

FRIDAY, MAY 28, 2004



PREPARED REMARKS FOR

**DENNIS HERRERA**

CITY ATTORNEY OF SAN FRANCISCO

PRE-COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS TO  
POLITICAL SCIENCE GRADUATES OF  
SAN FRANCISCO STATE UNIVERSITY'S CLASS OF 2004

SFSU'S POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT'S  
HONORS AND AWARDS CEREMONY AND RECEPTION:  
UNIVERSITY CLUB, SAN FRANCISCO STATE UNIVERSITY  
1600 HOLLOWAY AVENUE, SAN FRANCISCO

GOOD AFTERNOON. I WANT TO THANK THE SAN FRANCISCO STATE POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT FOR INVITING ME TO YOUR ANNUAL COMMENCEMENT HONORS AND AWARDS CEREMONY THIS YEAR. I CONSIDER IT A GENUINE HONOR TO ADDRESS THE CLASS OF 2004'S POLITICAL SCIENCE GRADUATES — ALONG WITH THEIR FAMILIES AND GUESTS — AND I APPRECIATE THE OPPORTUNITY TO BE HERE.

I EARNED MY *OWN* UNDERGRADUATE DEGREE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE FROM VILLANOVA UNIVERSITY ALMOST, BUT NOT-*QUITE*, TWENTY YEARS AGO. NOT LONG AFTER, I WENT TO LAW SCHOOL, WHERE MY YOUTHFUL INTEREST IN POLITICS WAS LARGELY ABANDONED IN FAVOR OF A LEGAL CAREER — PRACTICING MARITIME LAW.

THOUGH I STAYED SOMEWHAT ACTIVE IN POLITICS OVER THE YEARS — SERVING IN THE U.S. MARITIME ADMINISTRATION IN PRESIDENT CLINTON'S FIRST TERM; AS A MEMBER OF THE LOCAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE HERE IN SAN FRANCISCO — MY CAREER WAS LARGELY REMOVED FROM POLITICS.

IN EARLY 2001, HOWEVER, A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY PRESENTED ITSELF ON SAN FRANCISCO'S POLITICAL SCENE. LOUISE RENNE — WHO HAD BEEN APPOINTED CITY ATTORNEY IN 1986 AFTER THE DEATH OF HER PREDECESSOR — DECIDED NOT TO SEEK RE-ELECTION.

SO FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MORE THAN A GENERATION, NO INCUMBENT WOULD BE RUNNING FOR CITY ATTORNEY. AND AS MUCH AS I LOVED MY LAW PRACTICE, I KNEW THIS WAS ONE JOB THAT WOULD CAUSE ME TO WALK AWAY FROM IT.

FOR A LAWYER WITH AN INTEREST IN PUBLIC SERVICE, THERE COULD BE NO MORE REWARDING JOB THAN CITY ATTORNEY OF SAN FRANCISCO.

SO I RAN. I GOT LUCKY THAT A COUPLE OTHERS *DIDN'T* RUN. AND AFTER A LONG, HARD, UPHILL CAMPAIGN, I WON.

SO IF MY BRIEF POLITICAL CAREER HOLDS A LESSON FOR YOU GRADUATING STUDENTS HERE THIS AFTERNOON, I SUPPOSE IT'S THIS:

- SOME OF YOU MAY NOT GET AROUND TO ACTUALLY *USING* YOUR POLITICAL SCIENCE DEGREES RIGHT AWAY. DON'T WORRY — THEY'RE *STILL* USEFUL DOWN THE ROAD. TAKE MY WORD FOR IT.

IT TOOK ME A LONG TIME — ABOUT 15 YEARS, IN FACT — BUT I *FINALLY* HAVE SOMETHING TO WRITE MY POLITICAL SCIENCE PROFESSORS ABOUT.

ADMITTEDLY, I'M NO POLITICAL VETERAN. FOR THAT, YOU'LL HEAR FROM WILLIE BROWN TOMORROW.

I ACTUALLY BEGAN MY POLITICAL *CAREER* AROUND THE SAME TIME YOU GRADUATES HERE TODAY WERE BEGINNING YOUR POLITICAL *STUDIES*. AND I DON'T KNOW HOW *YOUR* FOUR YEARS HAVE BEEN, BUT I MUST TELL YOU — AS I APPROACH THE END OF MY FIRST TERM NEXT YEAR — *MINE* HAVE BEEN A BLAST.

