

Bob Hope

you who are about to graduate & go out into the world - Don't go!

000804

Dean Lockhart

REMARKS

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

SENIOR RECOGNITION EXERCISES

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA LAW SCHOOL

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

JUNE 6, 1969

"Law Student Wives" marry on a scholarship

Emphasis on P.S.

V.P. to introduce me - Agnew

Handwritten initials

It is a great pleasure -- as a professor and, more importantly, as a father -- to participate in the Law School's Senior Recognition Exercises.

- Its take a look at the work

I want to speak about the dramatic changes taking place in our world and then reflect about how you, as lawyers, relate to these changes.

First, it is increasingly evident that the world today is passing through an Age of Transition.

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As Henry Kissinger said recently, "To a degree rare in history, world leaders are moving into a great unknown."

↳ Rules for world order, written less than 25 years ago,  
are already wearing out.

↳ New ways for countries to deal with each other will  
have to be found."

↳ This transition has many aspects, of which the  
social and cultural may be the most important.

↳ But it also has a political dimension. ↳ It reflects  
the breakup of a world order in which the nature of power  
and authority has seemed reasonably clear.

↳ Old national alliances, such as the special and unique  
relationship between the United States and Great Britain  
are changing.

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↳ New forces, such as Japan, which is already the third strongest economic power in the world, are emerging.

↳ In addition, it is now clear that many of the problems confronting the nations of the world will no longer yield to the powers through which the will of governments historically have prevailed -- namely the sword and the public purse.

↳ Let me be more specific. ↳ In 1832 Karl von Clausewitz laid down the dictum that 'War is not merely a political act, but also a political instrument -- A continuation of political relations -- a carrying out of the same by other means.'

↳ But today, given the unprecedented possibilities that nations now have for <sup>and annihilating</sup> devastating their opponents, war can no longer be considered as merely an extension of politics.

↳ The costs for all sides are just too great.

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↳ In addition, "conventional" warfare seems, in many cases, to be missing an ingredient that was vital to von Clausewitz's rule: The capacity for ruthlessness.

↳ As Stewart Alsop pointed out recently, military power is a decisive military instrument only if the victor carries out its military victory with sufficient ruthlessness so as to lay the issue to rest for some period of time.

↳ In three recent military confrontations, nations of the world have not so carried out their efforts: the Arab-Israeli War, the United States in Vietnam, and the Russian-Czechoslovakia affair.

↳ In short, von Clausewitz's old dictum no longer works very well in 1969. ↳ The power of governments to structure others by military force has changed in its scope and character.

↙ At the same time, there is a developing awareness that  
 action by even the most wealthy governments cannot mobilize  
 the external resources needed to solve the problems faced  
here and abroad.

↙ Thus, traditional notions of the power and authority  
 of national governments no longer command the allegiance  
they once did. ↙ People and nations are groping for new concepts  
 which will respond more directly to the needs of today. ↙ The  
 failure to find them, as yet, accounts for some of the uneasiness  
 and questioning which characterizes much of today's world.

Age 3  
 Transmitta

#2 ↙ A second feature of the "world today" is that we are  
 witnessing the growth of a new set of divisions in the world --  
divisions that rival and threaten to outstrip the traditional  
East-West confrontation.

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These divisions are between the Northern and Southern parts of the world -- between the rich and the poor, white and colored, stable and unstable. They are intensified by the close association between political control and resources.

The people and nations in the Southern part of the world need access to technology and wealth but they also need to control their own lives. Most resources, however, are concentrated in the hands of the North, in white America *+ Europe*, and in the rich, industrialized nations -- and these nations have tended to make them available only on their own terms.

The Southern part of the world, then, is left with the choice of self-determination with few resources, and more resources with little self-determination. These divisions and these problems present a particular difficulty to America.

While the developing countries are too weak to do us physical harm, our moral values could be eroded if we stood passively in the face of deepening hostility and human misery abroad. Like the traditional rich landlord, we could wind up being corrupted by our isolation from those about us.

Despite the emergence of this new international division, the East-West, or more specifically, the United States - Soviet rivalry continues to be the dominant characteristic of the world today.

This relationship continues to be a mixture of both cooperation and conflict and one whose contours are constantly changing. The Soviets, particularly, seem to be entering a new phase in their evaluation of this relationship.

