

VITAL SPEECHES *of the day*

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Impartial. Constructive. Authentic.

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A NEW BREED OF MULTILATERALISM

A strong multilateralism ... requires more than ever the United States' involvement, as your role was decisive for creating and safeguarding today's free world. The United States invented this multilateralism. You are the one now who has to help to preserve and reinvent it.

Address by EMMANUEL MACRON,
President, France



Delivered to a Joint Session of the United States Congress,
Washington, D.C., April 25, 2018

Mr. Speaker,
Mr. Vice President,
Honorable members of the United
States Congress,

Ladies and gentlemen,

It is an honour for France, for the French people, and for me, to be received in this sanctuary of democracy, where so much of the history of the United States has been written.

We are surrounded today with images, portraits and symbols, which remind us that France has participated—with heart in hand—in the story of this great nation. From the very beginning,

We have fought shoulder-to-shoulder many battles, starting with those that gave birth to the United States of America.

Since then, we have shared a common vision for humanity. Our two nations are rooted in the same soil, grounded in the same ideals of the American and French Revolutions. We have worked together for the universal ideals of liberty, tolerance, and equal rights.

And yet, this is also about our human, gutsy, personal bonds throughout history.

In 1778, the French philosopher Voltaire and Benjamin Franklin met in Paris. John Adams tells the story that after they had shaken hands, “they embraced each other by hugging one another in their arms and kissing each other’s cheeks”.

It can remind you of something!

And this morning, I stand under the protective gaze of La Fayette, right behind me. As a brave young man, he fought alongside George Washington and forged a tight relationship, fuelled

by respect and affection. La Fayette used to call himself a “son of the United States”. And, in 1792, George Washington became a son of America and France, when our First Republic awarded citizenship to him.

Here we stand, in your beautiful capital city, whose plans were conceived by a French architect, Charles L’Enfant.

The miracle of the relationship between the United States and France is that we have never lost this special bond deeply rooted not only in our history, but also in our flesh.

This is why I invited President Donald Trump for the first Bastille

Day Parade of my presidency, on 14 July last year. Today, President Trump’s decision to offer France his first state visit to Washington has a particular resonance, because it represents the continuity of our shared history, in a troubled world. And let me thank your president and the First Lady for this wonderful invitation to my wife and myself.

I am also very grateful and I would like also to thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for welcoming me on this occasion.

And I would like to especially thank you, Mr Speaker, for your invitation. I want you to know how

VITAL SPEECHES *of the day*

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The publisher of *Vital Speeches of the Day* believes that it is indeed vital to the welfare of the nation that important, constructive addresses by recognized leaders in both the public and private sectors be permanently recorded and disseminated—both to ensure that readers gain a sound knowledge of public questions and to provide models of excellence in contemporary oratory. These speeches represent the best thoughts of the best minds on current national and international issues in the fields of economics, politics, education, sociology, government, criminology, finance, business, taxation, health, law, labor, and more.

It is the policy of the publisher to cover both sides of public questions. Furthermore, because *Vital Speeches of the Day* was founded on the belief that it is only in the unedited and unexpurgated speech that the view of the speaker is truly communicated to the reader, all speeches are printed in full. When it is necessary to condense a speech for reasons of unusual length or the use of extraneous matter, it is so stated. Speeches featured in *Vital Speeches of the Day* are selected solely on the merit of the speech and the speaker, and do not reflect the personal views or pre-established relationships of the publisher.

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much I appreciate this unique gesture. Thank you, sir!

The strength of our bonds is the source of our shared ideals.

This is what united us in the struggle against imperialism during the First World War. Then in the fight against Nazism during the Second World War. This is what united us again during the era of the Stalinist threat, and now we lean on that strength to fight against terrorist groups.

Let us for a moment transport ourselves to the past. Imagine, this is 4 July 1916. Back then, the United States had not entered World War I. And yet, a young American poet enlisted in the ranks of our Foreign Legion, because he loved France and he loved the cause of freedom.

This young American would fight and die on Independence Day at Belloy-en-Santerre, not far from Amiens, my home town, after having written these words: “I have a rendez-vous with death.” The name of this young American was Alan Seeger. A statue stands in his honour in Paris.

Since 1776, we, the American and French people, have had a rendez-vous with freedom.

And with it come sacrifices.

That is why we are very honoured by the presence today of Robert Jackson Ewald, a World War II veteran. Robert Jackson Ewald took part in the D-Day landing. He fought for our freedom, 74 years ago. Sir, on behalf of France: thank you. I bow to your courage and your devotion.

In recent years, our nations have suffered wrenching losses simply because of our values and our taste for freedom. Because these values are the very ones those terrorists precisely hate.

Tragically, on 11 September 2001, many Americans had an unexpected rendez-vous with death. Over the last five years, my country and Europe also experienced terrible terrorist attacks.

And we shall never forget these innocent victims, nor the incredible resilience of our people in the

aftermath. It is a horrific price to pay for freedom, for democracy.

That is why we stand together in Syria and in the Sahel today, to fight together against these terrorist groups who seek to destroy everything for which we stand.

We have encountered countless rendez-vous with death, because we have this constant attachment to freedom and democracy. As emblazoned on the flags of the French revolutionaries, “Vivre libre ou mourir”. Live free or die.

Thankfully, freedom is also the source of all that is worth living for. Freedom is a call to think and to love. It is a call to our will. That is why, in times of peace, France and the United States were able to forge unbreakable bonds, from the grist of painful memories.

The most indestructible, the most powerful, the most definitive knot between us is the one that ties the true purpose of our peoples to advance, as Abraham Lincoln said, the “unfinished business” of democracy.

Indeed, our two societies have stood up to advance human rights for all. They have engaged in a continual dialogue to unpack this “unfinished business”.

In this Capitol Rotunda, the bust of Martin Luther King, assassinated 50 years ago, reminds us of the spiration of African-American leaders, artists, writers who have become part of our common heritage. We celebrate among them James Baldwin and Richard Wright, whom France hosted on our soil.

We have shared the history of civil rights. France’s Simone de Beauvoir became a respected figure in the movement for gender equality in America in the 70s. Women’s rights have long been a fundamental driver for our societies on both sides of the Atlantic. This explains why the #MeToo movement has recently had such a deep resonance in France.

Democracy is made of day-to-day conversations and mutual understanding between citizens.

It is easier and deeper when we have the ability to speak each other’s language. The heart of Francophonie also beats here, in the United States, from New Orleans to Seattle. I want this heart to beat even harder in American schools all across the country.

Democracy relies also on the faculty of freely describing the present and the capacity to invent the future. This is what culture brings.

