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This study details the history of efforts by the Arizona Republic and the Phoenix Gazette, and to a lesser extent the Arizona Business Gazette, to support the creation of a paid state holiday in honor of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in Arizona. It outlines the campaign planned and carried out by the Martin Luther King Better America Committee on behalf of the King holiday. Information was obtained by interview and by attending committee meetings. This project was undertaken by a Training With Industry participant with the Phoenix Gazette. It is primarily a public relations case study.

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King Day

A History of the Effort
to Enact a Paid State
Holiday in Honor of
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
in Arizona
and
An Evaluation of Coverage
by Phoenix Newspapers, Inc.

By
Lee J. Hockman
Major, U.S. Army

March 1991

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Preface

This work attempts to lay out the history of the effort to enact a paid state holiday in honor of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in Arizona in terms of its coverage by Phoenix Newspapers, Inc.--primarily the ARIZONA REPUBLIC and PHOENIX GAZETTE, and to a lesser extent the ARIZONA BUSINESS GAZETTE. A complete chronology of the effort as it appeared in these papers is included as an appendix.

In addition, this paper outlines the campaign planned and carried out by the Martin Luther King Better America Committee (MLK BAC) on behalf of the King holiday. Information on the campaign was gathered by attending MLK BAC meetings and through personal interviews.

In light of the holiday's defeat at the polls, a noncritical analysis of the campaign is included that provides a perspective on its failure and direction the holiday effort appears to be headed in the future.

As Phoenix Newspapers played an active role in organizing the MLK BAC and in participating in every aspect of the campaign, the company's philosophy on its role in the community is also examined.

Finally, the last section of the report traces the editorial stances of the ARIZONA REPUBLIC and PHOENIX GAZETTE as they evolved from a pragmatic acknowledgement of the wisdom of enacting some commemoration in honor of King to an unapologetic all-out call for nothing less than a paid

state holiday. The opinions of the two papers as reflected in more than 80 editorials published on the holiday from 1986 through 1990 did not evolve on a parallel course and were, in fact, sometimes diametrically opposed. Included in this section is an analysis of where the almost 1,600 articles, columns, editorials, and letters to the editor appeared in the ARIZONA REPUBLIC, PHOENIX GAZETTE and ARIZONA BUSINESS GAZETTE between Jan. 1, 1986 and Dec. 31, 1990.

This report is not, in the strictest sense, a scholarly effort to analyze the campaign for a King holiday. No secondary sources were used in doing research for this paper other than the ARIZONA REPUBLIC, PHOENIX GAZETTE, and ARIZONA BUSINESS GAZETTE, with one exception. All other information was obtained through personal interviews and attendance at campaign meetings.

This project would not have been possible without the unobstructed access granted to me by Bill Shover, Director of Public Affairs, Phoenix Newspapers, Inc. He enabled me to see firsthand the workings of the Martin Luther King Better America Committee, and he shared his views on newspaper responsibility from a perspective of 30 years of experience.

The assistance of Ellen Jacobs, PNI Research Director, and Judy Sheelar, PNI Research Manager, was invaluable. By making newspaper poll analyses available and by helping me to understand both the utility and the danger of poll data, they provided a view of the campaign that was essential to sorting out what happened.

Most important to the research for this project was the help provided by Heather Goebel of the PNI library who made the newspaper archive retrieval system available to me and tutored me in how to gain access to the gold mine of information it held.

Section 1

King Holiday History

The effort to enact a paid state holiday in Arizona to honor Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. began just four years after he was gunned down on a motel balcony in Memphis, Tennessee by James Earl Ray. Yet, eight years after the U.S. Congress passed the bill creating a federal holiday on the third Monday in January and President Ronald Reagan signed it into law, Arizona remains one of two states that does not have a paid King holiday.

In the years 1972, 1975, 1976, and 1981 through 1985, a King holiday bill was introduced in the House and/or the Senate of the Arizona legislature. In each of these years, the bill failed to advance out of committee, having been killed by the Republican caucus.

In 1985, Phoenix City Council enacted a paid King holiday for city employees, becoming the first city in Arizona to do so.

The initial large-scale rally in commemoration of King's birthday was held in Phoenix in January 1986 coinciding with the first federal celebration. More than 5,000 people marched to the state Capitol and heard Gov. Bruce Babbitt, a Democrat, accuse the state legislature of having failed its constituents by not enacting a paid holiday on the third Monday in January.¹

¹"5,000 March in Phoenix to Honor Memory of Fallen Civil-Rights Leader," Arizona Republic, Jan. 21, 1986, p. A-1.

A King holiday bill reached the floor of the Arizona Senate on Feb. 19, 1986, one month after the initial celebration of the federal holiday. The Senate approved the bill by a vote of 17-13, marking the first time such a measure had passed in one of the chambers of the state legislature. Three months later, however, the House narrowly defeated an identical bill 30-29.

On May 18, 1986, Gov. Babbitt announced an executive order establishing a paid King holiday to coincide with the federal celebration. The order applied only to state executive workers, who comprise less than half of state government employees, but it was to set in motion a chain of events that was to have a profound impact on Arizona politics and focus national attention on the state that remains to the present day.

Less than one month later, state Attorney General Bob Corbin ruled Babbitt had exceeded his gubernatorial authority in creating the state holiday by executive order. A former attorney general himself, Babbitt disagreed and maintained his position that the holiday was valid. Thus, the debate began, and the controversy was set in motion.

Evan Mecham, the Republican candidate for governor, won the general election in November 1986 with 40 percent of the vote, and the following day announced he would rescind Babbitt's executive order when he took office in January. In defending his plan, Mecham said he did not believe Babbitt's order was legal; it had nothing to do with race. He also said, "Many fine Americans that have contributed as much to the heritage of America as Martin Luther King do not have days."²

²"Mecham Promises Changes," Phoenix Gazette, Nov. 6, 1986, p. A-1.

On Nov. 12, 1986, the National Baptist Convention of America announced it would not hold its 1989 convention in Phoenix if there was no King holiday. This group became the first of many organizations to pull their conventions and meetings out of Phoenix and its surrounding cities over the next four and one-half years, resulting in a loss of an estimated \$123 million to the state, according to figures released by the Phoenix and Valley of the Sun Convention and Visitors Bureau.

The same month, the state Board of Education announced it was encouraging Arizona school districts to establish a King holiday for their staff and students. By January 1987, 67 of 221 school districts had designated the third Monday in January as King Day.

In December 1986, the leaders of Arizonans for a Martin Luther King Jr. State Holiday, the first active pro-holiday group, announced they planned to sponsor a petition drive and to lobby the legislature on behalf of a King holiday. Rev. Warren Stewart, pastor of the First Institutional Baptist Church in Phoenix, was the group's chairman. House Minority Leader Rep. Art Hamilton was presented as an honorary chairman, along with Phoenix Mayor Terry Goddard, Rev. Monsignor Robert Donahue of the Phoenix Catholic Diocese, Rabbi Albert Plotkin of Temple Beth Israel, builder Tommy Espinoza, a leader in the city's Hispanic community, and Mike Bielicki, president of the Central Arizona Labor Council.

Gov. Mecham, in his State of the State address delivered upon taking office in January 1987, rescinded former Gov. Babbitt's executive order, citing the attorney general's ruling that the order was illegal. He also urged that the issue be referred to voters in the next general election.³

³Michael Murphy and Marc Ramirez, "Mecham Scraps King Holiday, Calls for Referendum on Issue," Phoenix Gazette, Jan. 12, 1987, p. A-1.

Soon after the pronouncement, Jesse Jackson became the first of many prominent voices across the nation to speak out in protest of Mecham's action. Mecham continued to defend his rescission of Babbitt's order insisting there was no discrimination in Arizona and that his stance was not a slap at King.⁴

The following week, Mecham appeared on NBC's Today Show with Jackson. Continuing to defend his action, Mecham said blacks need jobs, not holidays, and he accused holiday backers of being afraid to put the matter to a public vote.⁵

Monday Jan. 19, 1987 saw the King holiday celebrated nationwide for the second time, and it resulted in the largest of the King commemorative marches to date when more than 15,000 people marched to the state Capitol. It would be 1990 before the crowd approached this size again.

On Jan. 20, Stevie Wonder announced he would not perform in Arizona in protest of the King holiday rescission. He became the first of many big-name performers who, over the next few years, expressed their dismay at the state of affairs in Arizona through outright boycott or by donation of performance proceeds to the holiday effort.

Not long after Wonder's declaration, National Basketball Association officials announced the league would not hold its annual meetings in Scottsdale as planned because of the budding controversy. Thus, the marriage of sports to the King holiday debate was cemented, a marriage that would play a large part in the eventual defeat of the holiday.

⁴Murphy, "Jackson Asks Mecham to Reconsider Holiday," Phoenix Gazette, Jan. 13, 1987, p. A-1.

⁵Murphy, "Mecham Defends Stand on Holiday, Governor Goes on the Defensive," Phoenix Gazette, Jan. 19, 1987, p. A-1.

The tumultuous events at the beginning of 1987 led the ARIZONA REPUBLIC and the PHOENIX GAZETTE to commission the first of many polls that were to be published in the newspapers over the next four years measuring public attitudes about the King holiday.

The first poll to be published by either paper appeared in the ARIZONA REPUBLIC; it asked 1,000 adult full-time Arizona residents what they felt would be the most appropriate way to honor Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. As Figure 1 below shows, the method favored by most was an unpaid recognition day. The remaining respondents were split evenly, opting for a paid holiday or no holiday at all. Significantly, 69 percent wanted some type of commemorative day for King. Minority and young (age 18-34) respondents were more likely to support a paid holiday, while older respondents (age 55 and over) were more likely to be against it.⁶

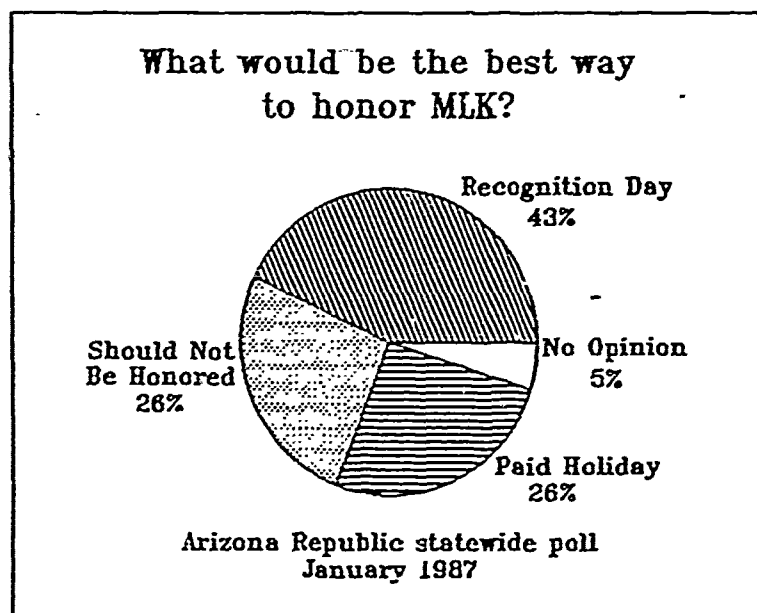


Figure 1

⁶ Polls conducted for Phoenix Newspapers, Inc. are designed and analyzed by the PNI Market Research Department. Telephone polling is done by independent research companies contracted by the PNI Market Research staff from whose files poll results included in this report were taken.

A second question from the January 1987 poll asked whether the holiday issue should be decided by elected officials or by voters. Figure 2 shows that an overwhelming majority thought elected officials should settle the matter. However, just 11 months later opinion had shifted dramatically, as a REPUBLIC poll of 810 Arizona adults clearly showed. The public's position remained static on this question over the next three years--a March 1990 poll for the REPUBLIC found 16 percent favored a legislative solution, and 81 percent thought the voters should decide.

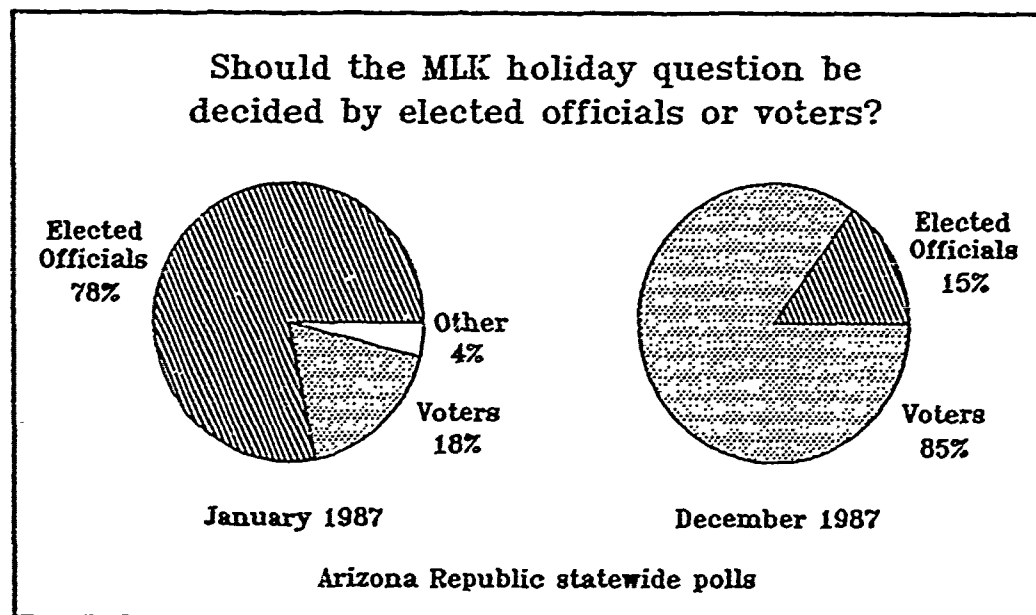


Figure 2

A PHOENIX GAZETTE poll completed in mid-February of the same year asked 800 Arizona adults if they agreed with Gov. Mecham's rescission of the executive order establishing a King holiday. As Figure 3 shows, the public was evenly split on the question. In the same poll, however, 51 percent of the respondents said they would vote to establish a holiday, while 39 percent indicated they would vote against it. In addition, 53 percent of those polled thought that Mecham's action had had a negative effect on Arizona's image.

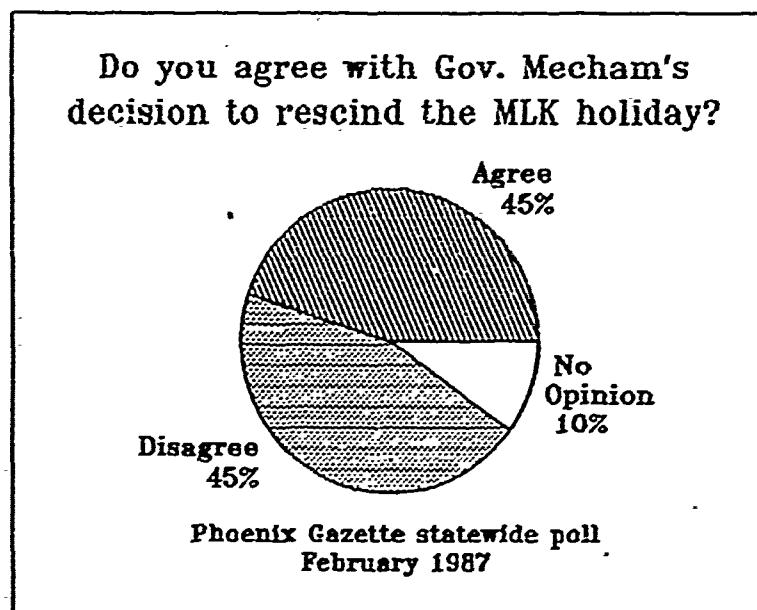


Figure 3

In February 1987, identical bills were introduced in the House and Senate that would combine Washington's and Lincoln's birthdays into Presidents' Day and create a paid King holiday as the federal government had done. The House bill passed 35-25 as 11 Republicans joined with the chamber's 24 Democrats in favor of the measure, while the remaining 25 GOP representatives voted against it. In the Senate, the Republican majority on the Government Committee prevented the bill from reaching the floor, defeating it by a vote of 6-3 along party lines.

As the controversy continued to rage both inside and outside of Arizona, on June 18, 1987, Gov. Mecham declared the third Sunday in January as Martin Luther King Jr./Civil Rights Day. Because it was done by gubernatorial proclamation, the observance was not a legal holiday. Democratic legislators quickly called the move politically motivated, while Republican leaders said the decision showed that Arizona and its governor were not racist.⁷

⁷"Sam Stanton, "King Day Proclamation by Mecham Non-Legal Observance Assailed as 'Political Gimmick,'" Arizona Republic, June 19, 1987, p. A-1.

An ARIZONA REPUBLIC poll conducted of 803 adult Arizonans the week after the governor's proclamation found respondents split in their opinion of the action, 47 percent agreeing with the Sunday proclamation and 46 percent disagreeing with it (see Fig. 4).

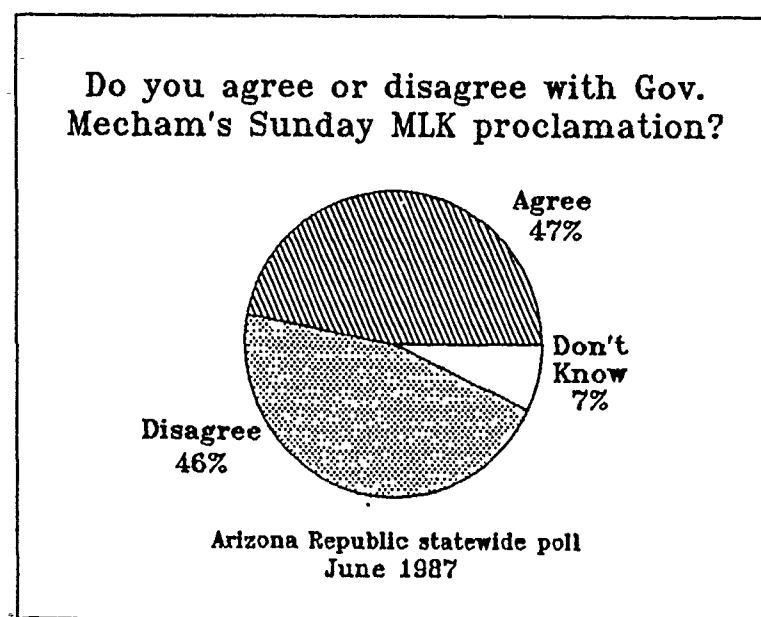


Figure 4

A December 1987 REPUBLIC poll again asked Arizonan adults what they thought would be the best way to honor King (see Fig. 5): 51 percent of those polled favored Sunday recognition (up from 43 percent in January, Fig. 1), 31 percent favored a paid holiday (up from 26 percent), and 9 percent did not want any King commemoration (down from 26 percent). The results clearly reflected greater support for a King holiday over the previous January as 82 percent of those polled now favored either a Sunday recognition day or a paid holiday.

In November 1987, Attorney General Bob Corbin ordered an investigation into allegations that Gov. Mecham had violated state campaign laws. The governor was accused of accepting a \$350,000 loan and failing to report it. The ensuing investigation resulted in Mecham's

indictment on fraud and perjury charges, his impeachment by the state House, and his conviction by the Senate of obstructing justice and misusing money. The April 1988 verdict immediately installed Secretary of State Rose Mofford as governor. Mecham's ouster from public office did little to effect the role he would continue to play in the King holiday debate in the coming years, but the state's preoccupation with his trial did push the debate to the background for most of 1988.

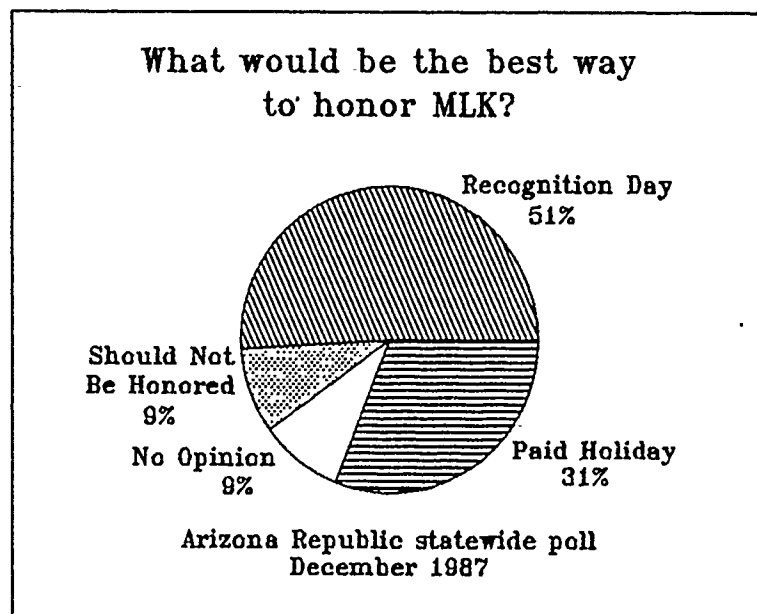


Figure 5

While the Mecham affair played itself out, King holiday supporters quietly continued to work to achieve their goal. Buoyed by donations from entertainers such as comedian Eddie Murphy, they financed pro-holiday advertising saying that by creating Presidents' Day, the King holiday wouldn't cost the state any money, and the King holiday is not just a black holiday--it's for all Americans.⁸

Arizona adults were again asked for their opinion on the King holiday

⁸Steve Cheseborough, "Comedian Aids Push by King Day Panel," Phoenix Gazette, Jan. 15, 1988, p. F-6.

in a May 1988 PHOENIX GAZETTE poll (see Fig. 6). Specifically measuring public sentiment on a paid holiday, the poll found 45 percent of respondents supported a paid King Day and 45 percent opposed it.

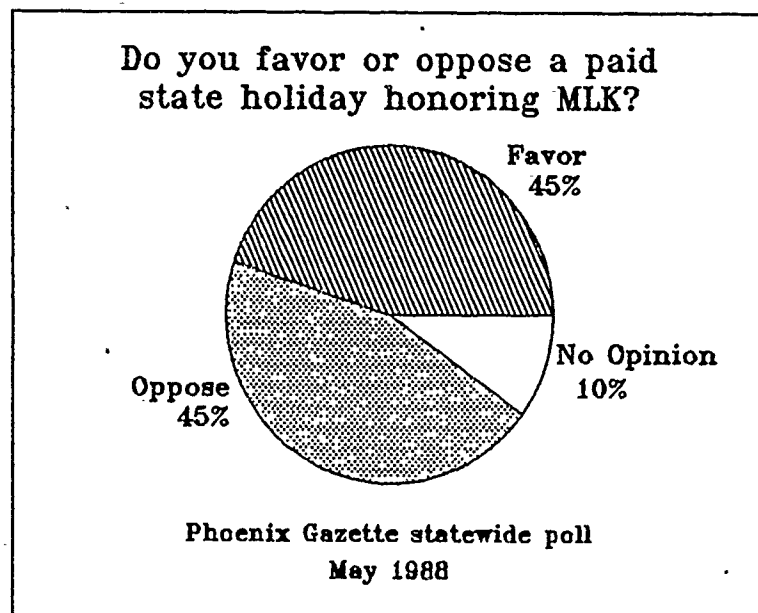


Figure 6

The holiday effort was to see 1988 pass without success as the Senate unceremoniously defeated a King bill 15-14 in the waning hours of the year's legislative session. There was one bright note for the pro-King forces, however. In September, the Arizona Board of Regents unanimously voted to enact a paid King holiday for the three state universities.

The new year began on a high note for pro-holiday groups as the House passed a paid King Day measure by a vote of 35-24 on Feb. 2, 1989. Nine Republican representatives joined with the House's 26 Democrats to seal the victory. The success was shortlived, however, as Republican leaders in the Senate vowed they would not allow a vote on the bill.⁹ The legislative session ended in June without a vote being taken.

⁹Pat Flannery, "House OKs Paid Holiday for King," Phoenix Gazette, Feb. 2, 1989, p. A-1.

After another disappointing result in the legislature, holiday supporters got a much needed boost in early August when Gov. Mofford said she was considering calling a special session of the legislature to address the King holiday. However, she insisted any action was contingent upon a guarantee from lawmakers that enough votes could be garnered to ensure a holiday measure would pass. Mofford's announcement came after she had been put under intense pressure by, among others, the Phoenix '93 Super Bowl Committee, a coalition of 25 business leaders and sports executives who were working to get the NFL championship game for the Valley. The committee was concerned that the lack of a King holiday in Arizona might jeopardize any chance of being selected to host the game.¹⁰

One month after Mofford's announcement, the Phoenix '93 Super Bowl Committee, along with the city's professional sports teams, the Phoenix Cardinals NFL football and the Suns NBA basketball teams, pledged to actively assist in the holiday effort.

Then on Sept. 14, 1989, Mofford asked for a special session of the legislature to deal with the King holiday issue after learning the controversy had cost the state more than \$25.6 million since 1987. The holiday was officially added to the special session agenda four days later, and on Sept. 20 a bill was introduced in the Senate to shift Columbus Day to an unpaid Sunday holiday and to enact a paid Martin Luther King/Civil Rights Day on the third Monday in January. The next day the bill passed in the Senate by a 17-11 vote and in the House 37-21.

The victory that had been sought for so long had finally been achieved--Arizona had a paid holiday to honor Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

¹⁰ Murphy, "Mofford Considering King Holiday Session, Assurance of Passage Sought," Phoenix Gazette, Aug. 10, 1989, p. A-1.

The celebration was to be shortlived, however. Within a week, anti-King forces began an effort that eventually resulted in the holiday's defeat.

On Sept. 25, Mechem-supporter Julian Sanders started a petition drive to get a referendum on the Columbus/King Day law on the 1990 general election ballot. Pat Quaranta, leader of Citizens for the Restoration of Columbus Day, said his group would join Sanders in the petition drive because of fears they could not raise enough signatures on their own. Quaranta insisted his group was not against the King holiday; they just wanted the Columbus Day holiday restored.¹¹

Nine and one-half hours before the King holiday was scheduled to take effect on Dec. 21, it was put on hold as holiday opponents filed nearly twice the number of signatures that were required to put a referendum before the voters. Three weeks later, the secretary of state confirmed that almost 60,000 signatures were valid, more than enough to officially cancel the King Day pending the outcome of the referendum in November 1990.

As it became clear the referendum strategy of the anti-King forces would succeed, former Gov. Bruce Babbitt and former U.S. Rep. John Rhodes of Arizona, who served as House Minority Leader in the U.S. Congress, announced the formation of the Martin Luther King Better America Committee. The group was organized to campaign on behalf of the King holiday should it go to a public vote.

Shortly thereafter, the Phoenix 40, a group of influential Valley business and civic leaders, voted unanimously to support the enactment of a paid King holiday, the restoration of Columbus Day as a paid holiday,

¹¹"Two Forces Unite to Wage Fight to Repeal King Day," Arizona Republic, Oct. 4, 1989, p. B-3.

and the retention of Washington's and Lincoln's birthdays as paid holidays.

With the controversy surrounding the holiday at its height and the referendum in November a certainty, the ARIZONA REPUBLIC asked 800 adults whether they would approve or reject the legislature's action creating King Day at the expense of Columbus Day. A similar poll the previous November had found 61 percent of respondents rejected the new law while 30 percent supported it. Results of the January poll indicated that public opinion had further hardened on the issue--Arizonans clearly believed that lawmakers had erred and they wanted the law repealed (see Fig. 7).