I'M SURE YOU'RE ALL FAMILIAR WITH JOHN F. KENNEDY'S QUOTE ABOUT POLITICS BEING A NOBLE PROFESSION. AND I WOULD HOPE — AS POLITICAL SCIENCE GRADUATES —IT'S A SENTIMENT MOST OF YOU SHARE. JUST AS I DO.

STILL, I DON'T THINK IT WAS UNTIL I ACTUALLY HELD OFFICE THAT I FULLY APPRECIATED THE MANY OPPORTUNITIES PUBLIC SERVICE HOLDS TO GIVE BACK, TO CONTRIBUTE TO YOUR COMMUNITY, AND TO MAKE A REAL DIFFERENCE IN PEOPLE'S LIVES.

FAR MORE THAN YOU CAN IMAGINE. OR, AT LEAST, FAR MORE THAN *I* IMAGINED BEFORE I WAS ELECTED.

NOW, FOR THOSE OF YOU WHO MAY NOT BE FAMILIAR WITH WHAT A CITY ATTORNEY DOES, LET ME EXPLAIN A BIT ABOUT IT.

FIRST, I'M NOT THE DISTRICT ATTORNEY. AND DON'T FEEL BAD IF THAT'S NEWS TO YOU. NOT A WEEK GOES BY THAT I DON'T HAVE TO EXPLAIN TO SOMEONE THAT THE *CITY* ATTORNEY IS A DIFFERENT FROM THE *DISTRICT* ATTORNEY.

THAT I AM NOT, IN FACT, KAMALA HARRIS.

AS CITY ATTORNEY, I'M THE CITY'S *CIVIL* LAWYER. THE D.A. IS OUR *CRIMINAL* PROSECUTOR.

PUT ANOTHER WAY, DISTRICT ATTORNEYS WORK HARD TO PUT BAD GUYS IN JAIL. *CITY* ATTORNEYS WORK HARD TO TAKE BAD GUYS' MONEY — ON BEHALF OF THE CITY, OF COURSE. AND ALSO TO PREVENT THE *CITY'S* MONEY FROM BEING TAKEN BY BAD GUYS.

CITY ATTORNEYS — MY DEPUTIES, AND THERE ARE NEARLY 200 OF THEM, AIDED BY ANOTHER 150-OR-SO INVESTIGATORS AND LEGAL PROFESSIONALS — ALSO...

- PROVIDE LEGAL COUNSEL TO ALL THE OFFICIALS, DEPARTMENTS AND COMMISSIONS OF SAN FRANCISCO'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT.
- WE DEFEND THE CITY IN ALL CIVIL LITIGATION, RANGING FROM MULTI-MILLION DOLLAR LAWSUITS TO SMALL CLAIMS CASES.

- WE DRAFT ALL LEGISLATION FOR THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS.
- WE PROVIDE TITLE AND SUMMARY FOR ALL LOCAL BALLOT MEASURES.
- AND WE APPROVE AS TO FORM ALL CITY CONTRACTS — MANY OF WHICH WE'VE PROBABLY *ALSO* HAD A HAND IN NEGOTIATING.

WE ALSO FILE LAWSUITS ON *BEHALF* OF THE CITY, WHICH IS CALLED "AFFIRMATIVE LITIGATION." AND THAT'S PROBABLY WHAT WE'RE BEST KNOWN FOR. SINCE I'VE BEEN CITY ATTORNEY, WE'VE FILED A NUMBER OF AFFIRMATIVE CASES TO MAKE GOOD ON COMMITMENTS I MADE TO VOTERS A FEW YEARS AGO.

TO DEFEND THE INTEGRITY OF OUR PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS, I'VE MADE A PRIORITY OF PURSUING FRAUD IN PUBLIC CONTRACTING.

- WE SUED CITY TOW FOR RIGGING ITS PUBLIC AUCTIONS AND RIPPING OFF TAXPAYERS IN THE PROCESS.

