

PROCEEDINGS ON THE OCCASION OF THE 50TH
ANNIVERSARY OF THE REHALLOWING OF ST. MARY THE
VIRGIN, ALDERMANBURY AND THE DEDICATION OF
AMERICA'S NATIONAL CHURCHILL MUSEUM



CHURCH OF ST. MARY ALDERMANBURY, CITY OF LONDON

Rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren, in 1677, after the Great Fire

Damaged by German Luftwaffe on December 30, 1940

Rededicated at Westminster College May 7, 1969

ANDREW ROBERTS

ENID AND R. CROSBY KEMPER LECTURE
"WINSTON CHURCHILL'S SENSE OF HUMOUR"

DAVID M. RUBENSTEIN

50TH ANNIVERSARY LECTURE
"SINEWS OF HISTORY"

DR. MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT

59TH GREEN FOUNDATION LECTURE
"FOR THOSE WHO CHERISH FREEDOM:
DEMOCRACY IN THE TWENTY-FIRST
CENTURY"

MAY 4, 2019 & SEPTEMBER 19, 2019

HISTORIC GYMNASIUM & CHAMP AUDITORIUM
WESTMINSTER COLLEGE

CONTENTS

SPEAKER BIOGRAPHIES	2
ENID AND R. CROSBY KEMPER LECTURE BY DR. ANDREW ROBERTS	12
50 TH ANNIVERSARY LECTURE BY DAVID M. RUBENSTEIN	34
59 TH JOHN FINDLEY GREEN FOUNDATION LECTURE BY DR. MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT	57
50 TH ANNIVERSARY SPONSORS	68

SPEAKER BIOGRAPHIES



ANDREW ROBERTS

Dr. Andrew Roberts is a Visiting Professor at the War Studies Department of King's College, London, a Distinguished Fellow at the New-York Historical Society, and the Roger and Martha Mertz Visiting Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. Dr. Roberts is also a Churchill Fellow of America's National Churchill Museum at Westminster College. He has written thirteen 13 books, including *Eminent Churchillians*, *Hitler and Churchill*, *A History of the English-speaking Peoples Since 1900*, *The Storm of War* and *Napoleon*. His biography *Churchill: Walking with Destiny* spent nine weeks on the *New York Times* bestseller list and has been described by nine newspapers, including the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal* and *Sunday Times*, as the best biography of Churchill ever written. Since the last major biography of Churchill, forty-one sets of papers have been deposited at the Churchill Archives in Cambridge, and The Queen allowed Roberts to be the first Churchill biographer to research her father King George VI's diary records of Churchill's weekly audiences with him during the Second World War.



DAVID M. RUBENSTEIN

David M. Rubenstein is a Co-Founder and Co-Executive Chairman of The Carlyle Group, one of the world's largest and most successful investment firms. Mr. Rubenstein co-founded the firm in 1987. Since then, Carlyle has grown into a firm managing \$216 billion from 31 offices around the world.

Mr. Rubenstein is Chairman of the Boards of Trustees of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Council on Foreign Relations; a Fellow of the Harvard Corporation; a Trustee of the National Gallery of Art, the University of Chicago, Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center, Johns Hopkins Medicine, Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, the Institute for Advanced Study, the Brookings Institution, and the World Economic Forum; and President of The Economic Club of Washington.

Mr. Rubenstein is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Business Council, Harvard Global Advisory Council (Chairman), Madison Council of the Library of Congress (Chairman), Board of Dean's Advisors of the Business School at Harvard, Advisory Board of the School of Economics and Management at Tsinghua University (former Chairman), and Board of the World Economic Forum Global Shapers Community.

Mr. Rubenstein has served as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Duke University and Co-Chairman of the Board of the Brookings Institution.

Mr. Rubenstein is an original signer of The Giving Pledge, a significant donor to all of the above-mentioned non-profit organizations, and a recipient of the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy, and the MoMA's David Rockefeller Award, among other philanthropic awards.

Mr. Rubenstein has been a leader in the area of Patriotic Philanthropy, having made transformative gifts for the restoration or repair of the Washington Monument, Monticello, Montpelier, Mount Vernon, Arlington House, Iwo Jima Memorial, the Kennedy Center, the Smithsonian, the National Archives, the National Zoo, the Library of Congress, and the African-American History and Culture Museum. Mr. Rubenstein has also provided to the U.S. government long-term loans of his rare copies of the Magna Carta, the Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Emancipation Proclamation, the 13th Amendment, the first map of the U.S. (Abel Buell map), and the first book printed in the U.S. (Bay Psalm Book).

Mr. Rubenstein is the host of *The David Rubenstein Show: Peer-to-Peer Conversations* on Bloomberg TV and PBS.

Mr. Rubenstein, a native of Baltimore, is a 1970 *magna-cum-laude* graduate of Duke University, where he was elected Phi Beta Kappa. Following Duke, Mr. Rubenstein graduated in 1973 from the University of Chicago Law School, where he was an editor of *The Law Review*.

From 1973–1975, Mr. Rubenstein practiced law in New York with Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison. From 1975–1976, he served as Chief Counsel to the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments. From 1977–1981, during the Carter Administration, Mr. Rubenstein was Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy. After his White House service and before co-founding Carlyle, Mr. Rubenstein practiced law in Washington with Shaw, Pittman, Potts & Trowbridge (now Pillsbury Winthrop Shaw Pittman).



DR. MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT

Dr. Madeleine K. Albright was unanimously confirmed as U.S. Secretary of State by the Senate in 1997. She instantly became the highest-ranking woman in the history of the U.S. government. Dr. Albright's confirmation in that position followed her tenure from 1993 to 1997 as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations and previous strategic positions within the National Security Council. A 2012 Presidential Medal of Freedom recipient, Dr. Albright is the author of five books, including 2018's, *Fascism: A Warning*. Dr. Albright currently is the Michael and Virginia Mortara Endowed Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy at Georgetown, and she is chair of the Albright Stonebridge Group, a renowned global business strategy firm she founded. In 2015, Secretary Albright received the Churchill Leadership Award from the International Churchill Society. Dr. Albright was inducted into the Association of Churchill Fellows at Westminster College on September 19, 2019.



TIMOTHY RILEY

Since 2016, Timothy Riley has served as the Sandra L. and Monroe E. Trout Director and Chief Curator for America's National Churchill Museum. Mr. Riley is a graduate, *cum-laude*, of Lawrence University in Appleton, Wisconsin and pursued post-graduate study at Columbia University in the City of New York. He served as a curatorial assistant, education assistant and lectures/concerts coordinator at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. From 2006 through 2012 Mr. Riley served as director of The Trout Museum of Art in Appleton, and was appointed Director *Emeritus* in 2012. Mr. Riley was inducted into the Association of Churchill Fellows of Westminster College in 2016.

As Director and Chief Curator, Mr. Riley has expanded the Museum's reach, curating exhibitions aboard the Queen Mary in Long Beach, California, at the Society of Four Arts in Palm Beach, Florida and at Washington University in St. Louis, among others. The latter exhibition was hailed as "the most significant exhibition of Churchill's paintings in North America." During the Museum's 50th Anniversary Weekend, Mr. Riley opened the exhibition *Painting as a Pastime: From Winston to the White House* showcasing for the first time publicly paintings by President Kennedy, Eisenhower and George W. Bush alongside those of their inspiration, Winston Churchill. He is the author or co-author of more than 20 articles on a variety of art, music and historical topics, including several essays about Winston Churchill. He is a contributing editor for *The Finest Hour*, the journal of the International Churchill Society. Under his leadership, America's National Churchill Museum admissions has increased by 35%.

R. CROSBY KEMPER III

Not only is the name Kemper noted for its success in the banking world, but also for its philanthropic endeavors. America's National Churchill Museum is one of the beneficiaries of the family's contributions. The distinguished Enid and R. Crosby Kemper Lecture Series at the Museum honors the memory of Fellow R. Crosby Kemper III's grandmother and grandfather. Churchill Fellow Kemper was educated at Andover, Eton and Yale University, where he majored in late 19th Century British and American History. After a successful career in finance, he stepped away from the banking world to become the director of the Kansas City (MO) Public Library, where he has transformed that institution into an institution recognized nationally for excellence. He is married to Deborah Sandler, the General Director of the Kansas City Lyric Opera.

WILLIAM PIPER

William Piper holds the honor of being a second generation Fellow and a second generation member of the Board of Governors for the Association of Churchill Fellows. His late father, Vernon Piper, was on leader on the Board for many years. He received his undergraduate degree from the University of Virginia and his law degree from Washington University. The Piper family has generously endowed the Piper Scholarship at Westminster College and the Piper Altar Fund Endowment to provide perpetual support for St. Mary the Virgin, Aldermanbury, the church where he married his wife, Susan. The Pipers live in St. Louis and are the parents of two children, Edward and Alice. In late 2018, Bill and Susan helped launch the current preservation campaign for the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Aldermanbury.

JEAN-PAUL MONTUPET

Former Senior Churchill Fellow Jean-Paul Montupet was born in France. He moved to the United States in 1981 to work for Emerson, where he was Executive Vice President responsible for the Industrial Automation business, President of Emerson Europe and an Advisory Director to Emerson's Board of Directors. He retired in 2012. Mr. Montupet received an MBA from the École des hautes études commerciales de Paris and also attended Harvard Business School. He currently serves on the Board of Directors for IHS Markit, WABSCO Holdings and Assurant. Mr. Montupet previously was the Chairman of the Board of PartnerRE Ltd. and served on the Board of Lexmark International. He also is a trustee of the St. Louis Library Foundation and Vice Chairman of the International Churchill Society. Mr. Montupet lives in St. Louis with his wife, Isabelle.

THE RT. HON. LORD WATSON OF RICHMOND C.B.E.

A former president of the Liberal Party, Lord Watson played a leading role in the merger between the British Liberal Party and the Social Democrats. He was appointed commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire in 1985 and raised to the peerage in 1999. He was elected as High Steward of Cambridge University for life in 2010. He is an honorary fellow of Jesus College, a patron of the Churchill Archives at Churchill College and chairman of The Cambridge Foundation. Lord Watson is the author of the book *Churchill's Legacy: Two Speeches to Save the World* (Bloomsbury, 2017). In 2017, Lord Watson was inducted into the Association of Churchill Fellows.

THE HON. JOHN (JAY) ASHCROFT

John R. (Jay) Ashcroft is Missouri's 40th Secretary of State, elected in November 2016. Secretary Ashcroft leads an office with more than 200 employees, taking an active role in its administration.

Secretary Ashcroft's background in education, engineering, data protection and the law has provided him a unique perspective on election security and has helped shape the forward-thinking efforts of his office.

Ashcroft has worked to modernize the Office of the Secretary of State's operating systems, statutes and administrative rules.

G. ROBERT MUEHLHAUSER

Fellow Bob Muehlhauser, a Westminster College *alumnus*, is a retired Bank of America executive. He is a former Chair of the Westminster College Board of Trustees, a member of the Board of Governors of the Association of Churchill Fellows and a member of the Executive Committee of the Board of the International Churchill Society. While a student at Westminster, he watched the stones of the Church of St. Mary, the Virgin, Aldermanbury being delivered and assembled on the campus of Westminster College. Under the an open roof, before the rebuilding of Aldermanbury was completed, Bob delivered a eulogy for classmate Army First Lieutenant Harmon L. Remmell III, who was killed in Vietnam. Bob lives in Pleasanton, California with his wife, Reggie.



PHILIP BOECKMAN

Senior Fellow Philip Boeckman received a B.A. *cum-laude* from Westminster College in 1988, where, as part of a student work program, he gave tours at America's National Churchill Museum. He then earned a J.D. *magna-cum-laude* from the University of Missouri in 1991, where he was a Notes Editor of the Law Review. He joined the New York law firm of Cravath, Swaine & Moore in 1991 and became a partner in 1999. Mr. Boeckman moved to London in 2000, where he serves as Managing Partner of the Firm's London office and Co-Head of the Capital Markets Practice for EMEA. His corporate practice focuses on cross-border financing and mergers and acquisitions work for a wide range of European and other non-U.S. clients, including AXA, Bacardi, BAE Systems, the European Investment Bank and Unilever, as well as Credit Suisse, Deutsche Bank and Goldman Sachs. Mr. Boeckman serves on the Executive Committees of the Board of Trustees of Westminster College and on the Board of Directors of the International Churchill Society.

DR. DAVID JONES

Dr. David Jones is a Professor of Psychology, and currently serves as the Accreditation Liason Officer and Marshal of the College. He is also the faculty sponsor of the college's most prestigious national academic honor society, Alpha Chi. Dr. Jones received his A.B. in psychology from the University of Southern California in 1984 and graduated *magna-cum-laude*. Dr. Jones received his Ph.D. in social psychology from USC in 1991. He lives in Columbia, Missouri with his wife Kathy and son Ethan.



THE HON. EDWINA SANDYS M.B.E.

Edwina Sandys, granddaughter of Winston Churchill, is a force of nature. Like a hurricane or a tsunami, she is full of energy and unforgettable. One can easily detect the DNA that made her grandfather great.

Like Winston Churchill, Sandys is an artist but not just any artist. She is internationally renowned. Her sculptural creations are witty, bold, and colorful much like their creator. They are infused with vitality and energy and transcend the limits of everyday artistry. They are timeless and beautiful.

Her masterpiece sculpture, *Breakthrough*, comprised of eight sections of the Berlin Wall stands prominently outside America's National Churchill Museum at Westminster College. It depicts the end of the Cold War as people travel from the darkness communism to the brightness of freedom. Edwina remains actively engaged in America's National Churchill Museum and is a distinguished member of the Association of Churchill Fellows.

THE HON. LOWE CANNELL

The Hon. Lowe Cannell is the newly elected mayor of Fulton Missouri. He is Director of Environmental Services for Presbyterian Manor in Fulton. Mayor Cannell and his wife Crystal are both active in the community, which has played a critical role in the 50th anniversary celebration for America's National Churchill Museum.

ENID AND R. CROSBY KEMPER LECTURE

“WINSTON CHURCHILL’S SENSE OF HUMOUR

ANDREW ROBERTS

SATURDAY, MAY 4, 2019

Skulls of Seven Processional

DR. JONES: In 1946, the Skulls of Seven, led by the First Marshal of Westminster College, Charles “Dog” Lamkin, led the processional party, which included President Truman and Prime Minister Churchill, to this very podium for the Green Lecture that Churchill had entitled the “Sinews of Peace.”

