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SPEECH / PHOTO

## SENATOR DOLE SCHEDULE - NATIONAL JEWISH COALITION PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES FORUM

## **TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1995**

10:20 am

DEPART Capitol for the Grand Hyatt Hotel

Driver:

Wilbert

Drive Time: 10 minutes

10:30 am

ARRIVE Grand Hyatt Hotel (H Street Entrance) and proceed to Franklin

Square Room

Location:

1000 H Street, NW

Washington, DC 202/582-1234 tel 202/637-4781 fax

Met By:

Jim Rowland, Program Coordinator for National

Jewish Coalition

Advance:

Adrienne Cisneros

202/744-2367 cell 800/759-8888 pager Pin #: 1996091

10:35 am-10:40 am

ATTEND photo opportunity and award presentation

Location:

Franklin Square Room

202/582-1234 tel 202/637-4781 fax

Met By:

Cheryl Halpern, National Chairwoman of National

Jewish Coalition

Matt Brooks, Executive Director

-Cheryl Halpern makes presentation to Senator Dole

-Photo Opportunity (group photo)

PROCEED to Independence Ballroom

10:45 am-

ATTEND National Jewish Coalition Presidential Candidates Forum

11:15 am

Location:

Independence Ballroom

Attendance: 200-250

Event Runs: 10:30 am - 4:30 pm

Press:

Open

Facility:

Podium, riser, mic

FINAL - 11/27/95 12:49 PM

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## **TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1995**

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Contact:

Jim Rowland

202/582-1234 tel

(Note: Max Fisher, Sam Fox, George Kline and Les Wexner will be on dais.)

10:44 am

Les Wexner introduces Senator Dole

10:45 am

Senator Dole makes remarks

11:00 am

Senator Dole begins Q & A

11:15 am

Senator Dole concludes

11:20 am

DEPART Grand Hyatt Hotel en route Capitol

Driver:

Wilbert

Drive Time: 10 minutes

11:30 am

ARRIVE Capitol

PLEASE DELIVER TO: Bruce Soll

11/27/95

## PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES FORUM SCHEDULE

Final Schedule for the Forum

10:30 a.m.

Program begins

Welcome and Opening Remarks

Richard J. Fox

Presidential Candidates Forum Chairman

10:45-11:15 a.m.

Remarks - Senator Robert Dole

11:15-11:45 a.m.

Remarks - Governor Lamar Alexander

11:45-12:15

Remarks - Ambassador Alan Keyes

12:30-1:45 p.m.

Luncheon

Keynote Speaker:

RNC Chairman Haley Barbour

2:00-2:30 p.m.

Remarks - Senator Richard Lugar

2:30-3:00 p.m.

Remarks - Congressman Robert Dornan

3:00-3:30 p.m.

Remarks - Steve Forbes

3:30-4:00 p.m.

Remarks - Senator Phil Gramın

Forum Concludes

IT'S A PLEASURE TO BE HERE THIS
MORNING, AND IT'S A SPECIAL HONOR
TO BE INTRODUCED BY LES WEXNER.

I AM ALSO PROUD TO JOIN THE
NATIONAL JEWISH COALITION IN
RECOGNIZING THE REMARKABLE
CAREER AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF MAX
FISHER.

AS YOU KNOW, PRESIDENTS NIXON,
FORD, REAGAN, AND BUSH ALL
COUNTED HEAVILY ON MAX'S
FRIENDSHIP AND ADVICE.

AND, AS I'VE TOLD MAX BEFORE,
WHILE ADVISING FOUR REPUBLICAN
PRESIDENTS IS VERY IMPRESSIVE,
ADVISING FIVE WOULD BE EVEN
BETTER. AND I HAVE SOMEONE IN
MIND.

LET ME BEGIN THIS MORNING WITH
A FEW THOUGHTS ON THE
PRESIDENT'S SPEECH LAST NIGHT AND
THE UPCOMING CONGRESSIONAL
DEBATE ON THE DEPLOYMENT OF
AMERICAN TROOPS TO BOSNIA.

