anti-tax.

Gone was the calm, self-assured former Phoenix mayor who had proudly championed progressive, sweeping and expensive programs to expand the Valley's transportation system, develop the Salt River flood plain and build a downtown stadium. During the general election campaign, Goddard had championed the ACE education initiative, a \$5.8 billion plan voters rejected two to one.

Instead, Goddard cited his role in 1982 in successfully pushing for a gas tax rollback by the Legislature. His record, he said, is one of "fighting for the taxpayers and against business as usual." In all, the 20-minute speech carried no fewer than 11 references to taxes and taxpayers, including a promise to veto any state budget that carries "new revenue."

Goddard's newfound fiscal conservatism and folksy rhetorical style was similar to Gov. Rose Mofford's 1990 State of the State address, which seemed to be tailor-made to woo voters before Mofford decided not to run for re-election. Mofford went so far as to abandon a pet project, the Fiscal 2000 revenue reform plan, in much the same way Goddard now is distancing himself from his former support for programs such as ACE.

Beyond the tax issue, Goddard portrayed himself as an anti-establishment maverick, citing his successful push in 1983 to bring the district system of representation — and shortly thereafter, himself — to the city of Phoenix.

"We ended over 40 years of domination of Phoenix City Hall by a few power brokers," Goddard boasted in anti-elitist language reminiscent of another governor, Evan Mecham.

During the general election, Goddard seemed to be trying to move away from his early rabble-rousing days



Rosemary Schabert Case

The Capitol Scene

and reassure the political and business establishment that he had settled in comfortably as part of the power structure. Now he apparently feels he has succeeded too well in identifying himself with the status quo and has to turn around the anti-incumbent backlash that surely played a role in his failure to win.

Still, Goddard is unlikely really to take to heart Tuesday's flaming rhetoric. By Wednesday, questioned by reporters about his stated anti-tax stance, Goddard backed off from ruling out any tax increase under any circumstances.

"To sit here and say, 'Read my lips,' I think, should be regarded as just pandering to voters, and I won't do that," Goddard said, sounding more like his old Harvard-educated self.

As Goddard wrapped up his stunning, folksy performance, Symington was arriving at a luncheon of the impeccably coifed and manicured Camelback Young Republicans at the downtown Arizona Club. Against the backdrop of a panoramic view of the city, the Phoenix developer proffered his own pledge of fiscal conservatism — in his case, with no dramatic change in either substance or style.

Symington, who garnered a 4,300-vote edge in the Nov. 6 general election, appeared to have shed all vestiges of his former underdog status. In a studiously calm and measured voice, he called for a high-road campaign.

He then angrily accused Goddard of "sleazy" campaign tactics, pointing to "smear sheets" being circulated by Goddard supporters that attack his business practices and personal life.

In particular, Symington singled out a reference to his "current wife," Ann.

"The implications of this kind of wording, I think, are really sleazy," said Symington, who married Ann 15 years ago after an early divorce. "I think the people of this state deserve better."

While Symington's reaction was understandable — and strategically calculated to backfire on Goddard forces — his own record of campaign tactics is not unflawed.

During one early general election debate, Symington hammered repeatedly on his image as a family man, obviously exploiting Goddard's single status. Finally, he prompted a hearty round of boos on the issue of juvenile abortions by saying he "wouldn't expect him (Goddard) to necessarily understand my feelings as a father."

But Symington was attacking Goddard in his campaign literature as well.

One flyer contained this mysteriously negative quote from Democrat Sen. Jaime Gutierrez, a Goddard supporter: "I don't see how anything that (Goddard) can do or that he can say will ever persuade . . . the folks that have concerns (in rural areas) that he's going to be for real and he's going to treat everybody fairly and equally." The comment, part of a *Tribune* story shortly after Goddard announced his candidacy; omitted the phrase "100 percent of," replacing it with the ellipsis.

On Wednesday, Symington began a series of "town halls" around the state. It's no accident he's capitalizing on what supporters and observers view as his greatest strength: one-on-one appearances before small groups of voters, particularly in rural areas. In this setting, he can listen to their concerns and offer answers tailored to their needs — usually with only the rural press in attendance.

He also can meet personally with and woo the conservative Republicans whose votes are crucial. It's worth noting that as tallies rolled in from rural areas on the ballot measure creating a Martin Luther King holiday, Symington's totals rose along with the number of "no" votes on the holiday. Now, Symington, though a King supporter, is calling for caution on the issue.

With the governor's race back in full swing, voters face yet another barrage of promises, charges and counter-charges. With support nearly evenly split between the two candidates and only weeks remaining, they will be working hard to yank support away from each other.

That surely will make for a tougher, more calculating race. Whether it will make for better turnout at the polls — or drive voters away in droves — remains to be seen.

Rosemary Schabert Case is a state Capitol reporter.

Key Votes

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

Election Results

1988 general	Don Young (R)	120,595	(62%)	(\$626,377)
	Peter Gruenstein (D)	71,881	(37%)	(\$402,477)
1988 primary	Don Young (R)	62,803	(91%)	
	George Johnston (R)	6,214	(9%)	
1986 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

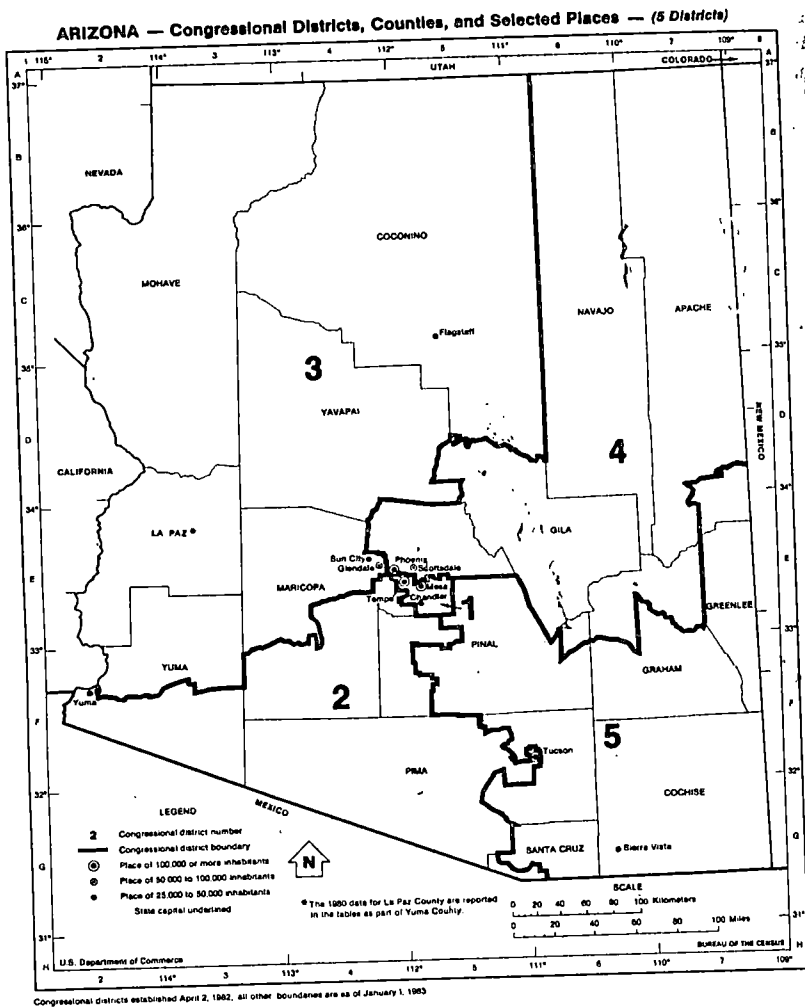
form any unusually large percentage of the state's population.

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,

every-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 decision 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 do 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 was Babbitt's choice; Bill Schulz, a Democratic businessman who ran as an independent; and 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 a 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 Indianah 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%)
Pymnts 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).

January 28, 1991

MEMORANDUM

TO: MARK LANGE
FROM: CAROLYN CAWLEY *cc*
RE: SYMINGTON REMARKS

Event: Fundraiser for Fife Symington
Date: Thursday -- February 7, 1991
Time: 6:30 p.m. ((Event is scheduled from
6:00 - 8:00 p.m.; POTUS will
be there from 6:30 to 6:50.))
Place: Madison Hotel
Press: Closed Press
Intro of POTUS: either Symington or Governor Campbell
Acknowledgements: ((still TBD, but...))
Symington and wife
Governor Campbell
AZ Congressional delegation:
Senator John McCain
Contacts: AZ Campaign Office -- 602/468-1990
Campaign Manager: Bunny Badertscher
Deputy: Barbara Williams
Press Sec'y: Annette Alvarez
Event Coord.: Diana Daggett
Republican Governors Association -- 863-8587
Tim Crawford

This is a cocktail event. Some guests will be seated around the perimeter of the room, but most of them will be standing.

PERSONAL NOTES

- o The Symingtons will be celebrating their 15th wedding anniversary on this same day.

ML:

FYI:

Still waiting for fax from his campaign (bio, accomplishments, campaign literature, etc.) Should come on Wednesday, '36. Take a look at Curt's Symington fundraiser remarks from October. (Event was cancelled — to my knowledge, the remarks were never given & still exist.)