Today the Skulls of Seven are honored to lead the processional for the Kemper Lecture on the historic occasion of the 50th anniversary of the National Churchill Museum. On behalf of Westminster College, I declare the Enid and R. Crosby Lecture open. Please silence all cell phones.

I now invite Mr. Bob Muehlhauser to the podium for the welcome.

(Applause.)

MR. MUEHLHAUSER: Please sit.

On behalf of the Board of Governors of the Association of Churchill Fellows and Dr. Fletcher Lamkin, the president of Westminster College, I welcome you to the Enid and R. Crosby Kemper Lectures, which was established in 1979.

Before I go further, I’d like to introduce Lord Alan Watson, who has something special to share with us.

(Applause.)

LORD WATSON: The point about this platform and this hall is that it has witnessed history and been part of history and remains part of historical memory. And it’s for that reason that it is so good to be here for this celebratory luncheon today.

I remember when I first came into this hall, which is now some years ago,

I was somewhat taken by surprise. I don't know, somehow I thought it would have been made into, well, a sort of memorial of some kind. And I was very relieved to see the impedimenta of sports still around in the hall fulfilling its original function.

And I've always thought how very appropriate but also startling it was that this location was chosen by Winston Churchill for such momentous speech. And the agreement was of mutual satisfaction. This location gave Churchill what he wanted and needed in terms of being the sole national and international point of interest in the event.

What he gave the university, of course, and this building was participation in the creation of a historical memory. And we celebrate both his speech and his memory, and I am very honored to be here this morning.

(Applause.)

MR. MUEHLHAUSER: We'll all have the opportunity to hear from Andrew Roberts after lunch, but I want to mention that these Kemper lectures have continuously attracted global experts on both English history and Winston Churchill over these past 40 years.

Most of these presentations are available on the museum's website, and I encourage you to go take a look at those. And short background pieces on the speakers today are in your programs.

I am Bob Muehlhauser. I'm a member of the Board of Governors and a trustee of Westminster College. I live in the San Francisco Bay area and am absolutely pleased to see all of you.

We have people from across the United States, from several foreign countries. We are thrilled to have you with us.

I know that you will agree that these kind of events don't just happen. It takes a whole lot of hard work from a lot of people, and I'm a big believer in saying thank you. So I'm going to do that.

The tireless work of Philip Boeckman, our Senior Fellow of the Board of Governors. Tim Riley, our museum director. Members of the Board of Governors, Nancy Carver, Dick Mahoney, Van Brokaw, Suzanne Richardson. At least two of the college's Westminster trustees, Jim Bennett and Brock Ayers. Members of the museum staff, Tyler Oberlag, Sam Craighead and Tom Pagano. And our crack Westminster team led by Gina Campagna, Jeni Whittington, Jenni Litherland, Rob Crouse, and Cindy Lamkin. And then a big thank you to Mother Nature for blessing us with some sunshine.

(Applause.)

MR. MUEHLHAUSER: And, Suzanne, where are you? Suzanne Richardson. Are you here, Suzanne? Good. Just stand up for a second, please. She asked me to please not do this.

(Applause.)

MR. MUEHLHAUSER: Now, you all may not be able to see it, but the woman wears a cape. And all of the people that I just mentioned above, Suzanne, we thank you for your leadership, your energy, your passion, and most of all the unbelievable commitment you make to the museum and to Westminster College. Thank you.

(Applause.)

MR. MUEHLHAUSER: For over 168 years, Westminster College has been a proud citizen of Fulton, Missouri, where we have always enjoyed a mutually-supportive relationship with this small, high-performing city in the middle of these United States.

Now I would like you to meet one of Fulton's most consistently impactful community leaders, the Mayor of Fulton. The Honorable Lowe Cannell.

(Applause.)

MR. CANNELL: Thank you. So for those you that don't know, I'm kind of brand new at this. I've been a month in. Got elected about, like, literally a month ago. So bear with me. I'll do my best. It's been sort of a whirlwind. We've had lots of events, meetings. I've been meeting lots of new people.

I did get a chance to meet Tim Riley and his staff about three weeks ago. Great people. Tim's a great guy, wonderful speaker, and a great asset to the Churchill — the historic Churchill Memorial Museum.

So with that I was kind of thinking as a local, lifelong resident we sort of take this for granted, the museum that we have here. But the historical significance of it, the tourism it brings in, we're thankful for it. And we will always cherish that relationship with the museum and also the college here, Westminster College and William Woods University both. It's wonderful to have the culture and the education here, so.

One of the things I think about is the church itself. When I was in high school some 30-plus years ago, I was on the — in the chambers singers. And one of the things we did during the holidays, we would always come out and perform.

Part of that performance we warmed up in the stairwell in the back of the church. So it's a big, winding staircase, and we would go there and just line up those stairs. And it was so acoustically different and unique, that it was kind of a moment for us to bond. And it's something that I'll never forget.

But I'm just honored to be here for the 50th anniversary. Thank you for the opportunity to represent Fulton. If you do get a chance to see the city, tour it, we'd appreciate that.

One thing to see is our new Nixon Forensic Center. It's going to replace the old Fulton State Hospital. That was a \$220 million project that we're thankful that got done. And the building itself is really one of the most unique and weirdest looking things that you'll see. So if you get a chance, get on 5th Street and head east and just check it out. It's pretty cool.

But other than that, just enjoy your time here. Thanks for coming.

(Applause.)

MR. MUEHLHAUSER: Thank you, Mr. Mayor.

Next to I'd like to introduce Bill Piper, a member of our Board of Governors who will offer the invocation.

MR. PIPER: Let's settle our hearts for just a moment in prayer, if you will.

God of justice and mercy, thank you for the gift of life and the opportunity to serve. Help us to act with character and conviction. Help us to listen with understanding and goodwill. Help us to speak with charity and restraint. Give us a spirit of service. Remind us that we are stewards of your authority. Guide us to be leaders your people need. Help us see the humanity and dignity of those who disagree with us and to treat all persons no matter how weak or poor with the reverence of your creation. And, finally, renew us with the strength of your presence and the joy of helping to build a community worthy of the human person. We ask this as your sons and daughters, confident in your goodness and love.

Amen.

MR. MUEHLHAUSER: And thank you, Bill, again for your generous and consistent support of the museum.

Enjoy your lunch. As I stated earlier, the Kemper Lectures have continuously attracted global experts in both British history, British-American history, and Winston Churchill for over the last 40 years.

For the last 20 or so, we've had the great pleasure of having these guest luminaries be introduced by someone who is well known for his great introductions. This man is a leading citizen in Kansas City and around the United States. Someone who needs no introduction.

Ladies and gentlemen, I give you Fellow Crosby Kemper.

MR. KEMPER: So Fellow Muehlhauser, Marshal Jones, Mayor Cannell, Secretary Ashcroft, Senior Fellow Boeckman, fellow Fellows, members of the Churchill family, and ladies and gentlemen, thank you all for being here.

It's a thrill to have Andrew Roberts back. It's a thrill to be on this stage, which recreates the stage from which Winston Churchill gave the "Sinews of Peace", the 'Iron Curtain Speech'

I assumed originally that we have moved from the church because I was going to tell some stories about Andrew that were inappropriate from the pulpit, but he's told me that I cannot tell those stories. Though I think I will tell one, but in a moment.

Winston Churchill achieved fame in many ways but not least as a historian. His Nobel Prize for literature was certainly about his great triumphs in the writing of history. They're still read by us, his *History of the English-speaking Peoples*, *The Second World War*. And our speaker has revised and extended the first with his own *History of the English-speaking Peoples Since 1900* and provided a brilliant variation on the theme of the second with his *Storm of War* and *Masters and Commanders*.

Of course, it can't be said of Andrew Roberts what Arthur Balfour said of Churchill's history of the first world war, "The World Crisis," that it was an autobiography discussed as a history of the universe. But Andrew's histories and biographies share a relevance with Churchill's in providing a guide to the presence and a sense of the character that is needed in our world to preserve the best for our future and for our children.

I must also say there's no lack of Churchillian personal ambition in this. Andrew once said — boy, I hope, please, God, that he remembers he said this to me. Many years ago, at least 15 years ago, that he thought — or it was part of his ambition to be the prettiest historian.

Now, that has a wide array of connotations, I think. And his only rival he said could be Niall Ferguson. That may give you a sense of those connotations.

And I would say that it is certainly true today that we now know that

the beauties of his Napoleon, his Churchill, his histories of the Second World War, and his continued achievements in the sartorial have firmly established his preeminence.

His genius, and I'm serious about that, is to use Churchill as historian and biographer to provide commentary, running commentary, on Churchill the man, Churchill the statesman, and in these unheroic times — Churchill the hero.

Alexis de Tocqueville in one of the most important if less remarked upon chapters of "Democracy in America" writes of the characteristics of historians in democratic ages.

The histories in aristocratic ages, he says, attribute occurrences to the will and temper of certain individuals, while the historians of a democratic age exhibit precisely the opposite characteristics. They are historians of great general causes of systems. What we would today call the sociology of history, the general reasons operating on the many and the multitude.

There is no question today that most historians would identify Churchill with the age of aristocracy, anachronistic, aristocratic, in need of revision.

It is one of the achievements of Andrew Roberts in this magnificent biography that his understanding of Churchill as a decedent of Marlborough, an admirer of Burke, the defender of traditions and of himself as the historian and soul of the British empire became — becomes a symbol for something much greater.

There are two words in *Churchill: Walking with Destiny* that recur again and again. The first is civilization, usually in the words of Churchill himself. Giving us what Tocqueville will call the special influences of individuals. Over and over again Churchill speaks of civilizations and in its defense.

The critique of everything that comes from the past, from our traditions that currently overloads our political and historical discussions is confronted by this Churchill endlessly defending what is good about our traditions and our civilization.

The second word used once or twice by Churchill himself in the biography but throughout the book by Andrew Roberts himself is paladin. Paladin.

Churchill is the paladin, the medieval knight errant of our modern world. The individual challenging the systems totalitarian military — sorry. Military, bureaucratic, sometimes quixotically, sometimes romantically, sometimes successfully, always nobly.

This is a biography of a hero, but it is not only an aristocratic hero but also a democratic hero with all contradictions but without irony.

Andrew Roberts first came to us as the biographer of Churchill's rival Lord Halifax and was the author of a series of brilliant biographical essays "Eminent Churchillian" that were themselves the beginning of a revision of the revisionist historians.

And with this prize winning — and with his prize-winning biographer of Lord Salisbury, he has inaugurated — he has inaugurated a new era in which we may come to see this as the classic age of biography.

If in the words of Winston Churchill himself that the empire of the future is the empire of the mind, the great interpreter of the origins and foundations of that future in words like civilization and paladin will be our paladin of history.

Andrew Roberts.

(Applause.)

MR. ROBERTS: I'd like to preface my remarks today by saying what an honour and delight it is for me to speak on this historic hall and at this lectern, and to be only other person besides Sir Martin Gilbert to deliver the Crosby Kemper Lecture twice. Scientists are often said to be merely standing on the shoulders of giants, such as Sir Isaac Newton or Albert Einstein. Similarly, we Churchill biographers all stand on the shoulders of Sir Martin.

If Sir Winston Churchill had not been a statesman and author, he could have made a good living as a stand-up comedian. As early as 1947, before he had even become prime minister for the second time, 'wit & wisdom' books of his best jokes and quips were already being published. He had also become one of those lucky few to whom witticisms are attributed, whether they ever actually said them or not. A good deal of research has gone into finding out which witticisms Churchill did and did not say, principally by my friend Richard Langworth, and the result is that we now know that he has a body of well-attributed remarks that easily puts him on a par with his contemporary wits Oscar Wilde, Hilaire Belloc, Dorothy Parker, A.P. Herbert and Noel Coward, added to which he had the comic timing of Groucho Marx.

Wit mattered highly to Churchill, and he turned it into a very effective weapon in his political armoury – to charm audiences, of course, but also to deflect criticism, ridicule opponents, and sometimes to calm situations that were getting fraught. He well understood that he needed to entertain

his audiences if he was also to instruct, persuade and – especially in wartime - to inspire.

His use of wit started early. When Mr Mayo, his Harrow schoolteacher, said to Churchill's class, 'I don't know what to do with you boys,' Churchill called out 'Teach us, Sir!' Asked in an interview in 1902 about the qualities desirable in a politician, Churchill said, 'The ability to foretell what is going to happen tomorrow, next week, next month, and next year – and ... to explain why it didn't happen.' He could also quip of the job of an MP, 'He is asked to stand, he wants to sit and is expected to lie.'

Many politicians of his time – indeed of our time too – would ponderously start their speeches with a set-piece joke to try to establish themselves as normal human beings, before getting down to the serious, political part of their addresses. By total contrast, Churchill would often pepper his serious remarks with witty asides throughout his speeches, forcing his audiences to concentrate all the harder as he lightened and darkened the tone at will.

A.P. Herbert, another great parliamentary wit of the day, pointed out that words on the printed page could not wholly do Churchill's humour justice, 'without some knowledge of the scene, the circumstances, the unique and vibrant voice, the pause, the chuckle, the mischievous and boyish twinkle on the face.' Even in the darkest days of World War Two, Churchill managed to inject humour into his speeches, indeed - as I will argue tonight – he did it especially during the darkest days of World War Two, knowing how good it was for the British people to know that their leader was not demoralized, but indeed was capable of making jokes however dire the situation got. Indeed, the darker the situation, the funnier his jokes became. This would have been impossible in anyone who did not believe that he was walking with destiny.

Churchill's immediate predecessors as prime minister - Andrew Bonar Law, Stanley Baldwin, Ramsay MacDonald, and Neville Chamberlain - rarely brought witty repartee into the Chamber of the House of Commons - some because they were simply incapable of it, others because they thought it unbecoming. By contrast, the expectation of a quotable witticism would fill up the Chamber as Churchill rose to speak. He used his wit to encourage high attendances both for his Commons orations and for his public speeches around the country. When he started out on his political career, in the days before radio, people who came to his speeches would know that they would be the first in the pub or back at home to repeat the jokes he had made.

