We have undertaken a new order of things, yet we progress to it under the framework and in the spirit and intent of the American Constitution. We have proceeded throughout the Nation a measurable distance on the road toward this new order. Materially, I can report to you substantial benefits to our agricultural population, increased industrial activity, and profits to our merchants. Of equal moment, there is evident restoration of that spirit of confidence and faith which marks the American character.

[...]

Throughout the world change is the order of the day. In every nation economic problems, long in the making, have brought crises of many kinds for which the masters of old practice and theory were unprepared. In most nations social justice, no longer a distant ideal, has become a definite goal, and ancient governments are beginning to heed the call.

Thus, the American people do not stand alone in the world in their desire for change. We seek it through processes which retain all of the deep essentials of that republican form of representative government first given to a troubled world by the United States.

As the various parts in the program begun in the extraordinary session of the Seventy-third Congress shape themselves in practical administration, the unity of our program reveals itself to the nation. The outlines of the new economic order, rising from the disintegration of the old, are apparent. We test what we have done as our measures take root in the living texture of life. We see where we shave built wisely and where we can do still better.

The attempt to make a distinction between recovery and reform is a narrowly conceived effort to substitute the appearance of reality for reality itself. When a man is convalescing from illness, wisdom dictates not only cure of the symptoms but also removal of their cause.

It is important to recognized that while we seek to outlaw specific abuses, the American objective of today has an infinitely deeper, finer, and more lasting purpose than mere repression. Thinking people in almost every country of the world have come to realize certain fundamental difficulties with which civilization must reckon. Rapid changes – the machine age, the advent of universal and rapid communication, and many other new factors – have brought new problems. Succeeding generations have attempted to keep pace by reforming in piecemeal fashion this or that attendant abuse. As a result evils overlap and reform becomes confused and frustrated. We lose sight, from time to time, of our ultimate human objectives. [...]

We find our population suffering from old inequalities, little changed by past sporadic remedies. In spite of our efforts and in spite of our talk we have not weeded out the overpriviledged and we have not effectively lifted up the underpriviledged. Both of these manifestations of injustice have retarded happiness. No wise man has any intention of destroying what is known as the "profit motive", because by the profit motive we mean the right by work to earn a decent livelihood for ourselves and our families.

We have, however, a clear mandate from the people, that Americans must forswear that conception of the acquisition of wealth which, through excessive profits, creates undue private power over private affairs and, to our misfortune, over public affairs as well. In building toward this end we do not destroy ambition, nor do we seek to divide our wealth into equal shares on stated occasions. We continue to recognize the greater ability of some to earn more than others. But we do assert that the ambition of the individual to obtain [...] a proper security, a reasonable leisure, and a decent living throughout life is an ambition to be preferred to the appetite for great wealth and great power.

## Franklin D. Roosevelt State of the Union Address of 1935

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The announcement the President just made is significant, I believe, because it contributes to the end of the days when women, at least half the talent pool in our society, appear in high places only as one-at-a-time performers. Recall that when President Carter took office in 1976, no woman ever served on the Supreme Court, and only one woman, Shirley Hufstedler of California, then served at the next Federal court level, the United States courts of appeals.

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Today, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor graces the Supreme Court bench, and close to 25 women serve at the Federal Court of Appeals level, two as Chief Judges. I am confident that more will soon join them. That seems to me inevitable, given the change in law school enrollment.

My law school class in the late 1950's numbered over 500. That class included less than 10 women.

As the President said, not a law firm in the entire city of New York bid for my employment as a lawyer when I earned my degree. Today few law schools have female enrollment under 40 percent, and several have reached or passed the 50 percent mark. And thanks to Title VII, no entry doors are barred.

My daughter, Jane, reminded me a few hours ago in a good-luck call from Australia of a sign of the change we have had the good fortune to experience. In her high school yearbook on her graduation in 1973, the listing for Jane Ginsburg under "ambition" was "to see her mother appointed to the Supreme Court." [...]

I expect to be asked in some detail about my views of the work of a good judge on a High Court bench. This afternoon is not the moment for extended remarks on that subject, but I might state a few prime guides.

Chief Justice Rehnquist offered one I keep in the front of my mind: A judge is bound to decide each case fairly in a court with the relevant facts and the applicable law even when the decision is not -- as he put it -- what the home crowd wants.

Next, I know no better summary than the one Justice O'Connor recently provided drawn from a paper by New York University Law School Professor Burt Neuborne. The remarks [...] read:

When a modern constitutional judge is confronted with a hard case, Holmes is at her side with three gentle reminders: first, intellectual honesty about the available policy choices; second, disciplined self-restraint in respecting the majority's policy choice; and third, principled commitment to defense of individual autonomy even in the face of majority action.

I am indebted to so many for this extraordinary chance and challenge: to a revived women's movement in the 1970's that opened doors for people like me, to the civil rights movement of the 1960's from which the women's movement drew inspiration, to my teaching colleagues at Rutgers and Columbia and for 13 years my D.C. Circuit colleagues who shaped and heightened my appreciation of the value of collegiality.

Most closely, I have been aided by my life partner, Martin D. Ginsburg, who has been, since our teenage years, my best friend and biggest booster, by my mother-in-law, Evelyn Ginsburg, the most supportive parent a person could have, and by a daughter and son with the tastes to appreciate that Daddy cooks ever so much better than Mommy and so phased me out of the kitchen at a relatively early age.