On Symington: He was a political unknown till the primary when he seized the nomination. Ran a good race vs. Phoenix mayor Terry Goddard — they split the vote nearly 50-50 in the general election. State law requires a majority of ^{the} vote so there's a runoff on Feb. 26.

NOTES ON THE STATE OF ARIZONA

I. GROWTH OF THE STATE

- o 50 years ago AZ was sparsely settled, a wide expanse of desert and mountains with only 550,000 people scattered in dusty crossroad settlements, copper mining 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 that most had never visited but which everyone knew from Western movies -- where the cowboys rode out against Indians over the desert and the sun set behind the giant Saguaro cactus.

- o Then the air conditioner, the jet airliner, and water made possible the affluent civilization of 3.3 million that is Arizona today. AC made life bearable; jets made AZ accessible for vacationers and then businessmen; and water, collected in this rainless desert from anything resembling a river and piped in from the Colorado River, made possible Arizona's farming industries and the vast cities of Phoenix and Tucson. Three fourths of Arizonans live in these two cities that are almost entirely the creation of post World War II.

- o This new Arizona is a fresh start, a chance to build in a desert once owned by Spain and Mexico a quintessentially American civilization -- new comers, pioneers, arrive to take advantage of the climate and expanding business opportunities; to carve from desert their own oasis.

Phoenix has been attracting high-tech industries since Motorola built a research center for military electronics in 1948. The dry climate is good for precision manufacturing.

- o Except for a few pioneer families, most Arizonans are newcomers. Even so, the new residents see themselves as defenders of old-fashioned enterprise and traditional moral values. Goldwater!

II. COLOR AND ANECDOTES ON THE STATE

- o Four mountain ranges -- the Santa Catalina, Rincon, Santa Rita, and Tucson -- form a protected valley around the city of Tucson.

Jesuit missionaries had visited the Papago village of Chuck Son ("at the foot of the mountain") in the 1690's; that dark mountain today is called Sentinel Peak, now a famous landmark. Since 1915 it has borne a huge white washed "A" placed there by University of Arizona students.

- o Arizona became a territory separate from New Mexico on February 12, 1863 when President Lincoln signed the bill.

The first capital was Prescott. Later the capital, which came to be known as the "capital on wheels", moved to Tucson, back to Prescott, and finally to Phoenix in 1889.

Official state nickname : the Grand Canyon State.

- o Grand Canyon. The one-armed Civil War hero John Wesley Powell led a party of 9 down the Green and Colorado rivers in 1869. The men spent most of a month navigating the uncharted rapids. Before they began their descent, Powell wrote,

"We are now ready to start on our way down the Great Unknown....What falls there are, we know not."

((Could you liken this to some political undertaking?))

It's been said that: "The canyon...is the most revealing single page of the earth's history anywhere open on the face of the globe."

IV. STATE QUOTES

- o "Arizona is bigger than anybody who comes into it."
- o "Arizona is both frontier and metropolitan; ghost town and plush resort; cowboy and Indian; dowager and business big shot; it is a king-sized colorful Kansas with cactus and climate, and a fledgling Texas with less horn-tooting."

- o "The Arizona of the past, in truly, is not past. And that is one reason Arizonans do not turn about so often to look for it. The Old West still lies a mile or two off any road."

V. POLITICS IN THE STATE

- o As Arizona grew, it changed politically from a Democratic state to a Republican one. The old Arizona sent politicians to Washington to funnel government subsidies to the state's dependent economy. Then, starting with Barry Goldwater's election to the Senate in 1952, postwar Arizonans started sending politicians to Washington to advance their theories and ideas. Goldwater's conservative ideas set the political tone for the growing state.

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 successful:

John Rhodes
Richard Kleindienst
William Rehnquist
Sandra Day OConnor

Arizona is the only state in the Union which has voted Republican in every Presidential election since 1948.

"The Flying the Flag" series of state almanacs describes AZ:

More than 400 years ago, the land that was to become Arizona was a disappointment.

It was not, after all, the site of the fabled Seven Cities of Cibola envisioned by Francisco Coronado. The Spanish explorer and his followers left the land with their dreams of golden wealth unrealized.

Today, the wealth of Arizona is a palette of many colors, the dark blue forests along the Mogollon Rim, the green depths of rivers and lakes bringing precious water to parched ares, the rich red in the rocks of the Painted Desert and in Oak Creek Canyon, in the black and white canopy of a cold, crisp night sky. The gold is there, too, in the burnished promise of the future.

Arizona is a colorful creation wrought of nature's state sculpted from equal parts of a storied past, a unique land and a hardworking people.

To the casual observer, Arizona is a burning, blazing desert where a bleached skull points the way to a dry creekbed. Or, it's the Grand Canyon with its deep, desolate gorges and its forbidding cliff faces. The modern Arizona is a singular mix of the Old West and the New West where traditional values walk in lockstep with progress and achievement. It's as new as the Phoenix Cardinals and as old as the blowing desert sands. Arizona is a ghost town and a boom town; an arid lowland and 13,000 foot mountaintop; the vestige of a "town too tough to die" and the reality of a Phoenix, risen not from ashes, but from fires stoked by a wondrous climate and a desire to excel.

VI. ISSUES

- o Arizona has an obvious interest in trade with Mexico, as Tucson is only 64 miles north of the border.

((Suggestion: a reference to the President's trip to Agua Leguas and Monterrey in November -- the Free Trade Agreement.))

- o Also, the drug trade problem. Note that Mexico has just agreed to allow drug surveillance planes fly the border areas.

QUOTES...QUOTES...QUOTES...QUOTES...QUOTES...QUOTES...QUOTES...

Source: Respectfully Quoted
A Dictionary of Quotations Requested from the
Congressional Research Service. Edited by
Suzy Platt.

I. FREEDOM FOR KUWAIT

- o "...We know that freedom cannot be served by the devices of the tyrant...."
--Eisenhower, 1953 (letter)
- o "For what avail the plough or sail,
Or land or life, if freedom fail?"
-- Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Boston"
-- also inscribed on a plaque in the stairwell of the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty
- o "The greatest Glory of a free-born People,
Is to transmit that Freedom to their Children."
-- William Harvard, "Regulus, a Tragedy"
Regulus is speaking
- o "Liberty is the air America breathes...
In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to world founded upon four essential freedoms...freedom of speech and expression... freedom to worship...freedom from want...freedom from fear."
-- Inscription in the stairwell of the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty. Taken from FDR's "4 Freedoms" speech
-- POTUS will have just made a speech in honor of the anniversary of the "4 F." speech.

II. JUSTIFICATION FOR OUR CAUSE

- o "We in this country, in this generation, are -- by destiny rather than choice -- the watchmen on the walls of world freedom.

We ask, therefore, that we may be worthy of our power and responsibility, that we may exercise our strength with wisdom and restraint, and that we may achieve in our time and for all time the ancient vision of "peace on earth, and good will toward men."

That must always be our goal, and the righteousness of our cause must always underlie our strength. For as was written long ago: "except the Lord keep the city, the watchmen waketh but in vain."

-- JFK. Remarks prepared but never delivered, November 23, 1963

- o "We fight not to enslave, but to set a country free, and to make room upon the earth for honest men to live in."

-- Thomas Paine. "The Crisis", 1777

-- Note: POTUS has said repeatedly that we seek no gain in this war, only to liberate Kuwait and build peace in the region.

III. THE WAR IN GENERAL

- o "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in...to do all which may achieve and cherish a just, and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations."

-- Abraham Lincoln, 2nd Inaugural Address

- o "Wars are, of course, as a rule to be avoided; but they are far better than certain kinds of peace."

-- TR

IV. HONOR THE SOLDIERS, SAILORS, AIRMEN, MARINES, AND COASTGUARDSMEN

- o "The patriot volunteer, fighting for country and his rights, make the most reliable soldier on earth."
-- Attributed to Stonewall Jackson
- o "Honor to the Soldier, and Sailor everywhere, who bravely bears his country's cause. Honor also to the citizen who cares for his brother in the field, and serves, as best he can, the same cause -- honor to him, only less than to him, who braves, for the common good, the storms of heaven and the storms of battle."
-- Abraham Lincoln, 1893 (letter)
- o "This extraordinary war in which we are engaged falls heavily upon all classes of people, but the most heavily upon the soldier. For it has been said, all that a man hath will he give his life for; and while all contribute of their substance the soldier puts his life at stake, and often yields it up in his country's cause. The highest merit, then, is due to the soldier."
-- Abraham Lincoln, 1864

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press Political Service

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NAME: J. Fife Symington III

January, 1990

ELECTION-YEAR: 1990

STATE: Arizona

OFFICE-SOUGHT: Governor

PARTY: Republican

OCCUPATION: Real estate developer

BIRTHDATE: August 12, 1945

SEX: Male

RACE: White

BIOGRAPHY:

Fife Symington was born in New York City, and resides in Phoenix. He received a bachelor's degree in liberal arts from Harvard University in 1968. He served in the U.S. Air Force, 1968-72. He founded the Symington Co. in 1976. He was chairman of the board of the company, which specialized in commercial real-estate and development. Symington and his wife, Ann, have five children.