Churchill honed his wit when he stood for parliament seven times in the eleven years between 1899 and 1910. Often by replying to hecklers on the

election stump. Standing as a Liberal in his 1908 by-election, Churchill asked, 'What would be the consequence if this seat were lost to Liberalism?' Now, it's always a risk to ask a rhetorical question to a lively audience, because during the pause that must follow the question for the portent to sink in, someone might shout out something funny that undermines it. Sure enough, on this occasion when Churchill asked 'What would be the consequence if this seat were lost to Liberalism?' a heckler shouted out 'Beer!'; because the Tories were always promising to cut the price of ale. 'That might be the cause,' Churchill immediately replied, 'I am talking of the consequence.' Later on another heckler yelled 'Rot!' at one of his points. 'When my friend in the gallery says "Rot",' Churchill riposted, 'he is no doubt expressing very fully what he has in his mind.'

Such sallies were part of what people had come along for, and the word 'laughter' appeared more than forty times in *The Times'* newspaper report of the meeting. I can assure you that the word laughter hardly ever appeared in the reports of speeches by Andrew Bonar Law or Neville Chamberlain, let alone forty times. 'The Times is speechless,' he also joked during that by-election, 'and takes three columns to express its speechlessness.' Of the Liberal Party's support for Irish Home Rule, he added, 'and thousands of people who never under any circumstances voted Liberal before are saying that under no circumstances will they ever vote Liberal again.'

The art of the riposte was central to Churchill's fame as a public speaker, and it meant that few wanted to take him on. He was once called a 'dirty dog' by the Labour MP Sir William Paling, and retorted 'May I remind the Hon member what dogs, dirty or otherwise, do to palings?' He enjoyed playing with the names of people, saying of an MP called Bossum that he was neither the one thing nor the other. When told that General Plastiras – which was pronounced Plaster Arse – had become Prime Minister of Greece, Churchill asked 'But does he have feet of clay?'

The jokes were not always directed against people; when the man who was taking the photographs for Churchill's 75th birthday said 'I hope, sir, that I will shoot your picture on your hundredth birthday,' Churchill replied, 'I don't see why not, young man. You look reasonably fit and healthy.'

Overall, of course, his witticisms were directed against political opponents, which of course also might go some way to explain why he was so unpopular in his Wilderness Years. 'He spoke without a note,' he said of a Labour MP in 1930, 'and almost without a point.' When a Tory MP left the Conservatives to stand as a Liberal, he described it as, 'The only instance of a rat swimming toward a sinking ship.' Of the aristocratic MP George Wyndham he said, 'I like the martial and commanding air with which the

Right Honourable Gentleman treats facts. He stands no nonsense from them.’

What forcibly struck me again and again while researching and writing my biography of Churchill was how he constantly made jokes throughout the worst crises in modern British history, in 1940-41, when the Nazis were threatening to invade this country. There was no moment so bad that he couldn’t lighten the mood, and improve the morale of everyone around him, through the targeted deployment of humour. ‘When he was at No. 10 there was always laughter in the corridors,’ recalled his private secretary Jock Colville, ‘even in the darkest and most difficult times.’

Just after the Dunkirk evacuation, for example, when the head of the Royal Navy, Admiral Sir Dudley Pound, brought Churchill the long list of all the ships sunk and damaged in the operation, Churchill told him, ‘As far as I can see, we have only the Victoria & Albert left.’ The Victoria & Albert was the royal yacht. After the fall of Belgium, Holland, and Luxemburg, when Colville took him a telegram while he was dressing for dinner, Churchill said, ‘Another bloody country gone west, I’ll bet.’ Three days before Paris fell, when at the crisis meeting at Briare the French Prime Minister, Paul Reynaud, asked Churchill what his defence plans were for the expected German invasion of Britain, Churchill replied, ‘I haven’t thought that out very carefully, but, broadly speaking, I should propose to drown as many as possible of them on the way over, and then knock on the head anyone who managed to crawl ashore.’ He said this in his execrable French – ‘frappez sur le tête’ – and sadly history does not relate the French reaction to such levity at such a calamitous moment for Allied forces. To maintain a sense of humour at such a desperate moment showed how effortlessly Churchill could lighten tension when needed. Fortunately, he had left the conference before Weygand predicted to Reynaud that within a month, Britain would have ‘her neck wrung like a chicken.’

In the same speech on 4 June 1940 in which he said that in a thousand years men would still say that it was the British Empire and Commonwealth’s ‘Finest Hour’, Churchill made a joke about the Italian Navy, which had performed badly in World War One. ‘There is a general curiosity in the British Fleet to find out whether the Italians are up to the level they were in the last war,’ he said, ‘or whether they have fallen off at all.’ The writer Peter Fleming analyzed why that particular joke went down so well with Parliament and the public, writing, ‘If he had ended “or whether they are even worse”, he would have scored a hit ... By employing a subtler twist of denigration he gave to the passage that characteristic lilt of gaiety and evoked in his hearers the agreeable sensation of being made privy to a personal code of humour.’

This personal code of humour of course had a side that some decried as heartless. On 7 August 1942, Lieutenant General William Gott had been shot down and killed in a plane in the Western Desert. That evening, when Field Marshal Jan Smuts, the Prime Minister of South Africa, accused Churchill of not appealing enough to religious motives in politics, Churchill replied with mock indignation, 'I've made more bishops than anyone since St Augustine!' It might have seemed insensitive to make a joke on such a sad day, but, as he wrote years later, 'Who in war will not have his laugh amid the skulls?' If humour had been considered unacceptable whenever there had been a tragic death in that war, Churchill would have made no jokes at all, and as one who had served in the trenches of the Great War – and on four campaigns prior to that – he knew that humour even in the worst times has always been an invaluable part of soldiers' psychological armoury.

Very many of Churchill's jokes were self-deprecating, as when – at another dangerous time for him, during a no-confidence motion in July 1942 – he was attacked over the serious shortcomings of the A22 tank. 'As might be expected,' he said, 'it had many defects and teething troubles, and when these became apparent the tank was appropriately rechristened the "Churchill."' Here the key word that makes that joke work is the self-deprecating 'appropriately'. He knew and admitted that he had his own defects and teething troubles, and as a result he won the sympathy and support of the House which a less credible defence of the tank in question would not have brought him. Churchill's capacity for using humour to deflect criticism or change the subject was to serve him well in the war years and beyond.

The flight of Rudolf Hess to Scotland in May 1941 gave Churchill some opportunities for joking, even though it was a very serious moment in the war, indeed Hess landed on the same night that the chamber of the House of Commons had been destroyed in an air raid. He was amused when the Duke of Hamilton told him that the Deputy-Fuhrer had chosen to fly to his estate in Scotland because Hamilton was Lord Steward of His Majesty's Household. He had taken it to be a real rather than an entirely honorific title, and therefore would be able to urge his peace message upon the King, who Hess had wrongly thought might be in favour of the idea. 'I suppose he thinks that the Duke carves the chicken,' Churchill joked to his entourage, 'and consults the King as to whether he likes breast or leg!'

The consequences were not so humorous, of course: Churchill did not want anyone in Britain, America, or Russia suspecting that he or his Government was interested in peace negotiations. At lunch, explaining the whole bizarre story to the King, Churchill joked that 'He would be

very angry if Beaverbrook or Anthony Eden suddenly left here and flew off to Germany without warning.’ He told the public the truth: that it had been the deranged act of a man close to a mental breakdown; and indeed Hess attempted to commit suicide the following month. After extensive debriefing in the Tower of London, Hess spent much of the rest of the war at a camp near Abergavenny in Wales.

‘On all sides one hears increasing criticism of Churchill,’ noted the Tory MP Henry Channon on June 6 1941. ‘He is undergoing a noticeable slump in popularity and many of his enemies, long silenced by his personal popularity, are once more vocal.’ Churchill was nonetheless able to make light of this in his next Cabinet meeting. ‘People criticize this Government,’ he said, ‘but its great strength – and I dare say it in this company – is that there’s no alternative! I don’t think it’s a bad Government. Come to think of it, it’s a very good one. I have complete confidence in it. In fact there has never been a government to which I have felt such sincere and whole-hearted loyalty!’ Coming from someone who had been noticeably disloyal to a succession of Governments, this declaration of loyalty to his own one amused his fellow Cabinet ministers.

For years Churchill had been making a joke of the amount of criticism aimed at him. In November 1914, for example, he told the House of Commons, ‘Criticism is always advantageous. I have derived continual benefit from criticisms at all periods of my life, and I do not remember any time when I was ever short of it.’

Churchill would not mind waiting for the perfect opportunity for a riposte. After one of the Budget debates in the 1920s, Lord Monsell congratulated him on a crushing retort and asked him how he did it. ‘Bobby, it’s patience,’ Churchill explained. ‘I’ve waited two years to get that one off.’ His mastery of what one could get away with saying in the Chamber and his sense of comic timing are evident when he told the Labour Party who were barracking him, ‘Of course it is perfectly possible for honourable Members to prevent my speaking, and of course I do not want to cast my pearls before – those who do not want them.’ The word ‘swine’ to describe one’s political opponents was of course banned under Erskine May, the parliamentary rulebook. On that occasion, Labour members laughed for such a long time after that joke that when debate resumed they had forgotten why they were barracking him in the first place. In another ill-tempered debate, this time about the General Strike, in which he had edited the very anti-socialist Government newspaper called the *British Gazette*, Churchill again deflected criticism, as so often in his career, with a well-timed joke, telling the Labour benches, ‘Make your minds perfectly clear that if ever you let loose upon us again a General Strike, we will loose

upon you another ... British Gazette.' The impact of Churchill's jokes lay in his superb sense of comic timing delivering the punch-line, which was an essential feature of his wit.

Budget debates were – indeed still are - typically very boring in British politics, being all about finance, but in a typically Churchillian way he turned them into spectacles, so much so that the galleries were packed during his Budgets, and even the Prince of Wales came to one, turning them into fashionable occasions in Society. In the Budget debate in April 1931, when some MPs on the other side of the House complimented him on his Chancellorship, he replied, 'I suppose a favourable verdict is always to be valued, even if it comes from an unjust judge or a nobbled umpire.' When he said in another debate, 'We have all heard how Dr Guillotin was executed by the instrument that he invented,' and Sir Herbert Samuel shouted out, 'He was not!', Churchill replied, 'Well, he ought to have been.'

There were certain topics during World War Two on which he taught his listeners to expect jokes, which included his own loquacity, his appalling French, and any mention of Benito Mussolini. He once said of Charles de Gaulle that, 'Now that the General speaks English so well he understands my French perfectly.' His description of General de Gaulle as being like 'a llama surprised in her bath' is principally funny, I think, because he made the llama female. 'I, of course, am exceedingly pro-French,' he once told his entourage 'unfortunately the French are exceedingly pro-voking.' When, on another occasion, his friend Brendan Bracken said that de Gaulle regarded himself as a reincarnation of St. Joan, Churchill growled, 'Yes, but my bishops won't burn him!' Sadly, he did not say 'The heaviest cross I have to bear is the cross of Lorraine,' which was actually said by General Louis Spears, the British representative to the Free French.

From Wildean quips to English High Irony to ruthless ridicule, Churchill's capacity to joke was a powerful weapon that he deployed regularly. He very rarely resorted to set-piece gags, much preferring to riff off any situation he found himself in, but an exception came during a period of heavy criticism after defeats in the Western Desert in late 1941, when he joked how, 'There was a custom in Imperial China that anyone who wished to criticize the Government had the right to ... and, provided he followed that up by committing suicide, very great respect was paid to his words, and no ulterior motive was assigned. That seems to me to have been, from many points of view, a wise custom, but I certainly would be the last to suggest that it should be made retrospective.'

This was also the period when he made his great statement on opinion polls: 'Nothing is more dangerous in wartime than to live in the temperamental atmosphere of a Gallup Poll,' he said, 'always feeling one's

pulse and taking one's temperature. I see that a speaker at the weekend said that this was a time when leaders should keep their ears to the ground. All I can say is that the British nation will find it very hard to look up to leaders who are detected in that somewhat ungainly posture.' If you want the concept of leadership summed up in three sentences, you could do worse than to choose those.

Churchill deployed understatement to excellent effect, especially if his listeners were expecting something portentous. In February 1943 he read out General Harold Alexander's splendid message that 'His Majesty's enemies, together with their impedimenta, have been completely eliminated from Egypt, Cyrenaica, Libya and Tripolitania. I now await your further instructions.' Churchill then added, 'Well, obviously, we shall have to think of something else.' When Churchill's valet, Frank Sawyers, accompanied him on a flight from Algiers to England in February 1943, he said to him, 'You are sitting on your hot-water bottle. That isn't at all a good idea.' 'Idea?' replied the Prime Minister. 'It isn't an idea, it's a coincidence.' Later that year, on the way to Roosevelt's residence at Hyde Park, Churchill and his daughter Mary visited the Niagara Falls, which he had last seen in 1900. 'Do they look the same?' asked a not particularly bright journalist, whereupon Churchill replied, 'Well, the principle seems the same. The water still keeps falling over.'

Of course, Churchill's detractors, unable to match him in wit, tried to use his sense of humour against him, implying that his joking meant that he was not a wholly serious politician. Many are the letters and diary entries that echo Neville Chamberlain's complaint to Lord Halifax of August 1926, 'His speeches are extraordinarily brilliant and men flock in to hear him as they would to a first class entertainment at a theatre. The best show in London they say, and there is the weak point. So far as I can judge they think of it as a show and they are not prepared at present to trust his character and still less his judgement.' There was a political price that Churchill had to pay in having a sense of humour. Someone that funny, Chamberlain was implying, could not also have good judgment.

On D-Day over 160,000 men landed in Normandy in twenty-four hours, parachuted from planes and landing on the five invasion beaches codenamed Omaha and Utah (Americans), Sword and Gold (Britain) and Juno (Canadian). Although there were over eight thousand casualties that day, of whom around three thousand were killed, but this was at the lowest end of the spectrum of what had been feared. Yet for all these grim thoughts, Churchill never lost his sense of humour. When an MP asked him on June 8 – D plus two - to promise the House that he would ensure that the same mistakes were not made after victory in the Second World

War that had been made after the First, the Prime Minister replied, 'That is most fully in our minds. I am sure that the mistakes of that time will not be repeated. We shall probably make another set of mistakes.'