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Speaking to the American Foreign Service Association last November, Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski, a former member of the Policy Planning Council of the Department of State, argued that the Soviet leadership in recent years has reassessed the scale, the scope and the character of peaceful co-existence, <sup>and</sup> has concluded that peaceful co-existence where both sides play evenly is more dangerous to their stability than to our own and has begun to limit East-West ties.

Whereas the "old" peaceful co-existence was an open-ended game in which we would try to improve relations with the East Europeans and the Soviet Union would flirt with West Europeans, the new, "Limited co-existence" allows specific arrangements in sensitive and mutually necessary areas such as arms control but prohibits the broad fraternization into which Mr. Khrushchev was prepared to plunge.

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Because of this, competition will remain the central characteristic of the United States - Soviet relationship, but will not preclude specific, limited arrangements *of mutual benefit*

A fourth characteristic of the contemporary world situation is that the ties between the average man and the man in government are everywhere breaking down.

There is an increasing sense of alienation abroad, particularly in the industrialized nations of the world. In the Soviet Union, in the United States, in Mexico and in France, youth is dissatisfied with the objectives and procedures of their governments and press demands for political reform.

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↳ Disillusionment with parliamentary government is widespread in Western Europe and faith in the legislative process cannot be said to be very high in this country. (Indeed, the ~~honesty~~ <sup>integrity</sup>

of government itself is widely in question,

↳ The evidence from Communist nations suggests that official corruption in all its forms, from outright theft to the peddling of influence and the more shadowy area of nepotism, is a continual irritant to the population.

↳ In several countries, Russia, Canada, Great Britain and the United States racial and ethnic tensions contribute to this feeling of alienation and lead many to the position that existing political institutions must be radically changed.

↳ In short, the ferment which we witness in this country is a world-wide phenomenon -- limited to no single country, economic system or ideology.

*But this should be no surprise - See what has happened in 30 years - WWII, Cold War, Korea, Viet, Middle East - End of Empire - revolutions - Population of Africa - Science - ATM - Space - TV.*

Communication - TV - Transistor - no  
Place to Hide - Technology - mobility -  
Worst of Times - Best of Times 000814

We live in difficult, challenging, yet tremendously exciting times.

I believe that the United States has a special role to play in the world today as I have described it.

We must -- at all costs -- continue to take an active part in developing the world toward a richer and more rewarding place for all human beings.

This does not require us to be the "policeman of the world", responding too quickly, too automatically, and too unthinkingly to every situation. Nevertheless, we cannot withdraw with impunity from a world that cries out for leadership and direction.

We must seek, in cooperation with others, to provide that leadership. Emphasis must be upon  
Knowledge, Understanding, Patience &  
Recognition of powerful forces of Emancipation,  
Self-interest - Nationalism  
Substituted - understanding for money  
Diplomacy for Power

We must ask ourselves -  
at what point does the need for  
order in the state and society take  
precedence over the need for justice  
or the other way around?

How much injustice is tolerable  
for the sake of order

How shall the modes of protest  
be expressed - Against what objects?  
Decided by whom?

- who shall say if the avenues of  
legal relief for redress of  
grievances exist in point of fact?

- who shall say if these avenues exist  
only on paper, but not in the real  
world of things?

But, we must ask these questions + struggle  
with possible answers - otherwise,  
our questioning, our dissent may  
become useless to the cause we seek  
to promote -

G. Wood

We must always be able to distinguish between  
oppression & the necessary exercise of authority -  
between the spirit of liberty & maintenance

Here at home, we are in the midst of an exceedingly difficult period of our history -- a period which will require of every citizen, but particularly of persons like yourselves, trained in the law, a personal commitment to the processes of democracy, Violence at new levels.

Most of you know the substantive ends of national policy for which I have fought over the past generation. And I hope most of you share these ends.

But today I want to stress process - the ways and means we have developed over the centuries for deciding these extremely difficult and controversial substantive questions.

In a world that is changing as rapidly as the one I have described, it is especially vital that we keep our commitment to democratic principles firmly intact. There are few, if any, short cuts, to a social order based on freedom, choice, justice under law, opportunity without banditry, liberty without license. (to ADLAF)

00081  
The whole object of democratic dissent and debate, <sup>and</sup> must be to ~~strengthen and enrich the law~~ enlarge the market place for public freedom, to enlarge the right of access to the public realm, <sup>-13-</sup> to share in public power, and to ~~above all to uphold the concept of law by establishing~~ <sup>it on a broader base of consent</sup>

Many times this process may yield results with which we may disagree -- I surely was less than enthusiastic over a verdict rendered last November.