PROFILE:

Symington entered the race for the Republican gubernatorial nomination in April 1989, eight days after impeached Gov. Evan Mecham announced that he would attempt to regain the office from which he was removed in 1988. Symington, who had raised money for an effort to recall Mecham, credited the ex-governor's chaotic administration with piquing his own interest in seeking office. Symington offered himself as an alternative to Mecham, whom he described as a "schoolyard bully" who needed "a punch in the nose." Symington described himself as a "Goldwater conservative." The main theme of his campaign was a pledge to cut government spending and to hold the line on taxes. The most controversial of his proposals was a plan to create a "rainy day fund" to tide the state over in bad economic times by selling state-owned buildings to private investors and leasing them back. He referred to himself as a "citizen politician" who would bring the perspective and management skills of a successful businessman to state government.

PRIOR-CAMPAIGNS:

None.

TELEPHONE: To reach Symington or his aides in Phoenix, call (602) 468-1990.

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HEADLINE: Gubernatorial Candidates Suspend Runoff Campaign

DATE: January 18, 1991

BYLINE: By WILLIAM F. RAWSON, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: PHOENIX

KEYWORD: AZ--Gulf-Governor

BODY:

Democrat Terry Goddard and Republican Fife Symington have put their gubernatorial campaigns on hold in reaction to the Gulf war.

Symington, a former Air Force officer, said in a statement Thursday that he would "postpone plans for paid advertising and other high visibility campaign activities for the time being."

"At this important and stressful time in our nation's history, I join most Arizonans who are more concerned with their fellow Americans and loved ones in the Middle East than with the daily skirmishes found in a campaign for governor," Symington said.

Goddard had said earlier that he would suspend all campaign activities indefinitely.

"At this time, all Americans are focused on the crisis in the Middle East," said Goddard, a Naval Reserve officer. "My thoughts and prayers are with our fighting men and women in the hope that this conflict will be resolved as quickly."

Pam Stevenson, a campaign spokeswoman, said such activities as Goddard's weekend campaign walks and his phone bank would be suspended.

Symington and Goddard face each other in a Feb. 26 runoff brought about by the failure of either candidate to win a clear majority in the state's Nov. 6 general election.

Symington said he would continue to fulfill commitments for a series of town hall meetings in rural Arizona and that he also would appear at scheduled events "where appropriate."

Ms. Stevenson said Goddard would fulfill speaking commitments but "he won't be making the usual campaign-style speeches."

Goddard's campaign staff will meet again Monday to decide whether to continue the moratorium.

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The Associated Press Political Service

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HEADLINE: Both Candidates Would Support Cuts in Education Funding to Balance Budget

DATE: January 9, 1991

BYLINE: By WILLIAM F. RAWSON, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: PHOENIX

KEYWORD: AZ--ELN-Gov Debate

BODY:

Gubernatorial candidates Terry Goddard and Fife Symington both said Wednesday that they would support cuts in education funding if necessary to balance next year's state budget.

The candidates made their first joint appearance since the Nov. 6 election, addressing members of the National Association of Women Business Owners and answering questions from the audience.

Both candidates repeated their determination to balance the state budget without raising taxes, and both said they would support cuts in state aid to education in order to accomplish that goal.

"There are no sacred cows in a crisis," said Goddard, the Democratic nominee.

And Symington, the Republican candidate, said "everything should be on the table."

"You've got to look at the schools and everyone else to pay their share," Goddard said in an interview following the debate. "I don't think you can exempt anybody. When you're passing out the bad news, it's got to include everyone in state government."

Symington said in an interview that cutting education funding is "the last thing I would want to do."

But he added that he could support "very careful, very well thought-out cuts that would not impair the educational mission."

Each candidate said balancing the state budget without raising taxes would be his top priority as governor.

"It's wonderful that he is talking like a Republican and like a conservative Republican," Symington said of Goddard's pledge to veto any budget that included higher taxes. "The way to ensure his commitment is to ask him to change his registration."

The Associated Press Political Service January 9, 1991

Goddard renewed his attack on Symington's record as a businessman, which he said is "one of financing schemes that have not worked in the private sector and will fail in the public sector as well."

"He says he's a successful businessman, but he won't show us the balance sheet," Goddard said. "He claims to be a good manager, but he sat on the boards of two savings and loans that now are in the hands of federal regulators."

Goddard also repeated his claim that many of Symington's development projects are in financial trouble.

Symington, who has refused to provide details of his business dealings, responded only briefly to Goddard's comments, accusing him of waging a "smear campaign" and of "gutter-type distortions."

"I never said my record is perfect," Symington said. "But I have built 40 projects over the last 18 years and very few of those projects have had any problems."

21ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press Political Service

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HEADLINE: Goddard, Symington Launch 'New' Campaign

DATE: January 9, 1991

BYLINE: By WILLIAM F. RAWSON, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: PHOENIX

KEYWORD: AZ--ELN-Governor

BODY:

The gloves have come off as Terry Goddard and Fife Symington square off for the final round of Arizona's extended gubernatorial campaign.

The candidates began their final drive toward the Feb. 26 runoff election with back-to-back news conferences Tuesday.

Democrat Goddard unleashed a scathing attack on Symington's business dealings, and Symington responded by calling Goddard a "professional politician* who doesn't understand business economics.

Goddard also promised to balance the state budget without raising taxes, while Symington said he would provide the leadership for Arizona to "grow its way" out of its fiscal problems.

Goddard, who promised to be more aggressive after his near defeat in the November general election, attacked Symington as a "big shot" developer whose companies are \$\$200 million in debt.

Those debts "will hang over the ninth floor like a shadow," Goddard said.

"Just one of his companies owes The Travelers (insurance company) \$\$25 million," Goddard said. "That's what I call a conflict of interest."

Goddard said many of Symington's projects "are in big trouble." One was forced into foreclosure and another, the Camelback Esplanade, appears to have almost no tenants, he said.

"If that's a success, I would hate to see one of J. Fife's failures," Goddard added.

Symington, who edged Goddard in the Nov. 6 general election but failed to achieve the clear majority required by Arizona law to avoid a runoff, responded to the allegations by calling Goddard "a desperate man ... who will say or do anything to get elected."

Symington denied that any of his projects are in trouble and said Goddard's assertion that he is \$\$200 million in debt "is wrong because all it is doing is looking at the negative side of the balance sheet."

The Associated Press Political Service January 9, 1991

He said Goddard's allegations "are not only untrue, they raise serious questions about the former mayor's understanding of basic economics."

"He's never had a real job," Symington said. "He has existed for most of his adult life by living off the public payroll. He is the quintessential career politician."

He said one building in the Esplanade complex is 90 percent leased, and a second is 35 to 40 percent occupied even though leasing didn't start until June. Retail space in the complex also is 90 percent full, Symington said.

And he said his business interests would not cause a conflict with his duties as governor.

"I would never make a decision with regard to public policy and have it influenced by some business transaction I completed years before," Symington said.

Both candidates listed education, the environment and economic development as key issues of the campaign. But both said all other issues take a back seat to resolving the state's fiscal problems.

Symington said his business background qualified him to "make the hard choices" necessary to ensure that state government lives within its means.

"I understand the importance of creating budgets that are reasonable and I know how to cut budgets that get out of hand," Symington said. "When faced with an obstacle, I'm not afraid to try new approaches."

He called Goddard a "tax and spend liberal" who raised taxes and fees "at least 23 times" during his six years as mayor of Phoenix and left the city with its "worst budget crisis ever."

Goddard, however, maintained that he balanced the city's budget all six years he was in office, and said he would do the same as governor.

"It is time for government to get smaller and smarter," he said. "If the Legislature sends me a budget with new revenues, I'm going to veto that budget and send it back to them."

59TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press Political Service

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HEADLINE: World Almanac Says Symington is Governor

DATE: November 30, 1990

DATELINE: PHOENIX

KEYWORD: Brite-Governor-Error

BODY:

The World Almanac appears to have jumped the gun regarding the outcome of Arizona's gubernatorial election.

According to The 1991 World Almanac and Book of Facts, Fife Symington is the new governor.

However, after the Nov. 6 general election votes were counted, neither Republican Symington nor his Democratic opponent, Terry Goddard, received a majority and a runoff election was declared for Feb. 26.

Two million copies of the almanac are hitting the bookstore shelves this week containing the wrong information.

"We go to press practically as soon as the results are in on Election Day night," said Martha Clarke, publicity manager for Pharos Books, a subsidiary of Scripps Howard, which has published the almanac since 1986.

"The governors of the states, except in your case, apparently, are correct," Ms. Clarke said. "Literally, the editor in chief is writing down the results on his way to the printing press."

Although there is no mention of a runoff, a section titled "The Race for Governor: 1990" mentions that the results are "preliminary."

The almanac shows Symington with 519,558 votes to Goddard's 515,999.

After all precincts were counted, official election results show Symington with 523,984 to Goddard's 519,691 votes out of more than 1.09 million votes cast.

"They got it wrong and they'll have to change it in February," Goddard said. "They'll have to buy a lot of white-out."

Symington, who has referred to the runoff campaign as a "re-election" bid, said, "I think it's very amusing, and hopefully, it's a good omen," he said.

63RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press Political Service

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HEADLINE: Candidates should travel the high road

DATE: November 25, 1990

KEYWORD: AZ--Opinion30

BODY:

Now that a date has been set for the gubernatorial runoff between Republican Fife Symington and Democrat Terry Goddard, the focus can shift back to the campaign itself.

This is the first time in Arizona - perhaps the first time in the nation - that a runoff election has been required in a gubernatorial race. The unique character of the race will require a unique campaign from Mr. Symington and Mr. Goddard.

By the time the new governor takes office, the Legislature will have been at work for two months and the state, which has foundered with a weak chief executive for the past four years, may be in a state of crisis with an essentially empty governor's office. Rose Mofford still will be governor, but her lame duck status and her ineffectiveness the past two years suggests she will be powerless.

From the Sept. 11 primary until the general election, we heard much from the two candidates about why the other was unqualified to be governor. Mr. Symington's surprising showing on Nov. 6 - he was several points behind in every poll before the election - has been credited in part to his 11th hour attacks.

Both men issued position papers on several important issues, but the campaign centered more on criticisms of each other than on substantive proposals.

Arizona cannot afford that kind of campaign between now and Feb. 26, the date set for the runoff election. Because the runoff will cost the new governor months he could have used to prepare for the legislative session, both men must be ready to begin work immediately after the election. ... and Fife Symington is ready!

Mr. Goddard and Mr. Symington should use the next three months to spell out for voters exactly what they plan to do on several crucial issues if they win the governorship.

Most importantly, we want to know how they will act on the ludicrous \$750 million in budget requests made last month by state agencies. After huge tax hikes each of the past two years, Arizonans will not sit still for another big increase.

So tell us, candidates, where will you make cuts? What is your recommended budget? And what kind of tax increase will come along with that recommendation?

The Associated Press Political Service November 25, 1990

Arizona voters should have that important information from both candidates before Feb. 26.

We also would like specifics on their plans for education, including the recent proposal by Arizona Business Leaders for Education, and economic development, two issues that are likely to be key to the success of the next governor.

Under ordinary circumstances, the governor-elect would be preparing to speak to the State Legislature on Jan. 14. Because that speech would include such specific proposals, it is not unreasonable to ask Mr. Goddard and Mr. Symington to give us the information by that time, giving voters six weeks to digest and question it before the runoff.

By delaying the installation of a new leader, the runoff election has placed an obstacle in the way of Arizona's economic recovery. But it also has provided a good opportunity for voters to become more informed about the candidates than in any election in memory.

While it may not be realistic to expect no more mud-slinging over the next three months, we hope Mr. Symington and Mr. Goddard will take the high road and focus on telling us precisely what we can expect from our next governor.

141ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press Political Service

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HEADLINE: GOP Candidate Has Record of Success

DATE: October 26, 1990

BYLINE: By WILLIAM F. RAWSON, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: PHOENIX

KEYWORD: AZ--Gov--Symington Profile

BODY:

Born into wealth, educated at Harvard and founder of a successful real-estate development company, Fife Symington is accustomed to having his own way.

A political unknown when he entered the governor's race 19 months ago, Symington, 45, led the polls throughout the primary election campaign and was a run-away winner in the five-way Republican contest.

It was business as usual for the millionaire land developer.

In the mid 1980s, when Phoenix officials balked at approving his Esplanade project - a retail-office-hotel complex in east-central Phoenix - Symington launched a \$1 million public-relations campaign promoting the Esplanade as a "world class" project.

He won. A slightly scaled-down version of the project eventually was approved and since has been built.

He offers no apologies either for the project or for the tactics he employed in winning its approval.

"The Esplanade is one of the finest development projects in the Southwest," he told a radio interviewer in Globe.

He went about winning the primary election in much the same way that he won approval of the Esplanade, outspending his GOP rivals by more than 4-1, according to campaign spending reports.

He reported spending more than \$1.5 million on the primary campaign, \$200,000 of it in an advertising blitz in the final weeks before the election.

But Symington entered the general-election campaign a decided underdog. And with the campaign in its final weeks, polls showed that he had been unable to close the gap.

"I haven't seen any poll that shows Symington ahead," says Arizona State University pollster Bruce Merrill. "Everything I've seen shows him behind by anywhere from 10 to 17 points."

The Associated Press Political Service October 26, 1990

Bob Robb, a conservative political consultant, conceded that Symington faced an "uphill battle" against Democrat Terry Goddard, a popular former Phoenix mayor.

The problems Symington's campaign faced were many. Not the least of them, analysts say, is a lingering perception among voters that he is a transplanted easterner, a rich man who used his wealth to win the primary election.

Symington's great-grandfather was Henry Clay Frick, an industrial tycoon whose company evolved into U.S. Steel. His father's cousin, Stuart Symington, was a U.S. senator from Missouri and a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, though unsuccessful.

Given to wearing dark blue suits, striped ties and button-down shirts, Symington has an intense, no-nonsense speaking style that is in marked contrast to the relaxed, wise-cracking style of his opponent.

And that concerns many of his supporters, such as Jim Tidwell, Gila county Republican chairman.

"I think you're really a pretty down to earth guy," Tidwell told Symington during a campaign stop in Globe. "But how do we sell that to the voters?"

Robb says, however, that given the lack of time for campaigning between Arizona's September primary and November general election, Symington is doing just what he has to do.

He doesn't need enthusiastic support, Robb says. "All he really has to do is make sure they preferred him to Goddard."

The main theme of Symington's campaign has been a pledge to cut government spending and to hold the line on taxes. Symington calls himself a "Goldwater conservative" and Goddard a "tax-and-spend liberal." He emphasizes his business background, which he says has prepared him to make the tough management decisions necessary to cut spending and to make government more responsive and efficient.

Symington also talks a great deal about his wife and five children. And the message is clear, even if he doesn't come right out and say it: Terry Goddard is single, he can't relate to the problems of raising and supporting a family.

"I don't think that is something that has worked well for Fife," Merrill says. "I don't think the voters consider Terry's marital status as something that is relevant."

Indeed, Symington drew a round of boos from the audience at a Phoenix debate when he said he favored requiring parental consent for teen-age abortions and, referring to Goddard's status as a bachelor, added, "I wouldn't expect him to understand."

Symington first came to Arizona when, as an Air Force officer, he was stationed at Luke Air Force Base. He founded the Symington Co. in 1976 and is chairman of the board of the company, which has 40 employees and specializes in commercial real-estate and development.

The Associated Press Political Service October 26, 1990

Symington entered the race for the Republican gubernatorial nomination in April 1989, eight days after impeached Gov. Evan Mecham announced that he would attempt to regain the office from which he was removed in 1988.

Symington, who had raised money for an effort to recall Mecham, credited the ex-governor's chaotic administration with piquing his own interest in seeking office.

He offered himself as an alternative to Mecham, whom he described as a "schoolyard bully" who needed "a punch in the nose."

Although he is seeking office for the first time, Symington has served as a precinct committeeman. He also was finance chairman of the Arizona Republican Party from 1982 to 1984.

150TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press Political Service

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HEADLINE: Look to Mexico, Governor Hopefuls Say; Differ on How

DATE: October 24, 1990

DATELINE: YUMA

KEYWORD: AZ--ELN-Mexico-Governors

cf: Free Trade Agreement w/ Mexico; POTUS visit in Nov 90

BODY:

Mexico deserves as much of Arizona's commercial attention as does the Pacific Rim, candidates for governor agreed.

Democrat Terry Goddard and Republican Fife Symington said Tuesday that Mexico is a potential source of investment in Arizona and agreed the state should work cooperatively with its southern neighbor.

The comments came during a televised debate sponsored by the Uma Hispanic Forum.

The issue is significant to border cities whose economies slow under the impact of recession in Arizona or rampant inflation in Mexico.

Symington spoke well of the

maquiladora or twin factories program that has been encouraged along the border to revive both nations' border economies, saying Arizona should work for its expansion.

The program attracts labor-intensive factories that are able to take advantage of cheaper Mexican labor.

Goddard said he supports the maquiladora program, "but it's not an uncritical support."

"We are ending up with major social ills on one side of the border," Goddard said, citing pollution as one of the key byproducts of the program.

Goddard pointed to the "flood of sewage" that has swamped Nogales, Sonora, as a result of the program.

He said he would put state trade offices in northern Mexico to establish the kind of presence there that Mexico has had in Tucson and Phoenix for years.

Goddard also said direct Arizona flights to Mexico City would boost trade

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A GUIDE TO NATIONAL
MONUMENTS AND
HISTORIC SITES

Jill MacNeice

PRENTICE HALL
New York

|| Saguaro National Monument

Giant saguaro (pronounced sa-WAR-oh), the picturesque cactus which dominates southern Arizona's Sonoran desert, is preserved in the Saguaro National Monument. This stately cactus, with its tall trunk and bent elbow limbs, is a familiar background in many old cowboy movies.

Like all the plants that live in arid environments, the saguaro are well adapted to desert life. By storing vast amounts of water in its tissues, a single saguaro can survive 200 years of desert heat and can grow to heights of 50 feet. The cactus blooms in May with creamy white flowers.