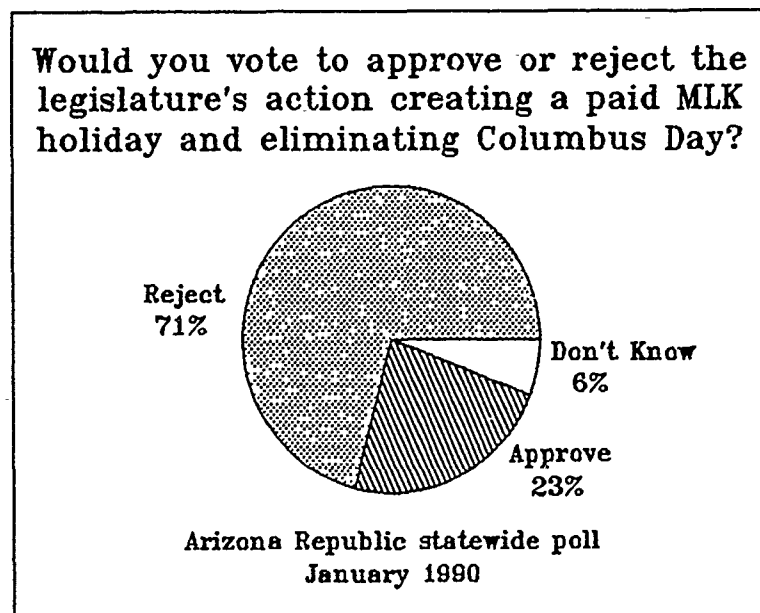


Figure 7

The poll also asked respondents whether they favored or opposed a paid holiday in principle, and if they opposed it, what was the primary reason for their opposition (see Fig. 8). Opinion on the holiday was not significantly different than it was in May 1988 (Fig. 6), although a slightly higher percentage supported a paid holiday. Almost half of those who were against the holiday said King was not deserving of the honor,

while the cost of an additional holiday and opposition to the King/Columbus swap drew an almost equal number of responses.

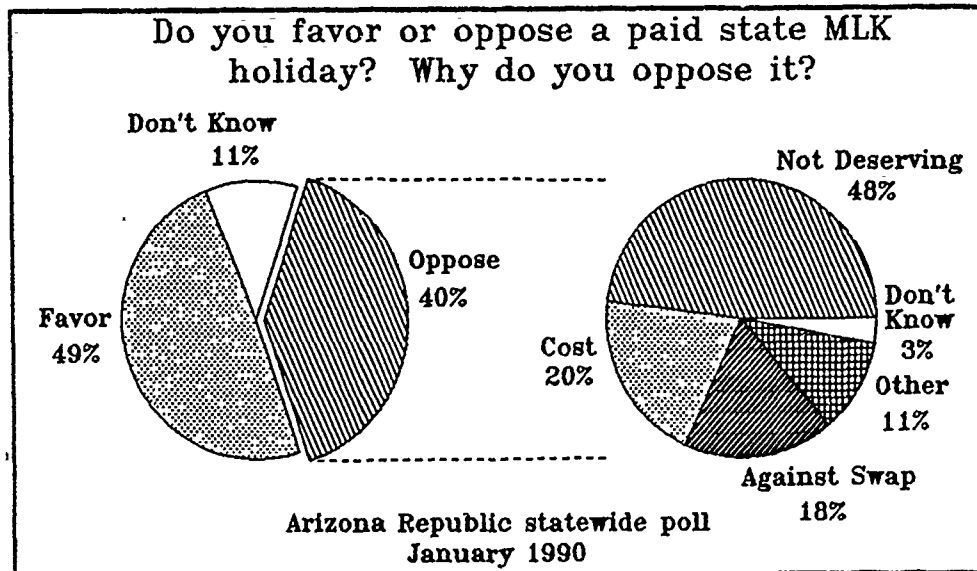


Figure 8

On Feb. 15, King holiday supporters announced the formation of a new coalition called UNITY that included Pat Guaranta of Citizens for the Restoration of Columbus Day; Rev. Henry Barnwell, newly-elected president of Arizonans for Martin Luther King Jr. State Holiday; and Arnie Zaler, a Phoenix businessman long active in the King holiday effort. UNITY leaders said their group would push for the adoption of the federal King holiday model where Washington's and Lincoln's birthdays are combined into Presidents' Day and King Day is created.

The following month, the National Football League awarded the 1993 Super Bowl to Phoenix. Immediately after the announcement, the chairman of the Site Selection Committee, Philadelphia Eagles owner Norman Braman, said he would strongly recommend that the owners rescind their selection of Phoenix as site of the game if the King holiday was not established.¹²

¹²Steve Schoenfeld, "Valley Wins Super Bowl, Could Lose It, Too, Without King Day," Arizona Republic, March 14, 1990, p. A-1.

After the announcement, holiday supporters sought to downplay the significance of the threat, but the subject arose again in late-September when an NFL source told the ARIZONA REPUBLIC that if King Day was voted down, the league intended to push owners to vote for Super Bowl relocation.¹³

After intense lobbying by business, civic, and political leaders, Gov. Mofford called the legislature into a special session in May to consider a bill that would create a King holiday as an eleven-day paid state holiday and leave Columbus Day intact. Passage of the bill would automatically invalidate the scheduled referendum.

The Senate passed the bill on May 15 by a 16-14 vote. Twelve Democrats and four Republicans voted for the measure, and 13 Republicans and one Democrat voted against it. The following day, the House passed an identical bill 35-25, with 25 Democrats and 10 Republicans voting for and 24 Republicans and one Democrat against it. The new law created a paid King Day and repealed the law passed the previous September, thereby restoring a paid Columbus Day and invalidating November's referendum.

Former Gov. Evan Mecham immediately launched a petition drive with the goal of getting the newly-created King holiday on the November ballot. Within the three-month time limit, Mecham supporters turned in more than 71,000 signatures of registered voters.

The secretary of state announced that if enough of the signatures were certified by county registrars, the May 1990 law would be suspended and a referendum would be placed on the November ballot. This new initiative, along with last December's referendum that sought to repeal

¹³Flannery, "Super Bowl Logo Unveiled, Phoenix Could Lose Game If Paid King Holiday Rejected," Arizona Republic, Sep. 28, 1990, p. F-1.-

the September 1989 law swapping a paid Columbus Day for a paid King Day, would also be on the ballot, according to a ruling by the state attorney general. The referendum on the September 1989 law would be Proposition 301, and the referendum on the May 1990 law would be Proposition 302.

The Martin Luther King Better America Committee, led by former Gov. Babbitt and former Congressman Rhodes, joined by more than 30 community, business and religious leaders, announced an effort to convince voters to ignore Prop. 301 and approve Prop. 302. Babbitt estimated his group would spend about \$750,000 to urge voters to support Prop. 302. Over the next few weeks, the MLK BAC would eventually draw in most of the pro-holiday groups into a coordinated effort on behalf of the holiday. These pro-holiday groups included the Phoenix 40, Phoenix Suns, Phoenix Cardinals, UNITY, and Phoenix Chapter of the NFL Retired Players Association. The strategy employed by the MLK BAC is examined in detail separately.

At the same time, dozens of groups and individuals announced their support for the holiday. Chief among them were: Episcopal Church of Arizona, Arizona Young Republicans, East Valley Partnership (a civic and business group from Tempe, Mesa and Chandler), Phoenix and Valley of the Sun Convention and Visitors Bureau, American Jewish Committee, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, National Conference of Christians and Jews, a coalition of Arizona religious leaders (from Jewish, Catholic, Mormon, Baptist, Lutheran and Presbyterian faiths), Mesa City Council, Chandler City Council, Maricopa County Board of Supervisors, former Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater, and former President Ronald Reagan.

In late August, the No No Committee formed to campaign for the defeat of both holiday propositions. This group ran a low-key effort because it could not muster the high-powered resources that the MLK BAC could. The message of the No No Committee was clear, however--King did not deserve to

be honored with a holiday, and the already financially-strapped state could not afford another holiday.

Gov. Mofford announced her support for Prop. 302 on August 30. She said the holiday's rejection at the polls had the potential to put Arizona into a social and economic tailspin.¹⁴

On Sept. 6, the secretary of state confirmed that King Day opponents had submitted enough signatures to qualify the May law referendum for the ballot. As a result, there would be two King holiday referendums in the Nov. 6 general election.

As election day approached, the ARIZONA REPUBLIC conducted polls in September (601 registered voters) and October (603 registered voters) to measure how voters planned to cast their ballots on Prop. 301 and Prop. 302. Results showed Prop. 301 was clearly headed for a huge defeat, and the margin got wider as election day got closer (see Fig. 9). Public opinion on the Columbus/King swap had changed little since January 1990.

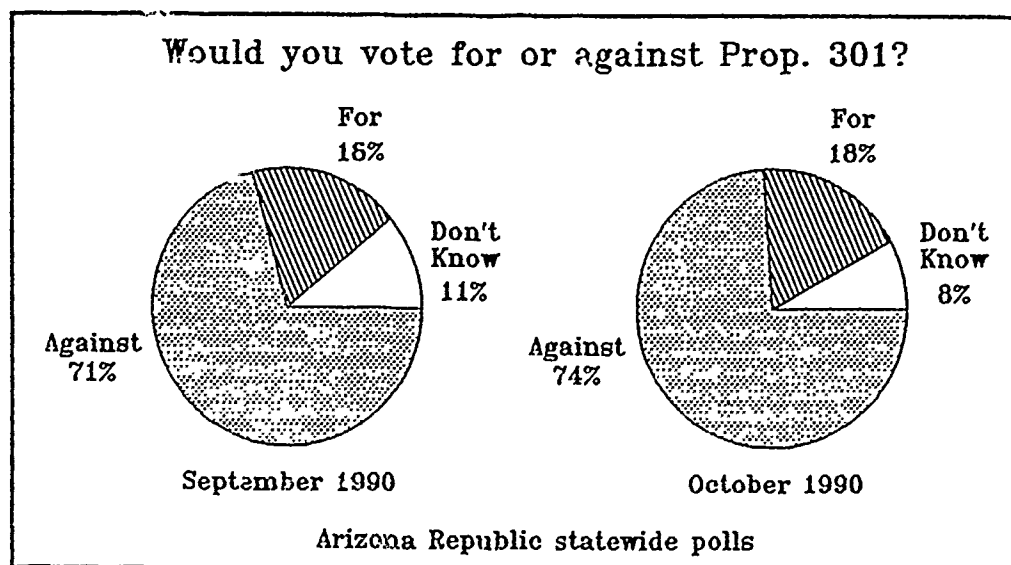


Figure 9

¹⁴Flannery, "Red Ink Seen If Voters OK Referendum Cutbacks, Severe Deficit Predicted by Mofford," Arizona Republic, Aug. 31, 1990, p. B-1.

Figure 10 reflects that respondents' feelings about Prop. 302 were not as well defined as they were about Prop. 301. The results showed that as the election neared, doubt among voters increased. With a margin of error of plus or minus four percent, the poll indicated the outcome had the potential of being too close to call if those who were undecided went against the holiday.

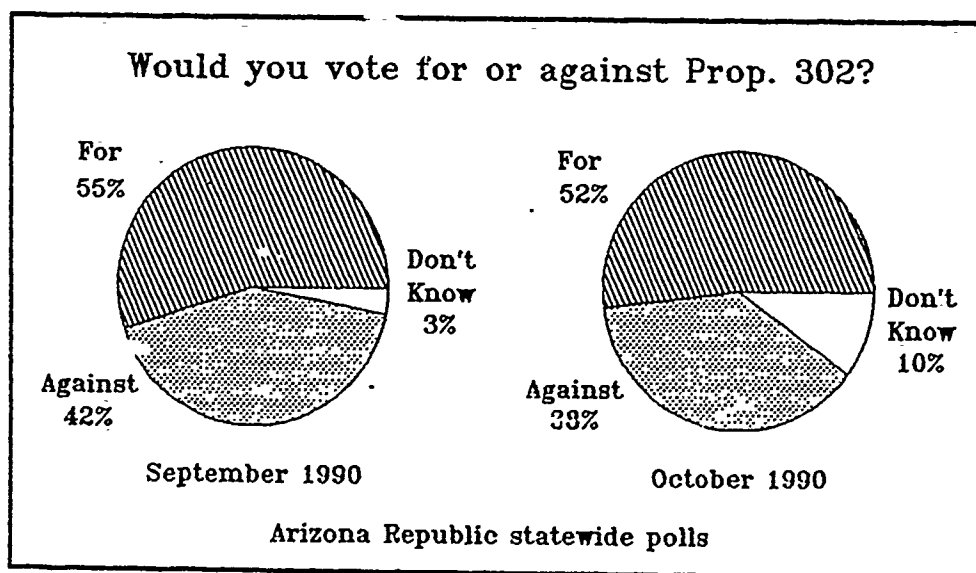


Figure 10

The weekend prior to the election, the football factor again came to the forefront when a CBS sports anchor on the network's "NFL Today" show reported the league had definite plans to move the 1993 Super Bowl from the Valley if the holiday was defeated on Tuesday. Valley Super Bowl organizers vehemently denied the report and wondered if anti-holiday forces had planted the report. The NFL refuses to confirm or deny any decision had been made one way or the other.

In any case, the damage was done. Whether or not there should be a King holiday in Arizona was no longer the main issue to be debated; the perception that an outsider was threatening voters had become the issue.

As the election returns came in during the evening of Nov. 6, Prop. 301 was obviously headed for an overwhelming defeat. The margin for Prop. 302, however, was close with the pro-holiday vote maintaining a slim early lead. Throughout the night, the outcome on Prop. 302 remained in doubt, but "no" votes had inched into the lead. When all of the votes were counted, Prop. 301 had been defeated as expected: 766,387 to 250,549 or 75 percent against to 25 percent the measure. Prop. 302 also had been defeated but by a much closer margin: 533,510 to 516,274 or by little more than one percentage point.

Section 2

The MLK BAC Strategy

In December 1989, it became clear the referendum strategy of the anti-King forces would succeed in canceling the Columbus/King Day law passed in September of that year. Former Gov. Bruce Babbitt and former Rep. John Rhodes of Arizona, who served as House Minority Leader in the U.S. Congress, announced the formation of the Martin Luther King Better America Committee. The group was organized to campaign on behalf of the King holiday should it go to a public vote.

Intense lobbying by the MLK BAC, along with numerous Valley business, civic, religious, and education leaders, produced a new law in May 1990 that added King Day as an eleventh paid state holiday and preserved Columbus Day. Again, anti-holiday elements began a petition drive to force a referendum on the new holiday law. As it became apparent that this effort, too, would gather enough signatures and that there would be two King holiday referendums on the November ballot, the MLK BAC organized for another campaign.

In late August 1990, the Babbitt-Rhodes Martin Luther King Better America Committee, now joined by more than 30 community, business and religious leaders, announced a combined effort to convince voters to ignore Prop. 301 and to approve Prop. 302. As previously noted, the Babbitt-Rhodes group estimated it would spend about \$750,000 to urge voters to support Prop. 302. The MLK BAC grew to include most of the

pro-holiday groups: Phoenix 40, Phoenix Suns, Phoenix Cardinals, UNITY, and Phoenix Chapter of the NFL Retired Players Association, as well as representatives from many other religious and community groups.

Although Babbitt and Rhodes were honorary co-chairmen, the day-to-day direction of the MLK BAC was provided by Terry Hudgins, the campaign chairman and a lobbyist for Arizona Public Service Company, and Steve Roman, of Valley National Bank, the Vice-Chairman.

The task of developing campaign strategy and selling King Day to the voting public by November went to Nelson Raiston Robb Communications, a Phoenix public relations firm, for the fee of \$50,000 plus commissions. Bob Robb, a partner in the firm, said this fee was about half what he usually charged for statewide campaigns.¹⁵

The MLK BAC kick-off meeting for the coming election campaign was held on Sept. 14, 1990. Bill Shover, Director of Public Relations of Phoenix Newspaper, Inc., led off the meeting providing background to put the challenge ahead in context and introducing the principal players. Bruce Babbitt and John Rhodes, the honorary co-chairmen, talked about the recent primary election and its effect on the November general election in relation to the King holiday. Terry Hudgins reviewed the campaign's organization and welcomed new groups that had joined with the MLK BAC. Next, Bob Robb discussed results of an opinion survey done for the committee and the strategy that had been developed based on the survey.

As Nelson Raiston Robb was a conservatively-oriented firm whose political campaigning had been done exclusively for Republican candidates, Rick DeGraw, a Democratic party consultant, was hired to supplecent Robb's

¹⁵Deborah Laake, "Who Killed King," New Times, Dec. 5-11, 1990, p. 20.

efforts with a grass-roots campaign aimed at liberals and minorities. DeGraw was responsible for targeting "the minority neighborhoods whose needs he understood better than Robb and whose sensibilities he would not offend."¹⁶

Steve Roman covered action items that were to be accomplished in the next two weeks, emphasizing the upcoming voter registration effort. Lastly, Gov. Mofford reiterated her commitment to the King holiday and thanked all in attendance for their dedication.

The next campaign meeting was held on Sept. 28. Hudgins led off with a review of progress that had been made to date. He said the recent voter registration drive had resulted in an estimated 100,000 additional voters registered, with demographics to the campaign's advantage. MLK BAC letterhead would soon be printed with the names of 39 prominent Arizonans who were selected to represent a cross-section of the state's key business, political, and religious leaders and personalities. He also said there was strong religious support for Prop. 302 state-wide.

Hudgins detailed donations that had been made to the campaign. Arizona Public Service paid for a full-page ad in Sunday's ARIZONA REPUBLIC (see Appendix B); the meeting room and refreshments for this and the previous meeting had been donated by the downtown Hyatt-Regency; U S West had donated the phones and services for the MLK BAC campaign headquarters on Central Avenue; and an office copier, FAX machine, and computers for the headquarters had been donated by local businesses. The Phoenix Suns had paid for a public service announcement appealing for people to register and to get out and vote on Nov. 6. Gannett Outdoor Advertising had donated five large billboards in high traffic areas in

¹⁶Laake, p. 22.

Phoenix and had helped to get others around the state. Gannett also had donated 100 poster-sized boards.

As at the previous meeting, Bob Robb reviewed campaign strategy. Rick DeGraw, along with Arnie Zaler, of UNITY, and Vic Washington, of the Retired NFL Players Association Phoenix Chapter, gave an update on grass-roots efforts. Lastly, Jerry Colangelo gave a report on campaign finances.

Robb saw the key to developing an effective campaign strategy was based on identifying what had to be accomplished in terms of problems that had to be overcome. The first challenge was seen as simply continuing to get the message out about the King holiday, to widen the circle of knowledge of the importance of the holiday to all corners of the state in the five and one-half weeks left before the election. Robb said the campaign needed to encourage individual and corporate commitment to the holiday. Nelson Ralston Robb had developed campaign materials to assist in this effort.

Secondly, Robb was concerned about the two competing propositions on the general election ballot. There was a very real possibility of a split vote among holiday backers. Robb decided the campaign would take no public position on Prop. 301 because he didn't want to dilute the message that Prop. 302 was the right thing to do. He believed that if 302 was sold sufficiently, it wouldn't matter what voters did on 301. In addition, because some supporters wanted to dump Columbus Day, it was agreed the campaign would downplay the Columbus Day issue to avoid public dissension.

The next problem was the perception that all Mormons were against King because former Gov. Evan Mecham and Julian Sanders, the most vocal of the anti-King element, were Mormons. Concerned about possible confusion

in the public's mind as to the church's doctrinal positions in relation to Mecham's mix of populism, bigotry and extremism, Valley Mormon leaders came out publicly for King.

In developing campaign strategy, Robb relied heavily on survey research that had been done for the MLK BAC by Earl de Berge of the Behavior Research Center in Phoenix. De Berge's polls showed a majority of Arizonans supported the King holiday--more than 50 percent were in favor of it, while close to 40 percent opposed the holiday and fewer than 10 percent of voters were undecided. These numbers very nearly matched those found in polls done by Phoenix Newspapers, Inc. De Berge also found that voters under age 55 supported the holiday by a 3-2 margin, but those over 55 opposed it by a 3-2 majority. The results indicated that election day turnout would be about 60 percent of registered voters, and the profile of non-voters nearly matched that of holiday supporters.

Research also indicated that King, as a leader, had universal respect crossing all demographic categories. Among older voters and Republicans, King was only slightly less respected than President Bush.

Robb said de Berge's research demonstrated that accusations about racism could hurt Prop. 302.¹⁷ When Arizonans were accused of being racist, "an important voting segment fled from you," primarily Republicans over the age of 55 and some younger Republicans. The same thing was true if voters were warned of the dire economic consequences unless King Day passed. When threatened, voters resisted.¹⁸ The research showed that positive, low-key messages wouldn't offend voters.¹⁹

¹⁷Laake, p. 17.

¹⁸Laake, p. 22.

¹⁹Laake, p. 17.

Thus, the foundation of the MLK BAC plan was one of nonconfrontation. Hudgins, echoing a major concern of the committee, said supporters had to be careful in facing the opposition. Appearing with opponents might lend legitimacy to the anti-302 effort and acrimonious public debate possibly could hurt the King effort by alienating moderates. This was especially true during the summer when Robb feared that visible, pro-King Day activity would only strengthen opponents' resolve to obtain enough signatures to force a referendum.²⁰

As a result of these concerns and an analysis of the research done by de Berge, the main goal of the MLK BAC campaign became simply to get King supporters to the polls. The challenge was seen as moving the "soft" yes voter into the "strong" yes category and convincing the uncommitted that Prop. 302 was "the right thing to do."

Robb's strategy featured a four-pronged effort: 1) Keep the voters who already supported the holiday. 2) Increase the turnout among young, liberal voters who were most likely to support King Day. 3) Persuade more young Republicans to support the holiday. (White collar, younger Republican voters were seen as the toughest nut to crack.) 4) Try to make some inroads with senior Republicans and rural voters.²¹

Three messages were developed to support the effort: 1) Voting for the King holiday was the most ethical choice because it demonstrated a concern for civil rights. 2) The holiday was important to the state for economic reasons, if stated positively. 3) By voting for Prop. 302, Arizonans would honor civil rights and help Arizona by overcoming the perception that the state was racist and intolerant.

²⁰Laake, p. 30.

²¹Laake, p. 22.

These messages stressed two recurring themes: First, voters would be able to define for themselves what "help" for Arizona was--erase bigotry, enhanced economic attraction, or honor King, the man. Second, children and King's ideals would be linked, highlighting the emotionalism of the issue, the hope for future, and the fact that children interact without regard for race, and so, too, should adults.

The messages and themes were tested in focus groups to gauge their validity. The messages were able to move the positions of older voters in the focus groups. Robb attributed this success to this generation's frame of reference. Older voters couldn't deny the emotional aspect of the issue because they lived through the tumultuous civil rights confrontations of the 1960s. Conversely, it was easy for younger voters to deny the message. They did not experience the civil rights movement, and they resented that state workers might get a holiday they wouldn't be getting.

A variety of methods were used to get the messages out to voters: 720,000 pieces of direct mail, aimed primarily at older members of both political parties and rural voters; radio and television spots; collateral information packages for corporate and employee education, consisting of a letter to employees, a newsletter item, posters, and payroll stuffers; a speakers kit made up of suggested comments and speech material on King and the holiday; as well as yard signs, bumper stickers, and buttons. (See Appendix C for a sampling of these materials.)

In addition, a phone bank was set up to call registered voters around state asking King supporters to please vote. This effort concentrated on the 25-39 age group and had the goal of turning out 25,000-50,000 extra voters. A second phone bank, staffed with teen-aged volunteers targeted registered voters aged 18-25.

Four pro-holiday television ads were produced and aired in the final weeks before the election: 1) King and his dream. 2) King and his place in civil rights history. 3) The holiday's economic impact on the state. 4) The life endured by minorities over the past 30 years in the U.S.

The MLK BAC noted that the opposition had little money and would probably try for free media. As research showed that saying bad things about King was not effective, the opposition was likely to stress that Arizona doesn't need another state holiday for King or for civil rights.

To counter the opposition arguments, Robb chose to highlight the actual small cost of the holiday--the state Joint Legislative Budget Committee said the holiday would cost about \$500,000 or one-tenth of one percent of the state budget--and that the benefits of a King holiday would outweigh its minor cost.

Rick DeGraw, in assessing the statewide grass-roots effort was optimistic. He felt that a fundamental change had occurred in the state--people wanted a King holiday. Because people were making up their minds to support the holiday for all sorts of reasons, the campaign needed to give them many reasons to vote yes to ensure they would turn out on election day.

DeGraw said everyone was listening to the messages, and people were volunteering to help in any way they could. A voluntary phone bank would begin calling the following week, working Maricopa and Pima counties. He said many local committees were forming--youth crusades, women's groups, professional groups, religious groups, hotel/motel associations, among others. Corporate support was building momentum, sending out organization newsletters to employees. DeGraw was seeing numerous signs in yards and on poles. Churches and synagogues would help get voters to polls.

Most encouraging, according to DeGraw, was that many of the separate groups working for the holiday were combining their energies. UNITY had merged with the MLK BAC. The King holiday campaign had turned into a strong bi-partisan effort.

Arnie Zaler, a veteran of the King holiday cause at the grass-roots level, told those at the second campaign meeting that "King Day had kept the state captive for years." He said it was time for Arizona to rid itself of the controversy. Zaler cited the demand by shops and restaurants for UNITY and pro-302 t-shirts, buttons, etc. as proof there was a ground swell of support in the community for a King holiday.

Zaler announced that at an Oct. 5 news conference, Pat Quaranta would come out in support of Prop. 302 and both Columbus and King holidays. The declaration would demonstrate that Columbus Day supporters were now for the King holiday. In conjunction with this declaration, the following day 21 mayors would kick off the Columbus Day parade that would include two UNITY floats and 150 kids in UNITY t-shirts. All of this would show, according to Zaler, that King Day supporters were together with the Italian-American community on King Day and Columbus Day.

Commenting on the coalition of Republicans and Democrats, of liberals and conservatives, of different religious groups, Zaler said that people who never worked together before on the same side of an issue were together on Prop. 302.

Another group that came out in support of the King holiday and joined with the MLK BAC was the Phoenix Chapter of the Retired NFL Players Association. A member of this group, Vic Washington, headed the group's MLK/"It's the Right Thing to Do" Committee. Washington called the MLK BAC a "multi-racial army" that was going after a big win in "Arizona's Super Bowl."

On behalf of the MLK BAC, the retired players concentrated their efforts on events aimed at student participation. Twelve teen-agers representing Arizona Students for Prop. 302 had been successful in getting a King display at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. Vic Washington met with many high school student councils and recruited hundreds of students to help distribute campaign materials and man phones.

The retired players organized a group of students to hand out flyers at a Phoenix Cardinals football game; the Cardinals donated 200 tickets for the game for the student volunteers. A press conference was held before the game featuring Cardinal and Washington Redskin players who announced their support for the holiday.

One of the biggest events sponsored by the MLK BAC was held on Sept. 15 at the Marriott Mountain Shadows Resort in Scottsdale. Organized and hosted by Washington and the retired players, it featured Gov. Mofford, John Rhodes, Phoenix Mayor Paul Johnson, and many others. Music and food were donated by Valley businesses.

None of the events, promotional materials, or television spots would have been possible without money--thousands of dollars. Jerry Colangelo, president of the Phoenix Suns, headed the MLK BAC Finance Committee which had the responsibility of getting Valley businesses to contribute. Colangelo said the MLK BAC had a great campaign laid out, but to execute it as planned would take about \$850,000. The key, according to Colangelo, was corporate commitment and access to employees. He called the King effort "more important than any sports event."

The MLK BAC was eventually able to raise more than \$750,000. Almost every major business in the Valley contributed money to the holiday effort. Economically, businesses saw the defeat of King Day as a potential disaster.

Throughout the months of September and October, the MLK BAC campaign headquarters on Central Avenue in Phoenix was busy answering phones and putting together employer promotion kits and speech material. A major effort was assembling a package consisting of a King biography, a chronology of the civil rights movement in the U.S., suggested speeches and selected quotes, and thematic sermon material for use by state and local clergy to highlight King's accomplishments without directly making an appeal to vote for Prop. 302.

People from many diverse groups with seemingly opposite political and social views pooled their efforts to work for the King holiday. As returns came in on the night of Nov. 6 and the early morning of Nov. 7, and defeat became evident, all associated with the campaign vowed to continue working until Arizona had a paid King holiday.