Thousands of examples come to mind when we think of the exchanges between our cultures across the centuries. From Thomas Jefferson, who was Ambassador to France and built his house in Monticello based on a building he loved in Paris, to Hemingway’s novel *Moveable Feast* celebrating the capital city of France. From our great 19th-century French writer Chateaubriand bringing to the French people the dream of America’s open spaces, forests and mountains to Faulkner’s novels crafted in the deep South, but first read in France where they quickly gained literary praise. From jazz coming from Louisiana and the blues from Mississippi finding in France an enthusiastic public to the American fascination for Impressionists, and the French modern and contemporary arts. These exchanges are vibrant in so many fields, from cinema to fashion, from design to high cuisine, from sports to visual arts.

Medicine and scientific research as well as business and innovation are also a significant part of our shared journey. The United States is France’s first scientific partner.

Our economic ties create hundreds of thousands of jobs, on both sides of the Atlantic.

The story of France and the United States is a story of an endless dialogue made of common dreams, of a common struggle for dignity and progress. It is the best achievement of our democratic principles and values.

This is this very special relationship.

But we must remember the warning of President Theodore Roosevelt: “Freedom is never more than one generation away from extinction. We

didn't pass it to our children in the bloodstream. It must be fought for, protected, handed on for them to do the same".

This is an urgent reminder indeed. Because now, going beyond our bilateral ties, beyond our very special relationship, Europe and the United States must face together the global challenges of this century. And we cannot take for granted our transatlantic history and bonds. At the core, our Western values themselves are at risk.

We have to succeed facing these challenges, and we cannot succeed forgetting our principles and our history.

In fact, the 21st century has brought a series of new threats and new challenges that our ancestors might not ever have imagined.

Our strongest beliefs are challenged by the rise of a yet unknown new world order. Our societies are concerned about the future of their children.

All of us gathered here in this noble Chamber, we—elected officials—all share the responsibility to demonstrate that democracy remains the best answer to the questions and doubts that arise today.

Even if the foundations of our progress are disrupted, we must stand firmly and fight to make our principles prevail.

But we bear another responsibility inherited from our collective history. Today, the international community needs to step up our game and build the 21st century world order, based on the perennial principles we established together after World War II.

The rule of law, the fundamental values on which we secured peace for 70 years are now questioned by urgent issues that require our joint action.

Together with our international allies and partners, we are facing inequalities created by globalization; threats to the planet, our common good; attacks on democracies through the rise of illiberalism; and the destabilization of our international community by new powers and criminal states.

All these risks aggrieve our citizens.

Both in the United States and in

Europe we are living in a time of anger and fear, because of these current global threats.

But these feelings do not build anything. You can play with fears and anger for a time. But they do not construct anything. Anger only freezes and weakens us. And, as Franklin Delano Roosevelt said during his first inaugural speech, "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself".

Therefore, let me say we have two possible ways ahead.

We can choose isolationism, withdrawal, and nationalism. This is an option.

It can be tempting to us as a temporary remedy to our fears.

But closing the door to the world will not stop the evolution of the world. It will not douse, but inflame, the fears of our citizens. We have to keep our eyes wide open to the new risks, right in front of us.

I am convinced that if we decide to open our eyes wider, we will be stronger. We will overcome the dangers. We will not let the rampaging work of extreme nationalism shake a world full of hopes for greater prosperity.

It is a critical moment. If we do not act with urgency as a global community, I am convinced that the international institutions, including the United Nations and NATO, will no longer be able to exercise their mandate and stabilizing influence. We would then inevitably and severely undermine the liberal order we built after World War II.

Other powers, with a stronger strategy and ambition, will then fill the void we would leave empty.

Other powers will not hesitate one second to advocate their own model, to shape the 21st century world order.

Personally, if you ask me, I do not share the fascination for new strong powers, the abandonment of freedom, and the illusion of nationalism.

Therefore, distinguished members of Congress, let us push them aside, write our own history and birth the future we want.

We have to shape our common answers to the global threats that we are facing.

The only option then is to strengthen our cooperation. We can build the 21st century world order, based on a new breed of multilateralism. Based on a more effective, accountable, and results-oriented multilateralism. A strong multilateralism.

This requires more than ever the United States' involvement, as your role was decisive for creating and safeguarding today's free world. The United States invented this multilateralism. You are the one now who has to help to preserve and reinvent it.

This strong multilateralism will not outshine our national cultures and national identities. It is exactly the other way around. A strong multilateralism will allow our cultures and identities to be respected, to be protected and to flourish freely together.

Why? Because precisely our own culture is based, on both sides of the Atlantic, on this unique taste for freedom, on this unique attachment to liberty and peace. This strong multilateralism is the unique option compatible with our nations, our cultures, our identities.

With the US President, with the support of every 535 members of this joint session, representing the whole American nation, we can actively contribute together to building the 21st-century world order, for our people.

The United States and Europe have a historical role in this respect, because it is the only way to defend what we believe in, to promote our universal values, to express strongly that human rights, the rights of minorities and shared liberty are the true answer to the disorders of the world.

I believe in these rights and values.

I believe that against ignorance, we have education. Against inequalities, development. Against cynicism, trust and good faith. Against fanaticism, culture. Against disease and epidemics, medicine. Against the threats on the planet, science.

I believe in concrete action. I believe the solutions are in our hands.

I believe in the liberation of the individual, and in the freedom and responsibility of everyone to build their own lives and pursue happiness.

I believe in the power of intelligently-regulated market economies. We are experiencing the positive impact of our current economic globalization, with innovation, with job creation. We see, however, the abuses of globalized capitalism, and digital disruptions, which jeopardize the stability of our economies and democracies.

I believe facing these challenges requires the opposite of massive deregulation and extreme nationalism. Commercial war is not the proper answer to these evolutions. We need free and fair trade, for sure. A commercial war opposing allies is not consistent with our mission, with our history, with our current commitments to global security. At the end of the day, it would destroy jobs, increase prices, and the middle class will have to pay for it.

I believe we can build the right answers to legitimate concerns regarding trade imbalances, excesses and over-capacities, by negotiating through the World Trade Organization and building cooperative solutions. We wrote these rules; we should follow them.

I believe we can address our citizens' concerns regarding privacy and personal data. The recent Facebook hearings highlighted the necessity to preserve our citizens' digital rights, all over the world, and protect their confidence in today's digital tools of life.

The European Union passed a new regulation for data protection. I believe the United States and the European Union should cooperate to find the right balance between innovation and ethics, and harness the best of today's revolutions in digital data and artificial intelligence.

I believe facing inequalities should push us to improve policy coordination within the G20 to reduce financial speculation, and create mechanisms to protect the middle class's interest,

because our middle classes are the backbone of our democracies.

I believe in building a better future for our children, which requires offering them a planet that is still habitable in 25 years.

Some people think that securing current industries—and their jobs—is more urgent than transforming our economies to meet the global challenge of climate change. I hear these concerns, but we must find a smooth transition to a low-carbon economy.

Because what is the meaning of our life, really, if we work and live destroying the planet, while sacrificing the future of our children?

What is the meaning of our life if our decision, our conscious decision, is to reduce the opportunities for our children and grandchildren?

By polluting the oceans, not mitigating CO2 emissions and destroying our biodiversity, we are killing our planet. Let us face it: there is no Planet B.