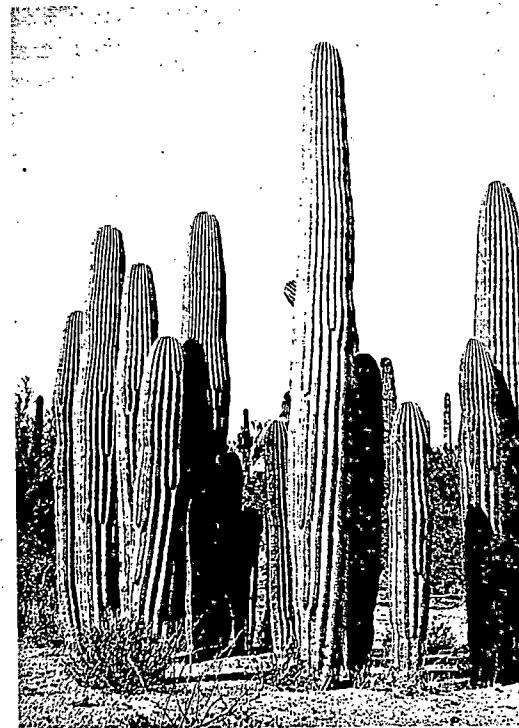
Saguaro National Monument consists of two separate stands of saguaro that flank Tucson on the east and west. The Rincon Mountain District to the east stretches from desert scrub and grasslands to the pine and fir forests of the Santa Catalina mountains. The visitor center offers a spectacular view of thousands of stately saguaro with the blue stripe of the mountains hovering in the background.

Visitors can drive into the heart of the saguaro stand on the nine-mile Cactus Forest Drive, or hike through the desert to the mountains on several trails. There are six campgrounds and a ranger station along the hiking trails of the 62,836-acre district.

The Tucson Mountain District, to the west of Tucson, is smaller than the Rincon District and its saguaro population is younger. More of the park is accessible by car and more picnic facilities are available for day use. Rangers conduct daily nature walks and talks covering topics such as desert birds, rattlesnakes, cactuses, and local wildflowers and animals. The Rincon Unit visitor center shows a ten-minute slide show throughout the day and a 30-minute film on weekends at 1 p.m.

Other cactuses in the monument include the stocky barrel cactus, the shrub-like cholla, and the prickly pear with its flat pads. After a good rain in spring, the desert blooms with vibrant red, orange, and yellow flowers. At higher altitudes, the desert scrub and grasslands give way to oak and pine trees.

The park's wildlife includes reptiles (some 50 species), tarantulas (not poisonous), and scorpions (poisonous). The peccary, a boar-like beast, and coyote are present. Bird watching at Saguaro is excellent.



The giant saguaro cactus, which can reach a height of 50 feet, is unique to the Sonoran Desert.—National Park Service photograph

Hawks, owls, road-runners, quail, and gila woodpeckers, which live in the saguaro cactus, live in the monument.

Open: Rincon Mountain District and Tucson Mountain District Visitor Centers: 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. Closed Christmas Day.

Fees: \$1 per car for Rincon District; no fee for Tucson Mountain District.

Mailing Address: Saguaro National Monument, P.O. Box 10, Pinal County, Tucson, AZ 85730.

Telephone: Rincon Mountain District (East) 602-883-6366; Tucson Mountain District (West) 602-883-6366.

Monument

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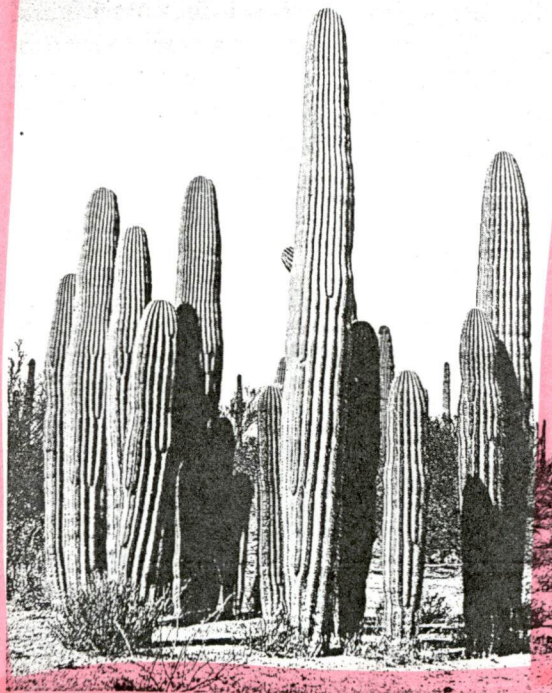
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The giant saguaro cactus, which can reach a height of 50 feet, is unique to the Sonoran Desert.—National Park Service photograph

Very famous
symbol of
Arizona —
you could compare
something to it
[Fife's experience?,
the dreams of
Arizonans - etc.]

SEE QUOTE:
"Arizona is bigger
than anybody who
comes into it."

+ other AZ quotes in
memo.

Hawks, owls, road-runners, quail, and gila woodpeckers, which nest in the saguaro cactus, live in the monument.

Open: Rincon Mountain District and Tucson Mountain District Visitor Centers: 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. Closed Christmas and New Year's Day.

Fees: \$1 per car for Rincon District; no fee for Tucson District.

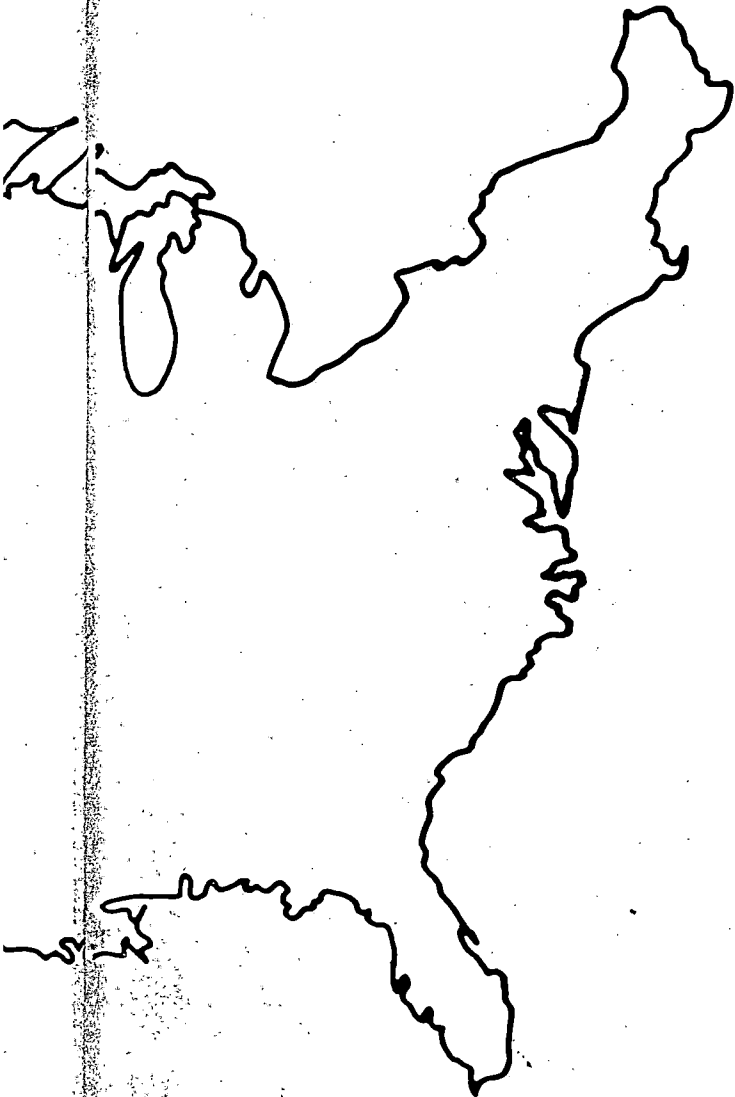
Mailing Address: Saguaro National Monument, 3693 S. Old Spanish Trail, Tucson, AZ 85730.

Telephone: Rincon Mountain District (East) 602-296-8576; Tucson Mountain District (West) 602-883-6366.

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AMERICA THE QUOTABLE

*Mike Edelhart and
James Tinen*



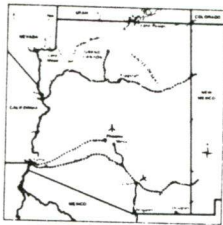
Facts On File Publications
460 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10016

Valdez:

"Valdez had perhaps the most beautiful natural setting of any town in Alaska. Mountains—higher and more rugged mountains than in Juneau—curved around it on three sides, broken only the waters of the fjord. In its pre-pipeline days, Valdez had billed itself as the 'Switzerland of Alaska' though one would have been hard-pressed in Switzerland to find its equal."

Joe McGinniss
Going to Extremes
1980

ARIZONA



Capital: Phoenix

Became a territory: Feb. 24, 1863

Entered the union (with rank): Feb. 14, 1912 (48)

State motto: *Ditat Deus* (God enriches)

State flower: Saguaro cactus flower

State bird: Cactus wren

State song: "Arizona"

State tree: Paloverde

Nickname: Grand Canyon State

Origin of state name: From Indian "arizonac," meaning "little spring"

The last of the contiguous American states to enter the Union, Arizona retains some of the untamed frontier feel of the Old West. At the same time, it is home to some of the newest, fastest growing cities in the Sunbelt.