Section 3

Analyzing the Defeat

As soon as the election results were known, recriminations and analysis began. From within Arizona and from across the nation, holiday supporters struggled to understand what had happened: What had gone wrong? Was Arizona racist because it had defeated a King holiday? Opponents proclaimed the will of the people had been heard. One thing was clear--the holiday's defeat had not ended the debate.

A look at the vote in detail reveals that Prop. 302 won by a narrow margin in urban Maricopa (313,653 to 303,611) and Pima (107,085 to 91,932) counties but was rejected soundly in 10 of the 13 rural counties (see Appendix D). In Arizona elections, victory in the urban counties usually meant victory overall, but Prop. 302 failed to carry Maricopa and Pima counties by a margin that was sufficient to overcome the rural deficit.

In the weeks leading up to the election, various polls showed certain defeat for Prop. 301, which is what happened, and a victory for Prop. 302, which is not what happened.

Ellen Jacobs, Research Director for Phoenix Newspapers, Inc., said the Martin Luther King holiday was a difficult situation to measure. It would not be unusual for respondents to say they planned to vote for the holiday and then to vote "no" on election day. She said people are inclined to say what they think the questioner wants to hear. Also, she said, people often do not openly admit to being racist, especially when

talking to someone they don't know as is the case in a telephone poll.²²

Judy Sheelar, PNI's Research Manager, agreed saying that if respondents are asked direct questions about what they plan to do, most likely they will try to say the "right thing" to be viewed in a positive way, especially when they are asked questions about social issues.

The way questions are constructed and in what order questions are asked is also important, according to Sheelar. Questions must be worded and ordered to avoid leading the respondent to the perceived "right" answer. Another problem is one of data interpretation. Raw numbers may indicate a result too close to call, but suppositions about which groups are likely to have higher voter turnout may lead to a more optimistic view than is warranted, Sheelar said.²³

Both opponents and supporters said the CBS Sports report the Sunday before the election that charged the NFL planned to pull the 1993 Super Bowl from the Valley if Arizona voters rejected a King holiday was a major factor in the outcome.²⁴

On Nov. 14, the PHOENIX GAZETTE reported on a poll done by Earl de Berge of the Behavior Research Center of Phoenix that showed 6.9 percent of those who voted "no" on Prop. 302 changed their votes to "no" at the last minute as a direct result of the CBS Sports report. According to de Berge, the 6.9 percent equated to 60,000 votes, which was much more than the margin of defeat. De Berge said voters were upset at the implied intimidation, and that was the cause of the holiday's failure. The poll

²²Interview with Ellen Jacobs, Research Director, PNI, and Judy Sheelar, Research Manager, PNI, conducted Feb. 27, 1991.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Flannery, "King Day Narrowly Defeated, Angered Backers Cite Report on CBS," Phoenix Gazette, Nov. 7, 1990, p. A-1.

also found that 41 percent of the respondents voted "no" because they thought state employees did not need another paid holiday.²⁵

Prop. 302 failed by only 17,000 votes, or by a little more than one percent of the more than one million votes cast. Bob Robb and Earl de Berge concluded that Prop. 302 was defeated because of the NFL threat, citing the 60,000 votes they said were changed as a result of the CBS report. But can the defeat be blamed solely on the NFL's threat to move the Super Bowl? Or was it a faulty campaign strategy by the MLK BAC? What really caused Prop. 302 to fail?

The same day the PHOENIX GAZETTE published the findings of the de Berge poll, it also reported on a poll done by Bruce Merrill of the Media Research Program at Arizona State University that showed Arizonans over the age of 55 as well as those living in rural areas voted strongly against the holiday. Merrill's poll indicated rural counties opposed the holiday by a 20 point margin, 60 percent to 40 percent. Merrill surmised there were racial overtones in the elderly vote. He said attitudes toward race are generational, and older voters are more likely to be intolerant and to harbor resentment over the civil rights battles of the 1960s.²⁶

Merrill's results also reflected that two other factors led to the holiday's defeat. First, the two ballot measures split the pro-holiday vote. He said 63 percent of the respondents voted "yes" on one or both of the propositions (see Fig. 11). Second, Merrill's poll found the report on the probable loss of the Super Bowl caused three percent of voters, or about 30,000 people, to switch from a "yes" vote to a "no" vote on

²⁵Flannery, "Older, Rural Voters Beat King Day, Poll: Thousands Swayed by NFL," Phoenix Gazette, Nov. 14, 1990, p. A-1.

²⁶Ibid.

Prop. 302 at the last minute. This number was much lower than what de
Berge found, but it was still significant.

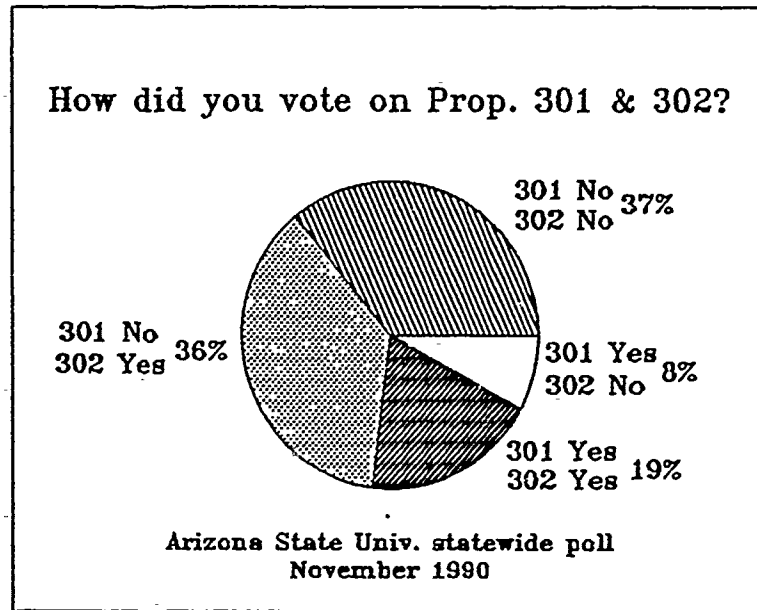


Figure 11

Three days after the election, the ARIZONA REPUBLIC conducted a poll of 610 registered voters to try to find a reason for the holiday defeat. First, voters were asked if they had voted for Prop. 302. The poll found that respondents under age 35 were big holiday supporters, while those aged 55-64 went overwhelmingly against the holiday (see Fig. 12).

Did you vote "yes" on Prop. 302?		
Age	Yes	No
Under 35	56%	44%
35 - 54	51	49
55 - 64	43	57
65 or Over	49	51

Arizona Republic statewide poll
November 1990

Figure 12

Second, in order to avoid the "right answer" phenomenon previously described, voters were asked why they thought Prop. 302 had been defeated, rather than asking them why they had voted as they did. Racism and the NFL threat to move the Super Bowl were each cited by 21 percent of the respondents as the main reason the holiday had failed (see Fig. 13).

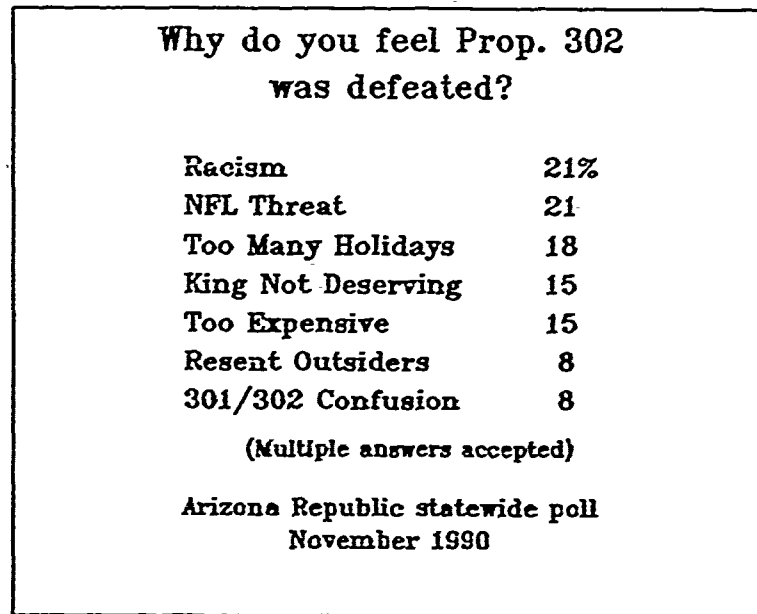


Figure 13

Many observers think that the MLK SAC campaign run by Bob Robb and Rick DeGraw and all the business, community, and religious leaders was the most effective campaign possible. Others believe, however, the campaign was flawed in its basic premise, and it was the failure to properly define the problem that caused the holiday to fail.

[The] dismal numbers [in the rural counties] demonstrate a main weakness in the Nelson Ralston Robb campaign: Rural Arizona was virtually ignored. Beyond a single mailer that targeted rural areas, few efforts were aimed there and no grass-roots efforts at all. Robb says he simply never found a "hook" that would make Prop. 302 relevant to the out-county masses, who apparently perceived it as a business boon for Phoenix and Tucson.²⁷

²⁷ Laake, p. 32.

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Chuck Coughlin, the senior account executive for Nelson Ralston Robb who oversaw campaign operations, said pro-holiday supporters were never able to get rural voters involved. The moral/ethical arguments didn't work, and arguments about lost conventions and slumping tourism had little value to people who felt they got little personal benefit from these things.²⁸

Arnie Zaler was one of the most vocal critics of the MLK BAC campaign effort. He said the entire philosophy on which the campaign was based caused the holiday's defeat. Zaler said the campaign never confronted voters with racism, instead preferring to sidestep this important issue for a less controversial approach. The result, he said, was a campaign that provided voters with easy excuses not to vote for the holiday. According to Zaler, the MLK BAC effort was a campaign waged by business leaders who were more concerned about the economic impact of the holiday than they were about the moral issues involved.²⁹

Union leader Pat Cantelme thought Robb's approach "made it just too easy for racists to hide" because the campaign never confronted them with their racism.³⁰

Members of the MLK BAC said their campaign messages tried to emphasize the moral argument, as well as emphasizing the economic message and the need for Arizona to put the controversy behind it.³¹

Michael O'Neil, president of O'Neil Associates, a Tempe-based public opinion and marketing research firm, said King forced the country to live

²⁸ Flannery, "Older, Rural Voters Beat King Day," p. A-1.

²⁹ Flannery, "King Day Narrowly Defeated," p. A-1.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

up to its stated ideals of justice and equality, yet the Prop. 302 campaign was almost silent on the moral crusade that King helped lead. He said the campaign did not give voters a compelling moral basis for why they should vote for the holiday.

Proponents of the main Martin Luther King Jr. holiday measure on last November's ballot not only failed to convince the voter to pass Prop. 302, they also failed . . . to educate the public about why this emotionally charged issue is so important.

The bland reminders characteristic of the Prop. 302 campaign to 'Support Civil Rights--Help Arizona' . . . did not give voters a reason to vote for the holiday. . . . While the proponents of the measure were careful to avoid making explicit statements about the likely economic impact of a negative vote, the absence of a compelling moral statement in favor of the holiday left the implication that economics was the prime motivation behind the proposition.

In an attempt to avoid offending anyone, the campaign managed to strip the King holiday of its moral and ethical underpinnings. . . . By focusing so exclusively on the need to avoid offending anyone, it became difficult to remember what the campaign stood for. Thus, when faced with a last-minute threat from the NFL, the most salient ethical issue for many voters became, 'Let's not let them tell us what to do!'

Proponents also failed to make clear why an unpaid Sunday remembrance day was inadequate. . . . It is precisely the legacy of a 'separate, but equal/back of the bus' history that makes anything that smacks of a second-class holiday particularly unsuitable.³²

As the moral message hits at the treatment of minorities, were minorities, who make up about 20 percent of Arizona's population and who most thought would be the natural constituency for a Martin Luther King holiday, taken for granted? Can the holiday defeat be blamed on a failure to reach minority voters?

Even DeGraw, who was responsible for reaching the minority population, admitted rural Hispanics and, also, Native Americans, weren't reached by a statewide campaign that virtually ignored them.³³ Despite his

³²Michael J. O'Neil, "King Day Deserves a Better Airing," Arizona Republic, March 17, 1991, p. C-1.

³³Laake, p. 22.

efforts, a look at election figures in Maricopa County shows that in the minority voting districts turnout was essentially the same as it was in the 1988 election. In one regard, that was a positive sign because 1988 was a presidential election year, and voter turnout is usually higher than in the off years. But, at the same time, it wasn't as high as expected. Prop. 302 was the one issue that could have resulted in a "truly extraordinary turnout among minorities." But that is not what happened.³⁴

While the minority turnout in urban Maricopa and Pima counties on Election Day was equal to that of the most recent presidential election, the same wasn't true in the rural counties of Arizona. In these out-counties, which are composed heavily of Native American and Hispanic voters, turnout dropped between 4 and 11 percent.

Tommy Espinoza, a prominent Hispanic businessman in the Valley, said the campaign never addressed the concerns of the Hispanic community.

Organizers should have been willing to 'go beyond the norm of politics'--the phoning, signs, commercials on Spanish-speaking radio--and strive to perceive the real obstacles. . . . His community in large part is composed of older, conservative Hispanics and others who don't identify with King. These folks aren't wealthy, and they believed their taxes would increase if they gave state employees another paid holiday. . . . What was needed, he says, was the recruitment of admired Hispanic leaders to carry the message of civil rights to their own people.³⁵

As for the black community, Rep. Art Hamilton was disappointed that minority voters did not vote in anywhere near the numbers that they could have on this important issue. The root of the problem, said Hamilton, is that members of the small black community in Phoenix and around the state perceive themselves as being powerless. The black community is not well organized, according to Hamilton; there are only the churches to rally

³⁴Laake, p. 26.

³⁵Laake, p. 30.

black voters. The ultimate problem, Hamilton said, was that blacks knew if they wanted Martin Luther King to be honored, they had to deliver him into white hands. That was something they were reluctant to do.³⁶

Many people continue to blame the NFL and the Super Bowl controversy for the holiday's failure. While the polls done by de Berge, Merrill, and the ARIZONA REPUBLIC differ in their measurement of the extent to which the NFL factor affected the outcome of the election, even the most conservative of these estimates was enough to turn the outcome against the holiday.

Another significant factor in the holiday's defeat was the rejection of Prop. 302 by older voters as well as voters in the rural counties.

To what extent minorities voted for or against the holiday is unknown, however, it is known that turnout among minorities on Nov. 6 was much lower than in 1988.

Two competing holiday propositions on the election ballot undoubtedly confused some voters and also split the pro-holiday vote. Merrill's poll found 63 percent voted for one or both of the propositions.

Finally, both pro-King and anti-holiday groups said the vote of Nov. 6 produced no clear mandate for or against an eventual King holiday. The outcome was clear that Arizonans do not want King Day at the expense of Columbus Day, and they do not favor King Day as an eleventh paid holiday for state employees.

Did the MLK BAC misjudge their audience? By the only measure that really counts, the MLK BAC campaign was a failure--Arizona does not have a King holiday.

³⁶Laake, p. 30.

Section 4

The Aftermath

As the pollsters and pundits scrambled to figure out just what had happened on Nov. 6, holiday supporters began to look to the future, to search for ways to right the wrong that had been done to the state by the election day setback. Some called for immediate action by the governor to establish a holiday by executive order. Others wanted lawmakers to address the holiday question during the special legislative session in December which had been scheduled to set a date and create rules for the gubernatorial run-off election. One group wanted a special election in 1991 to allow voters to decide. Another favored a plan whereby an interim holiday would be enacted immediately by the legislature and voters would make the final decision in the November 1992 general election. Business and civic leaders favored the interim holiday idea.

Gov. Mofford, two days after the defeat, ruled out making any quick moves to establish a King holiday. She said she had no intention of establishing a holiday by executive order or of calling a special session of the legislature to deal with the issue. Key legislative leaders said no action on the King holiday was likely to be taken until the regular session of the legislature convened on Jan. 14, 1991.³⁷

³⁷ Steve Yozwiak and Ed Foster, "Mofford Balks on King Day Vow," Arizona Republic, Nov. 10, 1990, p. A-1.

Reveling in their victory, holiday opponents insisted any decision to enact a holiday must be made by voters. They vowed to launch an effort to recall any legislator who tried to circumvent the voters' decision.³⁸

And what did the voters think? Research by O'Neil Associates found that 49 percent of Valley residents thought the failure of the holiday would result in great harm to the state's image and economy. Another 31 percent thought it would be somewhat damaging. Seventeen percent of those polled said the holiday's defeat would have no effect. So, voters, who rejected the King holiday on Election Day, apparently now saw that rejection as causing damage to Arizona.³⁹

Carl Nicholson, a member of the pro-holiday group UNITY that had recently disbanded, took out petitions on Nov. 16 with the aim of putting the federal King holiday model on the 1992 election ballot. Nicholson's new group was called Arizonans for King Recognition.

Rev. Warren Stewart announced the formation of a grass-roots campaign, called Victory '91--600,000 for MLK. This group's goal was to bring the holiday to a vote in a special election in 1991. Stewart was backed by a loose coalition of religious and black leaders.

Legal scholars said it would be difficult, if not impossible, to get a public vote in 1991. Andrew Gordon, an attorney at the Phoenix law firm of Lewis & Roca, said the Arizona Constitution provides that referendums and initiatives are to be voted on "at the next regular general election." He said courts had ruled that special elections do not fall into the category of an election allowed by the law. Paul Bender, former

³⁸ Venita Hawthorne James, et al, "'King/Civil Rights Day' Vote Urged," Arizona Republic, Nov. 16, 1990, p. A-1.

³⁹ Glen Creno, "Many Think King Day Flap Will Hurt State," Phoenix Gazette, Dec. 6, 1990, P. 2-7.

dean of the Arizona State University College of Law, disagreed. He believed the gubernatorial runoff election to be held in early 1991 qualified as a general election under the meaning of the state constitution.⁴⁰

The legal debate was irrelevant, however. The lame-duck legislature would have had to act during the special session that was held to create rules for the run-off election. As the legislature convened for the special session, there was little chance the holiday would be added to the agenda and to no one's surprise the King Day question was not considered.

At the time, Rep. Art Hamilton, a leader in the pro-holiday effort, was pessimistic about the holiday's chances:

As a practical matter, as a political matter, I don't believe it [special election] is doable. And I am convinced if we cannot do it in the run-off, it is simply not doable--in terms of a public vote--until '92.

Putting it on the ballot is not my first preference, but I certainly think there is a consensus that it will have to be approved by a vote of the folks.⁴¹

One month after the election, Gov. Mofford, in a special column written for the ARIZONA REPUBLIC, appealed to Arizonans.

[The defeat]. . . had far more to do with the economics of an extra paid holiday for state employees and general confusion over two competing ballot propositions [301 and 302] than it did with racism or the Super Bowl. . . .

In Arizona, a vast majority of citizens already celebrate the King holiday. Several of our largest cities . . . have enacted paid holidays. So, too, have the three state universities, two counties, many school districts and numerous corporations, banks and small businesses. Most have chosen to honor the holiday by utilizing the federal model that combines the holidays of George Washington's birthday with that of Abraham Lincoln, thereby allowing for the King holiday, but without adding to the total number of holidays.

The federal model is the one we should enact in Arizona. On Nov. 6, the voters of this state rejected an additional holiday for

⁴⁰ Flannery, "King Day Initiative Launched, Vote Called Unlikely Before '92 Election," Phoenix Gazette, Nov. 12, 1990, p. A-1.

⁴¹ Ibid.

state employees and have said that the Columbus Day holiday should be retained. The federal model meets both of these criteria. . . . I am opposed to the so-called menu plan. . . . Such a plan would be costly, create unnecessary administrative problems, and would add still greater controversy to this issue. . . .

The legislature cannot hide from its responsibility to address this issue. . . . The time for action is now, not next year. . . .

Some may believe that Arizona already has a Martin Luther King holiday--observed as an unpaid, Sunday holiday. This view is not accurate. Former Gov. Evan Mecham issued a standard proclamation in 1987 to implement that observance. . . .

The Sunday King proclamation, in addition to being largely ignored, has no force or effect of law.⁴²

In making her appeal directly to the people of Arizona, Mofford had not changed her position--she favored the federal model, and she favored immediate action. However, she did not offer any suggestion on how the holiday should be enacted or if it should be referred to voters.

On Dec. 6, the PHOENIX GAZETTE reported that the governor was proposing to ask the legislature to give her power to enact a paid King holiday by executive order on an interim basis until the question could be put before voters in November 1992.⁴³ The governor denied she was considering an executive order. The following week, she canceled a meeting scheduled with key lawmakers, dooming holiday hopes for 1990.

On New Year's Eve, Stewart's group, now called Victory Together--One Clear Choice, announced a new petition drive with the goal of enacting a King holiday following the federal model by a vote of the people. The group called the menu plan unacceptable. Community, business, religious, and educational groups that formerly were aligned with the MLK BAC effort supported this new group which stressed grass-roots involvement and ethical, not economic, considerations.

⁴²Rose Mofford, "For the People of Arizona, Still Some Unfinished Business," Arizona Republic, Dec. 9, 1990, p. F-1.

⁴³Flannery, "Mofford Considering King Day 'Test Drive,'" Phoenix Gazette, Dec. 6, 1990, p. A-1.

On Jan. 21, 1991, 25,000 people participated in the sixth annual march on the federal holiday in honor of King's birthday, the largest King observance ever in Arizona. March organizers called on the legislature to give voters "one clear choice" on the 1992 general election ballot.

As the state's 40th legislature convened on Jan. 14, 1991, lawmakers considered their holiday options--enact a holiday law outright by two-thirds vote of the legislature, thus avoiding the possibility of a referendum, or send the question back to voters in 1991 by special election or in 1992 by the regular general election. With the addition of four presumably pro-King Democrats to the Senate and the loss of several strident holiday foes, the 20 votes necessary for a two-thirds majority did not seem out of reach. In the House, the May 1990 35-vote majority appeared to be enhanced by no more than one or two, short of the 40 needed. The only viable alternative appeared to be to shoot for the 1992 ballot, which would eliminate the issue of the perceived NFL extortion threat and the unseemly appearance of rushing to overturn the voters' decision.

A resolution that would put the King holiday on the 1992 ballot was introduced in the Senate Government and Public Safety Committee. The proposed bill would follow the federal model, combining Washington's and Lincoln's birthdays into Lincoln-Washington Presidents' Day and creating a paid King Day.

Most lawmakers thought the issue should be put before voters again in 1992, but many also wanted to establish a one-time paid King Day for state employees in January 1992 in the interim. Some feared that because voters rejected a paid holiday in November 1990, an interim holiday would anger them and possibly lead to a defeat of the holiday in the 1992 general election.

Leaders of both parties in the Democrat-dominated Senate believed the bill, which included an interim holiday for 1992, would pass easily. They also believed there were enough votes to get an identical bill through the Republican-controlled House, however, the bill had not yet been introduced there.⁴⁴

To assess the mood of voters toward the King holiday controversy in light of the election defeat and the continued debate, the ARIZONA REPUBLIC conducted a poll of 642 registered voters in mid-January 1991. Of those polled, a majority of voters did not want the legislature to do anything in 1991, although the differential between those against any action and those favoring it was not large (see Fig. 14).

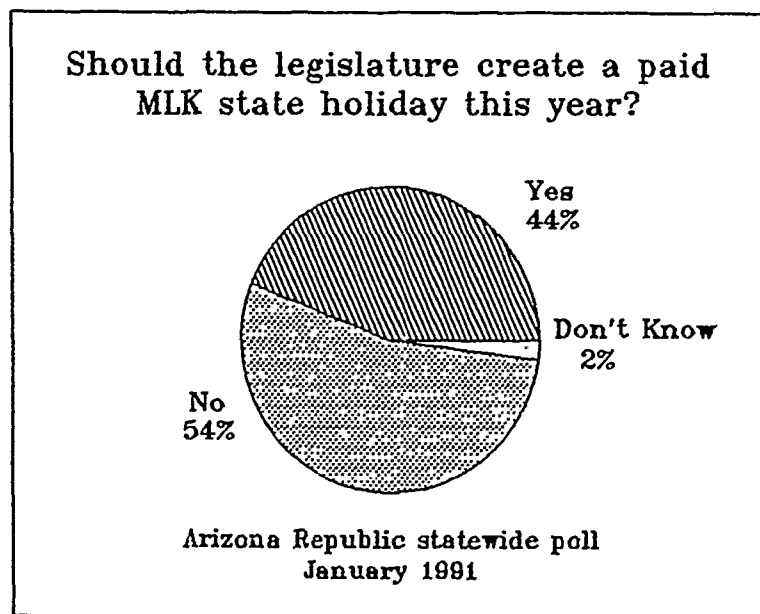


Figure 14

When asked, "If the legislature creates a paid King holiday, should its action also be referred to the voters in 1992 for approval?" voters overwhelmingly said they should make the final decision (see Fig. 15).

⁴⁴ Foster, "Push is on for 1-Time King Holiday in '92," Arizona Republic, Jan. 20, 1991, p. A-1.

Finally, voters were asked for their opinions on various proposals for creating a paid King holiday. Results reflected a clear mandate against an extra paid holiday. Voters were evenly split on their views of the federal model, while a majority liked a menu plan where state workers choose from a list of holidays that includes a King Day (see Fig. 16).

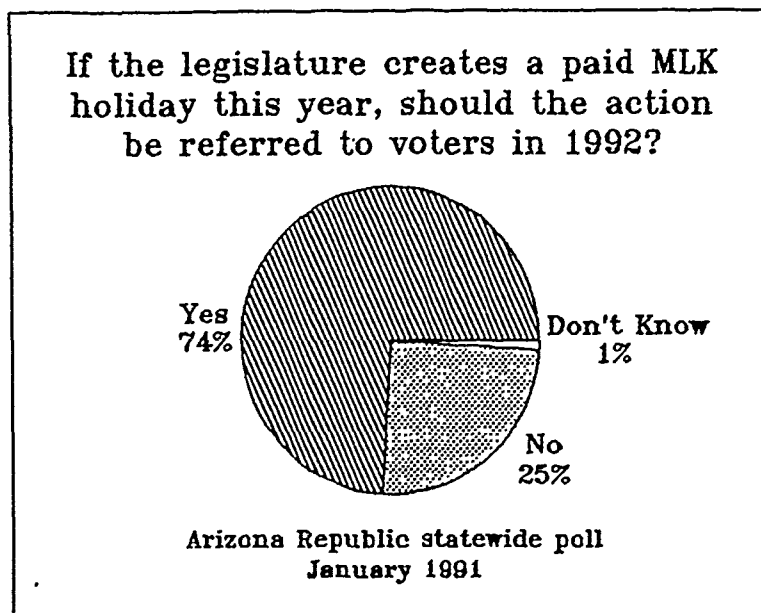


Figure 15

There are various legislative proposals for creating a paid MLK holiday. Do you support or oppose these options?

	Support	Oppose	Don't Know
Create President's Day and MLK Day	48%	49%	3%
Create MLK Day as 11th paid holiday	28%	69%	2%
Allow state employees to choose from a menu including an MLK Day	66%	31%	3%

Arizona Republic statewide poll
January 1991

Figure 16

Polls released by Earl de Berge of the Behavior Research Center of Phoenix and Bruce Merrill of the Media Research Program at Arizona State University indicate voters support the federal model by a 2-1 margin. In the de Berge and Merrill polls, the federal model was explained to respondents, and they were told the federal government celebrates a King holiday and one holiday for Washington and Lincoln together. The de Berge poll also mentioned the federal model was used by other states.

On the other hand, the REPUBLIC poll done by Ellen Jacobs and her staff did not mention the federal holiday or what other states did. The REPUBLIC poll did say state employees currently get 10 paid holidays, but the de Berge and Merrill polls did not.

All three pollsters said they believed voters may be less willing to support the King holiday if they are told the number of holidays state workers now celebrate. Ellen Jacobs also said voters are more willing to vote for the holiday when they are told it follows the federal model. She said the floating holiday option would not have received as much support if voters had been told a menu of holidays would result in added costs.⁴⁵

On Jan. 16, 1991, the attention of the state, the nation, and the world focused on the Persian Gulf as U.S. and coalition air forces began the massive bombing campaign that kicked off Operation Desert Storm.

