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Philadelphia Arms Control Speech

Geraldine Ferraro

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PHILADELPHIA: ARMS CONTROL

SEPTEMBER 18, 1984

THANK YOU, DOREEN, FOR THAT GRACIOUS INTRODUCTION, AND I'D LIKE TO THANK ED RENDELL (REN-DELL), YOUR DISTRICT ATTORNEY, FOR HIS HELP IN BRINGING US TOGETHER HERE IN THE CITY OF BROTHERLY, AND OF COURSE SISTERLY, LOVE.

I'M HONORED TO SPEAK BEFORE SUCH A DISTINGUISHED AUDIENCE. I DON'T WANT TO KEEP YOU AWAY FROM TRYING TO FIND LOOPHOLES IN LEGISLATION CONGRESS PASSED LAST WEEK. SO AS ADLAI STEVENSON USED TO SAY, "I'M THE SPEAKER HERE, AND MY JOB IS TO SPEAK. AND YOU'RE THE AUDIENCE HERE, AND YOUR JOB IS TO LISTEN. IF YOU FINISH YOUR JOB BEFORE I DO, FEEL FREE TO GET UP AND GO."

RONALD REAGAN HAS SAID THAT THIS ELECTION PRESENTS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WITH THE CLEAREST CHOICE THEY'VE HAD IN FIFTY YEARS. HE'S ABSOLUTELY RIGHT. AND HE MIGHT HAVE ADDED, THIS ELECTION PRESENTS AMERICAN LAWYERS WITH THEIR CLEAREST CHOICE IN FIFTY YEARS.

FOR WHOEVER IS ELECTED IN NOVEMBER WILL PROBABLY HAVE THE POWER TO SHAPE THE SUPREME COURT FOR YEARS TO COME. HE WILL FACE TOUGH DECISIONS IN FIGHTING CRIME. AND HE WILL DECIDE WHETHER THIS NATION STANDS BEHIND LEGAL SERVICES FOR THE INDIGENT OR NOT.

THESE QUESTIONS ARE EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO ALL LAWYERS. I FOR ONE FEEL STRONGLY ABOUT EACH OF THEM.

I HOPE WE HAVE A COURT WHICH RESPECTS OUR PRIVACY AND BASIC RIGHTS AND DOES NOT LET GOVERNMENT INTRUDE INTO OUR PERSONAL LIVES. AS A FORMER PROSECUTOR, I WANT TO SEE A MORE EFFECTIVE WAR ON DRUG TRAFFICKING, HANDGUN CONTROL, AND SENTENCING REFORM. I ALSO SUPPORT THE PRINCIPLE THAT JUSTICE MUST NOT BE RATIONED, AND THEREFORE I FAVOR A STRONG, WELL-FUNDED, AND INDEPENDENT LEGAL SERVICES CORPORATION.

THERE ARE MANY OTHER ISSUES OF CONCERN TO LAWYERS WHICH I WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS TODAY -- INCLUDING THE FAILURE OF THIS ADMINISTRATION TO ENFORCE ALL OUR LAWS, SUCH AS THE SUPERFUND LEGISLATION AND TITLE VII. WE SHOULD USE THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION TO ENFORCE OUR CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS AND FIGHT DISCRIMINATION.

THESE ISSUES CLEARLY DISTINGUISH MR. REAGAN AND MR. MONDALE. AND I COULD GIVE A WHOLE SPEECH ON THEM ALONE. AFTER ALL, THE LAW IS MY PROFESSION. I AM A FORMER PROSECUTOR AND PAST PRESIDENT OF THE WOMEN'S BAR ASSOCIATION IN QUEENS.

BUT AS MUCH AS I AM CONCERNED ABOUT THESE MATTERS, I CARE EVEN MORE ABOUT A DIFFERENT ISSUE. AND SO DO YOU. THE OVERRIDING ISSUE IN THIS CAMPAIGN AND OF OUR TIME IS THE ISSUE OF WAR AND PEACE.