I KNOW ALL OF YOU SHARE MY COMMITMENT TO A STRONG AMERICA--AN AMERICA THAT DEFENDS HER INTERESTS AND PROMOTES HER VALUES. AND LAST NIGHT PRESIDENT CLINTON MADE HIS CASE ON WHY HE **BELIEVES SENDING 20,000 AMERICAN** TROOPS TO IMPLEMENT A PEACE AGREEMENT IN THE BALKANS IS IN OUR INTEREST.

THE PRESIDENT'S TWO YEAR OLD
PROMISE TO COMMIT U.S. FORCES IN

THE EVENT OF A PEACE AGREEMENT HAS LED TO AN UNFORTUNATE SITUATION -- EITHER CONGRESS AGREES TO A MILITARY DEPLOYMENT THAT LOOKS SUSPICIOUSLY LIKE **LEBANON IN 1983, OR CONGRESS** UNRAVELS A PRESIDENTIAL **COMMITMENT -- AT GREAT COST TO AMERICAN CREDIBILITY AND TO NATO** SOLIDARITY.

IN THE COMING DAYS, CONGRESS
WILL BE TAKING A HARD LOOK AT THE

PROPOSED DEPLOYMENT -- THE
MILITARY OBJECTIVES, THE EXIT
STRATEGY, AND HOW SUCCESS WILL
BE DEFINED.

LET ME SAY CLEARLY NOW: THIS IS

NOT THE PERSIAN GULF. IN THE

PERSIAN GULF, THE U.S. WENT TO

FIGHT AND WIN A WAR WITH CLEAR

OBJECTIVES. IN THE BALKANS, THE

U.S. WILL NOT BE THERE TO FIGHT OR

TO WIN -- BUT TO SIMPLY "BE THERE."

AND THE GREATEST DAMAGE TO

NATO AND TO AMERICAN CREDIBILITY
WOULD BE FOR THE BOSNIA
DEPLOYMENT TO BECOME "NATO'S
AFGHANISTAN" OR "NATO'S
SOMALIA."

IT'S ALSO WORTH NOTING THAT
WE WOULDN'T BE HAVING ANY
FORMULATION OF THIS DEBATE HAD
PRESIDENT CLINTON NOT REJECTED BIPARTISAN CONGRESSIONAL ATTEMPTS
TO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO.

FOR THIRTY MONTHS, THE CLINTON
ADMINISTRATION ARGUED AGAINST
LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO ON
BOSNIA BECAUSE, THEY SAID, IT
WOULD LEAD TO DIRECT U.S.
MILITARY INVOLVEMENT.

NOW, THE SAME ADMINSTRATION
IS PROPOSING TO SEND 20,000
AMERICAN GROUND FORCES TO
BOSNIA WHILE NOT LIFTING THE ARMS
EMBARGO FOR SIX MONTHS, AND
MAKING NO REAL COMMITMENTS ON

TRAINING OR EQUIPPING THE BOSNIAN ARMED FORCES.

SOMETHING SEEMS A MORE THAN
A LITTLE WRONG WITH THIS
APPROACH.

LET ME TURN NOW FROM BOSNIA

TO ANOTHER PART OF THE WORLD

DESPERATELY IN NEED OF PEACE--THE

MIDDLE EAST.

I SPOKE BEFORE THIS GROUP IN

1987 AT A SIMILAR FORUM, AND

NOTED THE UNIQUE U.S.-ISRAELI

RELATIONSHIP. I SAID, "THERE IS A PERSONAL, ALMOST EMOTIONAL **ELEMENT TO THE WAY MOST** AMERICANS LOOK AT ISRAEL. ISRAEL IS THE CHAMPION FIGHTING FOR RIGHT THAT ALL AMERICANS ADMIRE. IT IS THE UNDERDOG FIGHTING AGAINST GREAT ODDS THAT ALL AMERICANS LOVE. WHEN I HEAR ISRAELIS TALK ABOUT THEIR OWN LOVE OF COUNTRY AND THEIR WILLINGNESS TO RISK THEIR OWN

LIVES TO DEFEND THEIR FREEDOMS -- I
KNOW WHAT THEY ARE TALKING
ABOUT...MANY IN THIS ROOM, AND
MILLIONS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY
HAVE BEEN THERE TOO."

THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE UNITED
STATES HAS BEEN ON MY MIND A
GREAT DEAL IN THE PAST MONTHS.

IN OCTOBER, I HAD THE HONOR OF
SITTING NEXT TO PRIME MINISTER
RABIN AT A VERY MOVING CEREMONY

IN THE CAPITOL ROTUNDA MARKING
THE 3000TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
CITY OF JERUSALEM -- ONE DAY AFTER
THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESS PASSED
LEGISLATION MANDATING THE MOVE
OF THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN ISRAEL
TO JERUSALEM.

IT WAS A DAY TO CELEBRATE THE UNIQUE HISTORY OF A UNIQUE CITY.

AND IT WAS A DAY TO CELEBRATE A NEW FUTURE FOR THE CAPITAL OF ISRAEL -- SO RECOGNIZED AT LONG

LAST BY THE UNITED STATES THANKS
TO THE EFFORTS OF THE 104TH
CONGRESS. THAT WAS A DAY OF
HAPPINESS. LITTLE DID I KNOW, OF
COURSE, THAT WITHIN A MATTER OF
WEEKS, I WOULD JOIN MANY OF YOU
IN ATTENDING THE FUNERAL OF
YITZHAK RABIN.

LIKE ALL THOSE WHO WERE THERE,

I WILL NEVER FORGET THE EULOGY

DELIVERED AT THE PRIME MINISTER'S

FUNERAL BY HIS GRANDDAUGHTER.

SHE SPOKE OF RABIN NOT AS A
SOLDIER, OR A PRIME MINISTER, OR A
WORLD LEADER. RATHER, SHE SPOKE
OF HIM AS A GRANDFATHER--AS THE
LEADER OF HER FAMILY.

MANY COMMON BONDS UNITE
ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES -INCLUDING THE BOND BETWEEN THE
LEADERS OF OUR TWO GREAT
COUNTRIES.

THE U.S. ISRAEL RELATIONSHIP IS
LARGER THAN THE RELATIONSHIP

BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS -- EVEN AN
UNFORGETTABLE TRUE HERO OF
ISRAEL LIKE YITZHAK RABIN. THE U.S.ISRAEL RELATIONSHIP IS BETWEEN
TWO PEOPLES.

IT IS BASED ON SHARED INTERESTS
AND SHARED VALUES--LIKE THE
IMPORTANCE OF FAMILY.

OUR SHARED INTERESTS HAVE
SERVED BOTH COUNTRIES WELL. THE
UNITED STATES, ISRAEL, AND THE

FROM OUR UNIQUE RELATIONSHIP.

AND WHILE THE WORLD SEEMS TO CHANGE ALMOST DAILY, IT IS VERY CLEAR THAT ONE THING THAT MUST NOT CHANGE AND CAN NOT CHANGE IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL.

THE NEW CHALLENGES OF THE
MIDDLE EAST ARE TERRORISM,
PROLIFERATION AND RADICAL
FUNDAMENTALISM. THE U.S. SHOULD

FACE THOSE CHALLENGES WITH AN EVEN CLOSER, NEWLY INVIGORATED DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAEL.

FOR ISRAEL, EVEN IN THE EVENT OF A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE WITH ITS **NEIGHBORS, THE THREAT OF ATTACK** BY LONG-RANGE MISSILES FROM IRAN, IRAQ, LIBYA, AND OTHERS MAY **ACTUALLY GROW. AT THE SAME** TIME, THE UNITED STATES HAS **IDENTIFIED THE BALLISTIC MISSILE** THREAT AS A SERIOUS CHALLENGE TO

ITS OWN RAPID DEPLOYMENT FORCES
IN REGIONS LIKE THE MIDDLE EAST.