Yet, an ARIZONA REPUBLIC poll done after the war began found that 15 percent of Arizonans said the King holiday question was the most important issue facing the state while the economy was the #1 concern named by 24 percent of the respondents. Education and taxes were well behind in third and fourth places at eight and three percent, respectively.

⁴⁵ Steve Yozwiak, "Voters in Poll Want Last Say in King Day," Arizona Republic, Jan. 21, 1991, p. B-1.

In the meantime, what has the continuing debate and the controversy it has wrought cost Arizona?

The day after the election, NFL commissioner Paul Tagliabue announced he would recommend that owners vote to move the 1993 Super Bowl from Phoenix in the "best interests of the league." If the owners agreed to relocate the game (the owner's vote was scheduled for mid-March), Phoenix would be the first city to lose the league championship game. Phoenix Super Bowl organizers estimated that with the loss of the game, the Valley would sacrifice \$200 million in revenue.⁴⁶

Aside from the Super Bowl, the president of the Phoenix and Valley of the Sun Visitors and Convention Bureau estimated that losses of up to \$123 million were likely because of the absence of the King holiday.⁴⁷ By early January, six conventions, including the National League of Cities, had canceled because of the "no" vote, causing a loss of revenue estimated at \$7 million, according to the Convention Bureau.⁴⁸

In addition, the NBA announced it would not award any events to Phoenix including its annual meetings and the All-Star Game. The Council of Independent College Presidents, an organization of college presidents that represents half of the nation's liberal arts institutions, voted to boycott Arizona.

Softening the blow somewhat, the Episcopal Church announced its

⁴⁶ Flannery, "King Day Narrowly Defeated, Angered Backers Cite Report by CBS," Phoenix Gazette, Nov. 7, 1990, p. A-1.

⁴⁷ Jodie Snyder and Dawn Gilbertson, "Tourism Officials Fear Loss May Cost Millions, King Vote Shock Waves," Phoenix Gazette, Nov. 8, 1990, p. A-1.

⁴⁸ Victoria Harker, "College Presidents to Boycott State, Group Supports King Holiday at Valley Meeting," Arizona Republic, Jan. 5, 1991, p. B-1.

general convention, a meeting that is expected to draw 10,000 people, would come to Phoenix.

In early February, the legislature and the entire state were rocked by revelations of a far-reaching investigation that had ensnared at least seven lawmakers in a web of fraud and influence peddling. Dubbed AzScan, the investigation threatened to tie up the legislature for months, relegating the King holiday and every other concern to the background, while ethics hearings and criminal proceedings took center stage.

On March 6, Fife Symington was sworn in as governor. Symington supported a King holiday structured after the federal observance, but he was opposed to an interim holiday because it would violate the intent voters expressed in November."⁴⁹

On March 7, there came a surprise move after intense behind-the-scenes lobbying by business and community leaders: The Senate Government Committee voted 7-2 to refer the King holiday resolution to the full Senate for consideration. The measure called for a 1992 general election vote that would merge the Lincoln and Washington birthdays into a Lincoln/Washington Presidents' Day on the third Monday in February and would create a Martin Luther King Jr./Civil Rights Day on the third Monday in January. The resolution did not include an interim King Day for January 1992. Four days later, the Senate Rules Committee cleared the resolution for floor action following limited discussion.

Then, on March 12, after only a perfunctory committee hearing, the state House, approved by a 40-11 vote a resolution identical to that passed out of committee in the Senate. The measure was supported by 23

⁴⁹Flannery, "House Set for King Day Vote, Civil Rights Aimed at Settling Issues," Phoenix Gazette, March 16, 1991, p. 3 E.

Democrats and 17 Republicans, and it was opposed by 11 Republicans. The seven lawmakers involved in the AzScam proceedings did not vote.

The action came as Phoenix officials prepared to fend off a bid by NFL owners to move the 1993 Super Bowl from the Valley. The NFL decision was scheduled to be made the following week. King holiday opponents called the legislature's action an attempt to play up to NFL interests.⁵⁰ The argument became academic, however, when the NFL did, in fact, vote to move the Super Bowl from Phoenix.

Some legislators expressed concern that their effort to put the King holiday on the 1992 ballot would wind up competing with voter initiatives by pro-King groups. But House Minority Leader Art Hamilton said the resolution approved by the House was a version agreed to by key King Day supporters in the black and business communities. However, he added, "There is no way to assure this will be the only issue on the ballot, [but] what I think it does . . . is obviate the need for an initiative."⁵¹

Gov. Symington said that by putting the holiday on the ballot, "We assure the public's right to vote on the issue. We protect people's democratic rights."⁵²

Culminating five days of frenetic activity, on March 13, the Senate, voted 25-4 to put the proposal for the King holiday on the 1992 ballot. Because the measure was enacted as a resolution, it will go directly on the ballot; the governor's signature is not required. The resolution was supported by 16 Democrats and 9 Republicans, and it was opposed by four

⁵⁰ Steve Yozwiak and William H. Carlile, "'92 Vote on King, House Acts in Bid to Save '93 Super Bowl," Arizona Republic, March 12, 1991, p. A-1.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

Republicans. One senator did not participate in the vote because of his AzScam indictment.

Carl Nicholson, whose group Arizonans for King Recognition was gathering signatures to put a voter-initiated holiday proposition on the ballot, said he would probably discontinue the petition drive. Nicholson had previously appealed to the legislature not to act on the holiday. He acknowledged it would only hurt the holiday's chances if there were two issues on the ballot.⁵³

Steve Roman, who was co-chairman of the MLK BAC, denied that concern over the possible loss of the Super Bowl at the upcoming NFL meetings was the motivation behind the holiday push. Roman said, "It is absolutely not the driving force. We want it completely separate from the Super Bowl." Roman said that right after the November election, the House leadership had decided to deal with the holiday question as soon as possible after the Feb. 25 run-off election.⁵⁴

The events of mid-March 1991 made it clear that enactment of a King holiday before November 1992 will not happen. The fight for a paid state holiday in Arizona honoring Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. has been going on since 1972, and holiday supporters, who managed a small victory in March 1991 after a crushing defeat in November 1990, have vowed to keep working, pointing toward the 1992 general election.

⁵³ Fister, "King Day Officially on Ballot, Bill OK'd as Meeting on Super Bowl Looms," Arizona Republic, March 13, 1991, p. A-1.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

Section 5

Phoenix Newspapers and the Holiday

Early in the fight for a holiday in Arizona commemorating Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Phoenix Newspapers, Inc. took a leading role. Working both behind the scenes lobbying the legislature and out-in-front chairing the Super Bowl '93 Committee, the company's top management saw a state paid holiday honoring King as important to the city of Phoenix and the state of Arizona.

Throughout the past decade, the King controversy was one of the biggest news stories in Arizona. The ARIZONA REPUBLIC, the PHOENIX GAZETTE, and, to a lesser extent, the ARIZONA BUSINESS GAZETTE reported in great detail on every development affecting the holiday. These newspapers also represented the conscience of the public, pushing and prodding on the editorial pages to encourage debate and pointing out what they believed to be best for Arizona.

Phoenix Newspapers, Inc., the company that publishes these three newspapers, is a publicly-held company that is part of Central Newspapers, Inc. of Indiana. The ARIZONA REPUBLIC, a daily morning newspaper and the largest paper in Arizona, is considered the state newspaper of Arizona. The PHOENIX GAZETTE, an afternoon paper, is published Monday through Saturday. The combined daily circulation of the ARIZONA REPUBLIC and the PHOENIX GAZETTE places them among the top 15 newspapers in the country. These two newspapers have been published in Arizona for more than 100

years. The third paper, the ARIZONA BUSINESS GAZETTE, is a weekly business newspaper.

PNI's active role in the King debate leads to the question, What is a newspaper's role in the community? Can a newspaper be objective in news reporting, while at the same time taking a position on events being reported?

Bill Shover, the Director of Public Affairs for Phoenix Newspapers, Inc., has held his position for more than 28 years, and he has been a part of many initiatives on behalf of the company, including the King holiday effort.⁵⁵

Shover said a newspaper's role is the same as it has always been--a newspaper must, first and foremost, be the voice of truth. He also said a major newspaper like the ARIZONA REPUBLIC or the PHOENIX GAZETTE must be a leader--it must take the point on the big issues that are of interest to the public. For that reason, said Shover, a newspaper must know its community well so that it can do what is right in the public interest.

A newspaper has to be mercenary because it is a business and it must make money to survive. It also should be a missionary--a leader in the community. Phoenix Newspapers are represented in every major organization in the city. There is a lot of emphasis on public affairs and community relations here, more so than at other papers. We believe the public is important.

The newspapers have hard decisions to make in determining what is it that the public wants and what causes they should get behind. Phoenix Newspapers have been part of every major effort in the city in the last 28 years: the Fiesta Bowl, the USS Arizona anchor and mast, the Super Bowl, the King holiday, major league sports, to name a few. If the paper had not gotten into the Martin Luther King holiday effort, it would have died two years ago.

The MLK effort started as an economic necessity to ensure Phoenix was awarded the 1993 Super Bowl. But we've converted to the cause. Arizona needs a King holiday because it's the right thing to do. It doesn't matter what one's motives are; the holiday is best for the community and for Arizona.

⁵⁵ All citations in this section attributed to Bill Shover are from an interview conducted with him on October 5, 1990.

Shover said the philosophy of Phoenix Newspapers, Inc. can be attributed to the beliefs instilled in the company by Eugene C. Pulliam, who bought the papers in 1946 and served as publisher until his death in 1975. According to Shover, Pulliam published a memorandum to all employees when he first took over that said, in part:

The first duty of citizenship is useful service to one's community, and [the paper] wants to be a good citizen. The people of [this state] can count on it when there is a worthy work of any sort to be done.

While the paper's standing in the community is of prime concern, said Shover, the publisher of Phoenix Newspapers does not influence the news department's reporting. There is a fine line, according to Shover, but the company never uses news stories to advance a particular position.

Phoenix Newspapers, Inc. had been one of the first major businesses in the Valley to grant employees King Day off as a paid holiday. And, on the eve of Election Day in a letter to PNI employees published in the company newsletter, John P. Zanotti, publisher and chief executive officer of PNI, urged members of the company to participate in the upcoming election and to pay particular attention to Prop. 302 (see Appendix E). While he stopped short of calling on employees to vote in favor of Prop. 302, Zanotti referred to the ballot as an opportunity for Arizonans to "vote on a paid holiday for state employees, to honor our civil rights."

In his letter to employees, Zanotti also talked about the positions taken by the ARIZONA REPUBLIC and the PHOENIX GAZETTE on the issue after "exhaustive and thorough research." While both newspapers had taken strong pro-holiday editorial stances in the months leading up to the election, neither paper had started out as a supporter of a paid holiday.

As the holiday was being debated in the U.S. Congress in the summer of 1983, the ARIZONA REPUBLIC supported the federal holiday, but took

Congress to task for its motives, calling the Republican holiday effort mere politics, a ploy to gain minority support.

The REPUBLIC editorial department was silent on King Day until May 1986 when it came out in support of Gov. Babbitt's executive order, but did not take a stand for or against the holiday, saying instead the debate was tainted by racism.

In November 1986, the REPUBLIC announced it was against Gov.-elect Mechem's pledge to rescind the King holiday, and the following month, it said the courts should decide the legality of former Gov. Babbitt's executive order. If the order was ruled illegal, the REPUBLIC preferred legislative action over a voter referendum.

Again calling on the legislature to decide the issue in January 1987, the paper said the holiday argument should not be framed as a paid holiday versus an unpaid holiday, but on the merits of a King holiday alone. Saying the controversy posed an economic threat to the state, the REPUBLIC feared Mechem's proposal to refer the issue to voters in the next general election would unwisely delay solution.

On Feb. 28, 1988, while lauding the legislature's action in defeating a holiday ballot bill that would have referred the holiday question to a public vote, the REPUBLIC called Mechem's Sunday proclamation a token observance. For the first time, the paper editorially came out in favor of a paid state holiday honoring King, a holiday modeled after the federal observance.

Over the next two years, REPUBLIC editorials repeatedly criticized Senate Republicans for procedural maneuvers that blocked all votes on a King holiday bill.

When Gov. Mofford finally called for a special session of the legislature to vote on a holiday in September 1989, the REPUBLIC, after

earlier ripping Mofford for inactivity, lauded her action. Calling the economic damage caused by the controversy considerable and saying the state's image had been tarnished, the REPUBLIC said it was the efforts of the business community and the possibility of the Super Bowl that broke the impasse.

After the legislature created King Day and canceled Columbus Day, the REPUBLIC expressed fear there was the potential for an ugly campaign as King haters joined with Columbus Day supporters to force a holiday referendum. Advancing a position it would trumpet time and again in the coming months, the REPUBLIC renewed its opposition to a ballot decision and said the legislature should repeal the law and establish King Day either in the federal mold or by creating an eleventh paid state holiday, thereby invalidating the referendum.

After the legislature passed the new law in May 1990 creating King Day and preserving Columbus Day, the REPUBLIC lauded Mofford and the work of business, labor, education, and religious leaders in lobbying for the law. The paper also addressed the concerns of the anti-King faction saying the legislature's action allowed plenty of time for holiday opponents to mount a new referendum campaign.

In August when it was clear there would be a fall referendum, the REPUBLIC could not believe Arizonans sought pariah status for their state or begrudged black Americans their rights. The paper, in recommending passage of Prop. 302, was also concerned that an indifferent majority would allow the holiday to be defeated.

In an editorial published the day after the election, the REPUBLIC said voters had spoken overwhelmingly against the Columbus/King swap, but were less distinct on the King holiday by itself in that the thin margin of defeat was hardly a mandate against a holiday of some kind. The paper

called on holiday opponents and supporters to work out a compromise for the good of the state. The REPUBLIC also said the NFL may have had a hand in the holiday's defeat and the decision to move the Super Bowl was a hasty one. A cartoon by REPUBLIC editorial cartoonist Scott Stantis published on Nov. 8 attributing the holiday's defeat to racism echoed the opinion shared by many who lamented the election result (see Appendix F).

REPUBLIC editorial writers ended 1990 by saying the holiday issue was not dead. They added that the vote was not decisive, and whatever was eventually done by the legislature must go to the voters for approval. Finally, they reiterated a Sunday proclamation does not benefit King; a paid holiday was the appropriate honor.

The PHOENIX GAZETTE, although slower to editorially support a paid state King holiday than the REPUBLIC, eventually became a vocal critic of the legislature for its inactivity and the anti-King holiday faction for its efforts to prevent the holiday from taking effect.

In August 1983, the GAZETTE's editorial position mirrored that of the REPUBLIC, saying King's dream was being co-opted by a liberal coalition eager to capitalize on the credibility of the civil rights movement with minority voters. The GAZETTE later said that although it was nothing but politics that got the King federal holiday passed by Congress, the holiday could serve as a reminder of America's diverse heritage.

The GAZETTE, too, was silent on the holiday until the spring of 1986 when the paper said Babbitt's executive order creating King Day was politically motivated, but that King deserved to be honored. In November, the GAZETTE called Mecham's vow to rescind the order insensitive, and said he should let the legislature decide the issue. Then, in June 1987, the GAZETTE said Mecham's rescission of the holiday didn't mean he was racist and called his Sunday proclamation a perfect solution to the controversy.

In March 1988, by calling for a ballot vote to decide the issue and saying it was not a disgrace to honor King with a Sunday holiday, the GAZETTE took a position opposite of that of the REPUBLIC. But, on Jan. 16, 1989, the GAZETTE reversed its stance by saying the debate had been over irrelevant side issues; a Sunday holiday was inadequate; the state must have a paid King holiday--that will send an unmistakable message that Arizona is not racist.

In appealing that the case for the King holiday should be made on moral grounds, not economic ones, the GAZETTE, in the summer of 1989, foretold the outline the debate would take over the following year. The paper said there were more important reasons than business interests for enacting a King holiday. Its plea--it is the right thing to do--was to become the rallying cry for the pro-King holiday forces.

While lauding the legislature for finally creating a paid King holiday, the GAZETTE said the effort to repeal the holiday was hopelessly linked to racism and should not continue. At the same time, the paper said the issue would be moot if the legislature would follow the federal government's lead, but they had had that opportunity for years and could not get it right.

From January to April 1990, the GAZETTE first called on the legislature to act, then favored a proposal to put a King question on the ballot, and then reversed itself yet again calling on the legislature to act because a referendum promised more divisiveness.

A GAZETTE editorial would again prove to be prophetic when, in August 1990, the paper said that confusion is the newest adversary for the holiday because of the two competing holiday ballot propositions.

In September, the GAZETTE said that although polls showed the outcome was uncertain, a majority of voters supported a paid King holiday. It

also said the passage of Prop. 302 would show that Arizona is progressive and willing to work for a better tomorrow.

When, on the Sunday before the election, CBS News reported on the holiday/Super Bowl link, the GAZETTE said the NFL Super Bowl tie to the King holiday was nothing new. The paper called the game a minor issue and not the reason people should vote for the holiday. Again sounding a prophetic note, the GAZETTE speculated that some voters would probably vote against the holiday because of the perceived threat.

After the election, the paper took an optimistic stance. Stating that Arizona was not racist, the paper said the vote could have easily gone the other way. The GAZETTE added that the issue was not dead--the state would eventually have a holiday.

Unlike the ARIZONA REPUBLIC and the PHOENIX GAZETTE, the ARIZONA BUSINESS GAZETTE did not address the holiday editorially on a regular basis through the years. However, from late 1986 on, the ABG favored a legislative solution to the King holiday controversy. The ABG did not come out in support of the holiday until December 1989.

As the positions taken on the papers' editorial pages evolved through the years, so too did the volume of reportage in the ARIZONA REPUBLIC and the PHOENIX GAZETTE ebb and flow as the King holiday controversy developed.

In the five year period beginning in January 1986 and running through December 1990, 1,595 articles, columns, letters to the editor, and editorials appeared in the ARIZONA REPUBLIC, PHOENIX GAZETTE, and ARIZONA BUSINESS GAZETTE. Too few items appeared in the ARIZONA BUSINESS GAZETTE to draw any meaningful conclusions about its coverage of the King holiday, however its numbers appear with those of the REPUBLIC and GAZETTE in the detailed charts in Appendix G.

Almost one-half of the total items that appeared in the three newspapers were published in 1990, the penultimate year in terms of the holiday debate. The year with the next largest number of stories (about one fifth) was 1987, when Gov. Evan Mecham rescinded former Gov. Bruce Babbitt's executive order establishing a paid state King holiday.

The PHOENIX GAZETTE consistently saw the King issue as major front page news to a greater extent than did the ARIZONA REPUBLIC with the exception of 1988. That year, the REPUBLIC gave front page coverage to the holiday effort on a greater frequency, although the number of stories appearing in both papers was far less than in other years. On the other hand, REPUBLIC columnists had more to say about the holiday than did their counterparts on the GAZETTE staff.

The ARIZONA REPUBLIC was the first of the papers to come out editorially in favor of a paid state holiday honoring King. On Feb. 28, 1988, the REPUBLIC's lead editorial called for the adoption a paid King holiday to mirror the federal commemoration. Previously, the paper had supported some type of honor but had stopped short of recommending what type of holiday should be enacted.

It was not until Jan. 16, 1989 that a PHOENIX GAZETTE editorial announced the paper's support for a paid state holiday, saying a Sunday proclamation was not a sufficient honor for King. However, the GAZETTE did not specify a particular plan for creating the paid holiday as the REPUBLIC had done.

Comparing coverage in the REPUBLIC and the GAZETTE in 1990 before and after the Nov. 6 election, definite differences in the treatment of the news are apparent. While the GAZETTE maintained a front page focus on the holiday story throughout the year, the REPUBLIC shifted its coverage significantly from the front pages to elsewhere in the paper, primarily

the sports pages. Following the holiday's defeat, the REPUBLIC's analysis of the vote's economic and political fallout shared center stage with the impact there would be on the Super Bowl and the New Year's Day Sunkist Fiesta Bowl. As a result, placement of articles on the holiday in the REPUBLIC saw a shift from the front pages to the sport pages.

Over the five-year period of detailed analysis, more letters to the editor voicing opposition to the King holiday appeared on the editorial pages of the REPUBLIC and the GAZETTE than the ones supporting it. Considered together, 1986 was the only year when there was even close to a 50-50 split, with 46 percent favoring the holiday and 49 percent against the holiday. The largest margin of difference was seen in 1987 when only 24 percent of the letters published were pro-holiday and 65 percent were against it. From 1988 on, the percentage of anti-holiday letters appearing in the GAZETTE exceeded that of the REPUBLIC by a wide margin.

Interestingly, in the weeks following the election, the GAZETTE published a slightly higher percentage of anti-holiday letters and a much higher percentage of pro-holiday letters than before the election, both at the expense of letters neutral in stance. On the other hand, the REPUBLIC ran lower percentages of pro- and anti-holiday letters, running more letters that dealt with the issue without taking a specific stand on the holiday. About one fifth of the letters published in both papers after the election expressed concern about the NFL's blackmail of Arizona voters in threatening to pull the 1993 Super Bowl if the holiday was defeated.

Comparing the evolution of the newspapers' support of the King holiday on the editorial pages to the number and placement of articles and letters published through the years, the pro-holiday position taken by Phoenix Newspapers, Inc. did not appear to translate to increased reportage or more favorable placement of pro-holiday articles. In

addition, a subjective analysis of letters to the editor published in the REPUBLIC and GAZETTE indicated the newspapers went to great lengths to feature opinions on both sides of the holiday question.

The ARIZONA REPUBLIC and the PHOENIX GAZETTE were not supporters of a paid state holiday in the beginning, preferring instead to focus on the process rather than the result. However, once the decision was made to back the King holiday, both newspapers were vocal and persistent in their editorial support.

The 1993 Super Bowl is gone and the 1996 game has been tentatively awarded to Phoenix. Already stories have been published speculating that the 1996 game was granted on the condition the King holiday would be passed by voters in 1992. It seems the controversy will continue and the newspapers will, most assuredly, cover this important story. Almost as sure, PMI will continue its support of the holiday, as the company has been an integral part of the Super Bowl effort and also sees the holiday as a necessity for Arizona's future.

Chronology
Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.
State Holiday
in Arizona

This chronology is a record of the effort in the state of Arizona to create a paid state holiday in honor of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. as it appeared in the pages of the ARIZONA REPUBLIC, PHOENIX GAZETTE and ARIZONA BUSINESS GAZETTE.

Entries for 1972 through 1985 represent highlights only. For the period Jan. 1986 through Dec. 1990, every article on file in the Phoenix Newspapers, Inc. library from these newspapers with Martin Luther King Jr. and the holiday in the story lead was reviewed. More than 1,500 articles, columns, editorials and letters to the editor were published during this period. Every editorial is summarized and appears under the date that it ran.

Phoenix Newspapers, Inc. assumes no responsibility for any errors in interpretation that may have been made in summarizing entries.

Compiled by Lee J. Hockman.

1972

-- Resolution to honor Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. dies in Arizona Senate Rules Committee.

1975

-- Bill to create King holiday passes in the state Senate, but fails in the House.

1976

-- King holiday bill introduced in the Arizona House, but fails in committee.

1981

-- King holiday bill introduced in the Arizona House, but fails in committee.

1982

-- King holiday bill introduced in the Arizona House, but fails in committee.

1983

Aug 2 -- U.S. House of Representatives approves King holiday legislation 338-90 over the objections of the Reagan administration. Bill combines paid holidays for Washington and Lincoln birthdays into one paid holiday called Presidents Day and creates a paid holiday for Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. on the third Monday in January.

Aug 5 -- President Reagan reverses stand; says he will support federal King holiday.

1983 Continued --

Aug 7 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Honoring King with a federal holiday would be the ultimate salute, although holidays mean nothing to most Americans except a day off from work. It's right to honor people for their historic contributions, but Congress cheapens those contributions by merely using the honor to create a new paid holiday for government workers whose productivity is already questionable.

Aug 27 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Most in Washington bet there will be a King holiday. Political considerations have taken precedence over tradition and common sense. Democrats can't oppose the bill; the black vote is essential for them. Republicans attempting to woo minority voters will support the bill. President's reelection is a shoo-in if he can get even 1/4 of the black vote. Republicans don't stand with blacks on busing, quotas or welfare, but they can support a King holiday without bending party philosophy.

Aug 27 -- 500 people gather in Phoenix in remembrance of King's 1963 "I Have a Dream" speech at the Lincoln Memorial in Wash., D.C. At the same time, 250,000 gather in the nation's capitol for a similar observance.

Aug 30 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Speakers at 20th anniversary rally in Washington seemed more interested in promoting the Democratic party than in furthering King's dream. Black concerns are being co-opted by a liberal coalition eager to capitalize on the credibility of the civil rights movement.

Oct 19 -- U.S. Senate approves King holiday 78-22. Sen. Dennis DeConcini, D-AZ, votes for the holiday and Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-AZ, votes against it.

Oct 21 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- It is true that politics, not admiration, played a decisive role in Senate action to approve paid federal holiday for King. Yet new holiday can serve as a reminder to Americans of the diversity of their heritage. King's courage and rhetoric stirred and inspired blacks and whites. The holiday should be dedicated to more than just time off; voluntary community projects designed to bring together all ethnic groups would better celebrate King's dream.

Nov 3 -- President Reagan signs King holiday bill into law. First observance will be Jan. 20, 1986.

1984

Jan 15 -- 300 people, mostly children, gather in Phoenix and 500 gather in Tucson to honor King.

-- King holiday bill introduced in the Arizona House, but fails in committee.

1985

Jan 12 -- 100 watch parade in honor of King in Phoenix.

-- King holiday bill introduced in the Arizona House, but fails in committee.

Oct 1 -- Phoenix City Council decrees King's birthday will be paid holiday for city employees.

1986

Jan 16 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Only 20% of nation's businesses choose to give workers King holiday off. This mixed response doesn't surprise those familiar with King or the civil rights movement. Debate on paid holiday is pointless; it has been mired in negatives. There should be positive national discussion of King's dream.

Jan 19 -- 1,000 people attend candlelight service to honor King.

Jan 20 -- 5,000 people march in memory of King; marks first observance of King's birthday as a national holiday. Democrat Governor Bruce Babbitt tells crowd that legislature has failed, Arizona should follow federal government's lead and make the third Monday in January a state holiday.

Feb 14 -- State Senate gives preliminary approval to Senate Bill 1101 sponsored by Sen. Louis Gonzales, D-Tucson, which would combine Washington and Lincoln birthdays into Presidents Day and establish King birthday as paid holiday for state and county employees. Identical to federal holiday established by U.S. Congress and signed into law by President Reagan.

Feb 19 -- Arizona Senate approves holiday bill 17-13.

Feb 21 -- House Speaker Jamie Sossaman, R-Higby, who opposes King holiday, pulls bill identical to that passed by the Senate from the Republican Caucus agenda blocking any further action by the House; says he acted because of numerous complaints from Repub. workers. Bill had been introduced in the House by Minority Leader Art Hamilton, D-Phoenix, one of two black representatives.

May 8 -- Hamilton forces debate on King holiday bill and gets voice approval to bring to House floor without amendment. Sossaman refuses to allow immediate roll call vote and delays action until following day.

May 9 -- Arizona House defeats bill 30-29 (31 votes needed to pass). All 22 Democrats in House vote for bill, 7 of 38 Republicans vote for it. Opposition arguments--another paid holiday too expensive, Washington and Lincoln are both deserving of holiday, King may not be worthy of a holiday.

May 13 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Issue is not whether there should be a holiday to honor King. The bill's demise in the legislature is tainted by the shadow of prejudice and racism.

May 15 -- Darwin Aycock, Secretary-Treasurer of State AFL-CIO, laments failure of bill; says bill was killed by reactionary forces.