On this issue it may happen we have a disagreement between the United States and France. It may happen, like in all families. But that is, for me, a short-term disagreement. In the long run, we will have to face the same realities. We are citizens of the same planet.

We have to face it. Beyond some short-term disagreements, we have to work together.

With business leaders and local communities, in order to make our planet great again, and create new jobs and new opportunities, while safeguarding our Earth. And I am sure one day, the United States will come back and join the Paris agreement. And I am sure we can work together to fulfil with you the ambitions of the Global Compact on the environment.

Ladies and gentlemen,
I believe in democracy.

Many of our forebears were slain for the cause of freedom and human rights. With the great inheritance they gave us comes the responsibility to continue their mission in this new century and to preserve the perennial

values handed to us and assure that today's unprecedented innovations in science and technology remain in the service of liberty and in the preservation of our planet for the next generations.

To protect our democracies, we have to fight against the ever-growing virus of fake news, which exposes our people to irrational fear and imaginary risks. And let me attribute the fair copyright for this expression "fake news", especially here.

Without reason, without truth, there is no real democracy—because democracy is about true choices and rational decisions. The corruption of information is an attempt to corrode the very spirit of our democracies.

We also have to fight against the terrorist propaganda that spreads out its fanaticism on the Internet. It has a gripping influence on some of our citizens and children. I want this fight to be part of our bilateral commitment, and we discussed with your President the importance of such an agenda.

I want this fight to be part of the G7 agenda because it deeply harms our rights and shared values.

The terrorist threat is even more dangerous when it is combined with the nuclear proliferation threat. We must therefore be stricter than ever with countries seeking to acquire the nuclear bomb.

That is why France supports fully the United States in its efforts to bring Pyongyang, through sanctions and negotiations, towards denuclearisation of the Korean peninsula.

As for Iran, our objective is clear: Iran shall never possess any nuclear weapons. Not now, not in 5 years, not in 10 years. Never.

But this policy should never lead us to war in the Middle East. We must ensure stability, and respect sovereignty of the nations, including that one of Iran, which represents a great civilization.

Let us not replicate past mistakes in the region. Let us not be naïve on one side. Let us not create new walls ourselves on the other side.

There is an existing framework—called the JCPOA—to control the nuclear activity of Iran. We signed it at the initiative of the United States. We signed it, both the United States and France. That is why we cannot say we should get rid of it like that. But it is true to say that this agreement may not address all concerns, very important concerns. This is true. But we should not abandon it without having something substantial, more substantial, instead. That is my position. That is why France will not leave the JCPOA, because we signed it.

Your President and your country will have to take, in the current days and weeks, their responsibilities regarding this issue.

What I want to do, and what we decided together with your President, is that we can work on a more comprehensive deal addressing all these concerns. That is why we have to work on this more comprehensive deal based—as discussed with President Trump yesterday—on four pillars: the substance of the existing agreement, especially if you decide to leave it, the post-2025 period, in order to be sure that we will never have any military nuclear activity for Iran, the containment of the military influence of the Iranian regime in the region, and the monitoring of ballistic activity.

I think these four pillars, the ones I addressed before the General Assembly of the United Nations last September, are the ones which cover the legitimate fears of the United States and our allies in the region.

I think we have to start working now on these four pillars to build this new, comprehensive framework and to be sure that, whatever the decision of the United States will be, we will not leave the floor to the absence of rules.

We will not leave the floor to these conflicts of power in the Middle East,

we will not fuel ourselves in increasing tensions and potential war.

That is my position, and I think we can work together to build this comprehensive deal for the whole region, for our people, because I think it fairly addresses our concerns. That is my position.

And this containment—I mentioned it one of these pillars—Is necessary in Yemen, in Lebanon, in Iraq and also in Syria.

Building a sustainable peace in a united and inclusive Syria requires, indeed, that all powers in the region respect the sovereignty of its people, and the diversity of its communities.

In Syria, we work very closely together. After prohibited weapons were used against the population by the regime of Bashar al-Assad two weeks ago, the United States and France, together with the United Kingdom, acted to destroy chemical facilities and to restore the credibility of the international community.

This action was one of the best evidences of this strong multilateralism. And I want to pay a special tribute for our soldiers, because they did a great job in this region and on this occasion.

Beyond this action, we will together work for a humanitarian solution in the short term, on the ground, and contribute actively to a lasting political solution to put an end to this tragic conflict. And I think one of the very important decisions we took together with President Trump was precisely to include Syria in this large framework for the overall region, and to decide to work together on this political roadmap for Syria, for Syrian people, even after our war against ISIS.

In the Sahel, where terrorist networks span a footprint as large as Europe, French and American soldiers are confronting the same enemy and risking their lives together.

Here, I would like to pay special tribute to the American soldiers who fell this past fall in the region, and to their French comrades who lost their lives early this year in Mali. Better than anyone, I think, our troops know what the alliance and friendship between our countries means.

I believe, facing all these challenges, all these fears, all this anger, our duty, our destiny is to work together and to build this new, strong multilateralism.

Distinguished members of Congress,

Ladies and gentlemen,

On 25 April 1960, General de Gaulle affirmed in this Chamber that nothing was as important to France as “the reason, the resolution, the friendship of the great people of the United States”.

Fifty-eight years later, to this very day, I come here to convey the warmest feelings of the French nation, and to tell you that our people cherish the friendship of the American people, with as much intensity as ever.

The United States and the American people are an essential part of our confidence in the future, in democracy, in what women and men can accomplish in this world when we are driven by high ideals and an unbreakable trust in humanity and progress.

Today the call we hear is the call of history. This is a time of determination and courage. What we cherish is at stake. What we love is in danger. We have no choice but to prevail.

And together, we shall prevail.

Vive les Etats-Unis d’Amérique!

Long live the friendship between France and the United States of America!

Vive la République!

Vive la France!

Vive notre amitié.

Merci.

Thank you.

ON RUSSIA, FOR TOO LONG SOME NATIONS HAVE LOOKED THE OTHER WAY

Russia brazenly and implausibly denies its actions. And we have failed to impose sufficient costs. The Kremlin's confidence is growing as its agents conduct their sustained campaigns to undermine our confidence in ourselves and in one another.

Address by H.R. McMASTER,
United States National Security Advisor



Delivered to the Atlantic Council,
Washington, D.C., April 3, 2018

Thank you so much. Thank you so much, General Jones.

And it's really—it's really me who owes all of you a debt of gratitude, General Jones in particular. He was so gracious to me when I took over this position. And on that line about, you know, the best officers in the Army, there are a lot of people who know better than that, especially General Lute, for whom I served as his plans officer when I was a captain in the 2nd Cavalry Regiment. And then Rich—and Rich Clarke, who's here, our great J5 on the Joint Staff who's my West Point classmate, and who knows as a kid I was often misunderstood and a victim of circumstance. I was.