THEREFORE, I BELIEVE IT IS TIME TO GO BEYOND THE CURRENT LEVEL OF **COOPERATION BETWEEN THE UNITED** STATES AND ISRAEL. IT IS IN THE **BEST INTERESTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES** TO JOINTLY EXPLORE -- IN DEPTH --THE POSSIBILITY AND THE STRATEGIC **ADVANTAGES OF A FULL-FLEDGED** ALLIANCE.

WE SHOULD BEGIN DISCUSSIONS ON A COMPREHENSIVE AND CONCRETE STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES. THESE DISCUSSION SHOULD INCLUDE AN EXPLICIT GOAL OF GREATER INTEGRATION BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE U.S. IN MIDEAST DEFENSE PLANNING.

THE DAY WHEN GREATER

COOPERATION COULD ALIENATE ARAB

STATES IS OVER. TODAY, STATES

LIKE EGYPT, SAUDI ARABIA, AND
JORDAN FACE THE THREATS OF
ROGUE REGIMES JUST AS ISRAEL
DOES. ISLAMIC TERRORISM
SUPPORTED BY IRAN HAS RESULTED IN
DEATHS IN ISRAEL AND IN ARAB
COUNTRIES.

GREATER U.S.-ISRAELI
COOPERATION WOULD DETER
AGGRESSION AND ENHANCE THE
ABILITY OF STATES IN THE REGION TO

DEFEND AGAINST LIBYA, IRAN AND IRAQ.

IN MY VIEW, U.S.-ISRAELI **DISCUSSIONS SHOULD ALSO LEAD TO** A STRENGTHENING OF U.S.-ISRAEL INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNOLOGY COOPERATION. MAINTAINING ISRAEL'S QUALITATIVE EDGE IS AS CRITICAL TODAY AS EVER. WITHOUT IT, THERE WILL BE NO DETERRENCE AND THERE WILL BE NO MORE PEACEMAKING.

WHILE ISRAEL MOVES CLOSER TO ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS, IT HAS STRENGTHENED MILITARY **COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED** STATES IN A VARIETY OF AREAS. THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL HELD THEIR LARGEST COMBINED MILITARY **EXERCISE EARLY IN 1995, INVOLVING** AIR, LAND, AND NAVAL FORCES. THE UNITED STATES HAS INCREASED PREPOSITIONING IN ISRAEL. AND THE **UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL HAVE** 

ENHANCED THEIR BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE ACTIVITIES.

**ISRAEL RECOGNIZES WHAT** PRESIDENT CLINTON AND HIS **ADVISERS DO NOT -- REAL DEFENSE MEANS USING ALL MEANS AT YOUR DISPOSAL TO PROTECT YOUR** TERRITORY AND PEOPLE, INCLUDING THE DEVELOPMENT AND DEPLOYMENT OF EFFECTIVE MISSILE DEFENSE. THAT IS WHY WE WORK TOGETHER ON THE ARROW AND NAUTILUS PROGRAMS.

AND THAT IS WHY WE MUST

CONTINUE TO WORK TOGETHER IN THE

COMING YEARS.

I MENTIONED THE VALUES SHARED
BY THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED
STATES AND THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL,
AND BEFORE I CONCLUDE, I WANT TO
SPEAK FOR A MOMENT ABOUT THOSE
VALUES.

IN EVERY ONE OF YOUR STATES
THERE ARE FARMS AND TOWNS LIKE
THE ONES I KNEW AS A BOY. THOSE

OF US WHO WERE RAISED IN RURAL **AMERICA GREW UP WITH A COMMON** SET OF VALUES, A CODE OF LIVING THAT STAYS WITH US ALL OUR LIVES: LOVE OF GOD AND COUNTRY AND FAMILY. COMMITMENT TO HONESTY, DECENCY, AND PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY. SELF-RELIANCE **TEMPERED BY A SENSE OF** COMMUNITY. AND AN ABIDING BELIEF IN FREEDOM.

THESE ARE THE VALUES THAT
HAVE GUIDED AMERICA THROUGHOUT
OUR HISTORY. THEY ARE THE VALUES
THAT HAVE MADE US THE GREATEST
COUNTRY ON EARTH. THEY ARE THE
VALUES THAT THE NATIONAL JEWISH
COALITION HAVE ADVOCATED
THROUGHOUT YOUR HISTORY.