↳ But I also know this: the present tendency of some persons to scorn the difficulties and frustrations of democracy for the beguiling excesses of tyranny will, in the end, destroy whatever chance we have to build a more just and peaceful community -- here and around the world.

You, as lawyers, must surely understand this essential fact of life,

↳ And you, as lawyers, must place yourselves in the forefront -- however, unpopular that may be, with those persons fighting to preserve the principles of democracy on which this society has been built -- and on which our future surely depends.

# # #

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*But*

Let me speak candidly: in this time of rapidly rising tension and festering alienation, to delay in coming to grips with pressing social and economic problems is to only intensify the danger. It is like trying to cap a volcano only to find that in the end it explodes with even greater force and destructive power.

We paid dearly in the 1960's for our failure to come to grips with the problems of race, urban decay, education, and poverty.

The price will be <sup>even</sup> higher and the level of danger will be greater if, in the next ~~two~~ <sup>2-104</sup> ~~four~~ years, we fail again to set our national priorities wisely and make the national investments that the American society so desperately needs.

This cannot be a time of relaxation, of taking it easy, of again turning our faces from the unmet human needs around us.

Now, as in the time of this nation's birth, we must resort instead to the terribly difficult ways of civilized and rational men -- fearlessly striking down that which hobbles our national growth but always with a decent respect for the opinions of others, always with a firm grasp on democratic principles and liberties, and always with an unclouded view of where we are ultimately headed.

With a sense of urgency and destiny as if creating a new nation, we must ventilate the clogged and stale channels of political participation and social opportunity. The refreshing winds of change must be channeled to constructive purposes through debate and dissent -- through dialogue and discussion -- until our course is clear and our national purposes secure.

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This is the meaning of government by the consent of the governed -- the social contract of equals. To do less would be disrespectful of our heritage and unworthy of our priceless legacy of freedom and independence.

# # #

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MAY 29, 1969

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JUDY VICK, 373-2126

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
TO ADDRESS LAW STUDENTS

(FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE)

Hubert H. Humphrey will speak at the University of Minnesota Law School's Senior Recognition ceremonies Friday (June 6) at 8 p.m. in Northrop auditorium.

Humphrey's son, Skip (Hubert H. Humphrey III), is a member of the Law School's 1969 graduating class.

"New Realities in an Old World" is the title of the former vice president's talk to the seniors, members of the law faculty, and friends and families of the students.

The public exercises will include the presentation of awards to honored seniors.

Humphrey, who received his bachelor's degree from the University in 1939, is an adjunct professor in the College of Liberal Arts. Skip Humphrey, who graduated from American University in 1965, will join a Minneapolis law firm.

-UNS-

~~INTRODUCTORY~~ REMARKS

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

*Seminar Recognition Exercises*  
~~DULUTH DAY~~

*University of Minnesota Law School*

*Minneapolis,* ~~DULUTH,~~ MINNESOTA

*June 6,* ~~MAY 22,~~ 1969

*It is a great personal pleasure -- as a professor of ~~the~~ ~~law~~ and, more importantly, as a father -- to participate in the Law School's Seminar Recognition Exercises. I want to speak ~~briefly~~ about the dramatic changes taking place in our world and then reflect briefly about how you, as lawyers, relate to these changes.*

~~I WANT TO SPEAK BRIEFLY OF THE WORLD SITUATION~~

~~TODAY AND THEN I WOULD WELCOME YOUR QUESTIONS.~~

**L** FIRST, IT IS INCREASINGLY EVIDENT THAT THE WORLD TODAY IS PASSING THROUGH AN AGE OF TRANSITION.

**L** AS HENRY KISSINGER SAID RECENTLY, "TO A DEGREE RARE IN HISTORY, WORLD LEADERS ARE MOVING INTO A GREAT UNKNOWN. RULES FOR WORLD ORDER, WRITTEN LESS THAN 25 YEARS AGO, ARE ALREADY WEARING OUT. NEW WAYS FOR COUNTRIES TO DEAL WITH EACH OTHER WILL HAVE TO BE FOUND."

