

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
AMERICAN LEGION - TOPEKA, KANSAS
MAY 14, 1983

"BUILDING OUR NATIONAL SECURITY"

FELLOW VETERANS. I AM HONORED TO BE BACK HOME WITH A GROUP THAT KNOWS THE FULL MEANING OF FREEDOM AND THE FULL COSTS OF ITS DEFENSE. NONE OF US EVER ENJOYED PAYING THAT COST -- NOT YOU IN VIETNAM, OR KOREA, OR EUROPE OR THE PACIFIC, AND CERTAINLY NOT ME IN ITALY. AND YET WE DID PAY THAT COST, AS AMERICANS ALWAYS HAVE.

BASIC CONSIDERATIONS

IN WASHINGTON THIS PAST WEEK, WE HAVE BEEN ALL CAUGHT UP IN THE BUDGET, AND IN AMENDMENTS TO THE BUDGET THAT CAME SO THICK AND FAST THAT JUST KEEPING TRACK OF ALL THE PAPER BECAME QUITE A TRICK. AS YOU MAY HAVE HEARD, THE WHITE HOUSE AT SOME POINTS SEEMED TO JOIN THE DEBATE. AND NOW, THE BUDGET COMMITTEE WILL BE TAKING A SECOND LOOK. THE WHOLE PROCESS SEEMS VERY COMPLICATED

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AND SOMETIMES HARD TO FOLLOW. AND YET, THERE IS A POINT TO ALL OF THIS, AND THAT POINT IS SIMPLER THAN MOST POLITICIANS WOULD HAVE YOU BELIEVE. IN NATIONAL SECURITY TERMS, I WOULD EMPHASIZE THAT --

...WE MUST GET A HANDLE ON OUR NATIONAL BUDGET IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN A GROWING, STRONG AMERICAN ECONOMY.

...WE MUST HAVE A NATIONAL DEFENSE THAT IS SECOND TO NONE.

...WE MUST HAVE AN ARMS CONTROL POLICY THAT CONTINUES TO PROTECT US AND THAT ALSO HAS A REALISTIC CHANCE OF LOWERING THE LEVELS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS THAT WE AND THE SOVIETS HAVE STOCKPILED.

...AND WE MUST BEAR FIRMLY IN MIND OUR FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES SO THAT OUR AMERICAN INTERESTS ARE STRENGTHENED AND ASSURED.

NATIONAL DEFENSE SECURITY

NATIONAL DEFENSE SECURITY IS NOT JUST A MATTER OF PERCENTAGES, ALTHOUGH THEY CAN BE IMPORTANT. WHAT IS UNACCEPTABLE IS A DEFENSE

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ESTABLISHMENT THAT IS POORLY MOTIVATED, WITH AGING WEAPONS, AND A STRATEGIC INVENTORY THAT FALLS BEHIND THAT OF THE SOVIET UNION. OUR DEFENSE MUST BE MODERN, WELL PLANNED, AND SUITED TO THE CHALLENGES OF TODAY.

THERE WERE MANY CASUALTIES OF THE VIETNAM WAR. ONE OF THEM WAS THE PRIDE THAT ALL AMERICANS USED TO FEEL IN OUR SOLDIERS AND SAILORS, OUR AIRMEN AND MARINES. DO YOU REMEMBER WHAT IT WAS LIKE TO BE IN UNIFORM IN THOSE DAYS? WELL, IT IS UNACCEPTABLE THAT ANY AMERICAN SERVICEMAN OR SERVICEWOMAN SHOULD DOUBT THAT THEY ARE THE RESPECTED DEFENDERS OF FREEDOM. THEY SHOULD ALSO KNOW THAT THEY ARE PART OF AN OUTFIT THAT IS THE BEST IN THE WORLD.