AND THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE SECRET TO GETTING OUR COUNTRY

BACK ON TRACK IS SIMPLY TO RETURN

TO THEM AS A MATTER OF NATIONAL POLICY.

AS YOU MAY KNOW, A FEW MONTHS BACK I GAVE A LITTLE SPEECH IN HOLLYWOOD. IN THAT SPEECH, I SIMPLY SUGGESTED THAT THOSE IN CHARGE OF OUR **ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY HAVE A DUTY TO BALANCE COMMON DECENCY AND THE INTERESTS OF OUR** CHILDREN WITH THEIR DESIRE TO MAKE A PROFIT.

AFTER THAT SPEECH, A NEW YORK

TIMES COLUMNIST WROTE THAT SINCE

SOME LEADERS OF THE

ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY ARE

JEWISH, MY REMARKS WERE ANTI
SEMITIC.

NOW, USUALLY I DON'T PAY MUCH ATTENTION TO THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BUT THAT CHARGE WAS SO

DISGUSTING AND SO RIDICULOUS

THAT I HAD TO NOTICE.

MY TARGET WAS NOT ANY ETHNIC **GROUP -- IT WAS AN ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY WHICH TOO OFTEN** PROMOTES MINDLESS VIOLENCE AND LOVELESS SEX. AND I WAS SIMPLY AGREEING WITH PEOPLE LIKE ENTERTAINMENT CRITIC MICHAEL MEDVED WHO WROTE THAT THE **ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY "NO** LONGER REFLECTS OR EVEN RESPECTS THE VALUES OF MOST AMERICAN **FAMILIES.**"

IF WE NEEDED A REMINDER ON THE EFFECT THAT THE ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY HAS ON OUR CULTURE, WE GOT IT THIS WEEKEND IN NEW YORK CITY.

SOME OF YOU MAY HAVE READ
THAT TWO MEN SQUIRTED A BOTTLE
OF FLAMMABLE LIQUID INTO A TOKEN
BOOTH AT A SUBWAY STATION IN
BROOKLYN, LIT A MATCH, AND
IGNITED AN INFERNO THAT SEVERELY

INJURED THE TOKEN BOOTH OPERATOR.

THE INCIDENT WAS REMARKABLY
SIMILAR TO INCIDENTS DEPICTED IN A
NEW MOVIE CALLED "THE MONEY
TRAIN," WHICH WAS RELEASED LAST
WEEK.

NEWS REPORTS INDICATE THAT

NEW YORK TRANSIT AUTHORITY

OFFICIALS HAD REVIEWED "THE

MONEY TRAIN" SCRIPT BEFORE THE

MOVIE WAS FILMED, AND OBJECTED

TO THE TOKEN-BOOTH ARSON SCENES.

THE FILM'S PRODUCERS DECIDED TO

CREATE THE SCENES ANYWAY.

AS I SAID ON THE SENATE FLOOR YESTERDAY, TO SAY THAT A MOVIE "CAUSED" THIS SENSELESS ACT IN **BROOKLYN GIVES IT A LOGIC AND DIGNITY IT DOES NOT DESERVE AND** CANNOT HAVE. THERE CAN BE NO **EXCUSES FOR CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR,** WHATEVER THE MOTIVATION MAY OR MAY NOT BE.

BUT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE A
RIGHT TO VOICE THEIR OUTRAGE, AND
THEY CAN DO SO NOT THROUGH
CALLS FOR GOVERNMENT
CENSORSHIP, BUT BY DERAILING "THE
MONEY TRAIN" AT THE BOX OFFICE.

AND IT'S NOT JUST THE
ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY THAT'S
THE PROBLEM. IT'S ALSO OUR
GOVERNMENT, OUR COURTS, AND OUR
SCHOOLS. LET ME GIVE YOU SOME
EXAMPLES.