EVERY GENERATION FACES A CENTRAL CHALLENGE. FOR OURS, IT IS TO FREEZE THE ARMS RACE AND KEEP THE PEACE. NEXT TO THAT, ALL OTHER GOALS PALE. NEXT TO THAT COMMON CAUSE, ALL OUR SEPARATE AGENDAS MUST GIVE WAY.

TODAY, I WANTED TO COME TO PHILADELPHIA, WHERE OUR INDEPENDENCE FROM BRITAIN WAS DECLARED, TO DISCUSS WITH YOU THE URGENT NEED OF FREEING OURSELVES AGAIN -- THIS TIME FROM THE THRALL OF THE ARMS RACE.

RIGHT NOW, ON THIS PLANET THERE ARE SOME 50,000 NUCLEAR WARHEADS. AND THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE ADDING, BETWEEN US, OVER FIVE NEW WARHEADS A DAY.

THESE STOCKPILES ARE THE POTENTIAL FUEL FOR A GLOBAL HOLOCAUST. THE KINDLING THAT MIGHT START THAT FIRE COMES IN MANY FORMS. IT MIGHT BE AN ACCIDENT BY ONE SIDE OR ANOTHER. IT MIGHT BE THE ESCALATION OF A CONVENTIONAL WAR BETWEEN THE TWO SUPERPOWERS.

OR A NUCLEAR WAR COULD BEGIN BETWEEN SMALLER COUNTRIES. THERE ARE MANY WARS BEING FOUGHT IN THE WORLD TODAY -- FROM THE PERSIAN GULF TO SOUTHERN AFRICA. THERE ARE MANY HOT SPOTS AS WELL, WHERE WAR IS ALWAYS AROUND THE CORNER. SOME OF THE NATIONS INVOLVED -- SUCH AS INDIA AND PAKISTAN -- STAND ON THE THRESHOLD OF POSSESSING NUCLEAR WEAPONS. AND MORE NATIONS ARE JOINING THE NUCLEAR CLUB EACH DECADE.

SO EVEN IF WE AND THE SOVIET UNION NEVER BEGIN A WAR, NEITHER WE NOR THEY ARE FREE FROM THE RISK OF BEING DRAWN INTO ONE. AND THE RISK IS THAT MUCH GREATER AS THE NUCLEAR CLUB EXPANDS.

THE POSSIBILITIES ARE REAL, DANGEROUS, AND FRIGHTENING. NEVER HAVE WEAPONS BEEN CREATED THAT WERE NOT USED. BUT NEVER CAN HUMANITY AFFORD TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

IN MY OPINION OUR SITUATION IS MADE EVEN MORE FRIGHTENING BY AN ADMINISTRATION THAT DOES NOT GRASP OR ADDRESS THE RISK OF WAR.

EVERY PRESIDENT SINCE TRUMAN HAS KNOWN THAT NEGOTIATED ARMS CONTROL IS THE ONLY SANE POLICY FOR THE UNITED STATES IN THE NUCLEAR AGE. BUT THIS PRESIDENT HAS A LONG-STANDING, IMPLACABLE HOSTILITY TO ARMS CONTROL WHICH GOES BACK MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS.

✓ IN 1963, MR. REAGAN OPPOSED THE NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY; IN
✓ 1968, HE OPPOSED THE NONPROLIFERATION TREATY; IN 1972, HE OPPOSED
SALT I; IN THE SAME YEAR, HE OPPOSED THE ABM TREATY; IN 1974, HE
✓ OPPOSED THE VLADIVOSTOK ACCORDS; AND IN 1979, HE OPPOSED SALT II.
EVERY PRESIDENT FOR 25 YEARS HAS NEGOTIATED ARMS CONTROL
AGREEMENTS. AND MR. REAGAN HAS SAID THAT EVERY ONE OF THOSE
PRESIDENTS WAS WRONG.