Geographically, Arizona is a huge desert plateau, frequently broken by precipitous bluffs and sharp, peaked mountains. Erosion has created several of the most spectacular canyons in the world here, including the unmatched Grand Canyon and the eerie Monument Valley.

American Indians provide much of the rich texture of Arizona's past and still exert a major influence on its culture. The enormous Navaho Indian Reservation covers most of northern Arizona, and other tribes have reservations in the state as well. The state's architecture, even its public symbols, reflect

Indian concepts. It was in Arizona that Cochise led Indians against frontiersmen and where the Navaho say the world was created and the gods dwelled (on Superstition Mountain outside of Flagstaff).

Famous Old West events, such as the gunfight at the OK Corral, occurred in Arizona, with Tombstone taking a preeminent position among legendary sites of those times.

Modern Arizona depends upon technology: mining, energy production, electronics and military development. These industries often fly contrary to the environmental tradition of the state, leading to complex wrangles about state direction and goals.

Long a rural area, Arizona is growing more urban, and the state feels a mixture of pride and discomfort with its expanding cities. Still, thousands of Americans choose Arizona for vacations and for retirement, thanks to its warm, dry, winterless climate. Arizona does not have one face so much as it has many separate faces crowded onto a single set of shoulders.

THE STATE

"Arizona is bigger than anybody who comes into it."

Raymond Carlson, editor of *Arizona Highways Magazine*

Quoted by Neil Morgan
Westward Tilt
1963

* * *

"Arizona is both frontier and metropolitan, ghost town and plush resort, cowboy and Indian, dowager and business big shot; it is a king-sized colorful Kansas with cactus and climate, and a fledgling Texas with less horn-tooting."

Debs Myers
"Arizona"

American Panorama: West of the Mississippi
1947, 1960

* * *

"The region [Arizona] is altogether valueless. After entering it there is nothing to do but leave."

Surveyer's report to Congress
1858

THE LANDSCAPE

"Come to Arizona, where summer spends the winter."

Slogan of state boosters, 1935

* * *

"And Hell spends the sur

A New Dictionary of

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"Urban Arizona is an im
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"The [Arizona] desert ma
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"It is because in Arizona
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scenery is so compelling
structure is superb."

Josef Muench, *Arizona*

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"Arizona looks like a batt

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"The desert world of Arizo
the desert mountain slopes
devilish—the crateric and
and up and up among then

PEOPLE

"They [native American
about ten thousand years a

"And Hell spends the summer."

Addendum of local cynics
H. L. Mencken
*A New Dictionary of Quotations, on Historical
Principles*
1942

* * *

"Urban Arizona is an improbable veneer of green oases on other desert."

Neil Morgan
Westward Tilt
1963

* * *

"The [Arizona] desert may appear severe at noon in harsh light, but early and late in the day it has a special mood not seen or felt at any other time. There is a stillness, as if sound doesn't exist . . ."

Josef Muench
Arizona Highways Magazine
May, 1978

* * *

"When I see those tremendous [natural stone] monuments in Monument Valley I see what mother nature has done . . . now I feel that nature is at its best . . . there is nothing to improve."

Josef Muench
Arizona Highways Magazine
May, 1978

* * *

"It is because in Arizona the arresting framework, the very skeleton of the earth, is exposed, that the scenery is so compelling and meaningful. Its bone structure is superb."

Josef Muench, *Arizona Highways* photographer
Quoted by Neal R. Peirce
The Mountain States of America
1972

* * *

"Arizona looks like a battle on Mars."

Harrison Salisbury
Travels Around America
1976

* * *

"The desert world of Arizona—the heat-blasted air—the desert mountain slopes clear in view and more devilish—the crateric and volcanic slopes down in and up and up among them."

Thomas Wolfe
A Western Journal
1938

PEOPLE

"They [native Americans] came here [Arizona] about ten thousand years ago, wiped out most of the

large native mammalian wildlife (mastodons, horses, tapirs, giant bison, hairy mammoths and others) and have been subsisting on corn, beans and public welfare ever since."

Edward Abbey
The Journey Home
1977

* * *

"Arizona is the place that the newly rich Texan comes to learn to live well without ostentation."

Members of faculty, U. of Arizona
Arizona, Its People and Resources
1960

* * *

"In the typical Arizonian, if there be such a person at all, is to be discovered a common tendency to brag. True, there is a great deal to brag about. The Grand Canyon, for example, deserves and demands superlatives."

Pearl S. Buck
America
1971

* * *

"With his supply of water and his air conditioners to help him tame the desert and the heat, and jetliners to minimize his remoteness, the contemporary Arizonan has set a fast pace . . . He has so dazzled the native Arizonan with his strivings that the native has fallen in behind him and both are running pell-mell toward what they presume to be the promised life."

Neil Morgan
Westward Tilt
1963

* * *

"An outstanding difference between Arizona Indians and those of other states is that the [better adjusted] Arizonans are mixing widely with non-Indians and moving toward assimilation."

Neil Morgan
Westward Tilt
1963

HISTORY AND POLITICS

"The Arizona of the past, in truth, is not past; and that is one reason Arizonans do not turn about so often to look for it. The Old West still lies a mile or two off any road."

Neil Morgan
Westward Tilt
1963

* * *

"Sun, Goldwater, conservatism, and Arizona have become synonymous."

Neal R. Peirce
The Mountain States of America
1972

* * *

"[Barry Goldwater's] world is the world of desert illumination, like his Arizona—black and white, blazing sun cut sharp by slanting dark shadows."

Theodore H. White
The Making of the President
1964

CITIES, TOWNS AND REGIONS

The Grand Canyon

"The scene is so weird and lonely and so incomprehensible in its novelty that one feels that it could never have been viewed before."

Frederick S. Dellenbaugh
Quoted in *The Grand Canyon*
R. Wallace *et al*
1972

* * *

"We drifted on, up that miraculous valley. On either side of us were hills from 1,000 or 1,500 feet high, wooded from crest to heel. As far as the eye could range forward were columns of steam in the air, misshapen lumps of lime, mist-like preadamite monsters, still pools of turquoise-blue stretches of blue cornflowers, a river that coiled on itself 23 times, pointed boulders of strange colors, and ridges of glaring, staring white."

Rudyard Kipling
American Notes
1891

* * *

[On the need to gradually become accustomed to the canyon]: "After a few [such] days well but quietly spent, one begins to lose the sense of unreality and to come to terms with a scale of magnitude and of distance which could not at first be taken in. And it is only then that the spectacle, even as mere spectacle, makes its full impression or that one begins to have some dim sense of what the geologists mean when they talk of the millions of years during which the canyon was cut and of the billions during which the rocks were prepared for the cutting."

Joseph Wood Krutch
Grand Canyon
1957

* * *

"At first glance the spectacle [the Grand Canyon] seems too strange to be real. . . . We are so accustomed to thinking of skyscrapers as high and of St. Peter's or the Pentagon as massive that we can hardly help misinterpreting what the eye sees; we cannot realize that the tremendous mesas and curiously shaped buttes which rise all around us are the grandiose objects they are. For a time it is too much like a scale model or an optical illusion. One admires the peep show and that is all. Because we cannot relate ourselves to it, we remain outside, very much as we remain outside the frame of a picture."

Joseph Wood Krutch
Grand Canyon
1957

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"The canyon . . . is the most revealing single page of earth's history anywhere open on the face of the globe."

Joseph Wood Krutch
Grand Canyon
1957

* * *

"No matter how far you have wandered hitherto, or how many famous gorges and valleys you have seen this one, the Grand Canyon of the Colorado will seem as novel to you, as unearthly in the color and grandeur and quantity of its architecture, as if you had found it after death, on some other star."

John Muir
Quoted by Milton Goldstein
The Magnificent West
1973

* * *

"The grandest and most boldly stated fact on earth . . . through the beholder surges a sense of the power of divine will. The Grand Canyon is a sight with the impact of revelation."

Donald Culrose Peattie
Quoted in *Reader's Digest*
1973

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[The Grand Canyon]: "The walls now are more than a mile in height—a vertical distance difficult to appreciate. Stand on the south steps of the Treasury building in Washington and look down Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol; measure this distance overhead, and imagine cliffs to extend to that altitude, and you will understand what is meant; or stand at Canal Street in New York and look up Broadway to Grace Church, and you have about the distance; or stand at Lake Street bridge in Chicago and look down to the Central Depot, and you have it again. A

thousand feet of this is up steep slopes and perpendicular to the summit. The below, red and gray and angular projections of many places by side car wilderness of rocks. Down depths we glide, ever list-

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"Those who have not seen the possible description. That it cannot be described. The Grand Canyon is a sort of landscape not a showplace, a beauty the Colorado River made it; there that God gave the conditions."

Quoted in 5

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"There goes God with a

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"Colorado's canyons at with their inhuman scale inhuman geological time. Even here, in this inhospitable place where the earth is ground deep bone, people have The chasm that dismays front yard."

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"The reactions of dogs at the Grand Canyon] on the rim are a way of reasserting their control the shakes. Poets begin a words, and thus make it can understand."