ACCORDING TO RECENT STUDIES, DRUG USE AMONG KIDS IS UP--WAY **UP. BUT THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS** SCALED BACK ENFORCEMENT AND PREVENTION. WHEN OUR PRESIDENT WARNS ABOUT SMOKING, HE'S TALKING ABOUT CIGARETTES. SMOKING WILL KILL YOU, AND KIDS SHOULDN'T DO IT. BUT WHAT'S THE **MESSAGE OF AN ADMINISTRATION IN** WHICH THE PRESIDENT THINKS WE OUGHT TO REGULATE TOBACCO, BUT HIS SURGEON GENERAL THOUGHT WE OUGHT TO LEGALIZE DRUGS?

CRIME IS MORE RANDOM AND MORE VIOLENT, BUT OUR SYSTEM OF JUSTICE DOESN'T SEEM TO KEEP ANYONE IN JAIL. WE SHOULD PUT AN **END TO PAROLE FOR VIOLENT** OFFENDERS. PUT LIMITS ON THE **ENDLESS APPEAL PROCESS. AND** TEENAGERS WHO COMMIT SERIOUS. **VIOLENT CRIME SHOULD BE REMOVED** 

FROM THE JUVENILE COURTS AND TRIED AS ADULTS.

**GOVERNMENT POLICIES INTENDED** TO BRING US TOGETHER ARE INSTEAD TEARING US APART. THE FAILED SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT PREFERENCES AND SET-ASIDES **KNOWN AS AFFIRMATIVE ACTION** MUST END. WE SHOULD STOP **DIVIDING AMERICANS BY RACE AND** GET BACK TO THE SIMPLE PRINCIPLE OF EQUAL TREATMENT FOR ALL.

BUT PERHAPS NOWHERE IS THE

FAILURE OF LIBERAL GOVERNMENT

POLICY MORE EVIDENT THAN IN THE

CLASSROOM. OUR SCHOOLS ARE

TEACHING RECYCLING AND AIDS

PREVENTION, BUT MANY OF OUR KIDS

CAN'T ADD OR READ.

THE POINT IS THAT EDUCATIONAL
SUCCESS DOESN'T NECESSARILY
DEPEND ON DOLLARS SPENT--AFTER
ALL, WE'VE SPENT BILLIONS AND
BILLIONS OF FEDERAL TAX DOLLARS

ON EDUCATION. INSTEAD, IT DEPENDS
ON WHAT IS BEING TAUGHT, HOW IT'S
BEING TAUGHT, AND DEMANDING
THAT STUDENTS MEET HIGH
STANDARDS.

LET ME CLOSE BY SAYING THAT
YES, AMERICA HAS PROBLEMS.
TOUGH PROBLEMS. BUT I HAVE NO
DOUBT THAT WE CAN SOLVE THEM.

I HAVE SEEN AMERICANS

PERSEVERE THROUGH THE

DUSTSTORMS OF THE '30S AND THE

POVERTY OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION.

I HAVE WITNESSED THE COURAGE OF

AMERICANS IN WAR, AND THE

STAGGERING SPLENDOR OF OUR

PRODUCTIVITY IN PEACE.

I HAVE WATCHED AS THIS
COUNTRY HAS BEEN TESTED AND
TESTED AND TESTED AGAIN. AND
YOU CAN'T COME THROUGH ALL OF
THAT WITHOUT BECOMING AN
OPTIMIST ABOUT AMERICA.

I'VE SEEN OUR COUNTRY

OVERCOME TOO MUCH ADVERSITY

NOT TO BELIEVE THAT OUR BEST DAYS

ARE YET TO COME.

TOGETHER, WE CAN RENEW THE
FOUNDATIONS OF OUR SOCIETY. AND
IF WE PUT OUR FAITH IN GOD AND
OUR TRUST IN FREEDOM, IT WILL ONCE
AGAIN BE WITHIN OUR POWER TO
BUILD AN AMERICA AS BIG AS OUR
DREAMS...AS STRONG AS OUR

HEARTS...AND AS GREAT AS OUR
HISTORY DEMANDS.
THANK YOU VERY MUCH.