On the afternoon of 1 May 1945, the day after Hitler's death, the Commons Chamber was full of MPs expecting the announcement of Victory in Europe. 'I have no special statement to make about the war position in Europe,' Churchill said, 'except that it is definitely more satisfactory than it was this time five years ago.'

As well as understatement, English high irony was another favoured genre of Churchillian humour. On July 20, 1944, a small group of German generals tried to kill Hitler in his East Prussian headquarters, the Wolfsschanze. For this joke to work it helps to know that Hitler's paternal grandmother had been Maria Schicklgruber, and Hitler's father Alois had that name until he legally changed it. 'When Herr Hitler escaped his bomb on July 20th, he described his survival as providential,' Churchill joked to the Commons in September, 'I think that from a purely military point of view we can all agree with him, for certainly it would be most unfortunate if the Allies were to be deprived, in the closing phases of the struggle, of that form of warlike genius by which Corporal Schicklgruber has so notably contributed to our victory.' On 2 August of 'Corporal Hitler' he joked, 'Even military idiots find it difficult not to see some faults in some of his actions. ... Altogether I think it is much better to let officers rise up in the proper way.'

The next month, asked to give the House a 'categorical denunciation' of the prime minister of the collaborationist Vichy regime Pierre Laval, Churchill replied, 'I am afraid I have rather exhausted the possibilities of the English language.'

As well as Britain's enemies, Churchill also ridiculed his own political opponents relentlessly. A favourite butt was Aneurin Bevan, the Labour MP for Ebbw Vale, who kept demanding Churchill's resignation during the war and after it said that Tories were 'lower than vermin'. On the issue of Britain finally recognising Red China diplomatically in July 1952, Churchill said, 'If you recognize anyone it does not necessarily mean that you like him. We all, for instance, recognize the right honourable gentleman, the Member for Ebbw Vale.'

Churchill was particularly good at puncturing the pomposity of oleaginous MPs. When, during Prime Minister's Questions, one Tory MP suggested that the House should toast, 'Death to all Dictators and Long Life to all Liberators Among Whom the Prime Minister is the First', Churchill phlegmatically replied, 'It's very early in the morning.' When a famously

longwinded MP called for a national day of prayer and asked, 'Will the Prime Minister assure the House that, while we have quite properly attended to the physical needs of defence and of our other problems, we should not forget those spiritual resources which have inspired this country in the past and without which the noblest Civilization would decay?' Churchill replied, 'I hardly think that is my exclusive responsibility.' When he used the Latin expression *primus inter pares* (first among equals), and Labour MPs shouted out 'Translate!', 'Certainly I shall translate,' Churchill replied, 'for the benefit of any old Etonians present.'

In his first speech after losing the 1945 General Election, Churchill joked how, 'A friend of mine, an officer, was in Zagreb when the results of the late General Election came in. An old lady said to him, "Poor Mr. Churchill! I suppose now he will be shot." My friend was able to reassure her. He said the sentence might be mitigated to one of the various forms of hard labour which are always open to His Majesty's subjects.' Returning to the opposition benches in 1945 for the first time in fourteen years gave Churchill endless opportunities to use humour to criticise the Government, which he used unsparingly. On occasion he came to his opponent Clement Attlee's defence, however, as when Stalin accused Attlee of being a warmonger over the Korean War and rearmament. Churchill retorted that as Labour was intending to call him – Churchill – a warmonger in the next election, so, 'Stalin has therefore been guilty, not only of an untruth, but of infringement of copyright.'

The time of this speech has come when - with a heavy heart - I must disappoint a large number of you by telling you some of the large number of very good and funny jokes that Churchill did not say. Richard Langworth has trawled all the sources long and hard, and in a chapter entitled Red Herrings in his book *Churchill in His Own Words*, he lays out ten pages full of false attributions. Richard and all other Churchill scholars have not been able to find a moment when Churchill told Lady Astor, or anyone else, that if he were married to her and she poisoned his coffee, then he would drink it. Nor did he say that if you're going through Hell, keep going. He never called Clement Attlee 'a sheep in sheep's clothing', nor did he say 'An empty car drew up and Clement Attlee got out.' He never said that 'Britain and America are two nations divided by a common language,' or 'I know of no case where a man added to his dignity by standing on it,' or 'A fanatic is someone who won't change his mind, and won't change the subject.' It is a great shame that among the red herrings is Churchill's supposed reply to the threat from Ribbentrop that the Germans would have the Italians on their side in a future war: 'My dear Ambassador, it's only fair. We had them last time.'

Yet for all this, there are several hundred equally funny remarks that he did make. Churchill's intelligence and speed of response and perhaps above all his great memory for repartee stood him in excellent stead, as in this story: He enjoyed inviting visitors, even comparative strangers, to his country house, Chartwell in Kent. On one occasion he offered a Mormon a whisky and soda, who replied, 'May I have water, Sir Winston? Lions drink it.' 'Asses drink it too,' came the reply. Another Mormon present said, 'Strong drink rageth and stingeth like a serpent.' Churchill replied, 'I have long been looking for a drink like that.' When his private secretary Anthony Montague Browne later congratulated him on those ripostes, he grinned and said, 'None of it was original. They just fed me the music hall chance.'

As a drinker, smoker and carnivore, outliving teetotalers and vegetarians never failed to give Churchill huge satisfaction, for as he said, 'I get my exercise as a pall-bearer to my many friends who exercised all their lives.' He also took great satisfaction from owning his 37 racehorses, and by the time of his death he had won seventy races. A few years after a victory at Hurst Park in the 1950s, when it was suggested that his best racehorse Colonist II be put out to stud, he replied, 'And have it said that the Prime Minister of Great Britain is living off the immoral earnings of a horse?'

Some decried Churchill's use of humour as flippant, others as a cynical weapon to win popularity and deflect legitimate criticism, but it also reflected his extraordinary coolness under pressure, as well as his refusal to be cast down and his belief in the necessity of maintaining morale. He was an epigrammatist to rival Samuel Johnson and Sidney Smith, but unlike them he was witty while also saving his country during a world war.

On Churchill's death in January 1945 Clement Attlee said, 'I recall the long days through the war—the long days and long nights—in which his spirit never failed; and how often he lightened our labours by that vivid humour, those wonderful remarks he would make which absolutely dissolved us all in laughter, however tired we were.' Winston Churchill might have offered his country 'nothing but blood, toil, tears and sweat' – but they weren't all tears of pain and loss. Sometimes – when they were least expected but also most needed – they were tears of laughter too.

MR. RILEY: Well, thank you, Andrew. As you rightly noted, you are only the second historian or distinguished guest to give the Kemper lecture twice. I think you may be the first to give it thrice. Thank you. You are welcome back.

I think as we reflect upon the history of America's National Churchill Museum and the 50th anniversary celebration here today, I'm reminded on a daily basis that one of our charge here at Westminster College in

this historic place is to preserve and promote artifacts, letters, paintings, speeches that were associated with Winston Churchill, his life, and his times.

It's also part of our charge and duty to preserve and protect the largest work in our collection, St. Mary the Virgin Aldermanbury, the model of which stands in the gymnasium here today. That is the original model that was at the groundbreaking in 1964 designed by Hallmark and one of the Wren stones that was moved from London to Fulton but not used in the reconstruction. I invite you all to look at it more closely.

These objects are eye witnesses to history. They inform and they inspire us every day. In increasing numbers they inform and inspire visitors. I'm happy to say in the last two years, our visitorship is up 27 percent.

(Applause.)

MR. RILEY: It's proof positive that Winston Churchill still has things to say. His words from this historic lectern resound still in this space and beyond.

But in addition to objects and spaces, there are people that helped tell the story. Historians like Andrew, thank you. Family members Edwina, Emma Soames, Jack Churchill, Duncan Sandys, thank you for being here and sharing your stories of your family's terrific legacy.

But there are a couple of other individuals I'd like to recognize, too, who are eye witnesses to history. First, I talked about the church. It was a monumental undertaking to bring that church from London to Fulton. Sir Christopher Wren is the architect of record.

There was a great sign in the '60s when the church was being built, construction sign that said honorary committee, Jack Kennedy, honorary committee, Harry Truman, people who made this happen. And on top, it read Architect: Christopher Wren.

Another gentleman whose name was on that list was a St. Louis-based architect Frederick Sternberg, and two of his daughters have joined us today from different parts of the country. Betsy Canaga and Linda Shirk. I know you are here.

(Applause.)

MR. RILEY: Thank you for being with us, and we thank your father for his role in the establishment of the memorial.

We also have with us a gentleman whose grandfather arguably started it all

here at Westminster with that type-written letter sent in the winter of 1945 from Westminster in Fulton to Winston Churchill inviting him to come and speak here.

That was Westminster College President Franc McCluer. His grandson Richmond McCluer is here today, Richmond.

(Applause.)

MR. RILEY: And finally, last night we were able to meet and hear from Captain Mort Harris.

Mort, we are glad you're here with us today. Thank you for your tremendous service in the Second World War for our country.

For those of you who weren't with us last night, Mort Harris flew 33 combat missions over France and Germany in Europe and did some tremendous work during the war.

We are glad you're here today. It was an honor, sir, to show you through the museum. Mort, thank you.

(Applause.)

MR. RILEY: And, finally, on the subject of eye witnesses of history, we have three individuals here. Three here today who are returning to Westminster College in Fulton just as they did on March 5, 1946, when they were here to hear Winston Churchill and Harry Truman from this stage.

They are, first of all, Earle Harbison from St. Louis. Earl, are you with us? There he is.

(Applause.)

MR. RILEY: Welcome back, Earle.

Now, I'll tell you a quick — a very, very quick story. Earle did not have a ticket to get into the gymnasium that day, and he heard the speech from the loud speakers outside. Am I correct? I'm glad you're inside today.

The other two gentlemen who did make it into the gymnasium and are back here with us today, Rob Linnemeyer. Rob, are you here? A Westminster alumnus, welcome back.

(Applause.)

MR. RILEY: He was outside, too? Okay. Good. I'm glad you made it in

this time.

Of course, one gentleman I know for certain was inside the gymnasium. He was a member of the Skulls of Seven. We saw the processional. He led the processional, led President Truman and Harry Truman to the stage. We're welcome to welcome — please welcome him back, Baxter Watson. Baxter.

(Applause.)

MR. RILEY: He's here somewhere. Thank you, Baxter.

So these individuals, like all of you, are eye witnesses to history and help support and sustain our mission and purpose. Without you we couldn't do what we do, and we're very, very grateful for that. Thank you for helping us commemorate, helping us celebrate, and relish in all things Churchill.

We've got work ahead in the next 50 years, but I know together we will, as Churchill said from this space in 1946, take the high roads of the future. With that I thank you. I hope you have enjoyed your lunch.

In about a little under half hour, 2:30, we will begin a parade in downtown Fulton. I invite you to — to watch that great parade. We have some of the same units who were here in the dedication. Some of the same units marching in the parade who were here in 1946. It will be a great day to be in Fulton. Once again, thank you.

MR. ASHCROFT: This fine institution, and on behalf of Governor Parson, I pleased to read this resolution:

Whereas, both the Church of St. Mary the Virgin Aldermanbury in Fulton, Missouri, and the museum in its undercroft form America's National Churchill Museum, the only organization recognized by Congress as America's permanent tribute to Winston Churchill;

And, whereas, America's National Churchill Museum is both the living history and erect representation of the life of Winston Churchill and the beginning of the cold war;

And, whereas, the museum's *Breakthrough* sculpture by Edwina Sandys, granddaughter of Winston Churchill includes a portion of the Berlin wall that signifies the end of the cold war;

And, whereas, former President Harry Truman invited Winston Churchill to give his famous speech on the campus of a college in Truman's home state of Missouri;

And, whereas — you know, there’s an awful lot to talk about what happened here because of your ancestor, Edwina.

Whereas, the 17th century church is the stunning and monumental memorial to Winston Churchill and his “Sinews of Peace/Iron Curtain Speech” made on the campus of Westminster College in 1946;

And, whereas, America’s National Churchill Museum is celebrating the 50th anniversary of the rededication of the Church of St. Mary the Virgin Aldermanbury in Fulton, Missouri, and is the only British heritage church in the United States physically relocated from the City of London to its new home on American soil;

Whereas, the museum provides an innovative and interactive opportunity for visitors to experience the life, leadership, and legacy of Winston Churchill;

Therefore, it is now proclaimed that May 7, 2019, to be Sir Winston Churchill day in Missouri.

(Applause.)

MR. RILEY: Thank you very much. We will place this with pride in the museum later this afternoon. May 7th is the actual 50th anniversary date, and we very much appreciate that.

So, everyone, happy anniversary.

50TH ANNIVERSARY LECTURE

“SINEWS OF HISTORY”

DAVID M. RUBENSTEIN

SATURDAY, MAY 4, 2019

MR. RILEY: I hope everyone had a delicious meal.

(Applause.)

MR. RILEY: Very good. I'd like to thank the excellent staff of our Fresh Ideas catering team for having a banquet in a gym. You have done a fabulous job. Thank you.

I have the distinct pleasure of introducing a gentleman that has really been the glue that has made this weekend work. Mr. Philip Boeckman is the Senior Fellow of the Association of Fellows of Churchill college – Churchill Museum, Westminster College.

Philip is a distinguished alumnus, an attorney, a friend. His full bio is written in your program, so I won't read here what's written there. But suffice to say that Churchill himself I think would be proud of the senior fellow here Philip Boeckman. Philip...

(Applause.)

MR. BOECKMAN: Thank you, Tim, and good evening, everyone. And thank you so much for joining us here tonight.

I've got the great honor of telling you that thanks to your incredibly generous support, the 50th anniversary celebrations mark the single largest fundraiser for the Aldermanbury Church and the museum in their history since the relocation in the 1960s.

(Applause.)

MR. BOECKMAN: We've managed to raise over \$800,000* for the critical preservation of the church.

(Applause.)

*Upon completion of 50th anniversary celebration, fund-raising totals eclipsed \$1 million.

MR. BOECKMAN: I'm also honored to be able to introduce tonight's keynote speaker, David Rubenstein.