But thank you. Thank you, General Jones. Thank you for your work with Fred Kempe and Damon Wilson—I'm so glad he's OK—to organize this wonderful event and host all of us for dinner. The Atlantic Council is a special place, and the Atlantic Council does special work that is increasingly important to all of our—all of our security.

But President Kaljulaid and President Vejonis, what an honor to be here with two great leaders who have been so strong—so strong for their own nations, but really so strong for the West and all of us. And, Minister Linkevicius, it is great—it is great to be here with you and all of our delegations.

And what a great—what a great idea to be—to pull together this group here—thank you, Atlantic Council—on this historic occasion of the U.S.-Baltic Centennial Summit. So I want to just begin by

congratulating Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania once again on their 100th anniversary of independence. We are thrilled to have the opportunity to celebrate this important milestone with you in Washington, D.C. And so what we'll think, though, more—even more so than the history—about the history is that we're beginning 100 years of renewed partnership among our nations.

As President Trump said earlier today, the United States has never ceased to recognize the independence of the Baltic republics. In 1940, when the Soviet Union invaded your nations, U.S. Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles issued the famous Welles Declaration. In that declaration, Welles confidently wrote that the American people opposed any form of intervention on the part of one state, however powerful, in the domestic concerns of any other sovereign state, however weak. In the absence of respect for sovereignty, Welles continued, the basis of modern civilization itself cannot be preserved.

After Welles' bold and historic declaration, through the decades of Soviet occupation that followed, the United States continued to affirm the sovereignty of the Baltic republics. Throughout that entire period, we confidently displayed the flags of independent Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania alongside our own.

Tonight we celebrate this proud history at a critical moment for our nations and the world—critical because we are now engaged in a fundamental contest between our free and open societies and closed

and repressive systems. Revisionist and repressive powers are attempting to undermine our values, our institutions, and our way of life. To preserve our sovereignty and prevail, we must renew the same confidence that inspired Welles and empowered the people of the Baltic nations through decades of Soviet occupation. Armed with this confidence, we will triumph over new threats, including those posed by Russia's increased aggression around the world.

Since the denial-of-service attacks on Estonia in 2007 and the invasion of Georgia in 2008, Russia has used old and new forms of aggression to undermine our open societies and the foundations of international peace and stability. Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have all been targeted by Russia's so-called hybrid warfare, a pernicious form of aggression that combines political, economic, informational, and cyber assaults against sovereign nations. Russia employs sophisticated strategies deliberately designed to achieve objectives while falling below the target state's threshold for a military response. Tactics include infiltrating social media, spreading propaganda, weaponizing information, and using other forms of subversion and espionage.

So for too long some nations have looked the other way in the face of these threats. Russia brazenly and implausibly denies its actions. And we have failed to impose sufficient costs.

The Kremlin's confidence is growing as its agents conduct their sustained campaigns to undermine our confidence in ourselves and in one

another. Last month, Russia used a military-grade nerve agent in an attempted murder that endangered the lives of over 130 people, including many children. This attack was the first offensive use of nerve agent in Europe since the Second World War. It was an assault on the United Kingdom's sovereignty. And any use of chemical weapons by a state party is a clear violation of the Chemical Weapons Convention.

Russia has also conducted numerous cyberattacks against free nations. On March 15th, the Trump administration released a report condemning the Russian government for malicious cyber intrusions that targeted U.S. critical infrastructure, including our energy sector. And we also know that Russia was behind the recent NotPetya cyberattack that caused billions of dollars in damage around the world.

Further, over the past year Russia has conducted numerous intercepts of U.S., allied, and partner aircraft and vessels, including in the Nordic-Baltic region, threatening freedom of navigation and endangering our personnel.

Mr. Putin may believe that he is winning in this new form of warfare. He may believe that his aggressive actions in the parks of Salisbury and cyberspace, in the air and on the high seas can undermine our confidence, our institutions, and our values. Perhaps he believes that our free nations are weak and will not respond—will not respond to his provocations.

He is wrong. Russian aggression is strengthening our resolve and our confidence. We might all help Mr. Putin understand his grave error. We might show him the beaches of Normandy, where lingering craters and bullet holes demonstrate the West's will to sacrifice to preserve our freedom. We might bring him to our concert halls and theaters, where the music and art of our people reveal our freedom to create, imagine, and to dream. We might take him to our universities, where the free exchange of ideas among young men and women displays our freedom to learn,

to speak, and to achieve our highest aims. We might lead him to the stately buildings here in Washington, where inscriptions carved deep into stone proclaim that we are free to worship, equal under the law, and opposed to every form of tyranny over the mind of man. We might introduce him to the people—the people of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, who endured the devastation of the Second World War, decades of Soviet occupation and communism, and emerged proud, strong, sovereign, free, and prosperous. These are three of the most creative and innovative nations on Earth. And Mr. Putin might also then consider how the Russian people's aspirations connect his own population to us, despite the Kremlin's efforts to sow dissent abroad and repress freedom at home.

In the room tonight are elected officials, public servants, intellectuals, and leaders from the private sector. We converse without fearing that our opinions will lead to imprisonment, torture, or the death of a loved one. We might ask others around the world a simple question: Would you rather be part of a small club of autocrats that might rotate their meetings between Moscow, Tehran, Damascus, Havana, Caracas, and Pyongyang, or would you rather be a club of free peoples who respect sovereignty, individual rights, and the rule of law? I think our club is better, and I think our club's more fun for sure than that club.

It is—it is time that we expose those who glamorize and apologize in the service of communist, authoritarian, and repressive governments, regimes who torture, enslave, oppress, and murder their people. Even in the United States and in other free nations, some journalists, academics, public officials, and saddest of all young people have developed and promulgated idealized, warped views of tyrannical regimes.

A clear-eyed view of the brutal nature of repressive governments and ideologies is central to the president's

National Security Strategy. And I appreciate the—I appreciate the comments about the National Security Strategy, but I should just say that it was really Dr. Nadia Schadlow who ran that effort and did a wonderful job for the president and led a great team to do that. So—great job. (Applause.)

Since taking office, the president has repeatedly told the truth about these murderous regimes and oppressive doctrines. I'd like to ask you to refer to some of the previous speeches. I mean, we heard this truth from the president at the United Nations. We heard this truth in Riyadh. We heard this truth in Warsaw. We heard this truth in Seoul. And we heard this truth in the seat of our democracy as Mr. Ji Seong-ho raised his crutches above the chamber in defiance.

The history of repression and authoritarianism is one of theft, torture, murder, and immense human suffering, and it is not—sadly, it is not a phenomenon of the past. We are presently engaged in competitions with repressive and authoritarian systems to defend our way of life, to preserve our free and open societies. We must be confident. We must be active. We cannot be passive and hope that others will defend our freedom. The call to compete, to cooperate with others who share our principles, and to catalyze positive change is central to the president's National Security Strategy. And over the past year, the United States, our allies, and our partners have acted to defend our institutions and our liberty.