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"The discoveries to be made worth the efforts required those red walls exist in"

ARIZONA

thousand feet of this is up through granite crags; then steep slopes and perpendicular cliffs rise one above another to the summit. The gorge is black and narrow below, red and gray and flaring above, with crags and angular projections on the walls, which, cut in many places by side canyons, seem to be a vast wilderness of rocks. Down in these grand, gloomy depths we glide, ever listening. . . ."

John Wesley Powell
Canyons of the Colorado
1895

* * *

"Those who have not seen it will not believe any possible description. Those who have seen it know that it cannot be described. . . . In fact, the Grand Canyon is a sort of landscape Day of Judgment. It is not a showplace, a beauty spot, but a revelation. The Colorado River made it; but you feel when you are there that God gave the Colorado River its instructions."

J. B. Priestley
Quoted in *Scenic Wonders of America*
1973

* * *

"There goes God with an army of banners."

Carl Sandburg
"Many Hats"
1927

* * *

"Colorado's canyons at first appall and oppress us with their inhuman scale and their message from inhuman geological time, but in the end reassure us. Even here, in this inhospitable rock desert, in this place where the earth is gashed open to the dark mile-deep bone, people have made marks, even homes. The chasm that dismays me was once some Indian's front yard."

Wallace Stegner
The Grand Colorado
1969

* * *

"The reactions of dogs and poets [viewing the Grand Canyon] on the rim are suggestive. Dogs, having no way of reasserting their doggish scale, very often get the shakes. Poets begin at once to put the canyon into words, and thus make it behave in a way that poets can understand."

Wallace Stegner
The Grand Colorado
1969

* * *

"The discoveries to be made within this canyon are worth the efforts required to get down. . . . Within those red walls exist innumerable little worlds, sur-

prising worlds, and hundreds of hidden paradises. . . ."

Ann and Myron Sutton
The Wilderness World of the Grand Canyon
Quoted in *The Grand Canyon*
R. Wallace et al
1972

Phoenix

"The cleanest city I saw in America was Phoenix. . . ."

John Gunther
Inside USA
1947

* * *

"Arizonans have been busy denying their parentage. According to the dominant myth, Phoenix rose from the desert by a mystical exercise of frontier spirit and Christian capitalism, unhindered by government."

Andrew Kopkind
New Republic
Nov. 6, 1965

* * *

"Phoenix is now somewhat in a golden era like San Francisco of the late 19th century. The mood is here; the word is out; this is the place. The city is going somewhere, and it is attracting [a] more than average share of people who want to go somewhere with it."

Neil Morgan
Westward Tilt
1963

* * *

"Beyond the garish plastic signs hawking Kingburgers and Big Whoppers you can still see graceful palms, stark mountains, brilliant skies—and it does the soul good."

Steven V. Roberts
New York Times
Feb. 24, 1970

Scottsdale

"Every new house in the gilded suburb of Scottsdale, Arizona, is built with a 'family room.' Family rooms are almost as popular in Scottsdale as high school basketball—and flagpoles. Scottsdale, which bills itself as 'The World's Most Western Town,' (the slogan is emblazoned on the town's official stationery), may have more flagpoles than any suburb in the country."

Stephen Birmingham
The Golden Dream
1978

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THE
SMITHSONIAN
GUIDE TO
HISTORIC AMERICA
THE DESERT STATES

TEXT BY
MICHAEL S. DURHAM

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OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Stewart, Tabori & Chang
NEW YORK

Francisco Vázquez de Coronado was the first European to lead a major exploration of the American Southwest; in 1540 he passed from Mexico into what is now southern Arizona in search of the fabled Seven Cities of Cibola. His expedition trekked to the headwaters of the Little Colorado River, the Grand Canyon, and eventually Kansas before he concluded the golden cities did not exist. Although he was disgraced by his failure to return with riches, he contributed immensely to knowledge about the region. Coronado found southern Arizona to be dry and mountainous and inhabited by the Apache, Papago, and Pima Indians. The Pima are possibly descendants of the Hohokam, a comparatively advanced prehistoric people who had been cultivating the land by irrigating as early as the year A.D. 1. The western Apache, mounted on horses introduced to the Plains by the Spanish, proved to be the most intractable and resistant to white ways. Led by such warriors as the great Cochise, they kept the southern Arizona frontier in turmoil until another leader, Geronimo, surrendered in 1886.

Of the Jesuit missionaries who began spreading the faith among the Indians in southern Arizona in the late 1600s, Father Eusebio Francisco Kino left the most enduring legacy: a string of missions, including Guevavi, the first mission on Arizona soil (now gone), and the surviving San Xavier del Bac and San José de Tumacacori, plus a number of settlements. As he made his way west along the Gila River, Father Kino made a lasting contribution to southern Arizona's economy by introducing his parishioners to cattle ranching. After Father Kino died in 1711, discontent spread among the Indians of the northern frontier, and in 1751 the Pima rose up, killing many settlers and missionaries. Spanish troops were sent in to subdue them, and the next year a presidio, or garrison, was established at Tubac. In 1767 the Jesuits, who had fallen into disfavor at the Spanish court, were banished from the territory and replaced with Franciscans. The presidio was moved to Tucson in 1775.

In 1846 Colonel Philip St. George Cooke raised the first American flag over Tucson. Cooke was commander of the Mormon Battalion, which was made up of Latter-day Saints volunteered by Brigham Young to fight in the Mexican War. The battalion's mission, admirably accomplished, was to build a road from Santa Fe to California. Tucson and southern Arizona did not become indisputably American, however, until the Gadsden Purchase of 1853, when the United States acquired from Mexico almost 30 million



At an 1886 meeting between Geronimo, far left, and General Crook, wearing a pith helmet at right, the Navajo live on a reservation. PAGES 150-151: After the war in the Southwest, the Navajo became known for their skills learned from the Pueblo Indians. This blank

acres of land along the Arizona border. Afterward residents in Tucson complained they were "cut off among savage tribes," and they had no representation in any legislative body.

In early 1862 Tucson was occupied by Confederate cavalry under Captain John R. Baylor. A full force of Rebel sentries clashed with a Union column from California led by General Picacho Pass, forty-two miles north of Tucson. The battle, described as the westernmost battle of the Civil War, drew. On May 20, 1862, Union forces learned that the Rebels had withdrawn. Tucson remained in Union hands for the rest of the war. Expected of secessionist sympathies, Tucson made the capital when President Lincoln signed the Act of February 24, 1863, making Arizona a territory.

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At an 1886 meeting between Geronimo, facing camera at left, and General George Crook, wearing a pith helmet at right, the Apache agreed to end their raids and to live on a reservation. PAGES 150-151: After the Spanish introduced sheep to the Southwest, the Navajo became known for their fine woolen weaving, a craft they had learned from the Pueblo Indians. This blanket was inspired by Hopi designs.

acres of land along the Arizona and New Mexico borders. Soon afterward residents in Tucson complained to Congress that Arizona was "cut off among savage tribes," with "no law, no courts, no vote, no representation in any legislative body."

In early 1862 Tucson was occupied briefly by a small force of Confederate cavalry under Captain Sherod Hunter. In April, a handful of Rebel sentries clashed with the advance guard of a 2,000-man Union column from California led by Colonel James Carleton at Picacho Pass, forty-two miles northwest of Tucson. This engagement, described as the westernmost battle of the Civil War, was really a skirmish from which the badly outnumbered Confederates quickly withdrew. On May 20, 1862, Union forces charged into Tucson only to learn that the Rebels had withdrawn a week earlier. Although Tucson remained in Union hands for the rest of the war, its citizens were suspected of secessionist sympathies. Thus Prescott, not Tucson, was made the capital when President Lincoln signed the bill on February 24, 1863, making Arizona a territory separate from New Mexico.

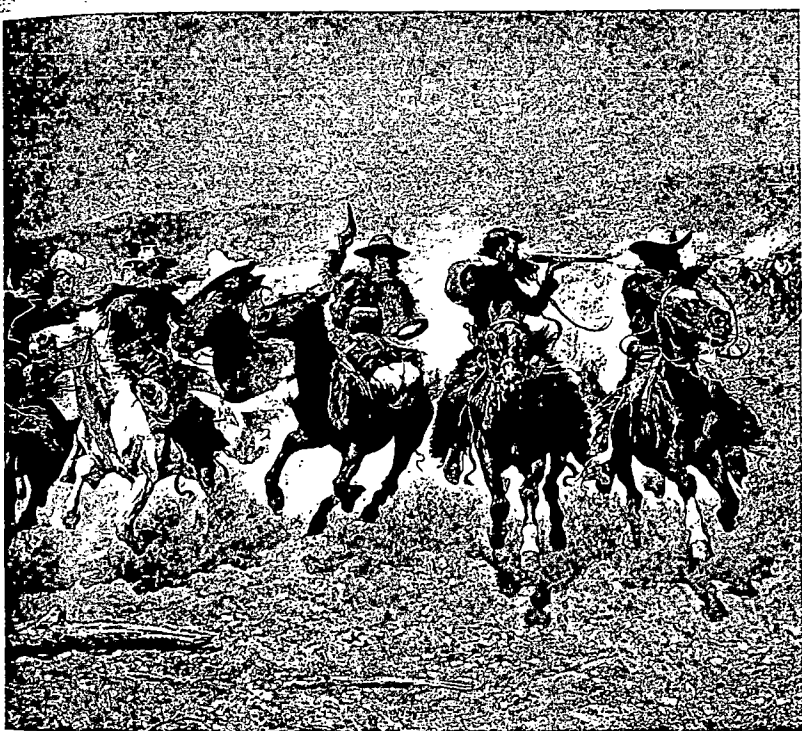
to match upstart Phoenix's extraordinary growth, both cities prospered and grew in the twentieth century. Agriculture, irrigation, manufacturing, tourism, and in recent years, retirees all contributed to the prosperity of southern Arizona. In World War II the deserts of the region attracted military airfields and prisoner-of-war camps. (In December 1944 nineteen German submariners tunneled out of an internment camp outside Phoenix, the largest POW escape on American soil.) But nothing has contributed as much to the postwar growth of these two metropolitan centers as the development of the now-essential ingredient of desert living: modern air conditioning.