May 18 -- Babbitt announces executive order establishing King holiday to coincide with federal holiday. Applies only to state executive workers, not to legislative or judicial branches of state government; affects 18,000 workers. Announcement made at First Institutional Baptist Church in Phoenix with 750 in attendance. Republicans charge Babbitt's maneuver bypasses the legislature and done only to build support for his upcoming presidential campaign.

May 20 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- State is embarrassed by racial overtones of legislative debate. Debate is a insult to all who would erase bigotry. Babbitt did what Reagan and Congress had the good sense to do. Whether he was motivated by politics or conscience, Babbitt acted in the best interests of Arizona.

1986 Continued --

May 20 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Babbitt's action gets him national attention and endears him to blacks and liberals. His presidential ambitions benefit the most, however, executive holiday may grow into a meaningful observance of the civil rights movement. King deserves to be commemorated despite any doubts one way have about him as a man.

May 20 -- Rep. Karen Mills, R-Glendale, asks State Attorney General Bob Corbin for legal opinion on Babbitt's executive order; says issue is not King, but whether governor has statutory or constitutional authority to issue order.

Jun 3 -- Corbin says Babbitt exceeded his authority in issuing the executive order, but opinion is advisory only and not binding on the governor. Babbitt says that in his judgment as a former attorney general he acted within his authority.

Jun 4 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Babbitt's executive order is a shrewd political move that embarrassed state Republicans. Court challenge would waste state money. Republican partisanship was evident in opposition.

Nov 4 -- Evan Mecham, Republican candidate for governor, wins general election with 40% of the vote.

Nov 5 -- Mecham announces he will rescind Babbitt's order as soon as he takes office; says order was illegal and politically opportunistic. Mecham insists he is not racist; says many Americans have contributed and they don't have holidays--Washington and Lincoln deserve their own holidays and another state holiday would cost too much money.

Nov 6 -- Hamilton calls Mecham announcement no surprise and shows Mecham's insensitivity. Other black leaders critical of fact he is making this the first issue of his term. Mecham won't say if he will veto King holiday bill should one be passed by the legislature during the upcoming session; he blames the media for raising the subject immediately.

Nov 7 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Rescinding King holiday will make Mecham the object of ridicule for millions of Americans and the majority of Arizonans. Mecham should back off his pledge and retain the state holiday.

Nov 9 -- 250 people gather to protest Mecham's announcement. Democratic State Sen. Carolyn Walker says if governor-elect rescinds holiday, a campaign will be kicked off to get question on the next Election Day ballot. Phoenix NAACP, Arizona Black Chamber of Commerce, Black Family and Child Services, and the National Organization for Women were represented at the rally.

Nov 11 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Mecham's timing is insensitive. but he is right in saying Babbitt's order was politically motivated. Mecham can't speak for majority; he won only 40% of vote. He should let the legislature decide the issue. Arizona does not need the reputation of being bigoted.

Nov 12 -- National Baptist Convention of America announces it will not come to Phoenix in 1989 if there is no King holiday; could result in loss of \$28 mil. for city. (Currently, Phoenix, Peoria, Glendale, Paradise Valley, Tucson, Flagstaff, and El Mirage observe holiday; Mesa, Chandler, Scottsdale and Tempe do not.)

1986 Continued --

Nov 24 -- ARIZONA BUSINESS GAZETTE Editorial -- Mecham's vow to rescind holiday is diversionary tactic. He says it isn't the will of the people. Why not put the question to the people? Mecham was elected by far less than a majority. He aims to eliminate King holiday, not just correct Babbitt's "illegal" order. Mecham should turn the action over to the legislature.

Nov 24 -- State Board of Education says Arizona school districts should establish King holiday; 67 of 221 districts designated King Day for Jan. 87.

Nov 26 -- DeConcini says if Georgia can have King Day, why not Arizona.

Nov 29 -- MLK Federal Holiday Commission asks Mecham to delay action on holiday until state legislature convenes Jan. 12; says if Mecham keeps vow to abolish King Day, Arizona will be first state to do so. Commission is privately funded panel established by Congress to advise best way to celebrate federal holiday. Panel spokesman says 10 states have no holiday, 39 states and federal government have paid holiday, and 1 state has unpaid holiday.

Dec 3 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE poll of Maricopa County residents shows that fewer than half of Valley residents support Mecham's plan to rescind King Day; 65% say they are aware of plan, 45% favor his action (86% say King not deserving and 41% say too many holidays) and 43% oppose his plan.

Dec 5 -- 500 people attend rally at Univ. of Arizona; hear King's son say opposition to holiday is racist.

Dec 8 -- Rep. Jim Green, R-Tucson, pre-files bill for coming legislative session that would put Sunday King holiday on 1988 ballot. Holiday bill defeated in House during last session will be reintroduced in coming session.

Dec 12 -- Students at Arizona State Univ. and Univ. of Arizona urge state Board of Regents to designate King holiday at all three state universities. Board president says decision is up to each university's president.

-- Arizonans for MLK State Holiday, a pro-King group, announce they will sponsor petition drive and will lobby legislature to establish holiday. Petitions will be presented to legislature when it convenes Jan. 12. Rev. Warren Stewart, pastor of First Institutional Baptist Church, is group chairman; House Minority Leader Art Hamilton is honorary chairman.

Dec 13 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Mecham vow to rescind holiday and his refusal to say if he will veto new bill if passed is divisive, but blacks are wrong to call him racist. The national media and civil rights groups can't help but notice the gathering storm in Arizona. Let the courts decide the legality of Babbitt's order. If order ruled illegal, the legislature can then act. Legislative action is preferable to a ballot referendum.

Dec 16 -- 150 people attend Arizonans for MLK State Holiday rally to kick off petition drive. Additional honorary chairmen announced as Phoenix Mayor Terry Goddard, Rev. Monsignor Robert Donahue of the Phoenix Catholic Diocese, Rabbi Albert Plotkin of Temple Beth Israel, builder Tommy Espinoza, and Mike Bielicki, president of the Central Arizona Labor Council.

-- Peter Fears, Executive Director of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, says governing boards of his organization and of Arizona Public Employees Assn. back King holiday and want courts to decide legality of Babbitt's order. The two groups represent 40,000 workers.

1986 Continued --

Dec 20 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC reports that it endorsed 58% of Republican candidates and 42% of Democratic candidates in the recent general election.

1987

Jan 3 -- Tempe architect Julian Sanders, chairman of Arizonans for Traditional American Values, begins petition drive against King holiday. Mecham spokesman says Sanders has no affiliation with governor. Mecham says King is not issue, constitutionality of Babbitt's order is.

Jan 5 -- 250 attend prayer vigil at First Institutional Baptist Church. speakers Babbitt and Rev. Stewart say first in a series of events planned to honor King culminating with presentation of pro-King holiday petitions to the legislature when its session convenes Jan. 19.

Jan 12 -- Mecham, in his state of the state address, rescinds Babbitt's executive order; cites Corbin's ruling that order was illegal. Mecham urges lawmakers to pass resolution putting the issue to the voters on 1988 ballot. Arizonans for MLK State Holiday say next step up to legislature. Rep. Sandra Kennedy, D-Phoenix, leader of King lobbying group, believes chances of getting bill through legislature are good.

Jan 13 -- Rev. Jesse Jackson appeals to Mecham to change his mind about cancelling holiday. Mecham sorry it has become national issue; says there is no discrimination in Arizona and insists his stance is not a slap at King. Babbitt labels Mecham action an insult and a big mistake. Julian Bond says Mecham took "coward's way out" and calls his action "foolishness;" says it makes Arizonans look like racists to the rest of the country.

Jan 15 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Mecham's statement that discrimination is not a problem in Arizona ignores reality. Black leaders justified in taking issue with governor. Give Mecham benefit of doubt, however. If he is misinformed, he owes it to himself and the public to find out what the problems are.

Jan 15 -- ASU Students Against Apartheid and the American Federation of Teachers and University Employees say planned observances for King are "token gestures." Say there should be holiday. ASU's coordinator for King events says university is doing the best it can under the circumstances.

Jan 16 -- Sen. John Mawhinney, R-Tucson, proposes King Remembrance Day as way to avoid legislative battle.

Jan 18 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC poll shows 1/4 of Arizonans want a paid state King holiday; 1/4 oppose holiday. 43% favor unpaid holiday. 78% say issue should be decided by elected officials.

Jan 19 -- 15,000 people march to state capitol; ask legislature to support state holiday. Legislature had agreed to accept petitions bearing an estimated 40,000 signatures calling for the holiday.

-- Mecham appears on NBC's Today Show with Jesse Jackson. Tells Jackson he doesn't understand insistence that all must honor King. Jackson says Mecham trying to turn back the clock. After show, Mecham says blacks don't need another holiday, they need jobs; says holiday backers don't want to put issue to voters because they don't want people to speak.

1987 Continued --

Jan 19 -- Mecham and Babbitt appear on MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour. Mecham accuses Babbitt of creating firestorm for political purposes. Babbitt says Mecham is hiding behind lawyers and really doesn't want a holiday for King. After taping, Mecham says King doesn't deserve a holiday.

-- U.S. Rep. William Gray, D-PA, speaking at a dinner sponsored by ASU, says Mecham is ducking the issue by hiding behind a legal opinion.

Jan 20 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Mecham has made uninformed and ill-advised statements on discrimination and white backlash. His unwillingness to face the issue head on and the legislature's lack of courage have worked against consensus. Legislature should act to create some type of King holiday.

Jan 20 -- Singer Stevie Wonder says he'll never perform in Arizona again because of Mecham's decision to rescind holiday.

Jan 21 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE reports the Democratic National Committee will relocate meeting of party benefactors from Phoenix to protest Mecham's action.

-- National Newspaper Publishers Assn. calls off conference. President of Phoenix and Valley of the Sun Convention and Visitors Bureau expects more groups to reject Arizona if there is no King holiday; costs could run into the millions.

Jan 23 -- Jesse Jackson cancels appearance at ASU in protest.

Jan 24 -- Republican state convention, after bitter debate, passes resolution urging legislature to put King question to voters.

Jan 25 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Mecham believes issue is over, but fallout is just beginning. There is an economic threat to the state, which is heavily dependent on tourism and convention business. Corporate relocations could be the next area to be hit. Mecham's proposal to defer to voters would unwisely delay solution. Lawmakers should act now to establish a holiday.

Jan 31 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Legislators should offer voters a multiple-choice holiday test to pick personal menu of holidays based on ethnic background, religion, politics, etc. Make as much sense as current happenings.

Feb 5 -- National Urban League cancels regional conference in protest.

Feb 16 -- House Bill 2419, sponsored by Rep. Hamilton, is assigned to House Rules Committee, Senate Bill 1083, cosponsored by Sen. Walker and Greg Lunn, R-Tucson, in Senate Government Committee. Identical bills would combine Washington and Lincoln holidays and create paid King holiday (the federal model) costing state no additional money.

Feb 17 -- House Rules Committee approves bill 7-6 sending measure to House floor (5 Dems. and 2 Repubs. for, 6 Repubs. against).

Feb 18 -- Eldridge Cleaver, former Black Panther, to testify before Senate Government Committee; says Mecham right in rescinding holiday because it's not needed and Democrats raising racism issue to keep grip on black voters. 500 pack Senate gallery in anticipation of vote, but it's delayed until next day.

Feb 19 -- House approves holiday bill 35-25 (all 24 Dems. and 11 Repubs. for, 25 Repubs. against). Republican leadership encouraged legislators to vote their conscience. Republican "for" votes called courageous.

1987 Continued --

Feb 19 -- Senate Government Committee defeats bill 6-3 along party lines. No compromise could be worked out; Republicans say only Sunday holiday acceptable, Democrats reject it.

Mar 2 -- Mecham Watchdog Committee, formed after Mecham rescinded King holiday, announces petition drive to oust governor for causing state to be labeled "haven of bigotry."

-- National Black Nurses Assn. will move convention from Phoenix to protest cancellation of holiday.

Mar 11 -- Phoenix 40, organization of chief executive officers of major Valley businesses, against public vote to decide holiday.

Mar 16 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE poll shows 41% of U.S. population aware of Mecham's action, but only 20% think it has hurt Arizona's image. Among Arizonans, 45% agree with rescission, 45% disagree. 58% think state's image hurt. 51% would vote for King holiday, 39% would vote against it.

Mar 23 -- ASU president rejects call for staff King holiday; tells faculty senate he has no authority to declare holiday despite Board of Regents opinion.

Mar 26 -- Rev. Stewart announces Arizonans for MLK State Holiday have launched drive to spur nationwide convention boycott of state. Prompts Mayor Goddard to quit group and draws criticism from Sen. Walker.

Mar 28 -- Rock band The Doobie Brothers cancels May 21 benefit concert in protest of holiday rescission.

Mar 31 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Proposed boycott of state is divisive; will build resentment and resistance to the cause its advocates are seeking to advance. It's likely to widen and harden division over cause.

Apr 2 -- Irish rock band U2 blasts Mecham over King issue. While not cancelling upcoming concerts, they donate \$5,000 to Mecham recall effort.

Apr 7 -- Rocky Mountain Council of Latin American Studies cancels 1988 convention in Tucson in protest.

Apr 10 -- New Mexico becomes 42nd state to enact King holiday. Lobbyist credits Arizona for success. 40 states have paid holiday, 2 unpaid.

Apr 13 -- U.S. Louis Stokes, D-Ohio, at ASU raising money for MLK Scholarship Fund, calls Mecham's action deplorable and supports boycott.

Apr 29 -- Unitarian Universalist Assn., representing 1,000 congregations in U.S. and Canada, cancels plans for meeting in Phoenix.

May 5 -- Soul-rock group Kool and the Gang announces they will donate part of proceeds from two Valley concerts to Arizonans for MLK State Holiday.

May 7 -- Public Education Fund will move annual meeting from Phoenix.

May 13 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE reports Council on Social Work Education cancels Phoenix meeting, costing city \$1.2 mil. Convention Bureau says losses could reach \$15.1 mil. 16 groups have cancelled since January; losses of \$4.6 mil.

1987 Continued --

May 16 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Arizona Senate has done nothing to resolve holiday impasse. Fallout has intensified; fears of convention boycott are coming true. Mecham's actions have had negative impact, but Senate Republicans share blame for not finding way to honor a deserving American.

May 18 -- National Head Start Assn. cancels meeting in Phoenix; revenue loss of \$3 mil. Largest group thus far to back out.

May 19 -- United Methodist Church cancels plans for Arizona meeting. Convention Bureau puts losses to Valley at \$18.2 mil. since January.

May 29 -- Pop singer Luther Vandross cancels Valley appearances.

Jun 4 -- Mecham tells hotel officials it's time for Arizonans to stop allowing outsiders to pressure state; insists tourism will not suffer. He says people not coming to Arizona is a non-issue.

Jun 13 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Mecham's cancellation of King holiday doesn't mean he is racist.

Jun 14 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Paralysis in the legislature has persisted. Mecham "don't blame me" stance is disingenuous. He is and has been the focus all along. Governor professes to be sick of the flap, but exhibits head-in-the-sand ignorance of the economic implications of his action. It's time to settle the matter; the legislature should act. Holiday of some type would rightfully memorialize King's contributions.

Jun 18 -- Mecham proclaims third Sunday in January as MLK/Civil Rights Day; will not be legal holiday. Rep. Hamilton calls move a political gimmick designed to take heat off; says issue will remain. Holiday backers say Mecham action not enough. Senate Majority Leader Bob Usdane, R-Scottsdale, says move will show nation Arizona and it's governor aren't racist. Mecham rejects estimates of lost revenue, which are put at more than \$20 mil.

Jun 19 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Mecham's proclamation is what Babbitt should have done. Sunday civil rights memorial day is perfect. Paying state workers for day off does not honor King.

Jun 26 -- League of United Latin American Citizens cancels convention in Phoenix; loss put at \$1.7 mil.

Jul 2 -- National Basketball Assn. announces league annual meetings will not be held in Scottsdale because of King controversy. Convention Bureau says NBA cancellation will bring more national attention to the issue.

Jul 5 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC state poll shows support for recall effort is dropping; 36% favor recall (down from 40% in May), 91% of those favoring recall say King isn't issue. 47% agree with Sunday King/Civil Rights Proclamation, 46% disagree. 31% say Sunday Holiday best, 30% favor paid holiday.

Jul 6 -- Drive to recall Mecham officially begins.

Jul 7 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- King controversy is convenient excuse for NBA to skip Phoenix. Real reason is grand-jury investigation into drug use by past and present Phoenix Suns players.

1987 Continued --

Jul 12 -- Young Democrats of America announce they will have August convention in Phoenix despite threats of boycott and pressure from King family and Jesse Jackson. Although against Mecham's stand, group decided to continue with plans in order to reaffirm belief in King.

Jul 18 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- State tourism director, a Mecham supporter, planned to make speech calling for special legislative session on King holiday, but after advance copies of speech had been circulated, he omitted that section when he gave speech. Somebody told him to leave it out.

Jul 18 -- National League of Cities board votes to have 1991 convention in Phoenix, but only if state creates paid King holiday. \$5 mil. convention would be largest in Valley history with almost 10,000 people.

Jul 20 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- State tourism director was going to say King issue would potentially wreak economic havoc on state and that special legislative session was needed. Mecham has repeatedly denied adverse economic impact and has called the King holiday question a non-issue. The speech was changed before delivery, leaving one to question how free is speech in the Mecham administration?

Jul 29 -- Jesse Jackson says Mecham is a mean-spirited man whose views on civil rights have embarrassed Arizona. Says Sunday holiday is not enough.

Aug 12 -- Prescott City Council rejects bid to establish King holiday.

Aug 14 -- State Sen. Peter Kay, R-Phoenix, calls for public vote on King issue. He had previously voted against paid holiday in the Senate, but now wants the issue decided by the voters.

Aug 26 -- Talk show host Oprah Winfrey cancels appearance at Phoenix College.

Sep 5 -- Radio-Television News Director Assn. cancels \$1.7 mil. convention in Phoenix partly because of King issue and partly because of Mecham's frequent run-ins with the media.

Oct 13 -- Hispanic National Bar Assn. cancels Phoenix convention. Convention Bureau says 45 conventions have cancelled, costing state \$25 mil.

Oct 14 -- League of Arizona Cities and Towns votes to urge legislature to enact paid King holiday.

Oct 30 -- American Correctional Assn. rescinds invitation to Mecham to give keynote address at its convention because of King controversy.

Nov 2 -- Mecham Recall Committee files 32,000 petitions with Secretary of State Rose Mofford containing more than 380,000 signatures. 216,746 valid signatures of registered voters are required to force recall election. Must be verified by County Registrars.

Nov 5 -- Mecham calls Corbin "political enemy #1" for prosecuting governor to further his own career and for creating furor over King holiday. Corbin ordered investigation into \$350,000 campaign loan to Mecham.

1987 Continued --

Nov 11 -- Secretary of State announces 386,000 signatures have been counted making special election virtual certainty; will take 60 days for signature verification.

Dec 2 -- Sen. Kay files bill to put King holiday question on 1988 ballot.

Dec 4 -- Republican Senators Bill DeLong and Jack Mawhinney file bill that would specify three universal paid holidays and allow state to select seven other paid holidays from a list of 11 optional holidays.

Dec 21 -- Mofford announces signature verification has reached 240,000, more than enough to force recall election.

1988

Jan 8 -- Mecham indicted on fraud and perjury charges related to an illegal campaign donation.

Jan 13 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Mecham-generated troubles giving state reputation of anarchic banana republic. Tourism is suffering because of government's inept cancelling of holiday. Government and business leadership must act in the best interests of the state.

Jan 14 -- Buoyed by \$25,000 donation by comedian Eddie Murphy, King holiday group is financing pro-holiday advertising with the themes that by creating Presidents Day, the King holiday won't cost the state money and the King holiday is not just a black holiday--it's for all Americans.

Jan 15 -- Mayor Goddard calls on legislature to follow city's lead and establish statewide paid holiday without giving up any existing ones.

-- On the eve of impeachment hearings, Mecham sends letter to ARIZONA REPUBLIC admitting to mistakes in his handling of King holiday and the embarrassing publicity it has caused.

Jan 17 -- 2,000 people hear speeches calling for King holiday.

Jan 18 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC poll of Arizonans shows 82% favor some kind of King holiday. 51% support Sunday recognition day, 31% want paid holiday, 9% say King should not be honored. 85% favor ballot decision, 15% want legislature to decide.

-- 5,000 march in heavy rain in support of King and paid holiday.

Jan 19 -- Senate Judiciary Committee votes to refer Kay's bill to full Senate 5-4 without any recommendation; bill would allow voters to decide between paid holiday, Sunday holiday or neither. Bill opposed by King holiday group, which supports Hamilton's House and Walker's Senate bills that call for Presidents Day and paid King Day in the federal model.

Jan 25 -- Mofford says 301,000 signatures have been verified; Mecham must resign within five days or face recall election.

-- ASU faculty senate votes to recommend paid King holiday to university president. (Presidents of all three state universities must approve holiday to force Board of Regents vote.)

Feb 1 -- Mofford sets recall election for May 17.

1988 Continued --

Feb 5 -- House votes 46-14 to impeach Mecham. Secretary of State Rose Mofford will act as governor through Senate trial and will assume office if at least 20 Senators vote to convict Mecham.

Feb 8 -- Acting Governor tells reporters she favors paid King holiday.

Feb 10 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Mofford is acting to heal old wounds by urging legislature to establish King Day. She deserves support.

Feb 25 -- Senate defeats measure 15-12 that would have allowed voters to decide King issue (11 Dems. joined by 4 Repubs.). Senate president says other bills won't be addressed under after impeachment trial.

* Feb 28 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Legislature is awakening to its duties in defeating ballot bill. Bill was a misguided attempt to duck responsibility. Mecham's token Sunday observance has not extinguished the outrage or ended the rancorous debate. A fair and reasonable compromise that would be the only sensible solution is to adopt the federal model.

Mar 2 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- It's clear that Arizonans favor a ballot vote to decide the holiday issue, but the Senate ignored that fact. The Senate took on an elitist attitude that the electorate should not decide. It's time to ask whether the continuing debate does a disservice to King. It's neither a disgrace nor a defeat to honor King with a Sunday holiday.

Apr 4 -- Senate convicts Mecham of obstructing justice 21-9 and of misusing money 26-4, but could not muster enough votes to bar him from future office. The verdict immediately installed Mofford as governor.

Apr 12 -- Arizona Supreme Court cancels recall election.

Apr 14 -- Paid King holiday clears Senate Government Committee by 5-4 vote; bill would create Presidents Day and MLK/Civil Rights Day. Bill still faces Republican caucus vote that could keep it from the Senate floor.

Apr 18 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Senate Government Committee has taken important first step to put agony and divisiveness behind the state and appropriately honor King. Republicans should allow measure to go to Senate floor for vote. Let the healing begin.

Apr 24 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC reports Mofford has worked behind the scenes with the legislature since February. Senate and she agreed to wait until after impeachment trial to have bill heard. She did not publicize letter she received from King's widow praising her efforts.

May 8 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Senate President Carl Kunasek has pigeonholed King holiday bill in the Rules Committee, claiming there are not enough votes to ensure its success. The bill measures up; Kunasek should step down from his throne and allow full Senate vote.

May 17 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE statewide poll shows 45% favor paid King holiday with an equal number opposing it.

-- Republicans say Senate Rules Committee vote would doom bill; they are holding it to ensure its success. Bill supporters say Republicans are merely trying to kill the measure.

1988 Continued --

May 31 -- In a surprise move, Senate Democrats get King measure tacked on to another bill and win tentative approval 14-12. Bill still requires vote of full Senate and faces legal challenge because of its attachment to an unrelated bill. Kunasek says he won't let committee vote because bill will be defeated.

Jun 2 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Republicans continue to put roadblocks in front of King measure; such maneuvering reveals flawed thinking and sullies the reputation of the legislature. Kunasek has kept bill bottled up for weeks. His continued resistance is needlessly opening old wounds. It's time for the decency of the legislature to be plumbed.

Jun 2 -- Mecham criminal trial begins.

Jun 16 -- Mecham acquitted of violating criminal state campaign laws.

Jun 30 -- After much maneuvering, Senate rejects King holiday 15-14 in the waning hours of the session. Democrats agreed to support revenue program to balance budget and in return Republicans allowed bill on the floor for vote.

Jul 5 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- King bill fell victim to Republican concerns for their own political future. Two crucial Republicans reversed themselves and voted against the bill citing Democratic blackmail; nothing more than a convenient excuse to vote along party lines.

Jul 10 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Way to break impasse is to challenge Attorney General's original King holiday opinion in court. ARIZONA REPUBLIC advised 18 months ago to let courts decide. Corbin's opinion issued without legal precedent. After courts have ruled, all present options would still be available without question of their legality.

Jul 11 -- Arizonans for MLK State Holiday vow to continue to urge convention boycott until legislature approves holiday; announce plans to publicize efforts at next week's Democratic National Convention in Atlanta.

Jul 16 PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- King supporters' disappointment is understandable, but their attempts at economic retribution are misguided. They will hurt the minority population the most. King's dream cannot be kept alive without economic opportunity.

Jul 19 -- Arizona delegates to the Democratic National Convention say they will continue holiday fight, but will not embarrass state at the convention. No threats of business boycott were mentioned nor were there protests.

Jul 21 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Wiser and cooler heads prevailed in Atlanta. Ill-conceived protest to boycott Arizona did not materialize. This divisive issue should not threaten livelihoods.

Sep 9 -- Arizona Board of Regents unanimously votes to enact paid King holiday at the three state universities. Applies to 1/2 of 40,000 state employees. Mofford, who serves as a regent, joined in the vote. In return, each university must give up one other paid day off of their choice.

Nov 17 -- Civil rights and Democratic party leaders urge legislature to enact holiday during next session. With recent elections, line-up is not favorable; Senate count shows 16-14 failure, House make-up indicates passage.

1988 Continued --

Dec 14 -- 600 people, including Governor Mofford, attend rally to kick off King celebration and to support state holiday in his honor.

1989

* Jan 16 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Holidays are symbols of what we hold dear. PHOENIX GAZETTE now believes it's important for Arizona to join federal government and majority of states by enacting King Day. Debate has been over irrelevant side issues. Sunday holiday GAZETTE previously supported is inadequate; state must have paid holiday the third Monday in January.

Jan 16 -- 8,000 gather at state capitol to honor King and ask for state holiday in his name. Arizona now one of only six states without paid holiday.

-- Senate Majority Leader John Mawhinney predicts King bill will again be defeated in 1989; says pressure for holiday has dwindled.

-- Convention Bureau says there have been no cancellations since April of last year.

-- King bill introduced in the House by Rep. Kennedy and in the Senate by Sen. Walker.

Feb 2 -- House approves paid King holiday 35-24; nine Republicans join the Democratic caucus in support of the bill. Chairman of Senate Government Committee, Wayne Stump, R-Phoenix, says he won't give bill a hearing if it's assigned to his committee.

Feb 5 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Republican Senate is again failing to deal with the King issue head on. By taking no stand, they are prolonging the matter, keeping state divided and poisoning public opinion against Arizona.

Mar 29 -- Senate President Bob Usdane assigns King bill to Government Committee after holding it for two months. Chances of bill getting out of committee appear small in light of Stump's previous statements.

Apr 14 -- King group releases independent poll that shows 2-1 support for paid holiday in two southern Arizona legislative districts; counters arguments of Tucson Senators who claim their constituents don't support holiday. Group vows to keep up pressure for holiday.

Apr 16 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Senate leaders should vote on King holiday. Republican actions are shaded by politics, not conscience. Usdane should have followed the House leadership's example and referred bill directly to Senate floor. Now is the time to act, not just because it's right, but also to help expunge this ugly leftover of the Mechem era.

Apr 17 -- Mofford urges Senate to vote on King bill. Usdane says quick action will doom bill.

Apr 18 -- Republicans in House Commerce Committee defeat Democratic attempt to attach holiday measure to major economic development bill. Move was attempt to pressure GOP leaders to allow Senate vote. Democrats vow to try again when economic development bill reaches the House floor.