**L** THIS TRANSITION HAS MANY ASPECTS, OF WHICH THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL MAY BE THE MOST IMPORTANT.

4 BUT IT ALSO HAS A POLITICAL DIMENSION. 4 IT REFLECTS

THE BREAKUP OF A WORLD ORDER IN WHICH THE NATURE OF  
POWER AND AUTHORITY HAS SEEMED REASONABLY CLEAR,

4 OLD NATIONAL ALLIANCES, SUCH AS THE SPECIAL AND  
UNIQUE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE U. S. AND GREAT BRITAIN  
ARE CHANGING. 4 NEW FORCES, SUCH AS JAPAN, WHICH IS  
ALREADY THE THIRD STRONGEST ECONOMIC POWER IN THE  
WORLD, ARE EMERGING.

4 IN ADDITION, IT IS NOW CLEAR THAT MANY OF THE  
PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD WILL  
NO LONGER YIELD TO THE POWERS THROUGH WHICH THE WILL  
OF GOVERNMENTS HISTORICALLY HAVE PREVAILED: ~~namely~~ <sup>namely</sup> the  
SWORD AND THE PUBLIC PURSE.

4 LET ME BE MORE SPECIFIC. IN 1832 KARL VON CLAUSEWITZ  
LAID DOWN THE DICTUM THAT "WAR IS NOT MERELY A POLITICAL  
ACT, BUT ALSO A POLITICAL INSTRUMENT, A CONTINUATION  
OF POLITICAL RELATIONS, A CARRYING OUT OF THE SAME  
BY OTHER MEANS."

BUT TODAY, GIVEN THE UNPRECEDENTED POSSIBILITIES THAT NATIONS NOW HAVE FOR DEVASTATING THEIR OPPONENTS, WAR CAN NO LONGER BE CONSIDERED AS MERELY AN EXTENSION OF POLITICS. **L** THE COSTS FOR ALL SIDES ARE JUST TOO GREAT.

**L** IN ADDITION, "CONVENTIONAL" WARFARE SEEMS, IN MANY CASES, TO BE MISSING AN INGREDIENT THAT WAS VITAL TO VON CLAUSEWITZ'S RULE: THE CAPACITY FOR RUTHLESSNESS.

**L** AS STEWART ALSOP POINTED OUT RECENTLY, MILITARY POWER IS A DECISIVE MILITARY INSTRUMENT ONLY IF THE VICTOR CARRIES OUT ITS MILITARY VICTORY WITH SUFFICIENT RUTHLESSNESS SO AS TO LAY THE ISSUE TO REST FOR SOME PERIOD OF TIME.

**L** IN THREE RECENT MILITARY CONFRONTATIONS, NATIONS OF THE WORLD HAVE NOT SO CARRIED OUT THEIR EFFORTS: THE ARAB-ISRAELI WAR, THE U. S. IN VIETNAM, AND THE RUSSIAN-CZECHOSLOVAKIA AFFAIR.

IN SHORT, VON CLAUSEWITZ'S OLD DICTUM NO LONGER WORKS VERY WELL IN 1969. THE POWER OF GOVERNMENTS TO STRUCTURE OTHERS BY MILITARY FORCE HAS CHANGED IN ITS SCOPE AND CHARACTER.

AT THE SAME TIME, THERE IS A DEVELOPING AWARENESS THAT ACTION BY EVEN THE MOST WEALTHY GOVERNMENTS CANNOT MOBILIZE THE EXTERNAL RESOURCES NEEDED TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS FACED HERE AND ABROAD.

THUS, TRADITIONAL NOTIONS OF THE POWER AND AUTHORITY OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS NO LONGER COMMAND THE ALLEGIANCE THEY ONCE DID. PEOPLE AND NATIONS ARE GROPING FOR NEW CONCEPTS WHICH WILL RESPOND MORE DIRECTLY TO THE NEEDS OF TODAY. THE FAILURE TO FIND THEM AS YET ACCOUNTS FOR SOME OF THE UNEASE AND QUESTIONING WHICH CHARACTERIZES MUCH OF TODAY'S WORLD.

A SECOND FEATURE OF THE "WORLD TODAY" IS THAT WE ARE WITNESSING THE GROWTH OF A NEW SET OF DIVISIONS IN THE WORLD -- DIVISIONS THAT RIVAL AND THREATEN TO OUTSTRIP THE TRADITIONAL EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION.