So when Churchill spoke here in 1946, he spoke for actually about 50 minutes. And I think to do justice to David's accomplishments and career, it would probably take about that long.

And since, while I do wear a medal, my speaking skills are nowhere — no way remotely Churchillian, I'll try to keep this brief so we can get David up on the stage.

As you will have seen though from reading in the program his background and what he's done over his career, he is the essence of a true Churchillian with a ferocious appetite for learning, engaging, sharing, leading, and I would even say a little bit of reinvention.

But I think what really makes David so perfectly suited for this important occasion here is his passion for history and for his country. While Churchill, like any man, was not perfect, he was undoubtedly a patriot and also a great believer in history and its importance and as a guide post. What David's done to preserve American history and to make it available to the citizens of the country is really incredible and quite laudable.

I'd also encourage you to please try to watch his television show, Peer to Peer. Not only does he give, I think, you know, really compelling interviews with really the most interesting leaders of our time, you'll also see on the show that he has I think the most brilliant poker face of all time. No matter who his guest is or what his guest may say or not say, David doesn't flinch.

However, I think it's not just a great poker face but really what comes through is a genuine respect and interest in his guests. And for we mid-westerners here tonight, I think that sort of respect and interest is something we can particularly appreciate and understand.

So, David, while it might seem odd for a kid from Baltimore who spent a lot of his life in Washington, I'd like to say, just as Truman did to Churchill, welcome home.

(Applause.)

MR. RUBENSTEIN: Thank you for that kind and overly generous introduction.

How many people here are descendents of Winston Churchill? Okay. Can you stand up, the descendents? Okay. Well, thank you very much for

coming. And thank you for the legacy.

(Applause.)

MR. RUBENSTEIN: How many people here heard Churchill's speech in 1946? One, two, three. Three people. Well, four, five.

(Applause.)

MR. RUBENSTEIN: How many people here flew 43 combat missions in World War II?

(Applause.)

MR. RUBENSTEIN: All right. Okay. Okay. Thank you. Thank you for your service.

How many of you are graduates of Westminster? Okay.

(Applause.)

MR. RUBENSTEIN: How many of you — all right. How many of you want to be graduates of Westminster? Okay. How many of you are donors to Westminster? Okay. How many of you will be donors to Westminster? Okay.

On my TV show — I don't know if anybody's watched it, but it's a show that what happened was, to be honest, I became the president of the Economic Club of Washington a few years ago, and I was supposed to just bring business people in to speak.

And I was told just get a business person to speak, then questions come up from the audience, read the questions, and then that's it four times a year.

I started doing this, and I realized that business people are really not that gifted in the speaking world, and people were falling asleep. So I — and the questions that came up from the members were even worse than the speeches.

So I would get the cards, and I would pretend I was reading a question from a member, but I was making it up. And I was trying to do it with some humor, and people liked it.

So Bloomberg saw it, and they said, why don't you do this on TV? I said okay. And they said, we'll call it the David Rubenstein show. And I said, geez, I don't know if a long Jewish name is really going to work. And they said, well, at Bloomberg we don't think it's a problem.

So before the show actually started though, I had some interviews with people at the Economic Club of Washington. Right before when we were looking for a speaker one time, somebody say, why don't we — this is in 2014 I think it was. Why don't we get Donald Trump? I said, well, Donald Trump, I know him, but I don't really think, you know, he'd be a great speaker.

They said, how do you know him? I said, well, here's how I know him. My parents grew up — my parents were blue collar workers. They were not college educated. They retired to a suburb of Baltimore called West Palm Beach, Florida.

And they thought that Palm Beach was for wealthy people, and they really would never go to Palm Beach because they didn't think they were appropriate. They just were blue collar people. They didn't think they go to Palm Beach.

But when I would want to have a wedding event or celebration or something for my parents, I would bring them — I said we go to Mar-a-Lago. You didn't need to be a member, to be honest. You just have a credit card, you get in.

So we would have a lot of these events there with my family. And every time, tall man with kind of orange hair would show up and want to get in the middle of the photos. So I go back over the years, I see most of my family events have a tall man in the middle of it photo bombing my family events.

So eventually after about six years of this, I said, you know, I'm in the business world, too. He said, yes, I've heard of you. You've got good firm and so forth. And that was about it. That's the extent of my relationship.

But I sent him a letter, Donald Trump, and I said, would you come to the Economic Club of Washington and let me interview you? And within five minutes I got a fax letter back saying, I'll be there. Just give me the date. So we arrange the date.

He came to the green room, and he said, David, ask me anything you want, no problems, but ask me two questions for sure. What are they?

First one is ask me if I'm running for president. And I said president of what? He said, President of the United States. I said, Donald, you have no chance of being president of the United States. I've lived in Washington 40 years. You're never going to be president of the United State. He says, I know, but I'll help my brand for a couple months. I'll do it. Okay.

What's the second question? Ask me if my hair is real. And you pull the hair and show people it's real because people think it's fake. I said, geez, I don't feel comfortable pulling your hair, but I'll ask you about it.

Well, we had a good interview, and the only question I stumped him on was this. I said, Donald, you know, I sometimes feel like I don't know if I should do this or that. I have self-doubt. You ever have any self-doubt about anything? He says, what is self-doubt? What do you mean? So he didn't know.

So — so, anyway, the interview was covered live on C-SPAN. C-SPAN2 I think it was. The next day Donald called me up and said, David, it was the best interview I've ever had, and I want to thank you for doing it. And I'm going to make you an honorary member of Mar-a-Lago. And, by the way, you should know that it was the highest rated show in the 40-year history of C-SPAN.

So I called Brian Lamb, the founder, and I said, what were the ratings? They said, there are no ratings. Nobody could know. So, anyway.

When I received the invitation to speak here, I thought, this must be a mistake. And very daunting to speak at the same lectern as Winston Churchill, in the same gym as Winston Churchill. You know, I really — it wasn't appropriate for me.

So I had three questions that came to my mind. One, was somebody else they had intended to invite. Because sometimes I've been confused with another person who has the same initials as DR, and it's David Rockefeller, Jr.

And because there's a connection that some of you may not have known about. When my ancestors were coming over from England as it turned out, they came to Ellis Island, and their name was Rockefeller. But they said, we want a nice, ethnic Jewish name so people know we're Jewish. So they got rid of Rockefeller and made it Rubenstein.

So sometimes I — you know, people get confused, DR, DR. So I thought maybe the invitation was for David Rockefeller, Jr. to come, so I thought it was a mistake.

And sometimes, you get e-mails or invitations that are a mistake or get the mail from somebody else. Well, I thought it was somebody else's invitation. So the first question was, you know, is it a mistake? Later I checked, and they said it wasn't a mistake.

I said the second question in my mind, is it appropriate for me to give a

speech at the same lectern as Winston Churchill?

MS. SANDYS: Yes!

MR. RUBENSTEIN: Well, that's not what my children said. They said — and my friends said, you know, we know you. You're a friend of ours, but you're no Winston Churchill.

And then I said to myself a third question. What could I possibly say that would live up to the standards of Winston Churchill? What could I possibly say that would remind people of Winston Churchill in some way?

And I thought, do I have any connections to Winston Churchill? And I thought about three of them. One, I have an American mother. Two, I have a receding hairline. And three, I have an expanding waistline. Those were the only things that I thought I had in common with Winston Churchill. So I said, I'm not sure I should accept this invitation.

But Philip, among others, talked to me, and he said, it's okay. We know you're not Winston Churchill, and we have very, very, very low expectations, so please accept. And so I'm honored to be here, and I wanted to let you know that.

But as I was thinking about this, I got a letter that came to me on my iPad. Some of you may have gotten these kind of things as well. It came from Winston Churchill.

Dear, Mr. Rubenstein. I understand that you'll be delivering the speech at the 50th anniversary of the opening of the Churchill Museum at Westminster College this year.

I guess it was not possible to get a former prime minister to do that, but couldn't they have at least tried to get a cabinet officer, a small state governor, or a mayor, or even a city council member? You're the best that they could do?

Now, I'm told that private equity is now a big thing in the US, but I must say I was more than a bit surprised that America has fallen to a level where a mere finance man, and not even a finance minister, is asked to fill the shoes of someone who almost single-handedly saved the western world. But so be it.

I'm writing to simply ask you to convey my appreciation to Westminster College for having invited me to speak nearly 75 years ago. That opportunity gave me the chance in a setting the whole world was watching to give my view on the emerging dangers of the Soviet Union, and it worked.

My views of the Soviet Union turned out to be right, and as a result the British people brought me back into the prime minister position, I won the Noble Prize for literature, my paintings improved and actually became marketable, I became an honorary American citizen, and I lived to the age of 90.

I am convinced, therefore, that speaking at Westminster College is looked upon quite favorably by God for good things happen afterwards, most especially a long life. This, of course, assumes you give a good, thoughtful, and meaningful speech like mine. So no pressure, but your future career and the length of your time on this earth depends on how you do in your speech. I will be watching intently.

Please give me regards to my friends at Westminster College and let them know that my day in Fulton was one of the most enjoyable days in my long life.

Best regards, Winston Churchill.

So —

(Applause.)

MR. RUBENSTEIN: So I'll do the best I can. I don't know whether I'll have a long life as a result of this, but I'll try to do the best I can at capturing a few ideas.

And I call my speech "Sinews of History," and I talk about American history a little bit. But I want to make sure everybody knows, I am not a scholar of Winston Churchill. The greatest scholar of Winston Churchill is Andrew Roberts. He's sitting right there.

He has written the best one-volume book on Winston Churchill, also the longest one-volume book on Winston Churchill. It's an extraordinary book, and I'm going to interview Andrew for a TV show in New York later this week. And I hope all of you will watch the interview not too long from now. It will be on public broadcasting. I'm very much looking forward to it.

I will just give you my own perspectives on why the speech here got so much attention and why we still remember it nearly 75 years later. First of all, the speech actually was extremely well-crafted, and had Shakespeare himself been asked to rewrite it, I doubt that he could have made many improvements.

It was a masterfully written. Word-for-word Winston Churchill worked

on it, and like all of his speeches, carefully done, masterfully written. But, secondly, it was masterfully given.

Many people write great speeches, but they can't deliver them. And some people have terrible speeches, and they give a good delivery. But this speech was well-written, well-crafted, and it was delivered in a way that the best Shakespearean actor, Lord Olivier, perhaps could not have done a better job. So to some extent we remember it because the way it was written was beautiful, the way it was delivered was wonderful.

And I have no doubt that the American politicians who were sitting there were saying, uh-oh, this is an incredible standard. We could never live up to this standard. And the American people sitting there saying, how come we don't have any politicians that can speak like that and write speeches like that.

So it was the delivery, it was the wording, but also it was the message. At that time for those who may not remember, Winston Churchill was not then the prime minister. Amazingly he had been cast out. His party lost. And so after being prime minister throughout the war and helping to win the war for Great Britain, he was the leader of the opposition party.

And so when he came here, he was not the Prime Minister, but he had an important message he wanted to give. And the message was essentially that the Soviet Union was not living up to the promises that had been given at Potsdam and at Yalta, and the Soviet Union was encroaching further west and actually were going to take over all of Eastern Europe if not more than that, and the Iron Curtain that Churchill talked about was descending.

At the time that was actually a novel message because people thought, wait a second, the Soviet Union lost more people in World War II than any other country. Uncle Joe Stalin seemed like a nice man. He was our ally. How could we be so critical of him? In fact, the New York Times the next day and other people said Churchill was an alarmist.

Now, as time past we know Churchill was not an alarmist. He was telling us exactly what was going to happen. And had we listened to him and had people taken his warnings to heed right away, maybe we could have shortened the Cold War. Maybe we could have been more successful in the Cold War in some respects, and maybe the world would be different. But we didn't. People criticized him a bit, but now the speech is seen as so prescient that it captures everybody's memory.

But suppose I had been here giving that same speech in 1946 or any of you had given the same speech, would it still have the same resonance, the

same message, the same delivery? Would it have the same resonance? No. Because it was given by Winston Churchill.

And why is it so different when Winston Churchill gives that speech than if any of you gave it or I gave it? Well, the answer is this. He was a man who captures the American attention and still does the way no other foreigner has ever captured America's attention.

For example, he was the first person not an American citizen to be given honorary American citizenship. The first one. There've only been eight people who've been given honorary American citizenship. He was the first one. And why did we give it to him? Why did Congress give him that? Because of the life story is so compelling.

He had many trials and tribulations through a long life. And, in fact, at the age of 64 — had he died at 64, we wouldn't have remembered him probably because he had so many failures in his life, early in his life in military conquests or military losses or in World War I.

But it wasn't until he was 65 years old that he actually became prime minister. Think about it. Many people here, many people I know at 65 they're ready to go play a little shuffleboard or maybe slow down a bit. Of course, today increasingly, I think 65 is a teenager, but for many people 65 in those days was relatively old to be assuming a new position. But he became prime minister at 65. So we admire him because he came back from many defeats, many difficult times in his life.

And his message to Europe and to England and to the United States was Nazis have to be stopped, and finally he got a chance at 65, become prime minister, and to actually do something to stop the Nazis. His story is also compelling about Winston Churchill because Winston Churchill won the war.

With the help of Americans and other people, he won the war. So the image is he came back from defeat and oblivion in many ways, and as prime minister he rallied the British people, he rallied the American people, and he really made it possible for us to beat the Nazis.

Just think about this. Suppose Winston Churchill had not been the prime minister. Suppose Neville Chamberlain had remained the prime minister. How many people here think that history would have gone the same way? It wouldn't have. Churchill almost single-handedly rallied the western world. And so we admire him for that.

We also admire him because of his language and his literary skills. Remember, he won the Nobel prize for literary but also for orator as well as

part of the prize because he had a way of speaking, way of communicating that honestly we see very few public figures able to replicate that.

And then amazingly after he was cast out as prime minister after World War II was won, he stayed as the leader of the opposition. He came back as prime minister later in his 70s. And what he did then was also quite remarkable.

So the reason we admire this speech and we admire Churchill for having given it was his message was he prescient, and he was such a unique person that America's really honored him with our citizenship.