Apr 24 -- Mofford warns she may hold up GOP-backed legislation to gain approval of King holiday.

-- 200 people rally at state capitol to call for King bill passage.

1989 Continued --

Apr 26 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Mofford action is right. King furor has gone on too long and Arizona has suffered enough. King holiday will send message that state won't tolerate racism.

Jun 16 -- Usdane refuses to bring King bill to the Senate floor because it lacks support of the Republican caucus; maneuver kills bill for the session.

-- Black and Jewish advocates of King holiday call for special session of the legislature; Mofford uncommitted on special session possibility.

-- Arnie Zaler, chairman of Ad Hoc Committee for MLK Holiday, says holiday backers are forming committee to lobby businesses and labor groups to unilaterally recognize the holiday.

Aug 4 -- Mofford rules out calling special legislative session to address holiday flap; says legislators must be convinced holiday is good for Arizona and not a party issue. King group accuses governor of breaking promise.

Aug 9 -- Mofford, under pressure, agrees to call special session, but only if lawmakers can guarantee bill's passage. Holiday supporters relying on key business leaders to pressure lawmakers. Phoenix 93 Super Bowl Committee, a coalition of 25 business leaders and sports executives working on getting the NFL championship game, says lack of King holiday may jeopardize chances for game bid; consider supporting holiday group.

Aug 11 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Mofford's waffling on holiday is evidence of state's lack of leadership. Fearful of rippling the waters, she refused to call special session; says she doesn't want a fight. Fight is inevitable. Bill should have passed last session, but didn't because Usdane is afraid of disturbing the prejudices of the ignorant. He reneged on his promise and refused to bring bill to vote. At stake is Arizona's standing among the civilized, possibly the 1993 Super Bowl and many national conventions. Now is the time for the governor to act.

Aug 14 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- As a result of her recent flip-flop on the King issue, the governor has learned it's hard to be governor and be loved by all. The dire consequences predicted if bill doesn't pass are probably exaggerated, but the case for the holiday ought to be made on moral grounds, not economic ones. If the governor can't stay with her decisions on this issue, than doubt if she'll be an effective participant in solutions to state's more serious problems.

Sep 8 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE reports governor met with Bill Bidwill, owner of Phoenix Cardinals, and Jerry Colangelo, president of Phoenix Suns, to get their help in lobbying for passage of King holiday in special legislative session. Phoenix 93 Super Bowl Committee pledges to actively assist in holiday effort. Usdane says he doubts pressure will help get bill through; says King question should be handled in next regular legislative session in January 1990.

Sep 14 -- Mofford asks for special session to deal with King holiday, along with other issues; called for session when she learned controversy has cost Arizona more than \$25.6 mil. since 1987. Mofford says business leaders convinced her bill would pass. Phoenix 93 says passage of bill critical to getting Super Bowl and the \$200 mil. it could bring to the Valley's economy.

Sep 15 -- Republican leaders say King bill won't pass; say Mofford's about face on the special session will hurt her on other issues.

1989 Continued --

Sep 17 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Mofford's judgment is sound in calling for special session. Usdane is hiding behind caucus rules, not willing to use his presidential prerogative to call for full Senate vote. The economic damage has been considerable; the state's image has been tarnished. Republican fears are hokey; it is they who have jeopardized other issues.

Sep 17 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC reports lawmakers say business leaders are hypocrites; those who pressure legislature to pass holiday do not grant their own employees a day off on King Day.

Sep 18 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- More important reason than business interests to celebrate King Day: It's the right thing to do. Special session offers an opportunity to correct this unfortunate situation.

Sep 18 -- Mofford officially adds King holiday to special session agenda.

Sep 19 -- Democrats charge Republicans are attempting to head off vote on holiday. Rep. Bart Baker, R-Hanford, introduces resolution that would call for statewide election on whether to replace Columbus Day with King Day.

Sep 20 -- Sen. Leo Corbet, R-Phoenix, introduces bill to shift Columbus Day to unpaid Sunday holiday and enact paid Monday King Civil Rights Day. Bill clears Senate Judiciary Committee 6-3. Mofford says she'll support new bill. GOP caucus backs off vote, delaying bill's movement to the Senate floor.

Sep 21 -- GOP caucus votes 9-8 to release King bill to Senate floor where Senate passes it 17-11; House passes bill 37-21. Measure drops paid Columbus Day in October and replaces it with paid King Civil Rights Day in January.

Sep 22 -- Mofford signs bill into law; will take effect in 90 days.

Sep 23 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Impasse broken in part by vigorous lobbying of business community citing economic impact and by prospect that failure would doom Super Bowl L'd. Should be noted that five Republicans who opposed the bill sensed the sentiment and allowed the legislature to work.

Sep 23 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Legislature put aside years of controversy and bitterness in passing state holiday. Cynics will say it was pure economics. So what? Rarely are motivations pure. Peaceful protest and boycotts have long been tactics of civil rights leaders. In King's own words, "free at last."

Sep 25 -- Meham supporter Julian Sanders starts petition drive to get King Day on the 1990 general election ballot; needs 43,350 signatures of registered voters by Dec. 21, the date bill will go into effect.

Oct 3 -- Pat Quaranta, leader of Citizens for the Restoration of Columbus Day, says his group will join Sanders in petition drive. Columbus supporters wanted to launch separate effort over concerns Sanders' group tainted by racism, but afraid they could not get enough signatures on their own. Quaranta says not against King holiday; wants Columbus Day restored.

Oct 6 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE reports Sanders wrote letter to Mormon Church calling King communist anti-Christ. Quaranta's group, although concerned about appearance of racism, will not abandon joint petition effort.

1989 Continued --

Oct 6 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- With Sanders' letter, effort to repeal King holiday is hopelessly linked with racism and should not continue. Attempt to repeal King Day will cause further embarrassment and controversy for Arizona. Columbus supporters should petition legislature to reestablish Columbus Day rather than go through with their referendum campaign.

Oct 10 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- King holiday will not diminish achievements of Columbus; Columbus will continued to be honored.

Oct 10 -- Coalition of ethnic groups supporting restoration of Columbus Day vote for 30-day moratorium on collecting petition signatures to distance their effort from the Sanders drive, which they perceive as racist. Coalition wants legislature to take action; supports both King and Columbus holidays.

Oct 11 -- Quaranta's group breaks with coalition and votes to continue petition drive to restore Columbus Day and eliminate King Day despite pleas from legislators and pro-King groups that a separate Columbus Day petition drive should be established. Quaranta repeats his position that he is not against King; he wants to restore Columbus Day.

Oct 12 -- Tempe City Council approves King holiday by 6-1 vote.

Oct 13 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Ralph Abernathy's accounts of King's infidelities are likely to stir emotions. But, as we've said before, King is not honored because he led a blameless life; he is honored for his contributions to American society and for ending institutional prejudice.

Oct 14 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- State ethnic groups wisely decided to stop circulating petitions to avoid association with Sanders. Sadly, Quaranta's group doesn't care what company they keep. The legacy of hate continues. The potential damage is far greater than one holiday.

Oct 18 -- Tucson-based Columbus Recognition Committee starts petition drive to restore Columbus Day without affecting King holiday; hope to get question on 1990 general election ballot.

Oct 19 -- Attorney General Bob Corbin says Columbus Day can be restored in a voter referendum without affecting the paid King holiday.

Oct 23 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Corbin opinion might save state embarrassment; holiday question is now not an either/or proposition. Legislature could make issue moot if it would follow federal lead, but then they have had that opportunity for years and couldn't get it right.

Nov 13 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC state poll shows 60% think the legislature did wrong in creating King Day and dropping Columbus Day; would repeal law if they had chance. 28% say legislature did right. 78% want Columbus Day restored.

Nov 15 -- Two Phoenix lawyers begin third effort to restore Columbus Day; aim to have state conform to federal law. Effort called Holiday Unity Group; needs 86,699 signatures by July 5 to get measure on 1990 ballot.

Nov 27 -- Rev. Stewart steps down as leader of Arizonans for MLK State Holiday; says group needs white leadership to diffuse race issue and to appeal to a broader segment of the public.

1989 Continue: --

Nov 28 -- Corbin says law eliminating Columbus Day is unconstitutional because of technical drafting problems, but portion of bill creating King Day remains valid. Opinion not binding; court challenge required to get ruling.

Nov 30 -- Corbin releases written opinion that says Columbus Day still a paid state holiday and paid King holiday is also valid; says it's up to the legislature to fix law so that it complies with constitutional requirements.

Dec 1 -- Corbin says that if law is challenged, a judge would throw out flawed portion of the measure, leaving the state with both Columbus and King paid holidays effectively invalidating the petition drives.

Dec 7 -- Arizona Center for Law in the Public Interest drops plans for legal challenge of law because of fears King Day might be jeopardized.

Dec 21 -- King holiday put on hold 9 1/2 hours before taking effect as opponents file nearly twice the number of signatures required to put issue before voters in 1990. Quaranta says he doesn't consider success of the petition drive a victory.

-- Bruce Babbitt and former U.S. Rep. John Rhodes, who served as House Minority Leader in U.S. Congress, announce campaign to save King holiday should it go to a public vote; group called MLK Better America Committee.

Dec 22 -- In light of state King holiday suspension, Maricopa County cancels county King holiday.

Dec 23 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Not all King holiday opponents are racists; many feel he's undeserving because of his personal conduct. Intention is not to honor King for his failings, but to honor him for his role in civil rights. Legislative effort to end controversy failed. King haters in concert with Italian-Americans have apparently succeeded in getting question on the ballot. There is potential for an ugly campaign that will bring national attention. Legislature should restore Columbus Day when it convenes in January, thereby invalidating the referendum. Action will require courage and statesmanship, both of which have been substantially depleted.

Dec 27 -- Secretary of State confirms there are 78,000 signatures on Sanders/Quaranta petitions; county registrars must still verify 5% sample of the signatures to qualify referendum for 1990 ballot.

Dec 29 -- ARIZONA BUSINESS GAZETTE Editorial -- King holiday does not condone his personal transgressions, which are unimportant. What's important is King's stature as symbol of fight for equal rights. Some are upset because Columbus has been removed from a position of honor; a small core is suffering from racism. Legislature should restore Columbus holiday, thus invalidating the referendum initiative.

1990

Jan 3 -- National Assn. of Black Journalists cancels plans to hold annual board meeting in Phoenix in protest of continuing King controversy.

Jan 9 -- Phoenix 40 votes unanimously to support paid King holiday, to restore Columbus Day as a paid holiday and to retain Washington and Lincoln birthdays as separate paid holidays.

1990 Continued --

Jan 12 -- Secretary of State says 59,602 signatures found to be valid; referendum qualifies for November ballot. King Day is officially cancelled.

-- 1,600 gather to honor King; hear calls for King holiday.

-- Head of Phoenix 40 says that while it's true holiday would be good for business, it's more important for state to get in step with rest of country. The business leaders, sparked by renewed threat of economic boycott and the belief "it's the right thing to do," declare all-out effort to lobby legislature to pass new holiday bill and block popular vote.

-- Bill Hogan, general manager, Phoenix Newspapers, Inc., says PNI will give its employees paid holiday if state does; small price to pay to prevent nationwide ridicule.

-- Republican legislators express doubt business effort will make a difference; legislators will be hesitant to act now that petitions have shown voters want to decide.

Jan 13 -- State Democrats adopt platform calling for King holiday and restoration of Columbus Day.

Jan 14 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC poll of Arizonans shows 71% would vote to repeal Columbus/King day law; 23% approve of legislature's action. 49% support King holiday in principle; 40% oppose. Of those who oppose, 48% say King not deserving, 20% say another paid holiday too expensive and 18% say they are against cancelling another holiday to accommodate King.

-- Tourism officials say recent events have had little impact on tourism and conventions, but predict groups will not commit until, and unless, Arizona has a paid King holiday. Business officials say King flap will have little impact on industry decisions to relocate to state.

-- 1,500 people attend 10th annual candlelight service in remembrance of King; hear appeals to fight for ballot victory in November.

Jan 15 -- 15,000 march to state capitol in largest demonstration yet in Arizona for King holiday. Pat Quaranta, who joined with King opponents to force referendum, says he will work to put alternate proposal on ballot to allow both Columbus and King holidays. Sen. Carolyn Walker calls on the legislature to enact both King and Columbus Days and thereby cancel referendum.

Jan 16 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- For first time, poll reveals majority favor King holiday, however 71% oppose it at the expense of Columbus Day. Results reinforce widespread support for legislature to do what is right. Legislature should act now and spare state the bitter campaign.

Jan 16 -- Senate Bill 1019 introduced in Senate; creates King Day, restores Columbus Day and retains Washington and Lincoln holidays. Sponsored by five Democrats, including Walker.

Jan 19 -- ARIZONA BUSINESS GAZETTE Editorial -- Business leaders support holiday; polls show most Arizonans favor it; yet issue must wait for November ballot. Expect no action in legislature; it's an election year; no one will take a controversial stand.

Jan 24 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE prints letter from Accuracy in Media, based in Wash., D.C., that questions objectivity of REPUBLIC/GAZETTE coverage of King issue. Notes Hogan's public announcement of company support for holiday and wonders if it influences papers' coverage.

1990 Continued --

Jan 25 -- Two holiday bills introduced in House by Rep. Sandra Kennedy; one would create combined Washington-Lincoln Day and the other King Day.

Feb 13 -- King holiday supporters and defenders of paid Columbus Day form coalition to pressure legislature to revisit issue before November ballot. Called UNITY, members include Pat Quaranta, leader of Citizens for the Restoration of Columbus Day, Rev. Henry Barnwell, newly elected president of Arizonans for MLK State Holiday, and Arnie Zaler, a Phoenix businessman active in the King holiday effort last year. UNITY favors federal model combining Washington and Lincoln holidays into Presidents Day and creating King holiday.

Feb 14 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE reports on O'Neil Associates Valley Monitor poll that shows 51% of Valley residents favor federal holiday scheme; 43% oppose it. 48% favor adding King Day to list of current holidays, including Columbus Day; 46% oppose that option. 71% oppose Columbus Day/King Day swap; 59% would vote to eliminate that law; 30% would vote to retain it.

Feb 25 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC reports ASU and Univ. of Arizona fear sports recruiting troubles if holiday effort fails.

Feb 26 -- Sen. Walker, who in the past has supported legislative action, says she would support a public vote on King holiday by itself and thinks other Democrats would too.

Mar 1 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- GAZETTE has previously favored legislative solution, but House Speaker Jane Hull's proposal to put a straight up or down King holiday referendum on the ballot offers quickest exit from Arizona's decade-long controversy.

Mar 8 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Hull's proposal is a convenient strategy that risks minimum constituent wrath for legislators; result would be a rancorous, divisive campaign of racial slurs and ethnic antagonism. Sensible way out--repeal last year's law and establish separate holiday for King, then either combine Washington and Lincoln days or boost number of holidays by one.

Mar 9 -- Arthur Mobley of the Arizona "Keep the Dream Alive" Coalition, a pro-King holiday group, urges NFL to bypass Phoenix in choosing site for 1993 Super Bowl. Barnwell says his group supports the Super Bowl bid.

Mar 13 -- NFL owners award 1993 Super Bowl to Phoenix. Chairman of the selection committee says Phoenix could lose game without a King holiday; would introduce motion for owners to rescind the selection if holiday effort fails.

Mar 14 -- Leaders of UNITY meet with legislative leaders to request new law to restore Columbus Day thus blocking November vote. Consensus in legislature is to let voters decide. Legislative leaders say a proposal to put King Day on ballot alone could pass.

-- In speech to 3,000 people at Black Women's Task Force luncheon, Mofford says she'll renew effort to get a paid King holiday.

-- Gene Upshaw, executive director of the NFL Players Assn., says players want King Day in Arizona if the Super Bowl is to be played in Phoenix; would support moving game if holiday is not enacted.

Mar 15 -- Wyoming governor signs legislation creating paid state King holiday. 46 states now have day honoring King.

1990 Continued --

Mar 16 -- Council of Black Engineers and Scientists cancels celebration and awards banquet in Phoenix to protest lack of King holiday.

Mar 17 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Legislature still afraid to act on this simple issue; hiding behind smoke screen set up by a small minority of King Day opponents. Wyoming legislators had courage to do the right thing.

Mar 22 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE reports on statewide poll showing 37% think Arizonans more supportive of King holiday now that Super Bowl will be in Phoenix; 11% think citizens will be less supportive; 38% say it has no effect.

Mar 23 -- Cardinals lose chance to sign free-agent running back Ronnie Harmon. Harmon refuses to play for team because state has no King holiday.

Mar 28 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE statewide poll shows 81% favor vote to decide issue; 16% think lawmakers should decide. 51% support paid holiday; 40% oppose it. Those most likely to oppose holiday are male Republicans older than 55.

-- MLK Federal Holiday Commission announces it will hold national conference in Phoenix next month to show support for local efforts to get King holiday. King's widow, who has declined previous invitations to come to Arizona, will speak at the conference.

Apr 2 -- Convention Bureau says only three conventions have cancelled since January; average occupancy of city hotels in 1989 rebounded to 1986-level of 51%, after dipping to 47% in 1988. Industry analysts say slight rebound and lessening of convention boycott doesn't mean 3-year-old controversy has died.

Apr 5 -- Episcopal Church announces 1991 General Convention will be in Phoenix, ending months of indecision. Church head vows to bring world's top political and human rights leaders to Arizona to show solidarity for King holiday. 25,000 are expected; third largest convention in U.S. next year. Among invited are Pres. Bush, who is Episcopal, and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Apr 13 -- ARIZONA BUSINESS GAZETTE Editorial -- If racism is the real reason for the hesitancy to create a King holiday, then it's time for leaders to say enough. It's time that the legislature shows racism cannot survive in the state of Arizona.

Apr 14 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Why is it legislature can give itself Good Friday off, though it isn't an official holiday, yet governor can't create King holiday?

Apr 16 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Referendum offers promise of more divisiveness. Legislature is hesitant to take vote from people, but referendum is not really about King holiday; it's about the loss of Columbus Day. King Day is a holiday in most states; it's a federal holiday; sooner or later it will be an Arizona holiday. Fighting the inevitable will not be an exercise in states rights, but in self-destruction. The PHOENIX GAZETTE, after much soul-searching over the years, supports a King holiday for no other reason than because it's the right thing to do. Lawmakers should establish holiday because they love Arizona and want to protect it from further hurt.

Apr 20 -- Business leaders tell Mofford there are enough votes to get King holiday through House, but Senate remains in doubt.

1990 Continued --

Apr 22 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- King holiday is tribute to him only as he embodied the confrontation with entrenched prejudice. Rather than grapple with controversy, legislators prefer to let the people speak, taking the path of least resistance. Referendum is not about King; it is about Columbus Day repeal. Without that unpopular action, there would be no referendum. Arizona is becoming increasingly conspicuous; other state holdouts have passed laws. Legislature should enact King holiday.

Apr 26 -- At MLK Federal Holiday Commission meeting in Phoenix, King's widow lauds efforts to establish a state holiday; says the nation and the world have their eyes on Arizona.

Apr 27 -- Mofford meets with King's widow; tells Mrs. King the holiday is her one wish and will be the top priority in her time remaining as governor.

May 9 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Time to put indecision behind and honor man who symbolizes national struggle for civil and human rights. Legislature should act without delay. Referendum is about Columbus, not King. If legislature should pass King bill, opponents will still have enough time to muster enough signatures to put King Day question on the ballot by itself.

May 13 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Legislature will be called on to act this week; it will do the right thing unless it believes protracted controversy best for Arizona. Throughout the controversy, governor has shown dedication and resolve by acting to establish King holiday and restore Columbus Day. Legislature can remedy problem that led to petition drive, satisfying the goal of the referendum, while not taking away the people's right to mount another referendum.

May 14 -- Mofford calls legislature to special session to consider bill that would restore paid Columbus Day and create new paid King holiday, increasing the number of state paid holidays to 11.

May 15 -- Senate Rules Committee votes 5-4 to approve paid King Day and restore paid Columbus Day establishing an 11th paid state holiday. Senate President Bob Usdane ignores wishes of majority in Republican Caucus and brings bill directly to Senate floor where it passes by a 16-14 vote (12 Dems. and 4 Repubs. for; 13 Repubs. and 1 Dem. against).

-- House Rules Committee votes unanimously to advance identical bill for consideration by the full House.

May 16 -- House approves King Day legislation 35-25 (25 Dems. and 10 Repubs. for; 24 Repubs. and 1 Dem. against); fends off last minute attempt to put on November ballot by 27-22 vote. Governor signs bill; it will become law Aug. 15. Measure creates paid King Day, repeals measure passed last September, thereby restoring paid Columbus Day, and removes referendum on the September law from November ballot. Mecham vows petition drive to put new law to public vote; has until law's effective date to collect 43,350 signatures.

May 17 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Legislature has corrected its mistake while preserving option for referendum. Law was passed with enough time for another petition drive before November's election. Should there be a vote on the new law, it will focus solely on the paid state holiday for King. The tireless work of a coalition of business, labor, education and religious leaders kept the dream alive.

1990 Continued --

May 17 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Thanks to efforts of the governor and leaders in both parties, lawmakers courageously opted to approve holiday. It was the right thing to do--right for Arizona; right for state's image; right for history--Arizona was 48th state to join the Union and 48th state to honor King. It's time to move on; the mountaintop is in sight.

May 17 -- Mecham launches drive to put newly created King holiday on November ballot. Attorney General says if Mecham's petition drive is successful, both the new referendum and the previous one will go on the ballot.

May 18 -- ARIZONA BUSINESS GAZETTE Editorial -- Legislative action was engineered to ensure there would be enough time to place referendum on the November ballot, if that was voters' will. Mecham and Sanders are twisting the facts when they say legislature has taken vote away from voters. Only ones creating enmity between legislature and voters are Mecham and Sanders.

Aug 1 -- In a letter requested by U.S. Sen. John McCain, R-AZ, former president Ronald Reagan praises King and says he hopes Arizonans will support holiday to commemorate the ideals to which King dedicated his life.

Aug 13 -- Mecham supporters turn in 71,055 signatures in effort to put King Day law passed in May on the November ballot. If enough signatures are certified, law will be suspended. This referendum then, as well as last December's referendum, which seeks to repeal the Sep. 89 law, will be on the ballot. Referendum on Sep. 89 law will be Proposition 301 and referendum on the May 90 law will be Proposition 302.

-- Babbitt, along with more than 30 community, business and religious leaders, announces effort to get voters to ignore Prop. 301 and approve Prop. 302. Babbitt estimated his group, the MLK Better America Committee, will spend \$750,000 to urge voters to support Prop. 302.

Aug 14 -- Phoenix Cardinals and Phoenix Suns pledge money and manpower to urge voters to establish King holiday. Teams previously filed statements of support with the Secretary of State's office on Aug. 3, joining many other pro-holiday groups--Episcopal Church of Arizona, UNITY, Arizona Young Republicans, East Valley Partnership (a civic and business group), Phoenix and Valley of the Sun Convention and Visitors Bureau, MLK Better America Committee, American Jewish Committee, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Mecham filed only opposition statement.

Aug 15 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Many hoped controversy was settled, but it was not to be. Opponents appear to have kept the matter alive. King has become a powerful symbol; ARIZONA REPUBLIC cannot believe majority of Arizonans seek pariah status for their state, or begrudge black Americans their rights, or are prepared to tarnish the state's reputation. There is danger that an indifferent majority will skip the referendum, allowing passionate minority to muster a slim victory. If that happens, the holiday would be doomed at tremendous cost to the name and well-being of Arizona.

Aug 15 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Proponents of King holiday have a new adversary--confusion--that could be most difficult obstacle of all. Voters will have to vote on two propositions; unfortunately, when things aren't clear, voters vote no. That would be a tragedy. Real issue is moral, not economic. It has become entangled in personalities and party politics; reason to honor King has been forgotten. Arizonans should approve Prop. 302; it is right.

1990 Continued --

Aug 17 -- Group of prominent Valley Mormons to campaign for King holiday; concerned about impression some anti-holiday Mormon lawmakers have created.

Aug 20 -- UNITY opens headquarters and announces plans to register voters and turn out the vote for Prop. 302. Babbitt and others call on Arizonans to support holiday.

Aug 21 -- No-No Committee forms to organize drive to repeal King holiday; campaigning for no votes on both Prop. 301 and Prop. 302.

-- ASU poll of registered voters in Maricopa Co. shows King supporters tend to be college educated Democrats under age 35, while opponents usually are Republicans older than 55. Poll also indicates 44% favor King holiday and 44% oppose it. 53% of Repubs. oppose holiday; 61% of Dems. support it. 46% over 55 oppose holiday. 64% favor ballot decision; 30% oppose ballot.

Aug 30 -- Mofford calls for approval of Prop. 302; says rejection at the polls will put Arizona in social and economic tailspin.

Sep 6 -- Secretary of State confirms opponents of King holiday have submitted enough signatures to get May law on the ballot; 57,979 signatures validated; 34% more than the 43,350 required. Officially two referendums will be on the ballot.

-- Financial records show Valley National Bank of Arizona donated \$25,000 to King holiday effort. MLK Better America Committee raised \$36,560 as of Aug. 22; UNITY raised \$4,481. MLK Better America Committee is expected to out spend holiday opponents because of its heavy corporate support.

Sep 7 -- Mesa City Council votes 5-2 to support paid King holiday.

Sep 11 -- Phoenix Chapter of the Retired NFL Players Assn. announces they are joining with MLK Better America Committee in support of Prop. 302.

-- Pamphlets explaining propositions made available to voters. Includes statements in support of 302 from Reagan, Babbitt, Suns president Colangelo and Cards owner Bidwill.

Sep 13 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC reports both candidates for governor, Democrat Terry Goddard and Republican Fife Symington, support state paid King holiday.

Sep 21 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE reports ASU faculty senate votes to support Prop. 302. Faculty cites controversy's effect on state's economy and on perception of Arizona as intolerant.

Sep 23 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC poll indicates majority of Arizonans favor paid state holiday for King, but majority oppose holiday if it means giving up paid Columbus Day. 55% favor Prop. 302, 42% oppose it; 71% oppose Prop. 301, 18% favor it. Those favoring Prop. 302 say absence of holiday has hurt Arizona's image and has cost state new business, jobs and economic expansion. Those against Prop. 302 say state workers don't need 11th paid holiday, it's too expensive and the state is already in financial trouble.

Sep 26 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE reports on ASU state poll that shows 57% support paid King holiday and 27% oppose it. Of those for holiday, 60% favor Goddard, 37% Symington. Of those opposing holiday, 53% favor Symington, 20% Goddard.

-- NFL source tells ARIZONA REPUBLIC that if King Day is voted down, the league will push owners to vote on Super Bowl relocation.

1990 Continued --

Sep 26 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Arizona's longstanding political wounds are healing. Recent poll shows 55% of Arizonans support Prop. 302 and 42% oppose it. Although outcome is uncertain, it's the first time a majority supports paid King holiday. The state has sustained an unfortunate and unfair stigma. By enacting King Day referendum--the first state in the nation to do so--Arizona sends an unmistakable message to the nation that Arizona is a progressive, ethnically diverse state willing to work for a better tomorrow.

Sep 27 -- Pop singer Linda Ronstadt announces support of efforts to enact King holiday in Arizona during her concert at ASU.

Sep 29 -- Saguro High School student group, along with members of NFL's Phoenix Cardinals and Washington Redskins, announces drive to collect 10,000 student signatures in support of King holiday. Petitions will be given to King's widow. Group also announces plans to pass out leaflets at Cards' next home game; effort sponsored by MLK Better America Committee.

Oct 2 -- At meeting of Bishop and Synod Roundtable, Valley religious leaders agree in principle to support Prop. 302. In response to MLK Better America Committee offer of sermon materials, some clergymen say they are hesitant to politicize the pulpit.

Oct 3 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC reports Mesa Chamber of Commerce unanimously endorses Prop. 302. Members believe lack of holiday has had detrimental impact on state's economy through lost convention and tourism business. 1,150 member group is among state's five largest.