IF OUR NATION HAD TAKEN HIS ADVICE -- AND NOT THE ADVICE OF
JOHN KENNEDY -- TODAY OUR ATMOSPHERE WOULD BE CONTAMINATED BY UP
TO 50 NUCLEAR TESTS A YEAR AND OUR MILK WOULD BE POLLUTED BY
STRONTIUM 90, WHICH WOULD INCREASE THE INCIDENCE OF BONE CANCER
IN OUR CHILDREN.

✓ IF WE HAD TAKEN HIS ADVICE -- AND NOT THE ADVICE OF RICHARD
NIXON -- WE WOULD BE SPENDING BILLIONS MORE ON ABM MISSILES, AND
✓ WE'D FACE AN EVEN LARGER THREAT FROM THE SOVIETS THAN THE THREAT
WE FACE TODAY.

IF WE HAD TAKEN HIS ADVICE -- AND NOT THE ADVICE OF LYNDON
JOHNSON -- THE DANGER WOULD BE EVEN GREATER THAN IT ALREADY IS
THAT A KHOMEINI OR QUADAFFI OR THE PLO MIGHT GET THEIR HANDS ON
THE BOMB.

THE POINT WHICH MR. REAGAN DOES NOT UNDERSTAND IS THAT ARMS CONTROL IS NOT A GIFT TO THE RUSSIANS. IT IS IN OUR OWN SECURITY INTEREST.

THAT IS WHY THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF HAVE SUPPORTED EVERY ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT WE EVER NEGOTIATED. THEY KNOW THAT MUTUAL, NEGOTIATED ARMS CONTROL CAN ENHANCE OUR INTELLIGENCE-GATHERING THROUGH VERIFICATION. IT CAN LIMIT THE NUMBER OF SOVIET MISSILES AIMED AT OUR CITIES. IT CAN HELP US PLAN OUR DEFENSE PROGRAM BETTER BY IMPROVING OUR FORECAST OF SOVIET DEFENSES. AND IT CAN SAVE BILLIONS WE NEED TO SPEND ON CONVENTIONAL FORCES.

THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT WE ARE SAFER, MORE SECURE, AND STRONGER WITH ARMS CONTROL THAN WITHOUT IT. OUR MILITARY, OUR INTELLIGENCE OFFICIALS, AND OUR PAST PRESIDENTS OF BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE AGREED ON THAT CENTRAL PRINCIPLE -- BUT NOT RONALD REAGAN.

HE IS THE FIRST PRESIDENT SINCE HOOVER NOT TO MEET WITH HIS SOVIET COUNTERPART. HE IS THE FIRST PRESIDENT IN 30 YEARS NOT TO ENTER INTO AN ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT.

THIS PRESIDENT IS OUT OF STEP WITH OUR HISTORY ON THIS ISSUE. IF THERE WERE A GOOD ARGUMENT FOR HIS WAYWARD POLICY, I WOULD LISTEN TO IT. IF THERE WERE A REASON FOR MR. REAGAN'S RADICALISM ON ARMS CONTROL, I WOULD FATHOM IT. BUT THERE IS NOT. INSTEAD, HIS REFLEXIVE OPPOSITION TO ARMS CONTROL FLOWS FROM FUNDAMENTAL MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT DEFENSE POLICY IN THE NUCLEAR AGE.

FIRST, MR. REAGAN BELIEVES THAT WE CAN SPEND THE SOVIETS INTO SUBMISSION -- THAT IF WE JUST BUILD ENOUGH WEAPONS, THE OTHER SIDE WILL CRY "UNCLE." WHEN WILL THIS PRESIDENT LEARN THAT AN ARMS RACE DOES NOT LEAD TO SUPERIORITY; IT LEADS ONLY TO AN ARMS RACE. THE RUSSIANS HAVE A DICTATORSHIP. THEY WILL STOP AT NOTHING TO MAINTAIN ROUGH EQUIVALENCE WITH US. AND NOTHING IN REAGAN'S RHETORIC CAN CHANGE THAT BRUTAL FACT.