Finally, I know Hillary Rodham Clinton has encouraged and supported the President's decision to utilize the skills and talents of all the people of the United States. I did not, until today, know Mrs. Clinton, but I hasten to add that I am not the first member of my family to stand close to her.

Ruth Bader Ginsburg, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Nomination Acceptance Address, June 14, 1993

## On 19 November 2014, SNP leader Nicola Sturgeon delivered a speech to members of the Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh, after she was voted in as First Minister of Scotland.

My pledge today to every citizen of our country is simple but it is heartfelt.

I will be First Minister for all of Scotland.

5 Regardless of your politics or your point of view, my job is to serve you. (...)

Presiding Officer,

I am taking on the responsibilities of First Minister at an exciting time in the nation's history.

All of us, regardless of party, have been inspired and challenged by the flourishing of democracy that we have witnessed during and since the referendum.

10 Democratic politics in Scotland has never been more alive.

And the expectations that people have of their politicians and their parliament have never been higher.

There is a burning desire across our country to build a more prosperous, fairer and better Scotland.

People didn't just vote Yes for a better country – I know that those who voted No want a better country too.

15 I intend to lead a government that delivers on those aspirations.

My role as First Minister will be to help build a Scotland that all those who live and work here can be proud of.

A nation both social democratic and socially just.

A Scotland confident in itself, proud of its successes and honest about its weaknesses.

20 A Scotland of good government and civic empowerment.

A Scotland vigorous and determined in its resolution to address poverty, support business, promote growth and tackle inequality.

These are the points against which my government will set its compass.

I earnestly believe that in doing so, we will reflect the wishes, hopes and desires - the dreams, even - of the Scottish people.

Of course, we will have our differences across parties in this chamber as to the best way forward.

We must never shy away from robust debate, but we should strive always to be constructive and respectful.

I want all members to know that where we are on common ground - and I want to find as much of that as I can - you will find in me a willing and listening ally.

Presiding Officer,

It will surprise no-one to hear that I will always argue the case for more powers - indeed the full powers of independence - for this Parliament.

I believe that the more we are able to do as a parliament and government, the better we can serve the people who elect us.

But I will also - and always - do my utmost to govern well with the powers we have now.

My daily tasks will be to protect and improve our NHS, support our businesses at home and abroad, ensure that all children get the chance to fulfil their potential, and keep our communities safe from crime. (...Presiding Officer,

I want to end with another quote, this time from the Earl of Seafield, the Chancellor of Scotland, who signed away Scotland's sovereign independence in 1707.

As he did so, he lamented: "There's ane end of ane auld sang."

The song lay lost for 292 years until we reconvened this parliament in 1999.

This First Minister intends to make sure that we adorn that auld sang with new verses.

15 Verses that tell of a modern and confident Scotland, fit for purpose and fit for all her people.

Together, let us now write that story.

## Thomas Babington Macaulay, Speech On The Reform Bill of 1832, March 2, 1831

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## On Lord John Russell's motion for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the Representation of the People of England and Wales.

(...) I believe that there are societies in which every man may safely be admitted to vote (....) I say, sir, that there are countries in which the condition of the labouring-classes is such that they may safely be intrusted with the right of electing members of the Legislature. If the labourers of England were in that state in which I, from my soul, wish to see them-if employment were always plentiful, wages always high, food always cheap (...) the principal objections to universal suffrage would, I think, be removed. Universal suffrage exists in the United States without producing any very frightful consequences; and I do not believe that the people of those States, or of any part of the world, are in any good quality naturally superior to our own countrymen. But, unhappily, the lower orders in England, and in all old countries, are occasionally in a state of great distress (....)

For the sake, therefore, of the whole society, for the sake of the labouring-classes themselves, I hold it to be clearly expedient that, in a country like this, the right of suffrage should depend on a pecuniary qualification. (...) I oppose universal suffrage, because I think that it would produce a destructive revolution. I support this measure, because I am sure that it is our best security against a revolution (...)

I support this measure as a measure of reform; but I support it still more as a measure of conservation. That we may exclude those whom it is necessary to exclude, we must admit those whom it may be safe to admit (...)

Is it possible that gentlemen long versed in high political affairs cannot read these signs? Is it possible that they can really believe that the representative system of England, such as it now is, will last till the year 1860? If not, for what would they have us wait? Would they have us wait merely that we may show to all the world how little we have profited by our own recent experience? Would they have us wait that we may once again hit the exact point where we can neither refuse with authority nor concede with grace? Would they have us wait that the numbers of the discontented party may become larger, its demands higher, its feelings more acrimonious, its organisation more complete?

But let us know our interest and our duty better. Turn where we may-within, around-the voice of great events is proclaiming to us, "Reform, that you may preserve." Now, therefore, while everything at home and abroad forebodes ruin to those who persist in a hopeless struggle against the spirit of the age; now, while the crash of the proudest throne of the Continent is still resounding (...) take counsel, not of prejudice, not of party spirit, not of the ignominious pride of a fatal consistency, but of history, of reason, of the ages which are past, of the signs of this most portentous time. (...) Save the multitude, endangered by their own ungovernable passions. Save the aristocracy, endangered by its own unpopular power. Save the greatest, and fairest, and most highly, civilised community that ever existed, from calamities which may lit a few days sweep away all the rich heritage of so many ages of wisdom and glory. The danger is terrible. The time is short. If this Bill should be rejected, I pray to God that none of those who concur in rejecting it may ever remember their votes with unavailing regret, amidst the wreck of laws, the confusion of ranks, the spoliation of property, and the dissolution of social order.