I THINK THAT WE HAVE GONE A LONG WAY TOWARDS REBUILDING THEIR PRIDE. I KNOW THAT THE AMERICAN LEGION HAS HAD A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE TO PLAY IN THAT FIGHT. AND TOGETHER WE HAVE STRENGTHENED OUR ARMED SERVICES WITHOUT COMPROMISING ON QUALITY. I PROMISE

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YOU THAT WE ARE GOING TO CONTINUE TO MAKE SURE THAT THE AMERICAN FIGHTING MAN IS THE BEST EQUIPPED AND BEST PAID SOLDIER IN THE WORLD. IF HIS HEAD IS HELD HIGH, SO WILL OUR COUNTRY'S SECURITY. AND THAT IS THE WAY IT IS GOING TO STAY FROM NOW ON!

I WISH THAT WEAPONS SYSTEMS WERE NOT SO INCREASINGLY EXPENSIVE. THINK HOW MANY SCHOOLS WE COULD BUILD OR IMPROVE IF THOSE EXPENSES WERE NOT NECESSARY. BUT WE MUST SPEND PRUDENTLY ON OUR WEAPONS IN THE INTERESTS OF NATIONAL SECURITY IN ORDER TO SAFEGUARD OUR COUNTRY, OUR CHILDREN, AND THEIR FUTURE.

MISSILES AND ARMS CONTROL

I KNOW THAT YOU ALL SHARE WITH ME THE HOPE THAT SOME REALISTIC ARMS CONTROL PROPOSALS CAN BE MADE. NOW, WE HAVE THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE "SCOWCROFT COMMISSION" REGARDING OUR STRATEGIC DEFENSES. IT IS JUST UNACCEPTABLE THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS MODERNIZED THEIR LAND-BASED ICBMs FOR A DOZEN YEARS WHILE THE UNITED STATES, BY AND LARGE, HAS STAYED IN PLACE. WE

NEED A CREDIBLE ICBM TO RESPOND TO THAT SOVIET THREAT -- FOR REALLY WHILE WE "FROZE" OUR ICBMs, THE SOVIETS WERE EMBARKED ON A MASSIVE BUILDUP.

WE ARE ALSO BUILDING AND TESTING A NEW GROUP OF INTERMEDIATE-RANGE MISSILES, THE PERSHING IIs AND GROUND-LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILES. IF THE RUSSIANS WON'T NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY AT GENEVA, THEN WE WILL HAVE TO DEPLOY THEM -- WITH THE FULL CONSENT AND EVEN THE URGING OF OUR WESTERN EUROPEAN ALLIES. MY OWN ESTIMATE IS THAT THE RUSSIANS WILL CONTINUE TO STALL FOR TIME AND TRY TO DIVIDE US FROM OUR ALLIES TO PREVENT THE DEPLOYMENT OF OUR MISSILES. WHY SHOULDN'T THEY? THEY ALREADY HAVE SOME 350 MOBILE SS20s, IN ADDITION TO THE OLDER SS4s AND SS5s, AIMED NOT JUST AT OUR ALLIES IN EUROPE, BUT AT THE FAR EAST AS WELL. AND WE HAVE NOTHING THAT COMPARES WITH THESE WEAPONS NOW IN EUROPE. IT IS THIS IMMEDIATE AND MAJOR THREAT THAT THE NEGOTIATORS AT GENEVA ARE FACING NOW. AND I SAY OUR INTEREST IS SERVED BY TOUGH BARGAINING -- NOT BETWEEN OURSELVES, BUT WITH THE SOVIET UNION!