Last week, in response to Russia's nerve-agent attack, nations around the world, including the United States and the Baltic republics, announced the coordinated expulsion of Russian officials from their countries. The United States played a supporting role in catalyzing a response by NATO and like-minded nations. The number of expelled officials is growing. As of last Friday, nearly 30 countries had acted to expel more than 150 Russian officials. These actions represent the largest collective expulsion of Russian

intelligence officers in history.

In the United States, President Trump ordered the removal of dozens of Russian intelligence officers and the closure of the Russian consulate in Seattle. This action will also help protect our democratic institutions and processes, as these Russian officers orchestrate Russia's sustained campaign of propaganda, disinformation, and political subversion.

In April of last year, the United States joined eight other nations in establishing the new European Centre of Excellence for Countering Hybrid Threats. To defend against new forms of aggression and subversion, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—nations that experienced the first blows from Russia in cyberspace and on social media—all are lending their invaluable expertise to that center.

The Trump administration also continues to impose sanctions and other penalties on Russian entities for targeting our cybersecurity, attacking our infrastructure, and otherwise infringing on the sovereign rights of the United States and our allies. And the United States, as has already been mentioned, is substantially increasing funding for the European Deterrence Initiative, or EDI, which provides billions of dollars to U.S. military and allied forces in Europe to deter Russian aggression and prevent conflict.

So we are acting, but we must recognize the need for all of us to do more to respond to and deter Russian aggression, especially in four critical areas.

First, we must compete across all arenas to counter so-called hybrid warfare, this new form of Soviet-era active measures and maskirovka. We must reform and integrate our military, political, economic, law

enforcement, and informational instruments of power to deter and defeat threats to our sovereignty.

Second, we must catalyze change. We must invest in our cyber infrastructure to ensure that we protect our data, our innovation base, and infrastructure against espionage and theft and attack. To deter adversaries, we must be prepared to impose a high cost in response to cyber aggression.

Third, we must all cooperate to share responsibility in these and other security efforts. Even as the United States has committed nearly \$10 billion to EDI, many NATO countries, unlike the Baltic nations we are—who are here tonight, are still not honoring the Wales pledge to spend at least 2 percent of their GDP on defense. Our mutual security requires everyone to contribute.

Finally, we must realize that all of our actions depend on preserving our strategic confidence, our will to advance our values and defend our way of life. In that 1940 declaration that affirmed the Baltic nations' independence, Sumner Welles was clear: "The people of the United States are opposed to predatory activities no matter whether they are carried on by the use of force or by the threat of force." Welles' noble text forever bound Americans to our Baltic brothers and sisters in a partnership based on respect for sovereignty, freedom, and the rule of law. As President Kaljulaid said earlier today, as long as we remain confident in these foundational principles, proud of our history, and faithful to our values, our nations will remain strong, secure, and free.

It has been a privilege—great privilege to serve the United States for 34 years. Tonight, at my last public

engagement, it is an honor to address an audience that fundamentally understands what is at stake for our free and open societies.

Early in my career I had a chance, with General Lute, to patrol the East-West German border and to see—to see that artificial boundary collapse—collapse suddenly one day, and to go from staring down East German border guards across the border to our soldiers being flocked with East Germans carrying bouquets of flowers and bottles of wine. And so we ought to be confident. We ought to be confident that freedom will triumph over repression.

But we must strengthen our resolve, cooperate to share responsibility, catalyze positive change, and compete effectively in new arenas. The victory of free societies is not predestined, and I think that point was made earlier as well. There's nothing inevitable about the course of human events and history. And there is no arc of history, there is no so-called end of history, that will ensure our success.

Brave men and women have fought for our liberty. They've fought with their pens, as Sumner Welles did in 1940. They've fought with their swords, as your brave independence fighters did in 1918 from these Baltic republics. And today the survival of our free and open societies and our way of life continues to depend on our confidence in our values, on our pride in our heritage, and on our will to defend our freedom.

Thank you for the great privilege of being—of being with you this evening. It's truly been an honor. Thank you so much.

SYRIAN STRIKES: WHY WE HAVE TAKEN THIS ACTION

We are prepared to sustain this response until the Syrian regime stops its use of prohibited chemical agents.

Address by DONALD TRUMP, President,
United States of America



Delivered in the White House,
Washington, D.C., April 13, 2018

My fellow Americans, a short time ago, I ordered the United States Armed Forces to launch precision strikes on targets associated with the chemical weapons capabilities of Syrian dictator Bashar al-Assad. A combined operation with the armed forces of France and the United Kingdom is now underway. We thank them both.

Tonight, I want to speak with you about why we have taken this action.

One year ago, Assad launched a savage chemical weapons attack against his own innocent people. The United States responded with 58 missile strikes that destroyed 20 percent of the Syrian Air Force.

Last Saturday, the Assad regime again deployed chemical weapons to slaughter innocent civilians—this time, in the town of Douma, near the Syrian capital of Damascus. This massacre was a significant escalation in a pattern of chemical weapons use by that very terrible regime.

The evil and the despicable attack left mothers and fathers, infants and children, thrashing in pain and gasping for air. These are not the actions of a man; they are crimes of a monster instead.

Following the horrors of World War I a century ago, civilized nations joined together to ban chemical warfare. Chemical weapons are uniquely dangerous not only because they inflict gruesome suffering, but because even small amounts can unleash widespread devastation.

The purpose of our actions tonight is to establish a strong deterrent against the production, spread, and use of chemical weapons. Establishing this deterrent is a vital national security interest of the United States. The combined American, British, and

French response to these atrocities will integrate all instruments of our national power—military, economic, and diplomatic. We are prepared to sustain this response until the Syrian regime stops its use of prohibited chemical agents.

I also have a message tonight for the two governments most responsible for supporting, equipping, and financing the criminal Assad regime.

To Iran, and to Russia, I ask: What kind of a nation wants to be associated with the mass murder of innocent men, women, and children?

The nations of the world can be judged by the friends they keep. No nation can succeed in the long run by promoting rogue states, brutal tyrants, and murderous dictators.

In 2013, President Putin and his government promised the world that they would guarantee the elimination of Syria's chemical weapons. Assad's recent attack—and today's response—are the direct result of Russia's failure to keep that promise.

Russia must decide if it will continue down this dark path, or if it will join with civilized nations as a force for stability and peace. Hopefully, someday we'll get along with Russia, and maybe even Iran—but maybe not.

I will say this: The United States has a lot to offer, with the greatest and most powerful economy in the history of the world.

In Syria, the United States—with but a small force being used to eliminate what is left of ISIS—is doing what is necessary to protect the American people. Over the last year, nearly 100 percent of the territory once controlled by the so-called ISIS caliphate in Syria and Iraq has been liberated and eliminated.

The United States has also rebuilt our friendships across the Middle East. We have asked our partners to take greater responsibility for securing their home region, including contributing large amounts of money for the resources, equipment, and all of the anti-ISIS effort. Increased engagement from our friends, including Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Egypt, and others can ensure that Iran does not profit from the eradication of ISIS.