THESE DIVISIONS ARE BETWEEN THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN PARTS OF THE WORLD -- BETWEEN THE RICH AND THE POOR, WHITE AND COLORED, STABLE AND UNSTABLE. THEY ARE INTENSIFIED BY THE CLOSE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN POLITICAL CONTROL AND RESOURCES.

THE PEOPLE AND NATIONS IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE WORLD NEED ACCESS TO TECHNOLOGY AND WEALTH BUT THEY ALSO NEED TO CONTROL THEIR OWN LIVES. MOST RESOURCES, HOWEVER, ARE CONCENTRATED IN THE HANDS OF THE NORTH, IN WHITE AMERICA, AND IN THE RICH, INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS -- AND THESE NATIONS HAVE TENDED TO MAKE THEM AVAILABLE ONLY ON THEIR OWN TERMS.

THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE WORLD, THEN, IS LEFT WITH THE CHOICE OF SELF-DETERMINATION WITH FEW RESOURCES, AND MORE RESOURCES WITH LITTLE SELF-DETERMINATION. THESE DIVISIONS AND THESE PROBLEMS PRESENT A PARTICULAR DIFFICULTY TO AMERICA.

WHILE THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ARE TOO WEAK TO DO US PHYSICAL HARM, OUR MORAL VALUES COULD BE ERODED IF WE STOOD BY PASSIVELY IN THE FACE OF DEEPENING HOSTILITY AND HUMAN MISERY ABROAD. LIKE THE TRADITIONAL RICH LANDLORD, WE COULD WIND UP BEING CORRUPTED BY OUR ISOLATION FROM THOSE ABOUT US.

DESPITE THE EMERGENCE OF THIS NEW INTERNATIONAL DIVISION, THE EAST-WEST, OR MORE SPECIFICALLY, THE U. S. - SOVIET RIVALRY CONTINUES TO BE THE DOMINANT CHARACTERISTIC OF THE WORLD TODAY.

THIS RELATIONSHIP CONTINUES TO BE A MIXTURE OF BOTH COOPERATION AND CONFLICT AND ONE WHOSE CONTOURS ARE CONSTANTLY CHANGING. THE SOVIETS, PARTICULARLY, SEEM TO BE ENTERING A NEW PHASE IN THEIR EVALUATION OF THIS RELATIONSHIP.

SPEAKING TO THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION LAST NOVEMBER, PROFESSOR ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI, A FORMER MEMBER OF THE POLICY PLANNING COUNCIL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, ARGUED THAT THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP IN RECENT YEARS HAS REASSESSED THE SCALE, THE SCOPE AND THE CHARACTER OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE, HAS CONCLUDED THAT PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE WHERE BOTH SIDES PLAY EVENLY IS MORE DANGEROUS TO THEIR STABILITY THAN TO OUR OWN AND HAS BEGUN TO LIMIT EAST-WEST TIES.

WHEREAS THE "OLD" PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE WAS AN OPEN-ENDED GAME IN WHICH WE WOULD TRY TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE EAST EUROPEANS AND THE SOVIET UNION WOULD FLIRT WITH WEST EUROPEANS, THE NEW, "LIMITED CO-EXISTENCE" ALLOWS SPECIFIC ARRANGEMENTS IN SENSITIVE AND MUTUALLY NECESSARY AREAS SUCH AS ARMS CONTROL BUT PROHIBITS THE BROAD FRATERNIZATION INTO WHICH MR. KHRUSHCHEV WAS PREPARED TO PLUNGE. BECAUSE OF THIS, COMPETITION WILL REMAIN THE CENTRAL CHARACTERISTIC OF THE U. S. - SOVIET RELATIONSHIP, BUT WILL NOT PRECLUDE SPECIFIC, LIMITED ARRANGEMENTS.

A FOURTH CHARACTERISTIC OF THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD SITUATION IS THAT THE TIES BETWEEN THE AVERAGE MAN AND THE MAN IN GOVERNMENT ARE EVERYWHERE BREAKING DOWN.

There is an increasing sense of alienation abroad, particularly in the industrialized nations of the world. In the Soviet Union, in the U. S., in Mexico and in France youth is dissatisfied with the objectives and the procedures of their governments and press demands for political reform.