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THE DOLE PROPOSAL

IF THE RUSSIANS DO BECOME SERIOUSLY INTERESTED IN ARMS CONTROL, THEN I HAVE A PROPOSAL FOR THEM. LET THEM SIT DOWN SERIOUSLY AT THE INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES (INF) AND START TALKS IN GENEVA, AND TALK ABOUT REAL REDUCTIONS OF BOTH INTERMEDIATE-RANGE AND STRATEGIC WEAPONS. WHEN THE PRESENT, UNACCEPTABLY HIGH LEVELS OF WEAPONRY ARE REDUCED AND NUCLEAR FORCE LEVELS STABILIZED, THEN IN MY JUDGMENT A FREEZE OF FORCE LEVELS IS POSSIBLE AND EVEN DESIRABLE. I INTEND TO INTRODUCE SUCH A MEASURE IN THE SENATE. BUT WE MUST NEVER AGREE TO ANY TREATY THAT LEAVES US IN A POSITION OF STRATEGIC INFERIORITY AT ANY TIME!

FOREIGN POLICY PRINCIPLES

WE ARE A GREAT POWER, AND OUR LEGITIMATE FOREIGN POLICY INTERESTS MATCH OUR SIZE AND THE ASPIRATIONS OF OUR PEOPLE FOR PEACE. WHAT ARE SOME OF THOSE INTERESTS?

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...FIRST, WE MUST STRENGTHEN OUR RELATIONS WITH OUR NATO ALLIES AND WITH JAPAN -- FOR MAKE NO MISTAKE, THE PEACE OF THE WORLD DEPENDS UPON OUR JOINT STRENGTH AND FRIENDSHIP.

...WE MUST BE VIGILANT IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND WITH CHINA. I AM NOT SAYING THAT NO PROGRESS CAN BE MADE -- IN MANY CASES IT CAN. I WENT TO MOSCOW LAST FALL AND HAD A PERSONAL ASSESSMENT OF CONDITIONS THERE. AND I HAVE INTRODUCED IN THE SENATE A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR A LONG-TERM GRAIN AGREEMENT THAT WILL NOT BE JOCKEYED ABOUT BY DOMESTIC POLITICS. BUT I DON'T THINK THAT WE SHOULD TURN A BLIND EYE TO EITHER OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE OR TO WHAT IS GOING ON ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD IN THE NAME OF "DETENTE". ANYBODY THAT REMAINS IN DOUBT ON THIS SCORE SHOULD TAKE A CLOSE LOOK AT WHAT IS GOING ON NOW IN POLAND AND, IN PARTICULAR, THE GENOCIDE NOW BEING CARRIED OUT AGAINST THE BRAVE PEOPLE OF AFGHANISTAN.

...WE MUST CONTINUE TO BE FIRM FRIENDS WITH THE STATE OF

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ISRAEL WHILE WE SEARCH FOR WAYS TO CONTRIBUTE TO A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST. THE BRAVE DEAD AT OUR EMBASSY IN BEIRUT ARE THE LATEST VICTIMS IN THAT STRUGGLE. BUT THAT EMBASSY NEVER CLOSED, AND I ADMIRE THE DETERMINATION OF SECRETARY OF STATE SHULTZ TO FIND A WAY OUT OF THE LEBANON QUAGMIRE THAT WILL PRESERVE ISRAEL'S SECURITY. NOW WE'LL SEE IF THE SYRIANS AND THE PLO WILL DO THEIR PART. I HAVE SUPPORTED THE PRESIDENT'S PEACE INITIATIVE OF LAST SEPTEMBER, AND THE LEBANON WITHDRAWAL IS THE FIRST STEP IN THAT PROCESS.

...AND NOW WE COME TO TODAY'S FRONT-PAGE AREA, CENTRAL AMERICA. IT IS SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENTS OF THAT REGION DO NOT EXEMPLIFY THE BEST TRADITIONS OF DEMOCRACY. WELL, I AM NOT SURPRISED BY THAT. BUT WHAT SHOULD OUR APPROACH TO THIS HIGHLY STRATEGIC REGION BE? OPPONENTS OF OUR SUPPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT IN EL SALVADOR TEND TO TALK AS THOUGH OUR 55 ADVISERS WERE THE PROBLEM. WELL, THEY ARE NOT. THE PROBLEM IS THAT THE PEOPLES

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OF EL SALVADOR AND OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION HAVE BEEN CAUGHT IN PATTERNS OF POVERTY, LACK OF OPPORTUNITY, AND IGNORANCE. AND THE MARXISTS ARE TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THAT FERTILE BREEDING GROUND FOR REVOLUTION.