- WE SUED A CONSTRUCTION GIANT CALLED TUTOR-SALIBA CORPORATION FOR AN ELABORATE PATTERN OF FRAUD INVOLVING MILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN CONTRACTS AT SFO. AND LAST WEEK WE WON A KEY VICTORY ENSURING THAT OUR RACKETEERING CHARGES WILL BE HEARD IN FEDERAL COURT.
- IF YOU READ THIS MORNING'S *CHRONICLE*, YOU MAY HAVE SEEN THE STORY ON THE FRONT PAGE OF THE BAY AREA SECTION ABOUT A WHISTLEBLOWER ACTION I FILED AGAINST A SUBSIDIARY OF NEC CORPORATION THAT TRIED TO DEFRAUD SAN FRANCISCO SCHOOLS.

ACTING ON BEHALF OF OUR UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT, WE TURNED OVER TO THE U.S. JUSTICE DEPARTMENT THE RESULTS OF OUR INVESTIGATION THAT REVEALED A SCHEME TO DEFRAUD A WORTHY FEDERAL PROGRAM TO HELP DISADVANTAGED SCHOOLS BRIDGE THE "DIGITAL DIVIDE." IT WAS A PATTERN OF FRAUD WE BELIEVED WAS OCCURRING IN SCHOOL DISTRICTS THROUGHOUT THE NATION.

AND WE WERE RIGHT.

YESTERDAY, THE U.S. JUSTICE DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCED A CIVIL AND CRIMINAL SETTLEMENT WITH NEC BUSINESS NETWORK SOLUTIONS TOTALING \$20.6 MILLION. AND AS THE WHISTLEBLOWER RESPONSIBLE FOR EXPOSING THE COMPANY'S WRONGDOING, I'M PROUD TO SAY THAT SAN FRANCISCO SCHOOLS WILL RECEIVE A REWARD OF NEARLY \$3.4 MILLION.

IT'S EXTREMELY GRATIFYING, OF COURSE, TO REACH A SETTLEMENT THAT WILL BRING SUCH SIGNIFICANT, TANGIBLE BENEFITS TO SAN FRANCISCO SCHOOLCHILDREN. BUT IT'S NO LESS GRATIFYING TO SEE JUSTICE DONE AGAINST CORPORATE CRIMINALS WHO WOULD STEAL FROM THE MOST VULNERABLE, LEAST ADVANTAGED SCHOOLCHILDREN IN AMERICA.

I'VE ALSO HAD THE OPPORTUNITY AS CITY ATTORNEY TO USE OUR AFFIRMATIVE LITIGATION POWER TO ADVANCE AND DEFEND LARGER INTERESTS. TO WORK FOR OBJECTIVES THAT ARE NOT ONLY CONSISTENT WITH SAN FRANCISCO'S VALUES, BUT WITH ITS LONGSTANDING TRADITION OF NATIONAL LEADERSHIP.

- ACTING ON BEHALF OF SAN FRANCISCO GENERAL HOSPITAL, WE BECAME THE ONLY MUNICIPALITY IN THE NATION TO JOIN IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL CHALLENGE TO THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION'S BAN ON SO-CALLED "PARTIAL BIRTH ABORTIONS" — A *POLITICAL* TERM, NOT A *MEDICAL* TERM — THAT REPRESENTS THE MOST SERIOUS ATTACK ON REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS IN A GENERATION.

WE'RE EXPECTING A DECISION FROM THE FEDERAL COURT FOR NORTHERN CALIFORNIA SOMETIME THIS SUMMER. AND THERE'S NO DOUBT THAT WE'LL BE HEADING TO THE U.S. SUPREME COURT AFTER THAT TO CONTINUE OUR FIGHT TO PROTECT A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO SAFE, LEGAL ABORTION IN AMERICA.

EVEN BEYOND THOSE HIGH-PROFILE CASES, HOWEVER, IS ANOTHER I SUSPECT MOST OF YOU HAVE HEARD ABOUT. AND THAT'S OUR CONSTITUTIONAL CHALLENGE TO STATE LAWS THAT PROHIBIT MARRIAGE BETWEEN SAME-SEX COUPLES.