✓ SECOND, MR. REAGAN BELIEVES THAT NEGOTIATION IS A SIGN OF WEAKNESS. OTHERWISE, HE WOULD HAVE MET WITH SOVIET LEADERS AT LEAST ONCE IN THE LAST THREE-AND-A-HALF YEARS. I HOPE THAT WHEN
✓ MR. REAGAN MEETS WITH MR. GROMYKO LATER THIS MONTH THEY LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS SO WE CAN BEGIN WITHOUT DELAY TO ACHIEVE MEANINGFUL ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS. BUT SUCH A MEETING SHOULD HAVE OCCURRED IN THE FIRST MONTHS OF THE
✓ ADMINISTRATION, NOT IN THE LAST DAYS OF THE RE-ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

THIRD, MR. REAGAN APPARENTLY BELIEVES, AS HE ONCE SAID, THAT NONPROLIFERATION IS NONE OF OUR BUSINESS. AND HE HAS ALLOWED THE SALE OF MATERIALS AND TECHNOLOGY THAT MAKE IT EASIER FOR OTHER COUNTRIES TO MAKE BOMBS. IN TRUTH, THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IS OUR BUSINESS -- BECAUSE SURVIVAL IS OUR BUSINESS.

THESE BASIC MISCONCEPTIONS, ASTOUNDING IN THEIR OWN RIGHT, HAVE GOTTEN IN THE WAY OF ENHANCING OUR NATION'S SECURITY. THEY HAVE LANDED US IN AN ARMS CONTROL GRIDLOCK. AND THEY HAVE LED TO RESULTS WHICH CONTRADICT THE PRESIDENT'S OWN STATED GOALS.

MR. REAGAN SAID THAT HIS MILITARY BUILD-UP WOULD MAKE US MORE SECURE AND LEAD TO REDUCTIONS. BUT OVER TWENTY-FIVE HUNDRED NEW SOVIET NUCLEAR WARHEADS HAVE BEEN AIMED AT AMERICA SINCE THE DAY HE BECAME PRESIDENT, AND WITHOUT A NEW STRATEGIC ARMS CONTROL TREATY THERE IS NO END IN SIGHT.

REAGAN SAID THAT MINUTEMAN SILOS WERE VULNERABLE. BUT TODAY HE'S PLACING THE MX MISSILES IN THOSE VERY SAME SILOS, AND WISHFULLY THINKING THAT HARDENING THOSE SILOS WILL SOLVE THE PROBLEM, WHICH IT WON'T. REAGAN SAID WE MUST RELY ON VERIFYING SOVIET COMPLIANCE WITH ARMS CONTROL TREATIES. AND HE'S RIGHT. ARMS CONTROL IS BASED ON VERIFICATION, NOT TRUST. BUT MR. REAGAN PROPOSES BUILDING NEW WEAPONS WHICH MAY WELL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO VERIFY.

HIS POLICIES CONFLICT WITH HIS GOALS, AND HIS PRONOUNCEMENTS COLLIDE WITH THE FACTS. I WORRY ABOUT THE MANAGEMENT OF OUR ARSENAL BY A PRESIDENT WHO TALKS OF SUBMARINE MISSILES THAT CAN BE RECALLED -- WHEN THEY CAN'T; WHO THINKS ONLY LAND-BASED MISSILES HAVE NUCLEAR WARHEADS -- WHEN OTHER MISSILES DO; AND WHO DECLARES THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS SUPERIOR IN NUCLEAR FORCE -- WHEN IT'S NOT. THE JOINT CHIEFS HAVE SAID MORE THAN ONCE THAT THEY WOULD NOT TRADE OUR MILITARY FOR THE SOVIET MILITARY, AND IT IS NOT PRUDENT FOR THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF TO IMPLY THAT WE SHOULD.

I ASK YOU TO COMPARE THIS PRESIDENT WITH WALTER MONDALE AND ANSWER THE QUESTION: WHO IS MORE CAPABLE OF MANAGING OUR NUCLEAR STRATEGY AND BUILDING A SAFER WORLD? THAT IS THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION IN THIS CAMPAIGN.