America does not seek an indefinite presence in Syria under no circumstances. As other nations step up their contributions, we look forward to the day when we can bring our warriors home. And great warriors they are.

Looking around our very troubled world, Americans have no illusions. We cannot purge the world of evil, or act everywhere there is tyranny.

No amount of American blood or treasure can produce lasting peace and security in the Middle East. It's a troubled place. We will try to make it better, but it is a troubled place. The United States will be a partner and a friend, but the fate of the region lies in the hands of its own people.

In the last century, we looked straight into the darkest places of the human soul. We saw the anguish that can be unleashed and the evil that can take hold. By the end of the World War I, more than one million people had been killed or injured by chemical weapons. We never want to see that ghastly specter return.

So today, the nations of Britain, France, and the United States of America have marshaled their righteous power against barbarism and brutality.

Tonight, I ask all Americans to say a prayer for our noble warriors

and our allies as they carry out their missions.

We pray that God will bring comfort to those suffering in Syria. We

pray that God will guide the whole region toward a future of dignity and of peace.

And we pray that God will

continue to watch over and bless the United States of America.

Thank you, and goodnight. Thank you.

THOUGHTS ON PIE: PEACE OR JUSTICE?

Reasonable people—and unreasonable people!—grapple with what's the best way to proceed. Peace? A bigger pie? Or Justice? A smaller but fairer pie? The issue of our times. The choice of choices.

Address by ANA ROLD, CEO and Publisher, *Diplomatic Courier*



Delivered in acceptance of the 2018 Internationalism Award from the American Women for International Understanding, Los Angeles, March 29, 2018

Since we're at dinner, I thought I'd tell you all about pie! Blueberry pie. Gooseberry pie. Apple pie.

Why pie?

I'm a trained mediator. One thing you learn as a mediator. Help the parties look at issues differently.

What if?

What if instead of fighting you cooperate, at least for a while? What if you don't argue over this pie, or what shares of this pie? What if you work together—make a NEW BIGGER PIE?

Then there's more to share. You both get more pie! You both get less stress!

When you walked in to this mediation, you were both losing. What if you both walk out as winners?

So much of international relations and diplomacy is about this idea. This PIE-dea.

Cooperating. Building. Partnerships. Coalitions. Doing better by working together. And in good faith

The greatest American-baked pie of all? The biggest juiciest pie in human history?

The Marshall Plan!

After WW2 we invested in Europe. Put a continent back on its feet, on the path of closer cooperation. We invested in them, so they could invest in us! Everyone got richer. Startlingly richer.

This Marshall Plan built on a precedent we've forgotten today. The

American Relief Administration after WW1. Led by a certain Herbert Hoover.

He drove through huge packages of emergency assistance to Poland. And to the new Bolshevik communist Russia itself! Imagine that, with everything going on now in Washington.

Hoover didn't hesitate.

Twenty million people are starving! Whatever their politics, they shall be fed!

In 1922, Soviet writer Maxim Gorky wrote to Hoover:

Your help will enter history as a unique, gigantic achievement, worthy of the greatest glory. It will long remain in the memory of millions of Russians, whom you've saved from death.

Another huge pie baked in a spirit of cooperation? The end of the Cold War.

China and almost all the other communist countries opened themselves to trade and investment. Spectacular results! In Asia. Across Africa.

Who knows? Maybe soon North Korea too will be joining the global mainstream?

So there's the basic idea. Work together! Bake bigger pies! Everyone gets MORE!

What can go wrong?

One thing. An important thing.

The pie idea depends on people agreeing to share a growing pie. But what if that ISN'T agreed?

What if I think it's MY PIE? That it's simply unjust that you have ANY share of MY pie?

Imagine. Mary and Bob are sharing a gooseberry pie. But ... Mary thinks that Bob stole the gooseberries from her to make it!

Mary currently has a third of the pie. Bob gets two-thirds.

Bob offers Mary to make a bigger pie, shared on the same basis. A pie that's twice the size—Mary gets **DOUBLE WHAT SHE NOW HAS!**

They make that bigger pie. They're both much better off. But see what's happened!

The GAP between Mary's share and Bob's share has also doubled. Mary in ABSOLUTE terms is much richer than she was. But in RELATIVE terms she's much poorer than Bob!

Mary thought that first pie was unjust. For her the second bigger pie is TWICE as unjust! So Mary does not just demand a bigger pie. She demands a bigger share of it.

The core dilemma. In so many international issues now.

Peace? Or Justice?

Growing the pie helps a view of Peace. Reallocating ownership or shares of the pie helps a view of Justice.

Regional issues:

Bosnia, Kosovo, and former Yugoslavia. Ukraine. Syria and other parts of the Middle East.

Thematic issues:

Climate change. Development assistance.

In all these and many more, reasonable people—and unreasonable people!—grapple with what's the best way to proceed.

Peace? A bigger pie? Or Justice? A smaller but fairer pie?

The issue of our times. The choice of choices.

Conclusion

One thing is sure.

We make progress by talking. By listening. Coming together. Honoring those who do great things. Honoring people who set a towering example.

Reconciliation and respect. Dignity.

Such as the wonderful IWOC women here tonight. They're not

defined by struggle, heroic though that's been. They're defined by success.

Not where they've come from. Where they've reached. Where they're going next.

I don't have the words to say—how honored I am. To be here with you. With them. Tonight.

So I'll stop! Thank you all so much.

IN PUBLIC HOUSING, A NEW ERA OF COOPERATION AND COORDINATION

We define success not by the amount of money we pour into our programs, but by the number of people we help graduate from our services and become self-sufficient. Only then can we begin to help others in need of our resources.

Address by BEN CARSON, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development

Delivered at Manufacturing Housing Institute 2018 Congress and Expo, Las Vegas, April 25, 2018

Good morning everyone! And thank you, Joe, for the kind introduction and for the invitation to join you at this outstanding congress and expo.

I have been on the road for a number of days—from Iowa, talking to families at an opioid drug rehabilitation center, to Texas, rolling up my sleeves and taking part in a home build. Between us, I don't know if a pediatric neurosurgeon is the best person to be handed a chain saw.

When I originally got the invitation to join you, I was quick to say yes. Back when my hair was less gray, when you thought of manufactured homes, you basically thought of a small box, on concrete blocks, with some uninspiring siding or trim. Times have certainly changed.

Just walking through the expo today, you come to better understand the truly amazing transformation of the manufacturing housing industry. These are simply wonderful homes—with great amenities like fireplaces and special kitchen cabinets.

I appreciate your dedication to innovative building materials, cutting edge manufacturing techniques,

and equally important, meeting the demands of the marketplace. What millennial wouldn't want power strips installed into countertops? Or a special wireless console to control everything from thermostat to blinds to baby monitors?

In fact, I understand that your next speaker is from Ducker Worldwide, and that he will discuss shifting demographics and consumer tastes. It is vital that we all gain better insights into the various segments of homebuyers.