THIS IS PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY AND CIVIL RIGHTS OF OUR TIME. AND I'M VERY PROUD — INDEED, I HOPE WE CAN *ALL* BE PROUD — THAT SAN FRANCISCO IS AGAIN AT THE FOREFRONT, FIGHTING TO END DISCRIMINATION THAT HAS FOR TOO LONG DENIED THE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF MARRIAGE TO GAY AND LESBIAN COUPLES.

AS YOU MAY KNOW, EARLIER THIS WEEK (IN WHAT HAS BEEN QUITE A BUSY WEEK FOR US) THE STATE SUPREME COURT HEARD ARGUMENTS IN THE MARRIAGE CASE ON THE NARROW QUESTION OF WHETHER MAYOR GAVIN NEWSOM EXCEEDED HIS AUTHORITY IN ISSUING MARRIAGE LICENSES TO SAME-SEX COUPLES.

WE ARGUED THAT THE MAYOR HAD NOT ONLY THE RIGHT, BUT THE *DUTY* TO UPHOLD THE EQUAL PROTECTION CLAUSE OF THE CALIFORNIA CONSTITUTION, WHICH PROHIBITS DISCRIMINATION.

WE ALSO ARGUED THAT EVEN IF THE COURT SHOULD HOLD *OTHERWISE* — FINDING THAT MAYOR NEWSOM *DID* EXCEED HIS AUTHORITY AS THE CITY'S CHIEF EXECUTIVE — THE LICENSES SAN FRANCISCO ISSUED SHOULD NOT BE INVALIDATED *UNLESS* AND *UNTIL* THE SUPREME COURT UPHOLDS THE STATE'S DISCRIMINATORY MARRIAGE LAWS AS CONSTITUTIONAL.

GIVEN THE AMOUNT OF NEWS THE ARGUMENTS RECEIVED THIS WEEK, IT WOULD BE EASY TO BELIEVE THAT THIS ISSUE IS CRITICAL TO OUR EFFORTS TO END DISCRIMINATION AGAINST GAY AND LESBIAN COUPLES.

IT ISN'T.

IN TRUTH, THIS WEEK'S ARGUMENTS DEALT ONLY WITH A NARROW ISSUE THAT'S SECONDARY TO THE LARGER QUESTIONS OUR OFFICE WILL RAISE LATER THIS SUMMER IN THE TRIAL COURT — IN *CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO V. STATE OF CALIFORNIA*.

NOW DON'T GET ME WRONG: WE'RE CERTAINLY NOT CONCEDING THE QUESTION OF MAYORAL AUTHORITY. AND WE MADE THE MOST PERSUASIVE CASE WE COULD TO THE HIGH COURT THIS WEEK. BUT IT'S IMPORTANT TO RECOGNIZE, TOO, THAT EVEN A *LOSS* ON THAT QUESTION ISN'T NECESSARILY A SETBACK IN THE LARGER CONTEXT OF SAME-SEX MARRIAGE.

IN FACT, SOME LEGAL PUNDITS HAVE SPECULATED IT MAY BE QUITE THE OPPOSITE.

NONETHELESS, WE'RE CONFIDENT THAT OUR STRONGEST ARGUMENTS FOR EQUALITY ARE STILL IN FRONT OF US. THAT ON THE ISSUE OF MARRIAGE RIGHTS FOR GAY AND LESBIAN COUPLES IN CALIFORNIA, SAN FRANCISCO HAS NOT YET BEGUN TO FIGHT.

NOW GIVEN THAT THIS *ISN'T* A GRADUATING LAW SCHOOL CLASS, I'LL SPARE YOU THE PREVIEW OF OUR LEGAL CASE.

BUT GIVEN THAT THIS *IS* A GRADUATING CLASS OF FUTURE POLITICIANS AND POLITICAL JUNKIES, I'LL SHARE INSTEAD MY OBSERVATION ON SOME OF THE *POLITICS* OF THE SAME-SEX MARRIAGE ISSUE — A BEHIND-THE-SCENES PERSPECTIVE ON WHAT WENT ON IN CITY HALL LAST FEBRUARY.