WALTER MONDALE HAS FOUGHT FOR ARMS CONTROL JUST AS LONG AS RONALD REAGAN HAS FOUGHT AGAINST IT. HE OPPOSED MIRVING OUR MISSILES. HE LOST THAT FIGHT, AND TODAY THERE ARE AS MANY AS TEN WARHEADS ON SOME SOVIET MISSILES AS WELL AS ON SOME OF OURS. HE BACKED THE ABM TREATY. HE FOUGHT PROLIFERATION. HE PUSHED SALT II. HE WAS THE FIRST PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE TO ENDORSE THE NUCLEAR FREEZE. AND TODAY, HE'S AGAINST EXTENDING THE ARMS RACE TO SPACE.

✓ THINGS WILL BE DIFFERENT UNDER PRESIDENT MONDALE. WHEN HE
SITS DOWN WITH THE SOVIETS, THEY WILL HAVE TO NEGOTIATE WITH AN
✓ ADVERSARY WHO HAS MASTERED THE COMPLEXITIES OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.
THEY'LL FACE A PRESIDENT WHO EARNS THE SUPPORT OF OUR ALLIES AND
OF AMERICANS -- BECAUSE HE BELIEVES IN ARMS CONTROL. THEY'LL
✓ CONFRONT A LEADER WITH BOTH THE CAPACITY AND THE PLAN TO
NEGOTIATE SERIOUS ARMS CONTROL.

THAT PLAN IS ALREADY BEFORE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. IT IS
BASED ON REALISM, NOT FANTASY; AND ON HOPE, NOT HATRED.

TWENTY-ONE YEARS AGO, PRESIDENT KENNEDY DECLARED A TEMPORARY
HALT TO ATMOSPHERIC NUCLEAR TESTS AND CHALLENGED THE SOVIETS TO
RESPOND IN KIND. THEY DID RESPOND, AND WITHIN TWO MONTHS WE HAD
SIGNED A TREATY BANNING ALL OPEN-AIR TESTING.

WALTER MONDALE WILL FOLLOW PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S EXAMPLE. HE
WILL CALL ON THE LEADERS IN MOSCOW TO ACCEPT MUTUAL, VERIFIABLE
RESTRAINTS -- AMONG THEM, A PAUSE IN UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR TESTING,
AND IN THE TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT OF ALL SPACE WEAPONS.

✓ HE WILL USE THIS TEMPORARY, MUTUAL PAUSE IN ORDER TO
CHALLENGE THE SOVIETS TO RETURN TO THE BARGAINING TABLE, JUST AS
✓ THEY DID IN 1963, AND TO NEGOTIATE A MUTUAL AND VERIFIABLE FREEZE ^{Sum}
ON THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE, AND THEN REDUCE THE NUCLEAR STOCKPILES.

HE WILL INSIST THAT ANY AGREEMENTS ARE VERIFIABLE WITH STRONG SANCTIONS IF VIOLATIONS ARE FOUND. AND EVERY YEAR HE HOLDS OFFICE, IN GOOD TIMES AND BAD, HE WILL PLAN TO PUSH TOWARD THOSE GOALS IN FACE-TO-FACE MEETINGS WITH THE SOVIET LEADERS. ON HIS VERY FIRST DAY AS PRESIDENT, HE WILL CALL ON THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP TO MEET HIM WITHIN SIX MONTHS IN GENEVA FOR NEGOTIATIONS TO FREEZE THE ARMS RACE.

THIS PROGRAM WILL NOT MAKE US INVULNERABLE. BUT IT WILL MAKE US SAFER. AND THAT IS THE FIRST DUTY A PRESIDENT HAS -- TO PRESERVE AND ENHANCE THE SAFETY OF OUR PEOPLE.

IT IS EASY TO INSULT THE SOVIETS. BUT IT DOESN'T TAKE A PRESIDENT TO DO THAT.

IT'S SIMPLE TO BLAME CONGRESS, DEMOCRATS, AND THE RUSSIANS FOR STALEMATE. BUT THAT'S NOT PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP.