Before I join Joe in a more detailed conversation, let me give you a quick update on what's going on at HUD and then discuss such issues as deregulation and making housing affordable.

Quick HUD Update

Last week, I was on Capitol Hill testifying before the Senate Appropriations Committee. At HUD, we're looking at a requested funding level of over \$41.240 billion, which even in these times of fiscal restraint, represents a 1.4 percent increase over last year's budget.

Let me say straight out, at HUD, it is not about how much money we

spread around. We define success not by the amount of money we pour into our programs, but by the number of people we help graduate from our services and become self-sufficient. Only then can we begin to help others in need of our resources.

HUD is working throughout all of nation's cities and communities to provide safe, fair, and affordable housing for the American people. And we oversee a large number of programs and initiatives to help us reach our goals, especially in the way of bolstering economic opportunity and self-sufficiency.

It may seem hard to believe, but we are amid a major transformation in the way we tackle our challenges. It will take time, it will not be easy, but in the end, I think we will reinvigorate HUD—both in its mission, programs, and yes, in our extensive regulatory agenda—a point I will return to later.

It's no secret that the current model of public housing is unsustainable. We are now looking at several unique and innovative ways to assist families. For example:

We're working with public housing authorities to convert public housing

assistance to vouchers—which would save taxpayer money and give families more choice in deciding where they live.

We are modernizing and streamlining existing rental assistance programs.

We're also looking at voluntary conversions of our nation's housing stock so assisted families and others can own their own units.

And we're spurring greater economic opportunity by connecting public housing residents to job training, financial education and childcare among other services through our Envision Center Initiative.

These are just some of the highlights of what HUD is currently involved with, as we drive for new efficiencies, transparency, and accountability in our large portfolio—or as some would call it, our alphabet soup of programs and services.

Affordability Challenges

It's now been over a year since I was sworn in as the Secretary of HUD and I can tell you, from my perspective, one of the biggest challenges we face is our nation's affordable housing crisis.

Given the high cost of housing along the east and west coasts, that should not come as a surprise. According to the economists, we are experiencing the biggest jump in housing prices in four years—prices are rising while the supply of housing is getting smaller. It's basic supply and demand.

That's why everyone in this audience and the manufactured housing industry is so important—and that's why I am here today. You are a big part of the solution to providing unsubsidized, quality, affordable housing.

I can tell you without any qualification that this Administration appreciates all you are doing in the way of making homes more affordable and in creating good paying jobs. We especially applaud your use of American suppliers and products in your manufacturing plants.

You have brought the pride of craftsmanship back to our shores.

I have looked at industry data and statistics and they're impressive.

The average new manufactured home is only \$70,600. In several of our largest cities, you can pay nearly that for a parking space. With the median annual income of manufactured homeowners being around \$30,000, you are already capturing an increasingly important segment of the of the housing market, like young married couples.

And as the suburbs continue to grow further out and land prices rise, it's no surprise that two-thirds of all occupied manufactured homes in the U.S. are located outside of major metropolitan areas.

Most of you already know these facts and figures. But it's important that the word gets out of regarding your accomplishments in creating jobs and affordable housing. In fact, in my testimony to the Senate last week, I specifically noted how manufactured housing accounts for nearly 10 percent of the market and even a greater share in rural areas.

HUD can help you continue this success.

Deregulation Challenge

I understand only too well that your industry wants and needs regulatory relief. The overall number of regulations on a local, state and national level that all American businesses must comply with, are damaging to everyone's bottom line. It's a stealth tax.

Overall, the Code of Federal Regulations has doubled in the past five years to more than 185,000 pages, which someone has calculated to be the equivalent of more than 100 Kings James Bibles. As for our contribution to this, I would say at least some of the first books of Moses.

The promise of the previous administration to eliminate burdensome rules and regulations was a false start, but not in the Trump Administration. One of the first actions by the President was to impose a

two-for-one rule on new federal regulations. He ordered that for every new regulation, two old regulations must be eliminated.

But the President went even further.

He challenged his Cabinet to find and remove every single outdated and excessive regulation currently on the books, so we can free our economy from years of federal overreach and intrusion.

Of course, not all regulations are "bad" or misguided. They can really do good for industry and for consumers.

We would surely agree that rules and regulations established by the national Manufactured Housing and Construction and Safety Act, and our enforcement of these regulations, has brought about a significant improvement in the quality and safety of manufactured homes.

I have heard how one of our senior engineers was thanked by an owner of a manufactured home in Florida after Hurricane Charley in 2004. His place survived a major storm while other homes built on-site didn't—all because of the high wind standards that are in place.

Saving lives and property is as good as it gets when it comes to why we have rules and regulations.

We would also agree that the HUD Code has delivered many benefits to the marketplace, including high standards for health, energy efficiency and durability.

Finally, I think we would agree that the time is ripe for HUD and the Office of Manufactured Housing Programs to conform to the President's agenda on eliminating or streamlining regulations that are wasteful or inefficient. In short, to create a more cooperative and coordinated regulatory environment.

Deregulation issues

Of course, there are disagreements. Your leadership and fellow members have let us know where improvements can be made and what issues need to be addressed.

We understand:

Some of our regulations lack clarity or do not always incorporate your feedback into our guidelines.

That we need to conduct more effective cost-benefit analysis, testing and research to update the HUD Code. And do so in a timelier manner.

Also, that we need to shift away from just writing rules and regulations to highlight and encourage best practices, as well as to provide for more regulatory flexibility.

Finally, that more needs to be done with FHA financing to encourage more buyers of manufactured homes.

I am sure I could go on but let me just say that as the Secretary of HUD, “I hear you.” As noted earlier, we are going to repeal two existing

regulations for every new regulation. We now have a regulatory task force whose job it is to do a top to bottom review of all our manufacturing housing regulations and policies.

In January, we invited the public to comment on our policies and to assess the costs of complying with our rules and regulations. And we are now busy sorting and reviewing the more than 150 unique suggestions. I hear that they cover everything from on-site completion of construction of manufactured housing to guidance on establishing foundation requirements in freezing temperature areas.

The key to implementation of these comments will be the Manufactured Housing Consensus Committee managed by HUD, as they revise

our standards and regulations. We anticipate meeting in September, but right now we’re looking to fill seven vacancies before that happens. In fact, the nomination period closed just last week.

Conclusion

Let me close on this note.

HUD is now positioned to usher in a new era of cooperation and coordination with your industry. Make no mistake, we understand how you are vital to our economy and to our agency’s goal of making safe, quality, desirable and affordable homes for millions of hard working Americans.

Thank you again for the invitation to join you here today.

CAPTURING THE INNOVATION TAILWIND

We’re on the cusp of dramatic change that will fundamentally alter virtually every part of financial services. At this unique moment in time, we must embrace the trends, work together in common purpose and capture the tailwinds to lead innovation and define the future of our industry.