OUR STAKE IN CENTRAL AMERICA

THE QUESTION IS -- WHAT FUTURE WILL THERE BE FOR THE PEOPLE OF CENTRAL AMERICA? SHOULD WE LOOK CRITICALLY AT EACH NATION, DECIDE THAT IT DIDN'T MEET OUR CRITICAL STANDARDS, AND THEN JUST WALK AWAY? DOES ANYBODY REALLY HAVE ANY DOUBTS ABOUT WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IN THAT CASE? HAS ANYBODY FORGOTTEN WHAT HAPPENED IN EVERY ONCE-FREE COUNTRY, FROM THE BALTIC TO INDOCHINA, ONCE THE COMMUNISTS TOOK OVER? AND BY WHAT SUPERIOR MORAL STANDARD WOULD WE DECIDE THAT THESE NEIGHBORS HAD NO RIGHT TO TRY TO EVOLVE TOWARDS A BETTER, MORE DEMOCRATIC LIFE -- THE SAME DECISION THAT THE FAMILIES OF EVERYBODY HERE PRESENT MADE WHEN THEY LEFT THE OLD COUNTRIES AND SET OUT FOR THE UNITED STATES!

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THE MARCH, 1982 ELECTIONS

THERE WAS, AFTER ALL, AN ELECTION IN EL SALVADOR JUST A LITTLE OVER A YEAR AGO, IN MARCH 1982. IT TOOK PLACE IN CIRCUMSTANCES OF GREAT DIFFICULTY. NEARLY ONE AND ONE-HALF MILLION SALVADORANS CAST THEIR BALLOTS THEN FOR A RANGE OF POLITICAL PARTIES. THEY ELECTED A 60-PERSON CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WHOSE TASK HAS BEEN TO OVERSEE FUTURE ELECTIONS, AND TO WRITE A NEW CONSTITUTION.

IT WAS A SIGNIFICANT TURNOUT OF BRAVE PEOPLE -- OFTEN UNDER FIRE. FOR THE GUERRILLAS DID TRY TO DISRUPT THE ELECTIONS IN MANY POLLING STATIONS. THEY ATTACKED THE TRANSPORTATION THAT THE PEOPLE WERE TO USE TO GO TO THE POLLS. THEY HARASSED AND THREATENED THE VOTERS THEMSELVES.

BUT STILL, THE PEOPLE CAME. THEY STOOD IN LINES AND WAITED FOR CONSIDERABLE PERIODS OF TIME JUST TO VOTE. THAT STAKE IN

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ONE'S OWN FUTURE THAT WE ALL TAKE FOR GRANTED, WAS DRAMATIZED IN A SPECIAL AND MEMORABLE WAY BY THOSE COURAGEOUS PEOPLE. AND IN THE END, MORE THAN 80 PERCENT OF THE PEOPLE HAD VOTED. EIGHTY PERCENT! I WISH WE COULD DO AS WELL HERE IN THE UNITED STATES. AND YET THE CRITICS GO ON ABOUT DEMOCRACY IN EL SALVADOR, AND SOME EVEN SUGGEST THAT WE GRANT TO THE GUERRILLAS POLITICAL CONCESSIONS THAT THEY COULDN'T EARN IN THE BALLOT BOXES!