Oct 5 -- Arizona Television Co. donates \$50,000 to MLK Better America Committee; company includes KTVK-TV, Channel 3, Phoenix's ABC affiliate.

Oct 8 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- This Columbus Day will be the last in Arizona unless voters reject Prop. 301. We hope Prop. 301 fails. Arizona should recognize both Columbus Day and King holiday by passing Prop. 302.

Oct 9 -- East Valley political and business leaders announce support for Prop. 302. City Council members from Mesa and Chandler say holiday is important; they are concerned for development of people as well as economy.

Oct 10 -- Live broadcast of 12News Town Hall on racism on KPHX-TV Channel 12 attended by 300 people. There's a consensus that Prop. 302 won't stop racism, but it is a step in the right direction.

Oct 11 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC reports on ASU statewide poll that shows Prop. 302 favored by 51% of voters, opposed by 35%. 20% for Prop. 301, 55% against.

Oct 12 -- Coalition of Arizona religious leaders representing Jewish, Catholic, Mormon, Baptist and Presbyterian faiths endorses paid state holiday and asks Arizonans to approve Prop. 302.

-- Greater Phoenix Economic Council says passage of holiday will have tremendous positive impact on the city's ability to attract new business and industry.

Oct 13 -- Former U.S. Sen. Barry Goldwater endorses Prop. 302; says paid state holiday right for Arizona. Mecham says Goldwater's endorsement of Prop. 302 will make no difference to the outcome on Election Day.

1990 Continued

Oct 15 -- Maricopa County Board of Supervisors unanimously approves resolution endorsing Prop. 302.

-- Mesa City Council votes 5-2 to support King holiday and Prop. 302. Mesa is state's third largest city.

Oct 16 -- Mormon Church for MLK/Civil Rights Day, a group of 50 prominent Mormons, launches effort to raise money and sponsor advertising in support of Prop. 302 to fight perception Mormon church is racist and against holiday.

Oct 17 -- NFL meetings conclude with no discussion of King holiday referendum and outcome's effect on 1993 Super Bowl. NFL commissioner did not want to put pressure on Arizona voters.

Oct 18 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Goldwater's support of King holiday is not surprising. He realizes that what unites people is more important than what divides them. Movement King led resulted in nonviolent change; it did not have to be that way and would not have been if it had been led by others.

Oct 24 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE reports on ASU statewide poll showing Prop. 302 favored by 52%, opposed by 36%. Prop. 301 supported by 20%, opposed by 65%.

Oct 26 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Joint Legislative Budget Committee calculated holiday will cost Arizona \$500,000. It's much less than the \$30 mil. in lost conventions thus far, not counting future events worth millions more that are in jeopardy. The relative costs make a compelling argument--even if there were no moral, social, historic and practical reasons, approving Prop. 302 makes sense.

Oct 26 -- Phoenix Cardinals players donate \$16,000 to Gov. Mofford and MLK Better America Committee to show support of Prop. 302. Cardinals and Phoenix Suns organizations had previously donated \$20,000 each in support of the holiday and Suns players had given \$16,000.

-- Arizona Assn. for Industrial Development endorses Prop. 302.

Oct 28 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Recommend passage of Prop. 302; it won't cost the state any money. We honor Columbus because of his remarkable voyage across the Atlantic and discovery of the New World. We honor King because of his passionate and fearless commitment to fairness and equal rights.

Oct 29 -- Chandler City Council unanimously endorses Prop. 302, becoming the 23rd city in Arizona to endorse King holiday. Chandler Mayor Coy Payne was the first, and remains the only, black mayor in the state.

Oct 31 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC reports Scottsdale Chamber of Commerce voted to support Prop. 302.

-- State Republican Party chairman, Burt Kruglick announces support for paid King holiday.

Nov 1 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC poll of Arizonans shows Prop. 302 favored by 52% and opposed by 39%. Prop. 301 supported by 18% and opposed by 71%.

-- ARIZONA REPUBLIC reports presidents of ASU, Univ. of Arizona and Northern Arizona Univ. mailed pro-302 letters to thousands of "key" alumni.

-- Business leaders of Phoenix Chamber of Commerce reiterate importance of King holiday to state's economic condition.

1990 Continued

Nov 1 -- Mock election open to junior- and senior-high school students in Arizona results in 6,254 votes for Prop. 301 and 6,114 votes for Prop. 302.

-- PHOENIX GAZETTE publishes analysis of ballot propositions. Of the 13 measures on the ballot, Prop. 301 and 302 will have most influence on Arizona's political future; King issue has confounded legislature since 1975. Polls show 301 headed for easy defeat and 302 to narrow victory. Voter turnout likely to be key; higher the turnout, better chance 302 will pass. No-No Committee has raised \$1,800; MLK Better America Committee had raised \$650,000 by mid-October, primarily from business community. Four pro-holiday TV ads aired--King and his dream, King and civil rights history, holiday's economic impact on Arizona, and the minority experience. No-No Committee is receiving free air time under the Fairness Doctrine; anti-holiday ad produced for \$30.

Nov 2 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Recommendations for Tuesday's election call for "yes" vote on Prop. 302 and "no" vote on Prop. 301.

Nov 4 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- If Tuesday's results reflect recent polls, Arizona will become only state in nation to have honored King by vote of the people. Favorable vote for Prop. 302 will dispense with bogus notion Arizona is racist. Effort to enact King Day has been remarkable; it brought together diverse coalition of business, ethnic, civic, religious and political leaders. Patience and determination will be rewarded with success.

Nov 4 -- On NFL Today show CBS Sports reports NFL plans to move 1993 Super Bowl from Tempe if King holiday vote fails. When questioned, NFL officials deny decision has been made.

Nov 5 -- Valley Super Bowl organizers deny CBS report; claim story planted in hope voters would perceive blackmail and defeat holiday measure. NFL officials refuse to confirm or deny report; say they will not comment until after election.

Nov 6 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Speculation about Super Bowl tie to passage of King holiday is not new; has been possibility since game was awarded. Super Bowl is minor issue and not the reason people should vote for Prop. 302. Some will probably vote against holiday because they don't like being threatened. One more example of damage controversy has caused to Arizona's national reputation. Prop. 302 deserves to pass on its own.

Nov 6 -- Prop. 301 defeated by voters 766,387 to 250,549 (75% to 24%). Prop. 302 defeated 532,510 to 516,274 or by one percentage point. Prop. 302 won by narrow margin in urban Maricopa (313,653 to 303,611) and Pima (107,385 to 91,932) counties, but was rejected soundly in 10 of 13 rural counties. Both supporters and opponents say report by CBS Sports on the Sunday before the vote was a major factor in the outcome.

-- Kid's Voting, a program to familiarize children with the voting process while at the same time increasing turn out among their parents, results in victory for Prop. 302, 43,328 to 16,353 (72% to 28%).

Nov 7 -- NFL commissioner Paul Tagliabue recommends 1993 Super Bowl be pulled from Phoenix "in the best interest" of the league. Phoenix would be the first city to lose NFL championship game and would result in an estimated \$200 mil. loss in revenue to the Valley.

-- Fiesta Bowl officials expect trouble attracting top teams for New Years Day game in Tempe.

1990 Continued --

Nov 7 -- National Basketball Assn. spokesman says league will put no events in Phoenix, to include annual meetings and all-star game.

-- Arnie Zaler of pro-King group UNITY criticizes holiday campaign effort waged by business leaders; says it was wrong to emphasize economic impact instead of moral issue. MLK Better America Committee defends effort; says threefold message was sent to voters--moral, economic and need for the state to put issue behind it. Both pro-King and anti-holiday groups say vote produced no clear mandate for or against holiday. Goddard blames "NFL blackmail" for vote failure.

-- Convention Bureau expects more cancellations in wake of holiday defeat; says controversy cost Phoenix \$16 mil. in first four months of 1990 and predicts potential losses of up to \$123 mil. in the coming year.

-- Economic development and banking officials fear efforts to attract new businesses to state will be hurt by holiday failure.

-- Black leaders across U.S. expect economic boycott of Arizona.

Nov 8 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- People have spoken on the issue. Voters have given resounding "No"--by 3 to 1 margin--to King Day in place of Columbus Day. But voters less distinct on King holiday itself; thin margin of defeat is hardly mandate against King day of some kind. There is widespread support for holiday; issue should not disappear. Opponents and supporters should compromise and submit measure to people for approval. We need King day in some form for good of state. Message must be sent that Arizona can't be stampeded into tailoring its agenda; Arizona's principles are not for sale.

Nov 8 -- Gov. Mofford pledges King Day effort; says state is not racist, Phoenix and Tempe have King holiday, and it's not an economic issue, but a moral one. She has no specific plans, but is ruling nothing out, including special legislative session. Lawmakers say run-off election is more important; want to wait for regular session in Jan. 91 to deal with holiday issue.

-- Religious and civic leaders vow to continue fight for holiday.

-- In interview on CBS Morning News Phoenix Mayor Paul Johnson says city can't wait for governor and legislature to act; says NFL shares blame for holiday failure and taking game from Phoenix is great injustice.

-- NFL commissioner says he has not ruled out Super Bowl in Tempe, but NFL spokesman says league does not want to interfere with Arizona voters.

-- Sheraton Phoenix Hotel pledges \$50,000 toward underwriting paid King day; challenges others to contribute \$500,000 needed to finance holiday. Sheraton says four groups have cancelled convention plans, costing \$250,000. President of Hotel and Motel Assn. predicts wave of cancellations.

-- Holiday foe Julian Sanders and holiday backer Arnie Zaler trying to work out compromise. Sanders says voters would accept civil rights day that included Lincoln's name, but would not support replacing Lincoln's day, adding another paid holiday, or adopting the federal model. Zaler says pro-King voters would reject holiday without King's name.

-- Mecham totally opposed to any King holiday; says people have spoken and he's considering suing the NFL for pulling the Super Bowl.

-- Goddard announces that if elected in the run-off election he will call for special legislative session; says he favors the federal model.

Nov 9 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Arizona isn't racist, though it's perceived that way. King Day issue is not dead. Vote could easily have gone the other way. If anti-King forces didn't accept vote of lawmakers, although every other state holiday had been passed by the legislature, why should King supporters accept narrow defeat at the polls? Arizona will have a King Day.

1990 Continued --

Nov 9 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Arizona is no more racist today than any other state. Close vote was victory in itself; no other state has had public vote. Arizona's national reputation has been damaged, though unfairly. Consequences of vote will be costly; most visible result is loss of Super Bowl. NFL may have had hand in negative vote and decision to move game is a hasty one. King is widely honored in Arizona; only state and county employees don't have holiday. Issue is far from dead, however. Struggle will persist.

Nov 9 -- President of Convention Bureau says two conventions have cancelled since election costing Phoenix \$1 mil. Three more are considering pulling out, which would result in further loss of \$4 mil. to Valley.

-- NFL commissioner says Arizona's defeat of King holiday overrides fact Phoenix and Tempe have holiday because game is of national stature; state political issue should be debated free of Super Bowl entanglement.

-- Mesa man asks U.S. District Court in Phoenix for injunction to block NFL from moving Super Bowl; lawsuit charges NFL and CBS with "changing the vote of an elector by corrupt means or inducement" and "coercion and intimidation of an elector," both violations of Arizona law.

-- Governor rules out moves to quickly establish holiday; will not use executive order or call for action during special legislative session. Key legislative leaders say no action likely on King holiday until next regular session convenes Jan. 14, 1991.

Nov 10 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Narrow rejection of King Day sent shock waves across Arizona and nation, but there are encouraging signs. Governor's efforts to bring political, business, religious and sports leaders together to find a solution should be applauded. Election results are not characteristic of state's tradition of opportunity for all. Arizonans will not ignore this symbolic tribute to the civil rights movement--the most significant social development this century. No reason for Arizona not to have King Day.

Nov 10 -- Executive Director of Fiesta Bowl says no team has said they will decline bid because of holiday defeat, but bowl organizers are considering move of game from Tempe to another state to diffuse controversy.

-- Sanders drops effort to negotiate compromise after hard-core anti-holiday forces oppose any discussions.

Nov 11 -- Fiesta Bowl organizers announce game will remain in Tempe; NCAA vetoed move to San Diego because Holiday Bowl is already played there. Fiesta Bowl continues search for two top ranked teams who will accept bids to play; Univ. of Virginia says will not accept bid to game because of holiday failure.

-- Governor says she will add holiday bill to upcoming special session if assured measure will draw 2/3 support in both House and Senate putting law into effect immediately, thus negating any referendum effort.

Nov 12 -- Governor favors holiday patterned after federal model. Key lawmakers skeptical support exists to consider holiday during special session.

-- NFL commissioner says he is willing to leave door open to "reasonable alternatives" to moving Super Bowl.

-- King opponents say decision to enact holiday should be made by voters; vow to recall any legislator who tries to circumvent voter's decision.

Nov 13 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Despite failure of King holiday, Arizonans should not be ashamed of their state; other measures on the ballot were passed that can be pointed to with pride.

1990 Continued --

Nov 13 -- House Minority Leader Art Hamilton believes bill following federal model could get 2/3 majority. Republicans support doubtful because GOP uses Lincoln's Birthday as focus of fund-raising effort in state. Senate President Bob Urdane says special session should deal with run-off rules only.

-- National League of Cities considers moving site of next year's convention from Phoenix; 10,000 visitors and \$6.9 mil. in revenue expected.

-- Head of NFL Super Bowl Site Selection Committee says it's not NFL's fault Arizona could not pass King Day. NFL should not share blame.

-- Fiesta Bowl executive director announces Univ. of Louisville will play the 2nd place team from the Southeastern Conference in New Year's Day game; ends month of uncertainty for the bowl in wake of King holiday defeat. Halftime ceremony will honor King. Bowl will donate \$100,000 grant for minority students to each school in addition to \$100,000 endowment and \$2.5 mil. each team already receives for playing in the game.

Nov 14 -- Nobel Peace Prize winner Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu will come to Phoenix next summer for "Rally Against Racism" to protest racism and support King holiday. Episcopal Church officials announce rally will launch their 10-day general convention, drawing more than 15,000 people; considered cancelling convention but decided event could be forum to support King holiday.

-- NFL commissioner says he will work with Arizona officials to keep Super Bowl in Tempe if King controversy can be resolved.

-- Florida baseball official hopes to lure professional baseball spring training from Arizona to Florida's Citrus League because of King flap.

-- State transportation official says revenue loss caused in part by King holiday failure has put Valley freeway construction plans in jeopardy.

-- Univ. of California athletic director says school will accept Tucson's Copper Bowl invitation despite pressure to snub game.

-- PHOENIX GAZETTE reports on poll commissioned by MLK Better America Committee and conducted by Earl de Berg of Behavior Research Center showing 9% changed to no vote on Prop. 302 at last minute because of CBS Sports story; equates to 60,000 votes. 63% of no votes cited NFL threat as factor. Pollster theorized voters upset at implied intimidation. 41% voted no because another paid holiday not needed and 6% made racist comments.

-- PHOENIX GAZETTE reports on ASU poll showing Arizonans over age 55 and those in rural areas voted strongly against holiday, overcoming slim pro-holiday majorities in Maricopa and Pima counties, counties once considered win-makers. 56% of voters age 35 or under, and 51% age 35-54 voted for holiday; 57% age 55-64, and 51% age 65 or older voted against. Rural counties went 60-40 against holiday. ASU's Bruce Merrill surmised there were racial overtones in elderly vote (attitudes toward race generational, older voters more intolerant, harbor resentment over turmoil of civil rights battles fought in 1960s). Chuck Coughlin, MLK campaign strategist, says pro-holiday supporters were never able to get rural voters involved (moral/ethical arguments didn't work, arguments about conventions/tourism had little value). Poll showed two other factors also sank holiday--two ballot measures split pro-vote (63% voted for one or both propositions) and last minute report on possible loss of Super Bowl (about 3% switched from yes to no vote on Prop. 302 because of CBS report).

Nov 15 -- Rev. Stewart announces grass-roots campaign called "Victory '91: 600,000 for MLK." Carl Nicholson, of recently-disbanded UNITY, announces formation of group called Arizonans for King Recognition. Both groups call for special election to enact King Day under federal model; say voters rejected holiday because it gave workers another day off. King foes announce fund-raising effort to finance challenges to any attempt to defy voters' will.

1990 Continued --

Nov 16 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Not only is Arizona shamed by failed King vote, its U.S. senators are subject of Congressional ethics probe.

Nov 16 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC poll shows racism, resentment of Super Bowl threat and reluctance to add paid holiday key reasons in Prop. 302 defeat--21% cite racism, 21% cite NFL threat, 18% say too many holidays; also 15% say King not deserving, 15% say another holiday too expensive, 8% resented outside pressure, and 8% cite confusion between Prop. 301 and 302.

-- Universities of California and Wyoming formally accept invitations to play in Tucson's Copper Bowl.

Nov 17 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC reports Arizona's \$5 bil. travel and tour industry, state's 2nd largest industry, plans to combat King Day fallout. Arizona Hotel and Motel Assn. urging members to lobby legislature for holiday. Phoenix mayor sending letter emphasizing 21 Arizona cities celebrate King Day to groups who have scheduled to come or who are considering coming to Phoenix.

Nov 18 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- One election does not preclude further political efforts for King Day; that's the democratic process. Vote was hardly decisive, rejected only two among many possibilities. Whatever is done, measure must go to the voters. It's uncertain if matter will be addressed in special session or if it's legal to include question on run-off ballot. It's doubtful there could be special election before Nov. 1992, but idea is worth investigating. Mecham's proclamation does not befit the issue.

Nov 19 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE reports Auburn Univ. will accept Fiesta Bowl bid should it be offered; players' vote divided, but cites the opportunity to change Alabama, Arizona and the nation; bid depends on conference standings.

Nov 20 -- Chase Manhattan Bank of New York announces Tempe will be site of new credit card center; employing 2,000 workers with \$25 mil. payroll. King failure considered, but company saw Tempe has holiday; company said excellent labor pool and \$8 mil. in financial incentives outweighed holiday issue.

-- 200 people rally at state capitol and vow to continue fight for King Day; ASU students joined by ASU administrators and community leaders.

-- Pima County Board of Supervisors votes unanimously to give county workers day off to honor King; first county to do so.

-- Alabama faculty senate passes resolution by vote of 19-10 urging school to reject Fiesta Bowl bid; will be sent to university president.

Nov 21 -- Nogales City Council votes to establish King holiday.

Nov 22 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Chase Manhattan announcement is much needed positive news for the Valley. Hopefully, shows dire warnings about fallout from King Day failure not totally true.

Nov 22 -- CBS dropped from lawsuit accusing NFL of influencing election.

-- ARIZONA REPUBLIC reports on ASU poll showing 63% voted yes on one or both propositions. Confusion cited as reason for holiday defeat--19% voted for both; 36% voted yes on 302, no on 301; 3% voted yes on 301, no on 302; 37% voted against both. 3%, or 30,000 voters, switched to no vote because of NFL report. Findings suggest voters wanted holiday, but vote was split.

Nov 23 -- Valley Baptist and Episcopal Church leaders urge continued drive for King holiday.

1990 Continued --

Nov 24 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE Editorial -- Chase Bank announcement evidence that economic development need not stop because of holiday defeat.

Nov 24 -- Univ. of Louisville formally accepts Fiesta Bowl bid despite pleas of many to decline invitation to play.

Nov 25 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC news analysis--Although King question won't be on run-off ballot, will be factor in governor's race. Goddard wants quick legislative action to enact holiday with later referral to voters. Symington favors "go slow" approach; says wait until spring to work out solution.

Nov 26 -- National Episcopal Church leaders begin polling U.S. dioceses to determine how widespread feelings are toward cancelling or moving 1991 general convention from Phoenix. Five dioceses have passed resolutions critical of King vote, but unsure if they'll boycott. Church also discussing form of protest--noisy rally led by Tutu versus mere presence of convention.

Nov 28 -- Episcopal Church announces it will hold convention in Phoenix, but is looking for ways of minimizing economic windfall of 10-day meeting to the Valley; will use economic impact as protest of King holiday failure.

-- The Athletic Congress board of directors votes to withhold TAC national championship meets from states without paid King holiday.

Nov 29 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE reports most of 1991 convention line-up will survive fallout of holiday rejection. About 300 meetings are scheduled according to Convention Bureau. Of 22 biggest (1,200 delegates or more) 15 have no plans to change location and 3 are undecided; most say it's too late to change location or membership isn't concerned about King issue.

-- Chandler City Council approves watered-down version of King Day by 5-2 vote; city offices will remain open, city employees may take King Day off instead of their birthday at their option.

-- Producer of Phil Donahue Show announces Mecham and Rev. Stewart will appear on show together Dec. 10 to discuss King Day controversy; will be seen in 20 cities live and rest of nation tape-delayed. Since Election Day, Mecham has been guest on many radio talk shows across country.

Nov 30 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE reports Paul Simon's Jan. 19 performance at Desert Sky Pavilion will benefit holiday effort. Desert Sky will donate \$15,000 of proceeds and Simon will contribute unspecified amount.

-- Maricopa County supervisor asks County Attorney's Office for legal opinion on whether county can create, change or abolish a state holiday with a view toward establishing King holiday for county employees.

Dec 1 -- Univ. of Alabama accepts invitation to play Univ. of Louisville in Fiesta Bowl after much debate; players vote sealed decision.

Dec 3 -- Mofford aide says governor and Sen. DeConcini will meet with NFL commissioner on Dec. 7 in Washington, D.C. to discuss controversy.

Dec 4 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE reports Episcopal Church plans to go ahead with Phoenix meeting despite opposition by some denominations and call for boycott by Union of Black Episcopalians, and despite National Council of Churches' unanimous adoption of resolution banning subsidiaries from meeting in states without King holiday. National Council of Churches is nation's largest ecumenical group; represents Protestant, Orthodox and Anglican denominations.

1990 Continued --

Dec 4 -- Federal regulator warns Fiesta Bowl officials that offer of \$100,000 for minority scholarships to schools playing in game may violate civil rights laws. Bowl offered money after protests over King holiday failure.

Dec 5 -- Arizona Ecumenical Council unanimously adopts resolution calling on its one million members to observe MLK/Civil Rights Day in January.

-- ASU economist says defeat of holiday may increase number of "snowbirds" coming to Arizona because areas that voted against holiday were overwhelmingly retired and most snowbirds fit the same demographic mold.

Dec 6 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE learns governor wants to ask legislature in first week of next session to give her temporary power to declare King holiday by executive order and then refer question to voters in 1992; most lawmakers and governor favor federal model.

-- PHOENIX GAZETTE reports O'Neil Associates Valley Monitor poll shows majority of Valley residents believe holiday failure will hurt Arizona; more than half want legislature to take action. 49% think great harm will result, 31% think it will be somewhat damaging, 17% think no effect. 56% favor lawmaker action, 42% opposed. 63% favor federal model, 33% oppose. Pollster says paid holiday aspect cost 10% of vote.

-- Univ. of Alabama student leaders support playing in the Fiesta Bowl. Despite continued protests by others, university officials say they will not reconsider decision to play in New Year's Day game.

Dec 7 -- After 2 1/2 hour meeting with Mofford and other political and business leaders of Arizona delegation, NFL commissioner stands by recommendation to move 1993 Super Bowl.

-- Governor denies considering establishing King holiday by executive order. Lawmakers say Mofford has talked about special session possibility, but no definite plans have been discussed.

-- Episcopal Church leaders say they are considering shortening and restructuring 1991 convention to minimize economic benefit to Arizona; meeting set for Jan. 5 to discuss plans.

-- NCAA rejects ASU bid to host part of 1994 NCAA basketball tournament. School officials think it's because of holiday failure; NCAA officials deny holiday was issue.

-- ARIZONA BUSINESS GAZETTE reports director of state tourism office says tourism industry unprepared for King holiday defeat and now developing strategy to overcome effects. Arizona should send positive image--21 cities celebrate holiday as well as many large corporations and 3 state universities, and state is not racist; it welcomes all groups.

-- Yolanda King, 34-year-old actress daughter of MLK withdraws from performance of play in Tucson; originally said she'd appear, but decided her presence would be misconstrued as contrary to goals of holiday supporters.

Dec 10 -- Mecham and Rev. Stewart appear on Donahue Show together; trade verbal jabs for an hour about whether Arizona needs a paid state holiday honoring King. Stewart sought to emphasize four points--Arizona isn't racist, Arizona doesn't have King holiday as Mecham contends, two ballot propositions confused voters on the issue, and Arizona wants sports, especially the NFL to stay out of political debate. Mecham said blacks need jobs not holidays and claimed holiday would cost the state \$5 mil.

Dec 11 -- Episcopal Council of Wash., D.C. diocese unanimously approves campaign to push for movement of 1991 denominational convention from Phoenix to Atlanta; plan to lobby for move at Jan. 5 meeting.

1990 Continued --

Dec 11 -- Louisville football coach unveils 5-minute video of team highlights that includes references to King and his dream. Coach says university thought long and hard before accepting Fiesta Bowl bid, but felt rejecting game would not be appropriate statement in support of King.

-- Black leaders meet with Univ. of Alabama president to discuss their concerns over football team's trip to Fiesta Bowl; again urge school to pull out of game.

Dec 12 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE reports Department of Education will prohibit schools that receive federal funds from offering scholarships earmarked for minority students; government official says such grants are discriminatory and therefore violate civil rights laws. Ruling result of Fiesta Bowl effort to mitigate controversy over failure of King holiday by offering minority grants.

Dec 13 -- Legislators say there's little interest in tackling King issue in special session, although governor's position unclear. Mofford summons key lawmakers to Dec. 18 meeting to discuss holiday options. House Speaker Jane Hull, R-Phoenix, prefers waiting for legislature to convene in January; says holiday should result only from vote of people and should not result in additional paid holiday. House leadership supports federal model.

-- 600 people gather at First Baptist Church prayer breakfast in support of holiday. Rev. Stewart, who leads new coalition of pro-holiday groups called Victory Together-One Clear Choice, calls for petition drive to ask governor and legislature to create King Day that conforms to federal model. Goddard at breakfast; calls for holiday enactment. Symington sends letter; says governor and legislature cannot act alone, people must decide.

Dec 17 -- Mofford postpones meeting with lawmakers because key leaders are unable to attend; not clear if meeting will be rescheduled. Cancellation dims chances holiday will be enacted before new legislature convenes in January.

-- Univ. of Alabama refuses to back out of Fiesta Bowl, but agrees to honor King after appeals by Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which was founded by King. School will set aside \$100,000 from bowl receipts to match \$100,000 contribution from bowl to enhance minority programs at school. Players will wear arm bands and patches on uniforms, and will present King portrait to bowl. School will also reactivate minority affairs group.

-- Bush administration partially overrules Department of Education position on minority scholarships; says scholarships specifically for minority students are not violation of civil rights law if federal funds are not used.

Dec 18 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE reports Public Relations Society of America plans to go ahead with Phoenix meeting; 2,000 people and \$2 mil. expected.

-- Maricopa County supervisor Betsey Bayless, citing county attorney's opinion, says county cannot adopt King holiday because state law requires counties to follow state holiday schedule.

Dec 19 -- ARIZONA REPUBLIC Editorial -- Fiesta Bowl, facing crisis in finding two teams, went into scholarship business, promising Alabama and Louisville \$100,000 each to fund minority grants. Department of Education stepped in and then was reversed, sort of, by Bush's chief of staff John Sununu. Scholarships were just one of several Fiesta Bowl fumbles; must stop confusing King's memory with football. Government fumbled as well--Bush vetoed civil rights bill over quotas, then turned around and allowed preferential scholarships--government is supposed to consider education needs for all.