So what would he said if he were here today? If he were here today, would he say, there is another problem? What would he warn us about? What I suspect — and nobody really knows what he would say, so it's easy to say this is what he might say.

But he probably would say that, actually, the Cold War isn't really over. And while we think we won it in 1989, it's kind of resurfacing a bit, so don't ignore what's going on from the Soviet Union.

Secondly, he might say that terrorism that we now see spreading out from the Middle East and other parts of the world is now as dangerous a problem as the Cold War and the Soviet Union was. He might also say that what we're seeing from Asia is an effort from people in China and other parts of the world, but particularly in China, to really take over much of the western world in terms of technology, in terms of influence, and so forth.

And so there is a bit of a bamboo curtain that's descending on part of the world. So many people in the world are now being asked to pick between the United States technology, United States way of life and let's say a Chinese way of life or Chinese technology. Not quite the same as the Cold War, but Churchill might warn us about that.

And, of course, he might warn us that maybe Brexit is not in the best interest of Britain. Now some people, Andrew might think it is in the best interest, or Andrew has said the truth is we don't really know what Churchill would think. But it's fun to say whatever you think Churchill would think, and that's very popular to do.

So I don't know what Churchill would think, but I suspect he would warn us that whatever happens with Brexit would be a challenge for England, Europe, and the United States.

But I don't really know what Churchill would say and what he would warn us about. But let me tell you what I would like to have you be warned

about and think about. And it's this:

The greatest challenge to the United States today is not an external threat. The things that I just mentioned — Brexit, terrorism, China, things like that — might be significant and perhaps are re-emergents of the Cold War. I don't think that's our greatest challenge. We can overcome that. We can surely have the resources to conquer those problems.

I think the biggest problems we have are internal challenges not external challenges. Think about this. Right now the United States, the wealthiest country in the world, has \$22 trillion of debt. We're adding about \$1.3 trillion of debt every year in our budget.

So at some point when you have this much debt, you have to pay the price. So one of the internal challenges I'm worried about is the amount of debt we have already and the amount of debt we're adding every year.

A second challenge is the entitlements program we have. When Social Security was set up, there were 34 workers for every retiree. Now we have two and a half workers for every retiree. And the truth is the Social Security system, the Medicare system, Medicaid system are basically going to go bankrupt unless we do something about it, and we have to do it sometime soon.

The third challenge is the state entitlement programs or state pension plans. The state pension plans are \$6 trillion dollars underfunded. So if you are collecting a state pension, you expect to, be careful because those plans together are \$6 trillion unfunded. Or underfunded.

Another challenge we have, internal challenge, is the problem of crime and gun crime. Today a hundred people are killed in the United States by guns every single day. A hundred people. At that rate our rate of gun killings in the United States is 25 times the rate of any other developed country in the world. 25 times. So that's another internal challenge we have to deal with.

Another challenge is obesity. One-third of Americans are by the definition of the US government obese. One-third. And if you're obese, the chance of your getting many diseases, heart problems, and other related things like diabetes is very, very high, and the cost of the country is very high, so that's another challenge for our country.

Another challenge is income inequality. Today 1 percent of the population owns roughly half the wealth. 1 percent of the population owns half the wealth. And related to that is social mobility. When people at the bottom of the economic totem pole don't think they can get to the top, they stop working, and the result is you have a system where there's no longer a belief

in the American dream.

In my case I came from very modest circumstances. I believe in the American dream. I thought it was possible to rise up, and I was able to do so. But many people today at the bottom don't think that any more, and the rising level of income inequality and the lack of social mobility is making us a country of really two divisions, those people — the haves and the have-nots. And the have-nots don't think they can get to the top any longer.

Another problem we have in the country is illiteracy. Think about this. It's hard to believe, but there are 14 percent of American adults can not read past the fourth grade level. If you can't read past the fourth grade level, your chance of making any economic income of any consequence is modest. Very modest. And so today we have about 34 million people, adults, who are functionally illiterate. They can't read past the fourth grade level.

Another internal challenge we have is the high school drop-out rate. We are about a million and a half — million and a half high school students are dropping out of high school every single year. Every single year. A million and a half. Those people have the same problems. If you're a high school drop-out, your chances of being in the criminal justice system is terrific. And, in fact, it turns out that 60 percent of all federal prisoners are either high school drop-outs or functionally illiterate. So if you can't read, you're a high school drop-out, your chance of being in the criminal justice system is extraordinary.

Another problem we have is, unfortunately, opiates. We are today in a situation where roughly 75,000 people a year are dying of opiates. Opiates overdose. 75,000 people. No doubt some of you have been affected by this in friends or family, and this problem is getting worst.

We also have a problem of a million and a half people in this country are homeless. A million and a half people are homeless. And any of you go to big cities — I don't know how it is here, but if you walk in a big city, New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Washington DC, you often have to step over people who are living on the streets. And this problem is growing. It's not receding.

And I'll mention one last, which is the problem the federal government is bit at a stalemate. It's dysfunctional. When the system was set up, it was supposed to be checks and balances, but it was supposed to be not a system where nothing happened. And right now the major issues of the country, let's say immigration or infrastructure, are not being addressed at all by

Congress.

So you take a look at all these issues, and you say the biggest challenge we have is not Brexit and it's not terrorism and it's not China. It's our own inability to solve our problems and work together.

Now, I didn't mean to depress you. And I wanted to let you know that the truth is the United States has been the biggest economic power in the world since 1870, and we've been the biggest political power in the world and the biggest military power in the world since World War II.

And for at least another 25 years or so, we'll probably be the biggest economic power, and for most of the lifetime of everybody in this room, we'll be the most dominate political power and military power in the world.

We have enormous natural resources. We have incredible university system. Our university system is the envy of the world for sure. We have an entrepreneurial spirit. Despite the fact the government isn't working right now, it's a stable government. You don't have to worry about the government being overthrown, military takeovers and things you often worry about in other countries. And we also have in this country the opportunity, I think, to worship the way you want to worship.

So many of the great things that this country's built on are here, and they're here for a while. But we have to address some of these problems. Now let me address one other problem that I wanted to mention that I haven't mentioned. Now, all the ones I've mentioned all of you've heard about before, and I didn't tell you anything you probably didn't know. But let me tell you something that you may not have thought about it.

When this country was started, the principle on which it was based was articulated very well by Thomas Jefferson. In the Declaration of Independence he said, we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they're endowed by our creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Now, unfortunately he never defined happiness the rest of his life, and he lived around 50 years. And, of course, how could he have written that? He had two slaves with him, and he owned 200 slaves, so how could we say all men are equal? Obviously what he meant was all white, Christian men are equal.

But as we have interpreted this over the years and as Lincoln ultimately worked upon it when he said in the Gettysburg address, four score and

seven years ago, our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

He was echoing Jefferson, and what he felt was that all men, black and white men and women, are equal. Now, obviously, over many, many years after the Civil War, the Jim Crow Laws, the laws against women being able to vote, many things had to change before we got close to the creed that Jefferson was writing about.

What Jefferson wrote about was really the creed of this country. It was the creed that it was based on, and we hoped eventually that we would get to the point where all people are given equal opportunity, all people can do what they want, and entitled to pursue happiness. We haven't reached that, but we're making progress.

But I think increasingly the soul of our country is being lost in part not only for this reason but in part because people know so little about our country's history and so little about our government. They can't be effective citizens anymore.

Less than 50 percent of the people eligible to vote in this country vote in presidential elections. In state and lower office elections, less than 25 percent of the people eligible to vote vote. And I think when you have a democracy, if people don't participate in it, they lose their hope in the democracy, and they don't become effective citizens.

The reason this country has worked so well over the years and can be such an effective country and the country that everybody admires around the world is because it's a functioning democracy where people are part of the system. But as the voting percentages go down, it's getting to be harder and harder to believe that we can challenge — we can accomplish all we want and solve our internal problems by having citizens who don't participate in the system.

And not only do they not participate, they know so little about the government. They know so little about our history. It's hard to believe, but in 49 of the 50 states, in a recent test that was done, 49 — the citizens in 49 states who are native-born Americans could not pass the citizenship test that foreigners have to pass in order to become citizens.

A foreigner takes a test, and 91 percent of the foreigners pass the test when they take it. But in 49 of the 50 states when recently the test was done for native-born Americans, 49 states, 60 percent — you needed a 60 percent to pass the test, 60 percent approval rate, 60 percent correct answers. 49 of the 50 states had people who could not pass that test.

But other things are indicative of this as well. A recent survey by Annenberg showed that three-quarters of Americans, 75 percent, cannot name the three branches of government. The same survey showed that one-third of Americans cannot name a single branch of government. Another survey showed that 20 percent of Americans cannot tell you within 20 years either way which years the Civil War occurred. Ten percent of Americans think that Eisenhower was a general in the Civil War. Thirty percent of Americans think that George Washington crossed the Rhine River during the Revolutionary War. Thirty percent of Americans think that Larry Summers was the first treasury secretary. Twenty-five percent of Americans don't know that the right to free speech is guaranteed in the Constitution. And 10 percent of college graduates think that Judge Judy is a member of the United States Supreme Court, which is not yet the case.

So we don't — why has this happened? Well, because of our interest in STEM — and STEM is important — we don't teach civics any more in high school very much or junior high school. We don't teach American history very much in high school or in college. In fact, you can graduate from any college in the United States today without having to take an American history course. You can graduate from 80 percent of the colleges in the United States as a history major and not take an American history course.

So these are concerns of mine, and I try to do something about it. Let me talk about it briefly. And it came about by serendipity, and let me tell you what I mean.

I was minding my own business one day, and I got an invitation, and it said come and view the Magna Carta. It's in New York. I said, well, the Magna Carta must be in London. What's it doing in New York? I didn't know. And a friend of mine invited me.

I went there, and the person at the place called Sotheby's said it's actually being auctioned off. I said, how can you sell the Magna Carta? They said, well, there's 17 copies of the Magna Carta, 15 in British institutions, one in the Australian Parliament, and one was bought by Ross Perot in 1981 from a family in Britain who had gone land poor. They had it in their family for 500 years, and they needed to sell it or they would lose their estate.

So Ross Perot sent a lawyer over. His name is Tom Luce. He went over, negotiated the sale. He rolled it up in a tube, and he took it back through British customs.

And British customs said when he was leaving, what's in that tube? And he said, well, the Magna Carta. Of course, they thought it was a joke, but it actually was the Magna Carta.

He brought it back to the United States, and it was on display for a while. But then ultimately he put it up for sale. And I was told by the curator at Sotheby's that it would go to somebody from Russia or Saudi Arabia or South Africa.

And I thought clearly the Magna Carta, which was the inspiration for the Declaration of Independence and most of the Colonial charters, said that the colonies had the rights of the Magna Carta, the rights that were given to British citizens. So it was clearly important in our country's history. Some people would say more important in our history in many ways than it was in English history. So I thought one copy remain here, so I decided to go back the next night and buy it.

Now, I didn't want to tell anybody I was going to go buy the Magna Carta. It sounds presumptuous to say I'm going to buy the Magna Carta tomorrow. And I didn't want to tell my children. They might say, how much less money might this mean for us? I didn't want to tell them.

So I went back, and I went in the little room at Sotheby's. And they put you in a room if you're auctioning off, and I got carried away. And all of a sudden they said, boom. They said, sold. So I didn't — couldn't hear what they were saying.

They came into this room, and they said, you just bought the Magna Carta. Who are you? I said, well, I gave my name. They said, can you afford this? I said, well, I can. They said, as long as you can afford it, you can slip out the side door. Nobody will know who bought it. Or you can tell the hundred reporters there. And I said, no, I don't mind telling them.

So I went there, and I said, look. I came from very modest circumstances. My parents did graduate from college. My father never made more than seven or \$8,000 a year. I got where I am by scholarships and so forth, so I owe this country a great deal. And I want to give this as a gift to the country. So I'm going to put it in the National Archives, where it will be forever, and that's where it is today.

I realized that when you have something like the Magna Carta, what's happened since it's been there is Americans go and look at it, and they learn more about history. Because when they see it, they want to go and read more about it.

Now, you can catch the Magna Carta on the computer slide. But if you see the real document, you go back, and you read more about history. Maybe you learn more about it. So I realized that having historic documents in places where people can see them readily available would be a good way to educate people about history a little bit.

So I started buying historic documents. The Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, the Constitution, the Emancipation Proclamation, the 13th Amendment, which freed the slaves, and put them in places around the United States so people can see them and maybe learn a little bit more about American history.

And then another thing happened by serendipity. I was in Washington one day, and I'm the chairman of the Kennedy Center, the Kennedy Center Performing Arts. And on our board was the Secretary of Interiors designated person and the head of the National Parks Service.

He told me there been earthquake in Washington. I'd been out of town. I didn't know how serious it was. And he told me the Washington Monument had earthquake damage and have to close it for a year or two to fix it.

And I said, well, what's the problem? He said, well, getting the money out of Congress. It's going to take forever. I said, I'll tell you what. I'll put up the money. Forget the Congress. And so he said okay. And tell me — just tell how much it cost. I'll put up the money.

He later called me back and said it would cost a certain amount of money but now Congress says that they don't want anybody to get credit for doing something good, so could they put up some of the money. I said, okay, fine. So they did. So we fixed the Washington Monument.

And then I realized that people regard it as an important national treasure, and I began to say maybe I can fix up other things that people will go see if they're in better shape. So I began to fix up Monticello, Thomas Jefferson's home. Montpelier, James Madison's home, Arlington House at the top of Arlington Cemetery, the Iwo Jima Memorial, Mount Vernon, and other kinds of historic buildings. And people would go to these places more and maybe learn more about the history.

And my thinking was that maybe I could even educate members of Congress about history. So I started a program to educate members of Congress. Yes, about six years ago I started taking the best historians in the United States, and I interviewed them once a month in front of only members of Congress. And it's amazing that members of Congress actually are very interested in American history, and they learn more about it and they tell me this is the best thing they're doing in Congress, which is a sad commentary sometimes.

But so what I've been trying to do — and I tell you all this not to pat myself on the back but to say to all of you that we don't know that much about our country's history. We don't know much about our country's government

in many ways, and all of us should think about what we might be able to do to remind people about it. Because I think if we learn more about the country's history, learn more about what made this country great, how we were founded, maybe the soul of our country will be recaptured in some ways.