IT'S TEMPTING TO PROMISE AMERICANS A FAIL-SAFE DEFENSE AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AS THE PRESIDENT DID IN HIS STAR WARS PROPOSAL. BUT WHEN SUCH A DEFENSE IS UNFEASIBLE, THE JOB OF THE PRESIDENT IS NOT TO FOOL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

TO BUILD A SAFER WORLD, IT TAKES A PRESIDENT WHO INVOLVES HIMSELF IN THE QUEST FOR ARMS CONTROL -- WHO MASTERS THE COMPLEXITIES OF VERIFICATION, UNDERSTANDS THE IMPORTANCE OF STABILITY, AND STUDIES THE THEORY OF DETERRENCE.

AND IT ALSO TAKES A LEADER WHO SEES THE BIG PICTURE -- A LEADER WHO, WHEN HE PONDER'S WORLD POLITICS, THINKS ABOUT THE FATE OF THE EARTH; WHEN HE CONSIDERS NUCLEAR STRATEGY, THINKS ABOUT OUR CHILDREN; AND WHEN HE MENTIONS ARMS CONTROL, MEANS WHAT HE SAYS.

I DON'T THINK MR. REAGAN READS THE FINE PRINT, AND I DON'T THINK HE SEES THE BIG PICTURE.

IN 1980, HE PROMISED IMMEDIATE ARMS TALKS. FOUR YEARS LATER, NOT A SINGLE TEAM IS NEGOTIATING ON NUCLEAR ARMS.

IN 1981, HE PUT ON ICE THREE TREATIES WHICH HAD TAKEN YEARS TO NEGOTIATE.

IN 1982, HE REJECTED THE "WALK-IN-THE-WOODS" PROPOSAL OF HIS OWN NEGOTIATOR.

IN 1983, HE DECLARED HIS INTENTION TO LAUNCH AN ARMS RACE IN SPACE.

AND IN 1984, HE THREW AWAY THE OPPORTUNITY TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE RUSSIANS ON ANTI-SATELLITE WEAPONS.

THE QUESTION IS, WHAT WILL HE DO IN 1985?

WE STAND AT A CROSSROADS THIS YEAR. THE ARMS RACE IS BOTH SPEEDING UP AND BECOMING LESS CONTROLLABLE. THE SOVIETS ARE DEVELOPING AT LEAST NINE NEW LONG-RANGE MISSILES. THE UNITED STATES IS THREATENING TO TRASH THE ABM TREATY. AND BOTH SIDES ARE PREPARING TO EXTEND THE ARMS RACE TO SPACE.

WE ARE ABOUT TO MAKE DECISIONS WHICH WE CANNOT TAKE BACK. WE STAND AT THE BRINK OF EVENTS WHICH COULD CHANGE FOREVER OUR NATION'S SECURITY. WE ARE HOLDING AN ELECTION WHICH TRULY MATTERS.

THIS ELECTION WILL DECIDE MANY IMPORTANT THINGS. IT IS A REFERENDUM ON THE STEWARDSHIP OF THE ENVIRONMENT. IT IS A REFERENDUM ON THE FEDERAL DEFICIT. IT IS A REFERENDUM ON WHAT KIND OF SUPREME COURT WE WANT. IT IS A REFERENDUM ON FAIRNESS FOR WOMEN, MINORITIES, AND THE DISADVANTAGED.

MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL, THIS ELECTION IS A REFERENDUM ON ARMS CONTROL AND THE FATE OF THE EARTH.

MY RESPONSIBILITY AS A CANDIDATE IS TO BRING THE ISSUES
BEFORE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. YOURS IS TO WEIGH THE FACTS. I
DON'T KNOW IF YOU'LL BE WITH ME OR AGAINST ME ON NOVEMBER 6TH.
BUT I HAVE CONFIDENCE THAT WHEN YOU VOTE, YOU'LL VOTE
INTELLIGENTLY.

THANK YOU.

-- END --