RUSSIAN AID COMPARED

IT IS NOT AT ALL DIFFICULT TO POINT OUT THE FLAWS IN EL SALVADOR, OR INDEED IN OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION. AND YET, I CAN'T HELP BUT JOIN WITH COLUMNIST GEORGE WILL, WHEN HE NOTES THAT MOSCOW'S ANNUAL AID TO CUBA IS \$4 BILLION (THIS IS 25 PERCENT OF CUBA'S ENTIRE GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT!), THAT THEY GAVE CUBA 68,000 METRIC TONS OF MILITARY SUPPLIES LAST YEAR WORTH \$1 BILLION, THAT CUBA NOW HAS 200 MIGs, AT LEAST 650 TANKS, AND AT LEAST 90 HELICOPTERS, AND THE LIST GOES ON AND ON. HE NOTES

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THAT CUBA, "WITH ONE-SEVENTH OF MEXICO'S POPULATION, HAS MILITARY FORCES TWICE THE SIZE OF MEXICO'S." INDEED, RIGHT IN OUR OWN BACKYARD -- WHERE WE USED TO TAKE THE MONROE DOCTRINE AS BEDROCK AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY -- "THE SOVIET UNION IS GIVING 20 TIMES MORE MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO CUBA THAN THE UNITED STATES IS GIVING TO ALL OF LATIN AMERICA!"

AND OVER IN NICARAGUA, "THE NEWEST SOVIET SATELLITE," WILL WRITES THAT "39 PERCENT OF ALL MALES OVER THE AGE OF 18 ARE IN UNIFORM," AND A SECURITY FORCE OF 250,000 IS PLANNED -- EIGHT TIMES THAT OF EL SALVADOR. HE NOTES THE EQUIPMENT THAT HAS BEEN RECEIVED FROM EAST GERMANY, SOVIET RUSSIA, CUBA, PLUS THE "SECURITY ADVISERS" FROM SUCH DEMOCRATIC HAVENS AS EAST GERMANY THE PLO, BULGARIA, THE SOVIET UNION AND EVEN NORTH KOREA. AND, YET, AS WILL NOTES, WE ARE WORRIED ABOUT A SELF-IMPOSED LIMITATION OF 55 U.S. TRAINERS IN EL SALVADOR!

FELLOW KANSANS, I AM NOT ADVOCATING A MASSIVE MILITARY

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INTERVENTION IN CENTRAL AMERICA. WHAT I AM ARGUING FOR IS TIME, AND THE CHANCE FOR THE CENTRAL AMERICAN PEOPLE TO HAVE A SAY IN THEIR OWN FUTURES. FOR NO THINKING AMERICAN CAN WANT CENTRAL AMERICA TO FALL UNDER COMMUNIST CONTROL. THE CREATION OF A NEW SERIES OF COMMUNIST SATELLITES ON OUR DOORSTEP WOULD BE BAD ENOUGH, BUT GIVEN THE PANAMA CANAL AND THE REGIONAL TRANSIT OF SO MANY OF OUR SHIPMENTS OF STRATEGIC MATERIEL, IT WOULD THREATEN OUR NATIONAL SECURITY ITSELF. WHICH IS, OF COURSE, THE RESULT THAT OUR ADVERSARIES INTEND TO HAPPEN!

WHO AMONGST US REALLY WANTS TO SEE MORE CUBAS ON OUR DOORSTEP? WHO AMONGST US WOULD NOT BE CONCERNED WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOVIET OFFENSIVE MISSILES IN CENTRAL AMERICA, AS THEY HAVE HINTED? AND WHO AMONGST US -- GIVEN THE NEARNESS OF THAT REGION -- WOULD WANT ANOTHER FLOOD OF TRAGIC REFUGEES, THIS TIME NOT FAR AWAY, BUT JUST NEXT DOOR? I DON'T WANT THAT TO HAPPEN -- NOT AGAIN AND NOT HERE.

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IT HAS BEEN SAID THAT ALL WE ARE DOING IS SUPPORTING MILITARY SOLUTIONS TO COMPLEX PROBLEMS. WELL, I DON'T FIND THAT TO BE THE CASE. FULLY TWO-THIRDS OF THE ASSISTANCE THAT HAS BEEN REQUESTED IS FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMS. THAT ASSISTANCE WILL FIGHT THE ROOT CAUSES OF PROBLEMS IN THE REGION -- POVERTY, INJUSTICE, ILLITERACY AND LACK OF OPPORTUNITY. SOME 475,000 PEOPLE IN EL SALVADOR HAVE BENEFITTED FROM LAND REFORM. WHEN IS THE LAST TIME THAT YOU HEARD OF ANY BENEFIT TO FARMERS IN A COMMUNIST COUNTRY?