Disillusionment with parliamentary government is widespread in Western Europe and faith in the legislative process cannot be said to be very high in this country. Indeed, the honesty of government itself is widely in question.

The evidence from Communist nations suggests that official corruption in all its forms, from outright theft to the peddling of influence and the more shadowy area of nepotism, is a continual irritant to the population.

*Great Britain and*  
IN SEVERAL COUNTRIES, RUSSIA, CANADA, <sup>^</sup>THE U. S.,

RACIAL AND ETHNIC TENSIONS CONTRIBUTE TO THIS FEELING OF ALIENATION AND LEAD MANY TO THE POSITION THAT EXISTING POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS MUST BE RADICALLY CHANGED.

*[Handwritten scribble]*  
IN SHORT, THE FERMENT WHICH WE WITNESS IN THIS COUNTRY IS A WORLD-WIDE PHENOMENON -- LIMITED TO NO SINGLE COUNTRY, ECONOMIC SYSTEM OR IDEOLOGY.

WE LIVE IN DIFFICULT, CHALLENGING, YET TREMENDOUSLY EXCITING TIMES.

I BELIEVE THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS A SPECIAL ROLE TO PLAY IN THE WORLD TODAY AS I HAVE DESCRIBED IT.

*--at all costs--*  
WE MUST <sup>^</sup>CONTINUE TO TAKE AN ACTIVE PART IN DEVELOPING THE WORLD TOWARD A RICHER AND MORE REWARDING PLACE FOR ALL HUMAN BEINGS.

But today I want to stress process -- the way and means we have developed over the centuries for deciding these extremely difficult and ~~controversial~~ controversial substantive questions.

In a world that is changing as rapidly as the one I have described, it is especially vital that we ~~shall~~ keep our commitment to democratic principles firmly intact.

Many times this process may yield results with which we may disagree -- I surely was less than enthusiastic over ~~the election~~ <sup>a</sup> verdict rendered last November.

But I know <sup>also</sup> ~~this~~ <sup>this</sup> the present <sup>& predictions</sup> tendency of some persons to scorn the difficulties <sup>excesses</sup> of democracy in the beginning ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> tyranny will, in the end, ~~that~~ <sup>we</sup> destroy whatever chance we have to build a more just and peaceful community -- here and around the world.

You, as lawyers, must surely understand this essential fact of life. <sup>place yourselves</sup> ~~that~~

And you, as lawyers, must ~~be~~ <sup>be</sup> in the forefront -- of those ~~speaking out~~ <sup>speaking out</sup> -- and ~~acting out~~ <sup>acting out</sup> -- ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~most~~ <sup>most</sup> unpopular that may be -- <sup>with</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> those <sup>persons</sup> fighting to preserve the principles of democracy on which this society has been built -- and on which our future surely depends.

THIS DOES NOT REQUIRE US TO BE THE "POLICEMAN  
OF THE WORLD," RESPONDING TOO QUICKLY, TOO AUTOMATICALLY,  
AND TOO UNTHINKINGLY TO EVERY SITUATION. NEVERTHELESS,  
WE CANNOT WITHDRAW WITH IMPUNITY FROM A WORLD THAT  
CRIES OUT FOR LEADERSHIP AND DIRECTION.

WE MUST SEEK, IN COOPERATION WITH OTHERS, TO  
PROVIDE THAT LEADERSHIP.

THERE ARE MANY OTHER SPECIFIC PROGRAMS AND  
POLICIES I WOULD ADVOCATE FOR THIS NATION. I TALKED  
ABOUT MANY OF THEM IN THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.  
BUT RATHER THAN TALK ABOUT THEM IN MY INTRODUCTORY  
REMARKS, I SUGGEST WE MOVE NOW TO QUESTIONS, AND I  
WILL AMPLIFY MY THOUGHTS FURTHER AS WE GO ALONG.

Here at home, we are in the midst of an exceedingly  
difficult period of our history -- a period which will require of  
every citizen, but particularly persons, like yourselves, trained in the law,  
a personal commitment to the ~~democratic~~ mores of democracy.  
Most of you know the substantive ends of national  
policy ~~that~~ for which I have fought ~~and~~ ~~for~~  
of you share  
over the past generation. And I hope most of you  
~~will~~ share these ends.



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