SOME DAY, I'M SURE HISTORIANS WILL SET OUT TO WRITE ABOUT WHAT WILL EITHER BE A LANDMARK LEGAL CASE OR COLOSSAL POLITICAL MISCALCULATION IN CALIFORNIA. AND I'M SURE THEY'LL SPECULATE ABOUT THE ELABORATE POLITICAL STRATEGIZING THAT WENT INTO MAYOR NEWSOM'S DECISION TO ISSUE THE MARRIAGE LICENSES THAT BEGAN IT ALL.

AND IN DOING SO, THOSE HISTORIANS WILL FLATTER US FOR HAVING FAR MORE FORESIGHT AND POLITICAL ACUMEN THAN *ANY* OF US IN CITY GOVERNMENT IS ACTUALLY *CAPABLE* OF.

IN TRUTH, IT BEGAN VERY SIMPLY — AS “A SIMPLE MATTER OF JUSTICE,” A TERM HARVEY MILK ONCE USED TO DESCRIBED THE STRUGGLE FOR GAY AND LESBIAN EQUALITY.

THE MAYOR'S DECISION WAS BOLD AND COURAGEOUS.  
AND IF IT WAS SHREWD POLITICS, TOO, WELL —  
SUFFICE IT TO SAY THAT NONE OF US WAS QUITE SO  
SURE AT THE TIME.

AND IF IT SEEMS LIKE SHREWD POLITICS *NOW*, WITH  
THE BENEFIT OF HINDSIGHT, WELL — SUFFICE IT TO  
SAY THAT IT'S PROBABLY *STILL* TOO SOON TO TELL.

THE TRUTH IS, AS MUCH AS CRITICS WOULD CHARGE  
THAT THIS WAS SAN FRANCISCO'S *OWN* POLITICAL  
PLOY, I CAN TELL YOU THAT YOU WOULDN'T HAVE  
FOUND A POLITICAL CONSULTANT WITHIN 100 MILES  
OF CITY HALL IN EARLY FEBRUARY WHO WOULD HAVE  
PREDICTED THAT THIS WOULD BE GOOD FOR *ANY* OF  
OUR POLITICAL CAREERS.

INDEED, YOU MAY REMEMBER THAT THE FIRST  
NEGATIVE REACTIONS WERE IN MANY WAYS THE MOST  
TROUBLING — FROM LIBERAL DEMOCRATS AND SOME  
NATIONAL GAY RIGHTS LEADERS WHO OBJECTED TO IT  
AS A RASH MOVE. IT WASN'T THE WAY IT WAS  
PLANNED. IT WASN'T THE RIGHT TIME. IT WASN'T  
PART OF A GRAND STRATEGY.

AND IT WASN'T. IT WAS A SIMPLE MATTER OF  
JUSTICE — ABOUT DOING WHAT SEEMED RIGHT.

WE WERE CERTAINLY PREPARED FOR A POLITICAL REACTION. BUT I DON'T THINK ANY OF US WAS PREPARED FOR THE VERY HUMAN REACTION THAT BEGAN TO APPEAR BEFORE OUR EYES — AND THE EYES OF THE WORLD.

AS LINES BEGAN TO FORM AT CITY HALL — WHERE JOE DIMAGGIO AND MARILYN MONROE WERE MARRIED —THE COUNTY CLERK'S OFFICE HAD TO STAY OPEN OVER PRESIDENT'S DAY WEEKEND TO ACCOMMODATE THE DEMAND. BY VALENTINE'S DAY, FEBRUARY 14<sup>TH</sup>, THE LINE FOR SAME-SEX MARRIAGE LICENSES STRETCHED LITERALLY AROUND THE BUILDING — WHICH OCCUPIES TWO FULL CITY BLOCKS. COUPLES ARRIVED FROM AROUND THE NATION — EVEN FROM AROUND THE WORLD — TO TAKE PART IN IT. THEY BRAVED TORRENTIAL STORMS, CAMPED OUT OVERNIGHT AND CHEERED EACH AND EVERY COUPLE THAT EMERGED AS NEWLYWEDS —GAY AND STRAIGHT ALIKE.

THE NEWS MEDIA TOOK NOTICE. THERE WERE SO MANY SATELLITE UPLINKS PARKED ON CIVIC CENTER PLAZA, IN FACT, SOME WERE CONCERNED FOR THE STRUCTURAL INTEGRITY OF THE PARKING GARAGE BENEATH IT.