BUT AS THE PRESIDENT NOTED IN HIS RECENT SPEECH TO THE CONGRESS, "NO AMOUNT OF ECONOMIC HELP WILL SUFFICE IF GUERRILLA UNITS CAN DESTROY ROADS, BRIDGES, POWER STATIONS AND CROPS AGAIN AND AGAIN WITH IMPUNITY." THAT IS WHY OUR LIMITED MILITARY ASSISTANCE REMAINS NECESSARY. AND MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT -- BY RUSSIAN AND CUBAN STANDARDS, OUR ASSISTANCE IS VERY MODEST INDEED.

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VIETNAM AND CENTRAL AMERICA

THE SPECTER OF VIETNAM HAS BEEN MENTIONED IN CONNECTION WITH CENTRAL AMERICA, AND PARTICULARLY IN CONNECTION WITH EL SALVADOR. THE PRESIDENT WAS ROUNDLY APPLAUDED WHEN HE NOTED THAT THERE WOULD BE NO VIETNAM THERE.

WELL, I FERVENTLY HOPE THAT HE IS RIGHT IN THAT ASSESSMENT. FOR WE ALL REMEMBER WHAT HAPPENED IN VIETNAM AND IN CAMBODIA AND IN LAOS ONCE WE LEFT AND THE COMMUNIST TAKEOVER WAS CONSOLIDATED. FOR THOSE WITH STRONG STOMACHS, THERE IS AN EXHIBIT NOW IN WASHINGTON THAT I HAD A HAND IN SPONSORING, THAT SHOWS WHAT TOOK PLACE THEN IN CAMBODIA. AND THEN THERE ARE THE BOAT PEOPLE, AND THE "RE-EDUCATION CAMPS", AND THE WHOLE SAD PANOPLY OF TERROR. THAT MUST NOT EVER HAPPEN AGAIN.

THE HUMAN COSTS IN INDOCHINA WERE STAGGERING. AND SO WERE THE STRATEGIC COSTS -- JUST LOOK AT THAT GIGANTIC RUSSIAN BASE NOW AT CAMH RANH BAY, NICELY PLACED ASTRIDE JAPAN'S OIL LIFELINE

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TO THE MIDDLE EAST. THAT MUST NOT BE REPEATED IN CENTRAL AMERICA.
THE PANAMA CANAL MUST REMAIN A STRATEGIC WATERWAY OF DEMOCRACY.
OUR COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM TO BE CREDIBLE MUST BEGIN IN OUR OWN
BACKYARD. FOR MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT, AS WITH THE BUDGET
DEBATES FOR A STRONG ICBM DEFENSE, AND OUR TALKS ON NUCLEAR
WEAPONS AT GENEVA, CENTRAL AMERICA IS PART OF OUR NATIONAL
SECURITY PICTURE.

THE CHALLENGE NOW

NO, MY FRIENDS -- UNLIKE IN INDOCHINA, THE FINAL CHAPTER IN
CENTRAL AMERICA REMAINS TO BE WRITTEN. THIS TIME, I AM CONVINCED
THAT THE FORCES OF FREEDOM WILL STAUNCHLY SUPPORT THE EVOLUTION
OF OUR OWN NEIGHBORS TOWARDS A BETTER LIFE. AND THAT CHOICE OF
FREEDOM IS AMERICA'S OWN DREAM, AND THE ONLY REALLY REVOLUTIONARY
POLITICAL IDEA THAT LIVES IN THE WORLD TODAY. IT CAN'T BE
STOPPED -- AND IT WON'T BE!

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.