And so I'd like to tell everybody that I talk to, I'd like all of you to think about this. All of you, no doubt if you're in this room, you're obviously very successful people and very successful citizens, and clearly you're people that have done something philanthropically in life.

But think about what you might be able to do to make this country a slightly different place by one different — one thing or another. You don't have to do what I've done. I'm trying to remind people of American history in some ways, and I think that is a good way to do it. But there are many ways you can help this country.

And I'd like to remind people that philanthropy is an ancient Greek word that means loving humanity. Doesn't mean rich people writing checks. You can love humanity with your time, your energy, your ideas. Whatever you can do to help other people. Clearly that's what separates humans from the other species on the face of the earth.

We try to help people and have the capacity and interest in helping people who are not necessarily related to us but help other people maybe halfway around the world. So all of you, think about this. If you don't really want to do something to help the country or help humanity, let me give you an incentive. I have a view that those people who help the country live a longer life.

Now, the reason I say that is because when I talked to people who have done other things to help this country, they feel good about themselves. Nobody ever says, I just helped the country in some way, I feel bad about myself. I'm upset. I just fed some people in a food line. I just worked at a soup kitchen. I feel bad for doing that. I just gave some scholarships to people. I hate myself for doing that.

Nobody says that because they're happy that they've done something that made the country a slightly better place, and I think happy people live longer. People — my namesake, David Rockefeller, Sr., lived to be 102. And I'm also convinced that people that help the country not only live longer, but there's a special place in heaven reserved for them. Now, you might laugh about that, but why would you want to take a chance that I'm wrong?

So, now, I got inspired to help the country in part because I was trying to

atone for my sins. As a young man I worked in the White House. I got inflation to 19 percent under Jimmy Carter, and nobody's invited me back in the government since then. So I've been trying to atone for my sins.

But I actually traced it back not to having inflation to 19 percent and interest rates of 17 percent, which nobody's done since. I really trace it back to when I was in the 6th grade. John F. Kennedy gave a speech, January the 20th, 1961. Some of you may remember this. It was a speech where he modeled it very much after Winston Churchill. Winston Churchill was somebody that John Kennedy greatly admired.

Now, when Kennedy was president, he invited Churchill to come to the White House, and Churchill couldn't come at the time. But John Kennedy as a young man had met Churchill. He'd read his major speeches, he had read his major writings, and he really loved what Churchill did. Churchill in every speech would have what would be called a signature line. The line that is the one that people are going to remember. And Kennedy wanted to have that in his inaugural address.

He worked with Ted Sorensen, his great speechwriter, and they had a line, and all of you may remember it. Ask not what your country can do for you but what you can do for your country.

And my 6th grade teacher went over that with me line for line, word for word, the entire speech. The whole speech was poetry in prose form. But that signature line stood out. And I always said to myself, what can I do to give back to my country?

And this resonated with me all the time that we should try to give back to this country which made our lives so wonderful and made us possible to do so many things that we probably couldn't do if we're in many other countries.

And at that speech when it ended, John Kennedy actually ended it with something that I think is also important for all of you to think about.

He said, with a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love asking His blessing and His help but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.

So I just ask all of you to think about this. What you might be able to do to make this world a better place and make this country a better place and do God's work on earth.

Don't think — don't ignore what happened to or don't forget what

happened to somebody named Alfred Nobel. Alfred Nobel was sitting at his breakfast table in Stockholm one day, and he read his obituary. Said Alfred Nobel just died. Now he's reading it. And it said, thank God he's gone. The merchant of death, the inventor of dynamite, he's gone.

Well, Alfred Noble realized that it was his brother who had died, but the newspaper people got it wrong. But he had the advantage of then watching and reading his own obituary.

Now, if any of you were to be able to read your own obituary, would you be happy with it? Would you all say, I'm happy with my life? Okay, I've done everything I can do, okay. But suppose you had a chance to say, well, I got maybe some things I wouldn't want in the obituary. Some things I would want. So think about what you can do to give back to this country.

Doesn't have to be one of the things I've chosen, to remind people about history. I listed about ten different problems this country has, internal challenges from homelessness to obesity to drop-out rates to gun violence. What can you do, ask yourself, in one little way, one form or another to make this world a better place, this country a better place, and tackle some of these problems. The ones I've just chosen is history, but there can be many others that you can pick.

And let me conclude with a letter that I also received today from somebody else, Harry Truman.

Dear Mr. Rubenstein. I hope you will not forget me in your remarks at Fulton. I was the one who persuaded Churchill to come to Missouri and accompanied him on a long train ride from Washington. It was a profitable venture because Churchill was such an inexperienced poker player that we made a fair amount of money along the way.

Please tell my friends at Westminster that as Daniel Webster once said about his alma mater, it is a small college, but there are those of us who love it. I really love Westminster College and wish I could have attended.

And if they need any help in getting speakers in the future, tell them to let me know. I am sure I can find someone big enough to make up for the fact that you are the best they could get this year.

That will not be hard. I guarantee you. But give everyone hell while you have the lectern. They deserve it for picking you this year.

Best regards, Harry Truman.

Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

MR. RUBENSTEIN: Thank you. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you.

MR. BOECKMAN: Well, thank you very much, David. You know, Andrew Roberts spoke at lunch today on Churchill and humor, and I actually think we can now call that speech Churchill/Rubenstein in humor.

Edwina Sandys today in front of her *Breakthrough* sculpture said that words matter, and Churchill embodied that in how he spoke and how he lived. And certainly, you know, your address tonight, words matter, history matter, and we so appreciate you joining us and sharing with us. So thank you again.

(Applause.)

MS. SANDYS: By the way, I think this most brilliant that David did tonight. I've heard so many speeches, but I think tonight has been brilliant. And I think that if my grandfather had been here, it would have been very exciting for him, and they could have had a very good conversation. Congratulations.

MR. RUBENSTEIN: Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you.

(Applause.)

MR. BOECKMAN: I'd also like now to introduce Jean-Paul Montupet, who was my predecessor as Senior Fellow of the Association of Churchill Fellows and is the vice-chairman of the International Churchill Society.

(Applause.)

MR. MONTUPET: Thank you very much. On behalf of the Association of Churchill Fellows and of the International Churchill Society, I'm delighted to welcome you as the newest member of the Association of Churchill Fellows. If you would accept this medal.

MR. RUBENSTEIN: Thank you very much. Thank you.

MR. RILEY: And, David, don't go away yet, please. We also have one other item we'd like to present to you this evening.

With our extended thanks for your great remarks, for your visit to the museum, and to ensure that you come back whenever you'd like, we'd like to present to you this eyewitness to history. This is an original ticket to the

1946 speech in this gymnasium.

(Applause.)

MR. RILEY: It admits one, and it doesn't expire, so we hope to get you back.

MR. RUBENSTEIN: Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you.

MR. RILEY: And, finally, I'd like to thank each of you. For without your support, your attendance, your continued commitment to Churchill, to the great monument of St. Mary the Virgin Aldermanbury, to Westminster College, and to history, we are grateful.

And we commemorate and celebrate 50 years looking very much forward to the next 50 to introduce new generations to the legacy and leadership of Winston Churchill so that those who come here for the 100th anniversary will look back perhaps as Jim Bennett said, toast the trustees of the class of 2019.

With that I will bid you good night. I thank all of our speakers, distinguished members of the Churchill family, fellows, trustees, faculty, alumni, students, and staff of Westminster College.

Please join us tomorrow at ten o'clock a.m. for a very special service in the historic church of St. Mary the Virgin Aldermanbury where we will induct the rest of the fellows into the class of 2019. So we hope to see you not only this evening but also tomorrow morning at church.

Thank you again and good night.

(Applause.)

59TH JOHN FINDLEY GREEN FOUNDATION LECTURE

FOR THOSE WHO CHERISH FREEDOM: DEMOCRACY
IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY”

**FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE
DR. MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT**

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 2019

DR. ALBRIGHT: Thank you, Janice Mathews-Gordon, for those very kind words and for the example you have set for the women of Westminster College. Thank you as well, to President Lamkin and the Board of Trustees at Westminster for this honorary degree, which I will cherish.

It is a great privilege to be invited to deliver the 59th Green Foundation Lecture. I look at the Green Foundation lecture series with some awe. You have had former Presidents, Prime Ministers, Nobel Prizewinners and even a rock musician. I am none of those things. But I am a professor, so I love captive audiences, and I am a former diplomat, so I love to give speeches.

I also have a deep affection for the state of Missouri, in part because it is where I had my first job. I was newly-married at the time and just out of college. My husband was in the army, stationed at Fort Leonard Wood, and I lived about 90 miles south of here in Waynesville. I inhabited a converted motel room and drove thirty miles to work each day at the Rolla Daily News, where I wrote obituaries and articles for the society page, reported the occasional sports story, and even interviewed folks who had spotted UFOs. I also sold classified ads. My favorite read, “Cemetery plot, owner must move, will sell at sacrifice.”

There’s another reason I love Missouri. It gave America the gift of Harry Truman, who was my first American president. I do not have to tell this audience that Truman was both a remarkable leader and a remarkable man. Nor do I have to tell you about his lifelong affection for this state or his special connection to Westminster College. As you know, it was at Truman’s invitation that Winston Churchill came here to deliver the seventh Green Foundation Lecture in March of 1946. One reason Churchill accepted the invitation was that Truman promised to introduce him at the

speech. It was an unusual gesture by a sitting American president towards a former British prime minister. But perhaps even more unusual was the fact that Truman gave Churchill a ride from Washington to Missouri aboard the presidential train, the Ferdinand Magellan. The two of them were joined on that long journey by a number of Truman's "associates" from back home. One historian likened the scene to a political rally and party bus rolled into one, with alcoholic beverages flowing freely except when people paused to eat. You might think this atmosphere appealed to Winston Churchill, but he actually told one of Truman's aides, and I quote, "I deplore some of your customs ... you stop drinking with your meals."

My flight yesterday was decidedly less eventful, but I was excited nonetheless to make the trip to Fulton. I was also thrilled, a little earlier today, to be inducted into the National Churchill Museum's Association of Churchill Fellows. This is a milestone year for the Museum, as it celebrates its 50th anniversary. So I am grateful to now be associated with its important mission.

As someone whose earliest memories are of London and the British countryside during World War II, I have always felt a special connection to Winston Churchill. My family and I were in England because Churchill's government was playing host to the Czechoslovak government in exile, whose cause my father served. So we saw first-hand how Churchill rallied his countrymen to unite against the Nazi darkness, endure the Blitz, and find space for the continent's refugee children. I vividly recall listening to Churchill's stirring wartime oratory on the BBC. I remember especially the impact it had on my parents, who drew strength from his pledge to the people of Czechoslovakia, in the dark days of 1940, that their "hour of deliverance will come."

It would be six grueling years before my family could return home. When we did, we found that Czechoslovakia's democracy was still under threat, only this time from the Communist east. It was not clear whether anyone in the West understood the nature of the challenge posed by the Soviet Union, until Winston Churchill delivered his speech here in Fulton. The *Sinews of Peace*, as Churchill's Green Foundation Lecture was titled, is now recognized as a turning point in the history of international relations, shaping Western thinking and actions across the decades that followed. Churchill came to Missouri during what he called "a solemn moment for American democracy." In the aftermath of global conflict, the American people were weary of war and wary of new commitments. But here in the heart of the country, Winston Churchill argued that the security and prosperity of Europe and the United States were closely connected, and that America had a responsibility to lead.

“The United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power,” Churchill explained. “But with primacy in power is also joined an awe inspiring accountability to the future.”

At the time of Churchill’s speech, that future was deeply uncertain. Many argued that he was exaggerating the Soviet threat. Others felt that America need not concern itself with Stalin’s salami-slicing tactics in Europe. But America did not shun responsibility or avoid risk after World War II, as it had done after World War I. Instead, President Truman responded with vision and boldness – helping unify Europe’s west around democratic principles and planting the seeds of transatlantic partnership that would soon blossom in the form of NATO and the cooperative institutions of a new Europe. The success of that strategy owes much to the message Churchill delivered at Westminster.

Ronald Reagan said of Churchill’s lecture, and I quote, “out of one man’s speech was born a new Western resolve. Not warlike, not bellicose, not expansionist – but firm and principled in resisting those who would devour territory and put the soul itself into bondage.”

Reagan spoke those words here in Fulton, one year after the Berlin Wall had been toppled, during the dedication of Edwina Sandys “Breakthrough” sculpture.

In the coming months, we will celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the Berlin Wall coming down. So it is appropriate that the theme of this year’s Hancock Symposium is “breakthrough.” When I walked across Latshaw Plaza today and saw those sections of the Berlin Wall, I was transported back to 1989. I thought of the jubilation I felt, as a Czechoslovak by birth and an American by choice, when communism came to an end in Eastern Europe. It seemed, in those days, as though history had begun to gallop – as it had in the years following World War II. After decades of darkness, the entire continent was flooded with light. That enabled us – or so we thought – to look forward to a united Europe and to a world where democratic ideals would have an uncontested claim to the high ground. To borrow Churchill’s phrase, it was a solemn moment for American democracy. We were the world’s unchallenged superpower, and our allies were looking to us to lead.

When I served in the Clinton administration in the 1990s, I had a chance to make the most of that opportunity. In fact, when I became secretary of state in 1997, I quickly began referring to myself as the last secretary of state of the twentieth century and the first secretary of state of the twenty-first. The only problem with saying that was that it assumed President Clinton would not fire me before his term was up. Well, he didn’t, so I was.

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, our overriding goal was to bring nations closer together around some of the ideas that Churchill had talked about in his speech – shared economic principles, a commitment to peace, and support for the rule of law. We worked to strengthen our NATO alliance and erase any trace of the iron curtain by adding qualified new members from Europe’s newly democratic east.

I will never forget welcoming the foreign ministers of the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland to Independence, Missouri, where we signed the documents admitting them to NATO on the table Harry Truman used to authorize the Marshall Plan. While our starting point was the trans-Atlantic partnership, we also had key allies in Asia and were able to create a Community of Democracies in 2000 that attracted more than 100 participants. It helped that the international economy was in good shape and that America’s budget was in surplus.

The world was still a deeply troubled place, but we did not feel that problems were out of control; we had tools we could use, friends we could count on, and multilateral institutions with legitimacy and clout.