FAR FROM THE "RIOTS" GOVERNOR SCHWARZENEGGER MENTIONED ON NATIONAL TELEVISION, THE FEW ANTI-GAY PROTESTS WERE SMALL, ISOLATED ANOMALIES THAT WERE SOON DWARFED BY DEMONSTRATORS —AGAIN, GAY AND STRAIGHT ALIKE — WHO SUPPORTED THE MARRIAGES, AND DID SO PEACEFULLY.

WHEN WE SUCCESSFULLY FOUGHT BACK COURT CHALLENGES TO ALLOW THE MARRIAGES TO CONTINUE PAST PRESIDENT'S DAY WEEKEND, THE OUTPOURING OF SUPPORT CONTINUED. FOR ONE REMARKABLE MONTH, CITY HALL WOULD SEE THRONGS OF FAMILIES ARRIVE TO CELEBRATE THE UNIONS OF THEIR SONS AND DAUGHTERS, BROTHERS AND SISTERS, PARENTS AND FRIENDS. EVEN CELEBRITIES AND POLITICIANS.

ROSIE O'DONNELL MARRIED HER PARTNER. BOARD OF EQUALIZATION CHAIR CAROLE MIGDEN MARRIED CRIS ARGUEDAS — TWO LONGTIME FRIENDS OF MINE.

SUPERVISOR AARON PESKIN MARRIED HIS GRADE SCHOOL SWEETHEART — TO HER LESBIAN PARTNER. WHICH BROUGHT CLOSURE TO A PART OF HIS LIFE, HE SAID. AND ALSO RENEWED A CHILDHOOD FRIENDSHIP.

THE MARRIAGES LAST FEBRUARY WERE A SOURCE OF MANY INSPIRING STORIES OF PEOPLE — MALE AND FEMALE, GAY AND STRAIGHT, RESIDENTS AND VISITORS — WHO CAME TOGETHER IN AN OUTPOURING OF LOVE AND RESPECT AND HUMAN DIGNITY.

AND, YES, FAMILY VALUES.

APART FROM BEING TREMENDOUSLY IMPORTANT FOR THE CAUSE OF EQUAL RIGHTS, WHAT HAPPENED WITH SAME-SEX MARRIAGE IN SAN FRANCISCO WAS WITHOUT DOUBT THE MOST INSPIRING AND DEEPLY MOVING OCCURRENCE I HAVE EVER WITNESSED IN AMERICAN POLITICS.

AND NOT A DAY GOES BY IN THE CITY ATTORNEY'S OFFICE THAT I AM NOT ENORMOUSLY GRATEFUL FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO BE A PART OF THAT.

LIKEWISE, I'M GRATEFUL FOR THE MANY OTHER OPPORTUNITIES MY CAREER IN PUBLIC SERVICE AFFORDS:

- TO FIGHT TO DEFEND THE INTEGRITY OF OUR PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.
- TO WORK ON THE MANY STATE AND NATIONAL POLICIES THAT AFFECT OUR CITY.

- AND TO LEAD THE EFFORTS OF *CITY* POLICIES THAT SHAPE OUR STATE AND NATION.

SO TO ANYONE WHO DOUBTS THE NOBILITY OR IMPORTANCE OF THE PATHS YOU POLITICAL SCIENCE GRADUATES HAVE CHOSEN, I CAN TESTIFY THAT YOU'VE CHOSEN WISELY.

JOHN F. KENNEDY WAS RIGHT: POLITICS *IS* A NOBLE PROFESSION. IT HOLDS ENORMOUS OPPORTUNITIES TO GIVE BACK, TO CONTRIBUTE TO YOUR COMMUNITY, AND TO MAKE A REAL DIFFERENCE IN PEOPLE'S LIVES.

AND WHILE I DIDN'T CHOOSE IT AS MY IMMEDIATE CAREER PATH WHEN I GRADUATED, I CAN HONESTLY SAY THAT I HAVEN'T BEEN THIS CERTAIN ABOUT WHY I MAJORED IN POLITICAL SCIENCE SINCE I WAS 19 YEARS OLD.

AND TO THE CLASS OF 2004, I WISH THE SAME FOR ALL OF YOU.

THANK YOU.