1990 Continued --

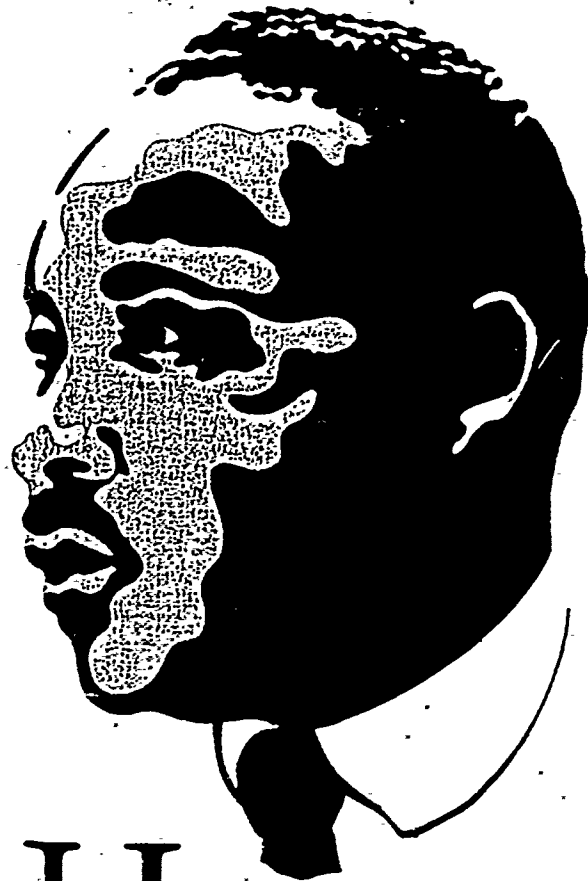
Dec 21 -- Tutu says he may back out of Valley appearance; fears his presence may upset holiday backers. Local pro-holiday religious leaders fear major economic boycott might follow Tutu pull out.

-- Scottsdale Chamber of Commerce plans to contact groups that are considering cancelling or who have cancelled meetings there to educate them about King holiday (21 cities have it, many businesses observe it, ballot was confusing, extra paid holiday was issue); says holiday failure and weak economy have hurt local economy. Chamber's director of conventions/tourism says 22 groups have cancelled, costing city \$8 mil.

Dec 25 -- PHOENIX GAZETTE reports Fiesta Bowl halftime show will not focus on King; "Celebrate America" will lump King with Kennedy, Lincoln, and Patrick Henry as upholders of ideals of U.S. Bill of Rights, 200 years old next year.

Dec 27 -- Mesa Chamber of Commerce approves King Day for its employees.

Full-page, black and white,
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Honor Civil Rights, Help Arizona

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MLK BAC
Campaign Materials

"Yes on 302" Flyer	C-1
Corporate Questionnaire	C-2
Proclamation in Support of Prop. 302	C-3
Sample Letter to Company Employees	C-4
Sign-Up Card for Volunteers	C-6
Sample Company Newsletter Article	C-7
Payroll Envelope Stuffer	C-9
"Yes on 302" Poster (Reduced)	C-10
"Yes on 302" Sticker/Button	C-11
NFL Retired Players "It's the Right Thing to Do" Stickers	C-12

Yes on 302

*MLK Better America Committee
September 6, 1990*

Passage of Proposition 302 with a "Yes" vote will:

- o Establish a Martin Luther King, Jr./ Civil Rights Day on the third Monday in January.
- o Proposition 302 retains Columbus Day as a state holiday.
- o Passage will celebrate the nation's progress in civil rights and Dr. King's singular contribution to that progress.
- o To support this proposition, vote YES.

The Holiday:

- o Honors a man and a movement which represented the American ideals of liberty and justice for all.
- o Dr. King ushered in an unprecedented era of civil rights progress without violence, an accomplishment we should celebrate.
- o Dr. King worked to extend the American dream to all Americans.
- o Honors the nation's accomplishment and commitment to individual rights and freedom.

Facts:

Economics:

- o Lack of a Martin Luther King, Jr./Civil Rights Day has cost Arizona more than \$30 million in lost convention business.
- o Future special events which may be forfeited without the holiday include the 1993 NFL Super Bowl, worth an estimated \$200 million to the state economy; the 1991 11,000-delegate Episcopal Church convention, and the 1992 National League of Cities and Towns convention, among others.
- o The perception of Arizona as a racially intolerant state is a major negative factor facing business and industry.

Cost:

- o According to the Joint Legislative Budget committee, the Martin Luther King, Jr./Civil Rights paid holiday will cost about \$500,000, or one-tenth of one percent of the state's \$3.5 billion budget.

Support:

- o More than 120 nations, the U.S. Government, 47 states and 21 Arizona cities already celebrate a King holiday.

Paid for by the MLK Better America Committee
Bruce Babbitt and John Rhodes, Co-Chairmen

Martin Luther King, Jr./Civil Rights Day

Questionnaire

YES _____ No _____ Does your company already observe a paid Martin Luther King, Jr./Civil Rights Day.

Yes _____ No _____ A "Yes" vote on 302 will create a paid State holiday observing a Martin Luther King, Jr./Civil Rights Day. Will your company observe this holiday and will you sign a resolution in support of the holiday.?

Yes _____ No _____ Will your company support a paid Martin Luther King, Jr./Civil Rights Day even if 302 fails to get a majority of votes in November?

Yes _____ No _____ Would you be willing to distribute campaign material, discussing how a holiday will benefit the state, to your company employees?

_____# How many paid holidays does your company currently provide its employees?

Comments/Additional Questions: _____

Company Name _____

CEO's Name _____

Questionnaire Respondent _____

Phone Number _____

Please Return This Form To:

**MLK Better America Committee
P.O. Box 13303
Phoenix, Az. 85002-3303**

Paid for by the MLK Better America Committee

**Proclamation In Support of
Proposition 302**

Whereas, Arizona can attract jobs and investment by showing its commitment to equality and fairness, and;

Whereas, Arizona seeks to attract convention and tourism business, and;

Whereas, Arizona wishes to ensure success of such events as the Superbowl, and;

Whereas, Benefits substantially outweigh the cost, and;

Whereas, Arizona can appropriately commemorate and renew its commitment to the values of equality and fairness,

We hereby urge all Arizonans to uphold the third Monday in January as Martin Luther King, Jr./Civil Rights Day and urge all Arizonans to celebrate America's progress in civil rights and Dr. King's contribution to that progress, Let Arizona join the nation, 47 other states, and 22 Arizona cities in celebrating the Civil Rights Movement.

Date _____

Signature _____

Title _____

Organization _____

Please return this form to:

*MLK Better America Committee
P.O. Box 13303
Phoenix, Az. 85002-3303*

♻️ Printed on Recycled Paper

Sample Letter to Employees

Dear <personalized if possible>:

On November 6, the voters of Arizona will decide whether Arizona will uphold the celebration of a Martin Luther King, Jr./Civil Rights Day.

This decision is very important to Arizona's future.

By voting yes on Proposition 302, we celebrate America's progress in civil rights and Dr. King's vital contribution to that progress. We also renew our commitment to the values of equality and fairness.

A yes vote will ensure that Arizona joins the celebration of a national holiday, which is also honored by 47 other states. Twenty-two Arizona cities already celebrate the holiday as well.

Passage of Proposition 302 will benefit Arizona in many ways.

It will enhance our ability to attract jobs and investment by renewing our commitment to equality and fairness.

It will enhance our ability to attract conventions and support our important tourism industry. Arizona has lost over \$30 million in convention business because we do not have an official holiday.

Proposition 302 will also ensure that Arizona enjoys the economic benefits of events such as the Super Bowl, which is expected to give our economy a much needed \$200 million boost.

These benefits substantially outweigh the minor cost of the holiday. The state Joint Legislative Budget Committee staff estimates the cost at only \$500,000 a year, around one-tenth of one percent of the state's \$3.5 billion budget.

Proposition 302 will preserve Columbus Day as well as establish a King/Civil Right Day.

Passage of Proposition 302 offers Arizona an important opportunity. We can appropriately commemorate and renew our commitment to equality and fairness, while doing something positive for Arizona.

I've enclosed a sign-up card for the MLK Better America Committee, a citizens committee organized to support the holiday, in case you want to get involved in this important issue. You can also contact the committee by calling 274-8555.

Regardless, I hope you will join me in voting yes on Proposition 302 this November 6.

Sincerely,

Enclosure: sign-up card

Count On Me To Vote YES On PROPOSITION 302

I would like to join the MLK Better America Committee to encourage Arizona voters to vote Yes on Proposition 302 in support of a Martin Luther King, Jr./Civil Rights Day. Please use my name in advertisements, press releases and campaign literature supporting the Martin Luther King, Jr./Civil Rights Day.

Print Name: _____

Signature: _____

Address: _____

Street

City

Zip

Phone: _____

Work

Home

Organizations of which I am a member: _____

(Please fill out reverse side)

I am willing to donate some of my time to:

- ☐ Place a yard sign on my property
- ☐ Wear a button during the campaign
- ☐ Distribute literature in my neighborhood
- ☐ Volunteer at campaign headquarters
- ☐ Help with fund-raising

I wish to make a financial contribution to the committee:

- ☐ \$100 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$25 ☐ other

Please make checks payable to the MLK Better America Committee.

3621 North Central Avenue, Phoenix, Arizona 85012
(602) 274-8555

Paid for by the MLK Better America Committee, Bruce Babbitt, John Rhymer, Co-Chairmen

Sample Newsletter Article

Proposition 302 to Honor Civil Rights, Help Arizona

On November 6, the voters of Arizona will decide whether Arizona will uphold the celebration of a Martin Luther King, Jr./Civil Rights Day.

This decision is very important to the future of Arizona.

A yes vote on Proposition 302 will uphold the establishment of the third Monday in January as Martin Luther King, Jr./Civil Rights Day.

That is the same day the national King holiday is celebrated. Forty-seven states also celebrate the holiday, as do 22 Arizona cities and towns.

"By passing Proposition 302, we celebrate America's progress in the area of civil rights and Dr. King's vital contribution to that progress," said <your CEO>.

"We also renew our commitment to the values of equality and fairness."

According to proponents, passage of Proposition 302 will benefit Arizona in many ways.

It will enhance our ability to attract jobs and investment by renewing our commitment to equality and fairness.

It will enhance our ability to attract conventions. Arizona has lost over \$30 million in convention business because we do not have an official holiday.

Proposition 302 will also ensure that Arizona enjoys the economic benefits of events such as the Superbowl, which is expected to give our economy a much needed \$200 million boost.

Our State's economy has been hurt by this constroversy. We face enough difficulties already without adding this unnecessary and wrong burden.

"These benefits substantially outweigh the minor cost of the holiday," said <your CEO>.

According to the state Joint Legislative Budget Committee staff, the cost of the King/Civil Rights Day would be only \$500,000 a year, around one-tenth of one percent of the state's \$3.5 billion budget.

In addition to establishing the King/Civil Rights Day, Proposition 302 would preserve Columbus Day. Proposition 301, also on the November ballot, would eliminate Columbus Day.

Individuals wishing to help with the King/Civil Rights Day issue can contact the MLK Better America Committee, a citizens committee organized to support Proposition 302. The committee's address is 3621 N. Central, Phoenix, Az. 85012. Or you can call (602) 274-8555.

"Passage of Proposition 302 offers Arizona an important opportunity," <your CEO> said.

"We can appropriately commemorate and renew our commitment to equality and fairness, while doing something positive for Arizona."

Vote Yes on Proposition 302 to Honor Civil Rights



- ☒ Proposition 302 upholds the third Monday in January as Martin Luther King, Jr./Civil Rights Day.
- ☒ Proposition 302 celebrates America's progress in civil rights and Dr. King's vital contribution to that progress.
- ☒ Proposition 302 renews our commitment to the values of equality and fairness.
- ☒ The same day is celebrated as a national holiday. 47 other states also celebrate the holiday, as do 22 Arizona cities and towns.
- ☒ Proposition 302 also preserves Columbus Day.

Paid for by the MLK Better America Committee, 3621 North Central Ave., Phoenix, AZ 85012, (602) 274-8555.

© 1991

Vote Yes on Proposition 302 to Help Arizona



- ☒ Passage of Proposition 302 will help Arizona attract jobs and investment by showing our commitment to equality and fairness.
- ☒ Passage of Proposition 302 will help Arizona attract convention and tourism business. Lack of a holiday has cost Arizona over \$30 million in convention business already*.
- ☒ Passage of Proposition 302 will ensure success of such events as the Super Bowl, which will provide an estimated \$200 million boost to Arizona's economy.
- ☒ These benefits substantially outweigh the cost of a holiday, estimated by the state Joint Legislative Budget Committee staff as \$500,000 a year, or around one-tenth of one percent of the state's \$3.5 billion budget.

*According to the Valley of the Sun Convention and Visitors Bureau.

On November 6, the voters of Arizona will decide whether Arizona will uphold the celebration of a Martin Luther King, Jr./ Civil Rights Day.

This decision is very important to Arizona's future.

Vote yes for civil rights

By voting yes on Proposition 302, we celebrate America's progress in civil rights and Dr. King's contribution to that progress.

We also renew our commitment to the values of equality and fairness.

Join the national holiday

A yes vote will ensure that Arizona joins the national King holiday celebrated on that same day.

Forty-seven other states also celebrate this holiday, as do 22 Arizona cities and towns.

Helping Arizona

Passage of Proposition 302 will benefit Arizona in many ways.

It will enhance our ability to attract jobs and investment by renewing our commitment to equality and fairness.

It will enhance our ability to attract conventions and support our important tourism industry.

Arizona has lost over \$30 million in conventions because we do not have an official holiday.*

Proposition 302 will also ensure that Arizona enjoys the benefits of events such as the Super Bowl, which is expected to provide a \$200 million boost to our economy.

A good investment

These benefits substantially outweigh the minor cost of the holiday, estimated by the Joint Legislative Budget Committee staff at \$500,000 a year, or around one-tenth of one percent of the state's \$35 billion budget.

Protects Columbus Day, too

Proposition 302 will preserve the Columbus Day holiday. Proposition 301, which is also on the November ballot, eliminates Columbus Day.

Do something positive for Arizona

Passage of Proposition 302 offers Arizona an important opportunity.

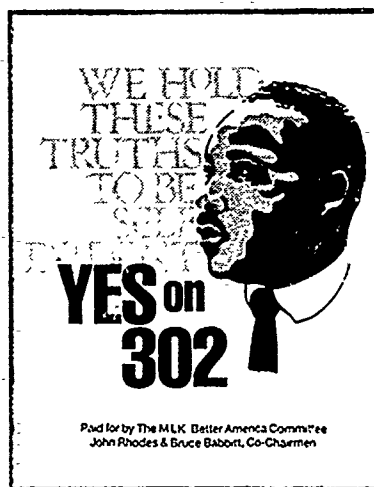
We can appropriately commemorate and renew our commitment to equality and fairness, while doing something positive for Arizona.

*According to the Valley of the Sun Convention and Visitors Bureau.

Honor Civil Rights, Help Arizona YES on 302



Vote YES on 302 Nov. 6

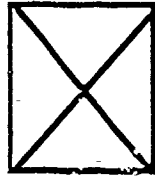




NFL RETIRED PLAYERS
PHOENIX, AZ CHAPTER

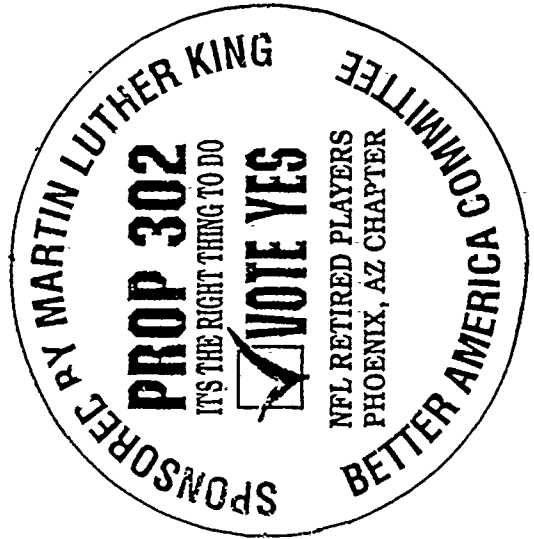
PROP. 302

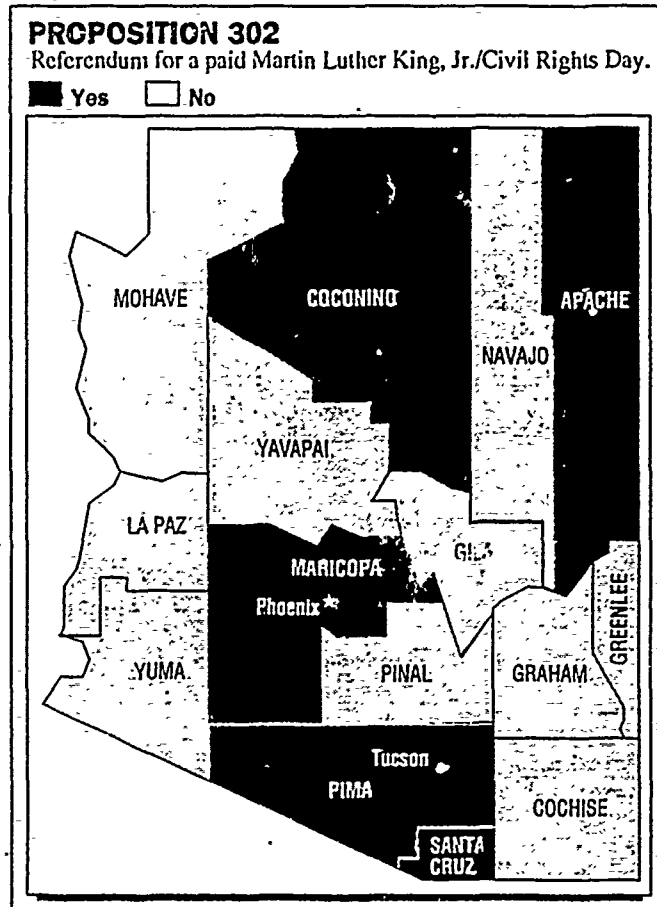
It's the right thing to do.



VOTE YES

Sponsored by the Martin Luther King Better America Committee





The Arizona Republic

PROPOSITION 302

COUNTY	Pcnts. Counted	Yes	No
APACHE	100%	8,285	4,772
COCHISE	100%	10,430	13,965
COCONINO	100%	16,002	12,342
GILA	100%	5,354	9,169
GRAHAM	100%	2,735	4,780
GREENLEE	100%	1,249	1,653
LA PAZ	100%	1,154	2,296
MARICOPA	100%	313,653	303,611
MOHAVE	100%	7,551	20,028
NAVAJO	100%	8,234	9,661
PIMA	100%	107,085	91,932
PINAL	100%	12,074	16,485
SANTA CRUZ	100%	3,283	2,573
YAVAPAI	100%	12,541	28,886
YUMA	100%	6,644	11,357
STATEWIDE	100%	516,274	533,510

Arizona Republic, Nov. 8, 1990

INSIDE

Published each Wednesday for the employees of Phoenix Newspapers Inc.

Wednesday, October 31, 1990

Volume 7, Number 43

A letter from PNI's Publisher and CEO

Dear Fellow Employee,

The most responsible duty of citizenship is the simple act of going to the polls and casting votes for candidates and issues.

Next Tuesday, Arizona voters will have the opportunity to make decisions that will affect the direction of our state and our image to others.

I urge you to become familiar with the candidates and issues and then, please go to your polling place and vote on Nov. 6.

The Arizona Republic and *The Phoenix Gazette* have endorsed candidates and taken positions on issues on their editorial pages after exhaustive and thorough research and interviews. The newspapers' editorials are a good source, but not the only one, for your consideration.

One special request. Please take the time to study Proposition 302, popularly referred to as the

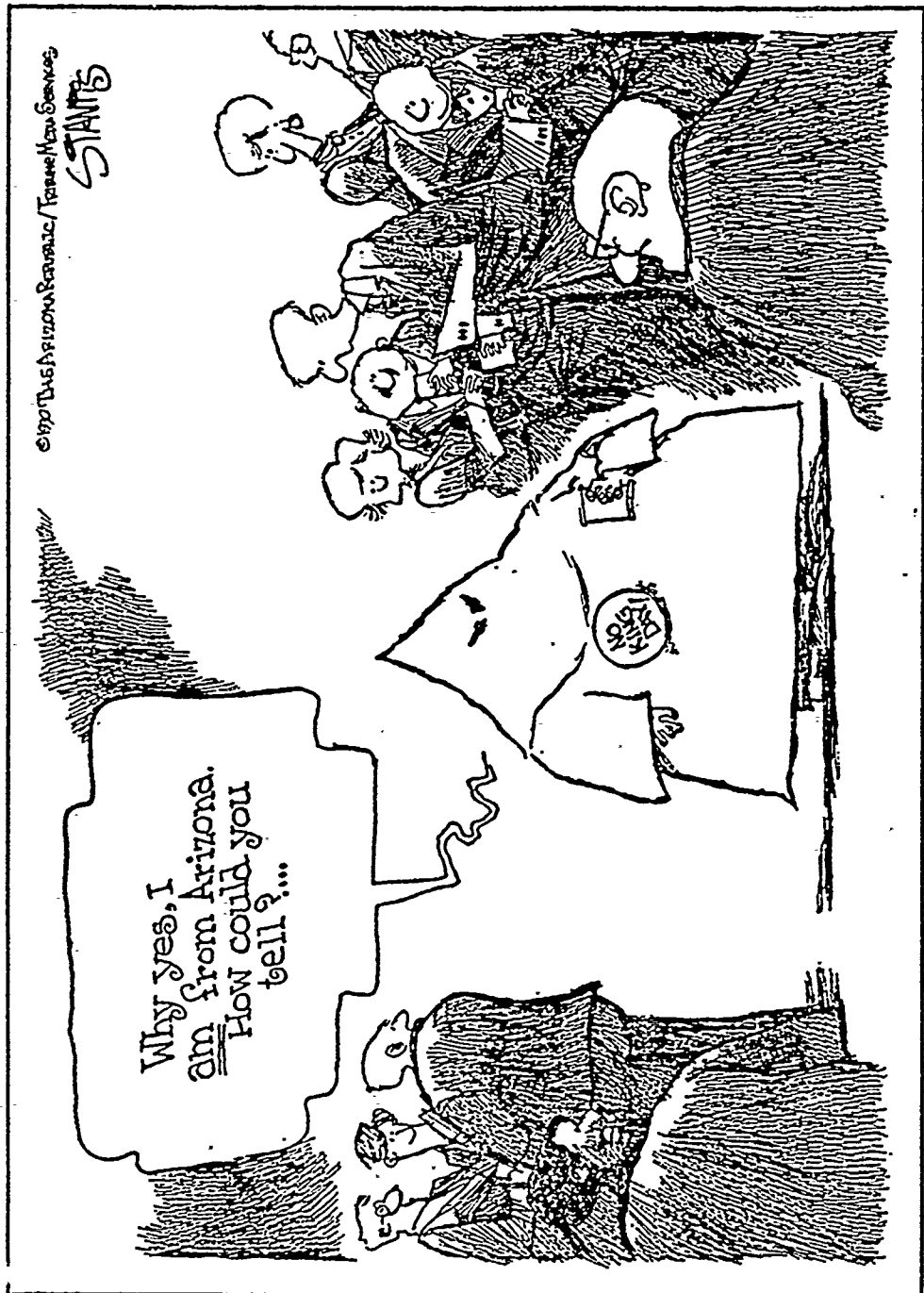


Publisher and CEO John P. Zanolli

holiday honoring the memory of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. For the first time in American history, Arizona voters can vote on a paid holiday for state employees, to honor our civil rights.

Very truly yours,
John P. Zanolli
Publisher and CEO

STANTIS



Editorial Cartoon by Scott Stantis, Arizona Republic, Nov. 8, 1990

Appendix G

Index of Articles, Editorials, Columns and Letters Arizona Republic, Phoenix Gazette and Arizona Business Gazette January 1, 1986 through December 31, 1990

Paper by Year

	Arizona Republic	Phoenix Gazette	Business Gazette	Total
1986	87	62	1	150
1987	172	164	6	342
1988	77	63	5	145
1989	120	137	2	259
1990	358	331	10	699
Total	814	757	24	1595

Paper by Location

	Arizona Republic	Phoenix Gazette	Business Gazette	Total
Page A1	106	138	5	249
Sec A	71	61	0	132
Page B1/C1	88	93	0	181
Sec B/C	84	63	0	147
Other	126	120	10	256
Column	55	39	2	96
Editorial	39	37	6	82
Letter-Pro	86	64	1	151
Letter-Con	120	116	0	236
Letter-Neutral	39	26	0	65
Total	814	757	24	1595

Year by Location

	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Page A1	21	50	22	50	106
Sec A	13	24	6	17	72
Page B1/C1	25	33	17	42	64
Sec B/C	23	51	12	22	39
Other	19	53	19	29	136
Column	5	21	5	11	54
Editorial	9	12	11	16	34
Letter-Pro	16	24	15	29	67
Letter-Con	17	64	30	34	91
Letter-Neutral	2	10	8	9	36
Total	150	342	145	259	699

	Arizona Republic	1986 Phoenix Gazette	Business Gazette	Total
Page A1	11	10	0	21
Sec A	9	4	0	13
Page B1/C1	17	8	0	25
Sec B/C	12	11	0	23
Other	10	9	0	19
Column	4	1	0	5
Editorial	5	3	1	9
Letter-Pro	9	7	0	16
Letter-Con	8	9	0	17
Letter-Neutral	2	0	0	2
Total	87	62	1	150

	Arizona Republic	1987 Phoenix Gazette	Business Gazette	Total
Page A1	22	26	2	50
Sec A	17	7	0	24
Page B1/C1	16	17	0	33
Sec B/C	29	22	0	51
Other	18	32	3	53
Column	10	10	1	21
Editorial	6	6	0	12
Letter-Pro	12	12	0	24
Letter-Con	36	28	0	64
Letter-Neutral	6	4	0	10
Total	172	164	6	342

	Arizona Republic	1988 Phoenix Gazette	Business Gazette	Total
Page A1	13	9	0	22
Sec A	3	3	0	6
Page B1/C1	8	9	0	17
Sec B/C	5	7	0	12
Other	5	9	5	19
Column	1	4	0	5
Editorial	7	4	0	11
Letter-Pro	12	3	0	15
Letter-Con	18	12	0	30
Letter-Neutral	5	3	0	8
Total	77	63	5	145

	Arizona Republic	1989 Phoenix Gazette	Business Gazette	Total
Page A1	17	32	1	50
Sec A	9	8	0	17
Page B1/C1	20	22	0	42
Sec B/C	11	11	0	22
Other	16	13	0	29
Column	7	4	0	11
Editorial	7	8	1	16
Letter-Pro	14	15	0	29
Letter-Con	13	21	0	34
Letter-Neutral	6	3	0	9
Total	120	137	2	259

	Arizona Republic	1990 Phoenix Gazette	Business Gazette	Total
Page A1	43	61	2	106
Sec A	33	39	0	72
Page B1/C1	27	37	0	64
Sec B/C	27	12	0	39
Other	77	57	2	136
Column	33	20	1	54
Editorial	14	16	4	34
Letter-Pro	39	27	1	67
Letter-Con	45	46	0	91
Letter-Neutral	20	16	0	36
Total	358	331	10	699

	Arizona Republic	1990 Jan 1 - Nov 6 Phoenix Gazette	Business Gazette	Total
Page A1	31	32	1	64
Sec A	15	17	0	32
Page B1/C1	18	24	0	42
Sec B/C	16	7	0	23
Other	42	28	1	71
Column	16	9	1	26
Editorial	9	11	4	24
Letter-Pro	18	14	0	30
Letter-Con	19	21	0	40
Letter-Neutral	5	14	0	19
Total	187	177	7	371

	1990 Nov 7 - Dec 31			
	Arizona Republic	Phoenix Gazette	Business Gazette	Total
Page A1	12	29	1	42
Sec A	18	22	0	40
Page B1/C1	9	13	0	22
Sec B/C	11	5	0	16
Other	35	29	1	65
Column	17	11	0	28
Editorial	5	5	0	10
Letter-Pro	23	13	1	37
Letter-Con	26	25	0	51
Letter-Neutral	15	2	0	17
(Blackmail)	(10)	(8)	(0)	(18)
Total	171	154	3	328