Today, as we approach the end of the second decade of the twenty-first century, much has changed – and unfortunately not for the better. The future seems filled with puzzles to which there are no readily apparent solutions. Democracy appears to be in retreat. And the pillars of the postwar international system are weakening.

The questions I have been grappling with lately are: what went wrong? What can we do to restore democracy’s momentum? And what can America do to reclaim its mantle of leadership? I will attempt, in my remaining time, to offer some answers. But let me first give you some perspective.

In the decade that followed the Cold War’s end, American foreign policy was built in large measure on the premise that democracy is the best means yet discovered to make progress toward what most people want: security, justice, prosperity, and peace. But by the time I left government in 2001, the post-Cold War euphoria had already begun to dissipate. Democracies, instead of being compared to totalitarian states, were judged on whether they were meeting the expectations of their citizens – a much higher standard. Many cleared the bar, but others were falling short because of corruption, crime, a failure to meet economic benchmarks, and officials who disregarded the responsibilities of democratic leadership. Then came 9/11. Washington and much of the world shifted its attention to the fight against terrorism.

Guaranteeing security became the paramount issue. American troops were deployed to Afghanistan. The United States invaded Iraq, where the Bush administration sought to impose democracy – which is an oxymoron. I have never believed that the promotion of democracy could or should be militarized. And sure enough, the turmoil in Iraq made it harder to tout democratic ideals. Adding greatly to this challenge was the global financial crisis of 2008 and 2009, which shook the world's confidence in the post-Cold War international economic system.

Indeed, for years, experts have been telling us that most people would gain from liberal rules of trade and the advances wrought by innovative technology. But these gains have not been broadly shared. Instead, the fruits of expansion have been concentrated among the well educated in the major urban centers of the West and among broader segments of population in Asia, where the largest economies have decentralized and plugged into the global system.

This lopsided pattern created massive pockets of resentment in traditional manufacturing and farming sectors and among people without the high-tech training needed to compete in today's economy. Twenty years ago, we worried about the impact of change on the least developed nations.

Today, the people who see themselves most clearly as victims are concentrated in such places as the northern cities of England, the former East Germany, and America's industrial heartland. Their grievances are shaking up politics in these countries and beyond – and they have been amplified in recent years by the arrival of a record number of migrants and asylum seekers. Most of these migrants are fleeing conflict, economic catastrophe, and environmental degradation in other countries. In many ways, they are the ultimate victims of globalization – driven out of countries that have failed to develop and resented by those who feel their countries have changed too rapidly. The issue of immigration is complicated because countries have a right to protect their borders.

The best solution by far is to prevent wars, create a healthy global economy, and protect the environment so that people do not have to leave their homes in quest of safety and the means to survive. There are no easy answers, but of one thing I am sure. The situation is not helped when politicians try to advance their careers by suggesting that most migrants are terrorists and rapists – or that families fleeing persecution and war are less than human.

We see this alarmist message being conveyed daily by leaders who see fear as their ticket to power, and who argue that democracy can lead to a litany of perils – including vulnerability to terror and a loss of national identity

These leaders are part of a new generation of antagonists, including some chosen by elections, who claim that freedom must yield to other priorities. They want to take democracy out of the oven, leaving it half-baked, with noncompetitive elections, a dependent judiciary, shortcuts to due process, laws that equate political opposition with treason, and a press that is discredited, harassed, or controlled.

History teaches us that authoritarianism and the tendencies that lead to it are subject to imitation. Surveying the world today, we see apprentice autocrats copying repressive tactics that had their tryouts in Venezuela or Russia. We also see more and more countries employing squads of opinion-shapers to flood online sites and social media networks, where one can spread lies just as easily as truth. Of course, disinformation campaigns are hardly novel. However, just because a technique isn't new doesn't mean it's not dangerous. The cost of spreading falsehoods through social media is minimal and so, for those who are adept at it, is the effort required. The deployment of fact-checkers is helpful but can seem like dispatching a tortoise in pursuit of a hare that, unlike Aesop's, has no intention of slowing down. The rise of social media has also disaggregated voices, challenging traditional party structures while empowering outsiders. These include radical nationalist movements – some violent, some not – who are achieving notoriety as they draw online attention, make political inroads, and push the boundaries of public discussion toward bigotry and hate.

Many of these movements receive support from Russia, which has become a revisionist power under Vladimir Putin. His clear intent is to do what his Soviet predecessors could not – loosen the ties that bind Europe, divide the transatlantic community, and cause NATO to collapse from within. Under President Xi, China has become another leading global champion of authoritarianism, actively using its economic might to shape the world in its image, while pioneering new methods for monitoring and controlling its population through technology.

For almost as long as I have been alive, under both Republican and Democratic presidents, the world has been able to count on the United States to serve as the rock against which the forces of despotism run aground and break apart. That was the central message of Winston Churchill's speech here at Westminster. But what concerns me is that we may no longer be able to make that claim.

Before I elaborate, let me say that when I travel abroad, I follow diplomatic custom and avoid engaging in criticism of our president. Obviously, I am not abroad right now. And because Missouri is the "show me" state, I feel I must be blunt. Today we have a president who has become a source of comfort to anti-democratic forces across the globe, instead of rebutting

and challenging them. The president has picked fights with Europe over trade, climate change, Iran and NATO instead of rallying our democratic allies to push back against Russia and compete together against China. His central foreign policy theme is to ignore, disparage and dismantle the global system of international problem-solving and law that Americans led in creating. In its place, the president touts a world in which each country is only out for itself, competing constantly, and valuing material advantage over shared ideals. It is a world in which the strong strut, the weak submit, and people everywhere may be divided into patriots and subscribers to “the ideology of globalism,” whatever that may be.

All of this would be troubling enough on its own, but what we are seeing – not only on the far right but also on the far left – has disturbing echoes. It recalls the narrow-visioned naysayers that flourished in America in the 1920s and 1930s, the people who rejected the League of Nations, embraced protectionism, downplayed the rise of fascism, opposed help to the victims of aggression and ultimately endangered our own security – claiming all the while that all they were doing was “putting America First.” The isolationists were wrong in the 1930s; they are wrong now. Their view of our national interest is too narrow; their view of history too short; and their sense of public opinion – I believe – is wrong. That is because most Americans understand that what happens in the world affects almost every aspect of our lives. They also understand that there is hardly a major challenge in the world today that does not require like-minded countries to work together for the benefit of all.

If you reread Churchill’s speech, as I did before coming here, you will see he argued that American foreign policy should be aimed at creating an environment where markets are open, military clashes are constrained, and those who run roughshod over the rights of others are brought to heel. Embracing isolationism or supporting authoritarians will do nothing to accomplish those goals; helping other democracies will. After all, dictators may promise order, yet the plagues of violent extremism, civil strife, famine and epidemic disease are more likely to be present where human liberty and accountable leaders are absent. Dictators also promise prosperity, yet economic gains depend on innovation that is simply not possible when the liberty to pursue and exchange new ideas is snuffed out.

I have been in many arguments about which comes first, economic or political development. Clearly, they go together – because people want to vote and eat. Peer beyond the oceans and back through the decades, the verdict is clear: democracy is a more powerful driver of progress than any system that robs people of their incentive to do better, crimps creativity, and is rigidly controlled by the few.

A century ago, Woodrow Wilson urged us to build a world safe for democracy. My message today is that we must strive for democracy to keep our world safe. The question is how to do that. Well, we can begin by once again putting values at the center of American foreign policy. We can assemble a global coalition to stop Russia's attempts to spread lies and undermine democracy, recognizing the threat it poses to our security and our way of life. We can rally our democratic allies to address other global problems, including climate change, nuclear nonproliferation, terrorism, and a free, fair and open system of trade. We can restore vigor to the trans-Atlantic partnership in all areas – security, democracy, and trade. We can seek a cooperative relationship with China, while calling out its violations of human rights and countering its efforts to rewrite the rules of the global economy in its favor.

Whenever the United States has been confronted by countries or groups that wish us harm, our identification with freedom has provided us with our comparative advantage. We need to once again seize this advantage. But to do that we need leaders who see our democratic values not as a burden we must bear, but as an essential identity we should proclaim.

Now there are those who will tell you that it is naïve to place faith in democratic ideals, especially in this age. But as Chairman of the National Democratic Institute, I am proud to be part of a global network that is still working to help democracies succeed. And I can tell you that the people who are working on the frontlines of this effort are as realistic and clear-eyed as any people on earth. There is nothing inevitable about democracy. We know from experience that democratic transformations are possible, but we also know that they entail much sacrifice and hard work. As we saw during the Arab Spring, democracy is not instant coffee. It is a process that must brew gradually from within. And as we learned in Eastern Europe in the 1990s and 2000s, political and economic development have to go together. That is why we should do everything possible to help new and struggling democracies to earn public trust by providing basic services, fighting corruption, investing in their citizens, and building infrastructure that enables prosperity to happen.

Looking to the future, we know that the desire for democratic government remains deep and wide. Yes, many are dissatisfied, but the goal of most is to make democracy work better, not to abandon the framework of freedom. With that in mind, last year I began co-chairing an initiative – sponsored by the Atlantic Council – to promote a new international Declaration of Principles for Freedom, Prosperity, and Peace. The project aims to remind us that democracy is more than a word or even a system; it is a way of life that both trusts human nature and makes demands on it. We view our

declaration as a timely successor to the Atlantic Charter signed by Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt, which layed before the world all that was at stake in their confrontation with Nazism. To that end, we go beyond the familiar quartet of freedoms to emphasize protections for those who build democracy or attempt to defend it. We also seek to ally ourselves with the rising generation, whose members may be impatient with any government, but whose allegiance belongs on the side of free expression and the unfettered pursuit of truth.

In drafting this new declaration, we recognized that the free world is not threatened in the same manner now as it was in the 1940s. There are no massed armies intent on blitzkrieg or demented dictators vowing to conquer whole continents and, in the process, murder millions of people. However, the crisis of confidence we face is undeniable. Some decades ago, when Cold War tensions were at their highest, Walter Lippman wrote about the realities of his time in words that serve as a warning to ours: “With all the danger and worry it causes...the Soviet challenge may yet prove...a blessing. For...if our influence...were undisputed, we would, I feel sure, slowly deteriorate. Having lost our great energies [and] daring because everything was...so comfortable. We would...enter into the decline which has marked...so many societies...when they have come to think there is no great work to be done...and that the purpose of life is to hold on and stay put. For then the night has come and they doze off and they begin to die.”

Our challenge is to prove Lippman wrong; to employ our energy, retain our daring, and understand that our responsibilities are similar in magnitude, if not so obviously in drama, as those Winston Churchill spoke of here in 1946. Americans are doers, not victims. And we know what we need to do, in part because so many great leaders from across the political spectrum have come here to Fulton to show us the way.

I would like to conclude by quoting from the Green Foundation lecture delivered by one of those leaders, President George Herbert Walker Bush. “If we do not turn back on the world, but remain engaged; if we resist the insular temptations of isolationism and protectionism; if we remain confident of our values, true to our ideals and resist paralyzing self-doubt...we can begin to build that world of harmony and prosperity that we dreamed of when we fought the Second World War so many years ago.”

I am often asked whether I am an optimist or a pessimist; I reply that I am an optimist who worries a lot. I worry for all the obvious reasons – but I am an optimist because I truly believe in the universal validity of democratic ideals and the resilience of free societies. We may have started taking those ideals for granted, but enough alarm bells have sounded to

make complacency impossible.

I mentioned earlier that Winston Churchill declared during his visit to Fulton that American democracy was facing a defining test. I am no Churchill, but today I want to issue a call for action. I want to urge everyone – especially the students – to treat this as another clarifying moment in our history.

You are part of a generation that is more globally oriented than your predecessors. Here at Westminster, you come from more than thirty countries. And a decade or two from now, you could be known as neo-isolationists who allowed tyranny and lawlessness to rise again; or as those whose solidified the global triumph of democratic principles. You could be known as the neo-protectionists, whose lack of vision produced economic catastrophe; or as those who laid the groundwork for rising prosperity around the world. You could be known as the generation that allowed technology to drive a deeper wedge within and between nations; or as the visionaries who harnessed technology to unite people and expand freedom. You could be known as the world-class ditherers, who stood by while the seeds of renewed global conflict were sown; or as those that took strong measures to forge alliances, deter aggression and keep the peace. There is no certain road map to success, either for individuals or for generations.

Ultimately, it is a matter of judgment, a question of choice. In making that choice, you should call upon the proud history of this institution, and this lecture series, and remember that we have a responsibility, as others have had, not to be prisoners of history, but to shape history; to build with others a global network of purpose and law that will protect our citizens, defend our interests, preserve our values, and bequeath to future generations a legacy as proud as the one we celebrate today.

My thanks once again to Westminster College for granting me this honor and to all of you for your kind attention here this afternoon.

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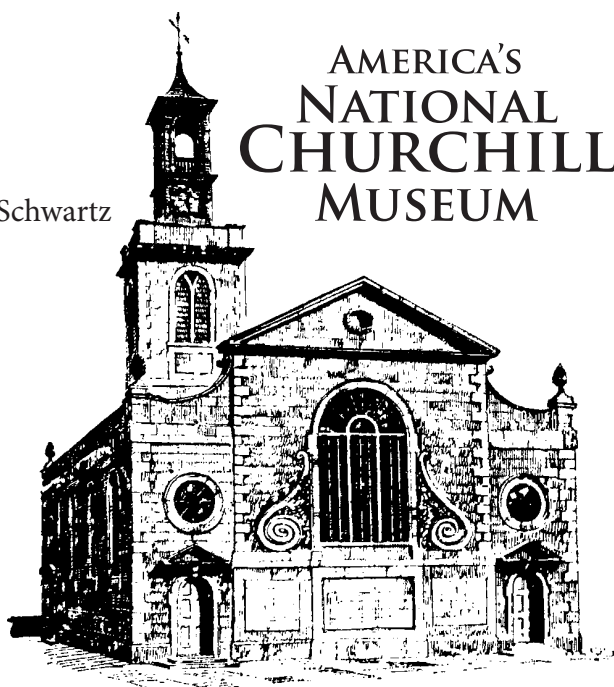
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