This tour starts in Tucson and its environs, then heads east to the Chiricahua National Monument. The route then turns south, through Bisbee, Tombstone, Coronado National Memorial, Fort Huachuca, Patagonia, Nogales, and north, to Tubac. The tour next travels north toward Phoenix and its satellite cities of Tempe and Scottsdale before covering the more distant sites.

TUCSON

Four mountain ranges—the Santa Catalina, Rincon, Santa Rita, and Tucson—form a protected valley around Tucson. Jesuit missionaries had visited the Papago village of Chuck Son (“at the foot of dark mountain”) in the 1690s; that dark mountain is today called Sentinel Peak. Since 1915 it has borne a huge whitewashed *A* placed there by University of Arizona students. The Spanish changed the town's name to Tucson when they built a garrison, Presidio San Agustín del Tucson, on the west bank of the Santa Cruz River in 1776. In 1864 Tucson was officially incorporated, and one of its most popular citizens, Virginia-born William Oury, a former Texas Ranger and survivor of the Battle of the Alamo, was appointed mayor. In 1871 Oury was indicted for leading a band of vigilantes to raid a group of sleeping Apache at Camp Grant on the San Pedro River, northeast of Tucson. The toll: seventy-seven women and eight old men killed. (The young Apache men were not in the camp.) The Camp Grant Massacre caused headlines and outrage across the country, but Oury was easily acquitted. In 1881 Tucson received its first telephone exchange, and in 1885 two professional gamblers

OPPOSITE: Tucson's Spanish Colonial Revival Pima County Courthouse, completed in 1928, is constructed over a portion of the wall of the town's Spanish presidio.



A Dash for the Timber, an 1889 painting by Frederic Remington. PAGES 210-211: Wupituki National Monument preserves the ruins of Hopi buildings constructed of the red sandstone that occurs naturally throughout the region.

As soon as President Abraham Lincoln signed the bill creating the Arizona Territory in 1863, the appointed governor, John N. Goodwin of Maine, and other officials left on a three-month tour of the settled areas of Arizona. They established a temporary capital near Fort Whipple but soon moved both the fort and the government south to the site of present-day Prescott, on Granite Creek, to be closer to the mining activities there. Prescott was named the capital because many of the citizens of the more likely candidates, Tucson and Tubac, supported the Confederacy in the Civil War. The territorial government took a census (which established that there were 4,187 whites in the territory), appointed a legislature, and named Charles Poston congressional delegate. The capital, which came to be known as the "capital on wheels," moved to Tucson in 1867, back to Prescott ten years later, and finally to Phoenix in 1889.

section of Arizona. The town is named for John D. Lee, who began operating a ferry here in 1872. In 1877 Lee was executed by a firing squad for his part in the Mountain Meadows Massacre of 1857, in which a force of Mormons and Indians slaughtered the non-Mormon members of a wagon train in southern Utah. The ferry continued to operate until the **Navajo Bridge**, a graceful span that crosses the Colorado River 467 feet above the water, was completed five miles downstream in 1929.

PIPE SPRING NATIONAL MONUMENT

Pipe Spring got its name when William Hamblin shot out the bottom of a companion's pipe in an extraordinary feat of marksmanship. The Mormons tried to settle Pipe Spring as early as 1863 but were driven off by the Navajo. After peace was established in 1870, the Mormons built a fortified ranch house over the springs, possibly to prevent Indians from using the water. Called Winsor Castle, after the ranch superintendent Anson P. Winsor, the structure—two stone houses connected by high stone walls—forms a fortified courtyard. Arizona's first telegraph office opened in Winsor Castle in 1871. The first operator later married David King Udall; their grandsons are the Arizona politicians Stewart and Morris "Mo" Udall. Today the ranch house has been restored, and pioneer crafts are demonstrated on the grounds and in the outbuildings. There is also a visitor center with exhibits on the history of the ranch.

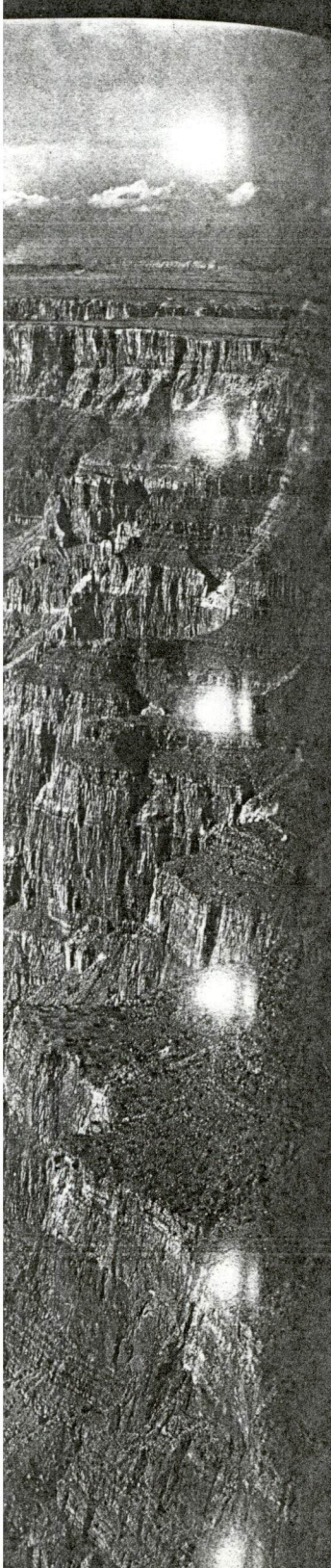
LOCATION: Off Route 389, 14 miles west of Fredonia. HOURS: 8-4:30 Daily. FEE: Yes. TELEPHONE: 602-643-7105.

GRAND CANYON NATIONAL PARK

With its ever-shifting hues and its layers of cliffs, valleys, and pinnacles laid bare to the eye, the Grand Canyon is a geological spectacle caused by the mighty Colorado River cutting through the rising Colorado Plateau. Its size alone is awe-inspiring: over 200 miles long and, on the average, 10 miles wide and a mile deep. Although the Anasazi lived in and around the Grand Canyon as early as the twelfth century, it was unknown to European-Americans until

OPPOSITE: Winsor Castle, a fort built by the Mormons to protect the water supply at Pipe Spring.





Indians led a party from Coronado's expedition there in 1540. In 1776 the explorer and priest Francisco Garcés spent several days in a Havasupai village in the canyon. He wrote: "I am astonished at the roughness of this country, and at the barrier which nature has fixed therein." A few trappers hunting beaver traversed the canyon's rim in the 1820s, and in 1857 Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives traveled up the Colorado River from the Gulf of California in a small steamer. He was shipwrecked at Black Canyon, near the present site of the Hoover Dam, and proceeded with his party overland to the western part of the canyon. Ives was unimpressed by what he saw: "Ours has been the first and will doubtless be the last party of whites to visit this profitless locality."

Ives's prediction held for about twelve years, until the one-armed Civil War hero John Wesley Powell led a party of nine down the Green and Colorado rivers in 1869. The men spent most of the month of August navigating the uncharted rapids of the Grand Canyon. Before they began their descent, Powell wrote, "We are now ready to start on our way down the Great Unknown. . . . We have an unknown distance yet to run; an unknown river to explore. What falls there are, we know not; what rocks beset the channel, we know not; what walls rise over the river, we know not." He led a second expedition down the Colorado in 1871 with the mission of mapping the Colorado Plateau for the federal government.

Prospectors attracted by the mineral potential of the canyon in the 1880s soon found tourists more profitable than mining. A few primitive hotels were built, and a trail down into the canyon opened. Tourism increased markedly in 1901 when the Santa Fe Railroad built a spur line from Williams, Arizona, to Grand Canyon Village, and in 1905 the Fred Harvey Company opened the rustic but elegant El Tovar Hotel. When President Theodore Roosevelt visited the Grand Canyon in 1903, he said: "You can not improve on it. The ages have been at work on it, and man can only mar it." Roosevelt created the Grand Canyon National Monument in 1908; it became a national park in 1919. Since then the park has been enlarged and adjacent areas protected, but maintaining the Grand Canyon from man's incursions is a task requiring constant vigilance. Over 3 million tourists a year visit the park, creating traffic jams,

OPPOSITE: Desert View is the highest point on the southern rim of the Grand Canyon.