Address by MICHAEL BODSON,
CEO, Depository Trust & Clearing Corporation



Delivered at Fintech Symposium,
Chicago, March 22, 2018

Good morning, thank you all for joining us. Welcome to DTCC’s third Fintech Symposium. We really appreciate you taking the time to be with us. We’ve put a lot of effort into creating a program that speaks to the latest developments and top issues in fintech, and we hope you’re ready to make today interactive, exciting and insightful.

If I think back to our first Symposium in 2016, it’s hard to believe just how much the world has changed. For one thing, we focused that event entirely on the issue of blockchain because technologies like artificial intelligence and machine learning were still in their nascent stages, and it was unclear to what extent they could benefit financial services.

Here we are three years later and the landscape is radically different.

There’s been a lot of experimentation and a significant amount of progress during that time, and while it’s still early days, fintech has reached a level of maturity where we can talk about real possibilities in applying these technologies.

Three topics:

Today’s event is titled “Turning Headwinds into Tailwinds. Embracing Innovation to Maximize Value.” And that’s what I want to speak about—how we can unlock the promise of innovation for our industry and our clients. In talking about that, I want to focus on three topics:

One, what the future of financial services may look like and how new technologies will reshape the industry and post-trade processing...

Two, our guiding principles for balancing innovation and risk, and...

Three, the importance of diversity to realize the potential of fintech.

Financial Industry Future State

So let’s begin by looking at how new innovations may transform the industry in the future. PayPal CEO Dan Schulman spoke a couple of weeks ago at the New York Economic Club and said that “we’re going to see more changes in the financial services ecosystem in the next 5-10 years than we’ve seen in the last 30.”

That’s a bold prediction, but not entirely surprisingly because, if you look at the trajectory of technology, it’s clear that it will have a significant impact in how financial services functions in the future.

Think back 20 years ago. Google had just launched; GPS was still only

a military tool and we were two years away from text messaging. Fifteen years ago there was no Facebook, no iPhone, and WiFi had just achieved a functional capability level.

Considering the velocity of change since then, there's little doubt that automation, cognitive technologies, distributed ledgers and cloud computing will fundamentally impact how we create, deliver and manage financial services in the years ahead.

Capturing the Tailwind

With so much change expected, we need to ask ourselves the right questions now to capture the fintech tailwinds—questions such as:

What frustrates our clients most and does emerging new technology offer possible solutions?

What critical processes are most significant to clients and how can we make them more efficient using these new capabilities?

Are we using data in a fulsome way to improve the client experience and make more strategic decisions to deliver services?

And which existing players will become redundant or irrelevant ... and which new entrants will disrupt or displace incumbents, whether it be broker-dealers, exchanges, custodians or clearinghouses? I'm somewhat biased about the continuing relevance of that last one.

These are all topics that we've been debating at DTCC recently because, while we can't predict the future, we know one thing for certain—the status quo is not an option.

There's an acronym that perfectly describes the current state—VUCA. It short-hand for volatility, uncertainty, complexity and ambiguity. It was first coined in the late 1990s by the United States War College, but it perfectly describes today's environment in financial services.

In a VUCA world, we need to be mindful that even though the future will demand that we do things better and differently than today, the most

elemental reasons for why financial services exists—things like financing, capital raising and investment management—will not change. So the real question is—how do we harness the enormous potential of these new technologies to maximize value for our clients and the investing public?

Distributed Ledgers

I want to start with distributed ledgers because I believe they will allow us to re-imagine the post-trade infrastructure in a way that previous technological advancements couldn't. However, as the hype of blockchain has collided with its realities, expectations have become more rational over its ability to achieve the scale and processing power needed for large-scale solutions.

For example, I'm sure you all remember the talk not long ago about using blockchain to perform real-time gross settlement. In a small, immature market—maybe. But in the United States—not a chance, at least right now. At DTCC, we seamlessly process 60 million trades each day, and during peak times like we saw last month, we handled as many as 90 million transactions. It would be impossible to do this today using a distributed ledger.

Across the industry, we're seeing increased rigor around DLT experiments and the need to demonstrate ROI. A recent study by Deloitte reported that in 2016 there were nearly 27,000 blockchain projects started on the GitHub platform alone. However, today only 8% of those projects are actively maintained.

One way to read those numbers is that as the industry has come to the realization that blockchain's potential isn't limitless, companies are focusing their resources on initiatives that can deliver real client value. In addition, firms now have a better understanding that they need to scale their technology to support all their clients—from the smallest firms that still use faxes and spreadsheets to the biggest banks that are DLT-capable.

Despite these realities, we remain enthusiastic about DLT's transformative potential, but we also know that our business and operating model will change dramatically as new technologies reshape how clearing, settlement and financial services more broadly is conducted. And we're being proactive in defining our future.

If anyone is going to disrupt DTCC in the future, it's going to be us. That's why we've taken the lead in advancing the use of DLT. The work we've done is helping the industry prove out that the technology can be applied in the post-trade process. For example, our initiative to re-platform our Trade Information Warehouse for credit derivatives is one of the industry's largest and most complex DLT projects to date. We're planning to launch this early next year.

From this effort, we've learned a lot about what works and what doesn't. We've wrestled with the technology's limitations. But we're also uncovering new possibilities to help lead the digital transformation of the post-trade environment. That's what makes this such an exciting time to work in financial services.

Cloud Computing, AI & Robotics

When it comes to cloud computing, we're equally enthusiastic. Today, the cloud boasts more capabilities, better security and resiliency and increased cost efficiencies over proprietary data centers. The move to the cloud is already underway across the industry because the value proposition of unlimited scale for computing and storage, along with the ability to experiment, innovate and fail fast, has made it very attractive to financial firms. In the years ahead, cloud computing will likely become the enterprise environment across industries, including the global capital markets.

Similarly, there's no doubt that robotics, machine learning and artificial intelligence will become deeply embedded into the fabric of financial services in the future and change

many parts of the industry. We're seeing that happen already, including at DTCC, where we are experimenting with a virtual workforce to perform highly-manual and repetitive tasks in areas as diverse as billing, underwriting and onboarding. Many of your own firms are doing the same, and the early results are impressive.

Balancing Innovation & Risk

All of this makes the future very exciting, a little bit scary and filled with countless unknowns. As I said earlier, we live in a VUCA world, and that's not going to change any time soon. However, as we navigate through these issues, we need to be grounded by certain fundamentals—and one of the most important is balancing risk with innovation. How we do that will shape what the capital markets and market infrastructures of tomorrow will look like.

So let me turn to my next topic and share with you three guiding principles for achieving this balance.

Principle #1: Grounding Innovation in Client Value

The first principle is ensuring that innovation is grounded in client value and supports business objectives and goals. In today's environment of rapid change, stability and innovation must be strongly connected—and we can't ever sacrifice one for the other. We need to nurture and support innovation, while at the same time, ensuring that any potential new risks that are introduced by technology can be mitigated.

Principle #2: Promoting Industry Collaboration

The second principle is promoting industry-wide collaboration. When it comes to balancing risk with innovation, we can't "go it alone." We need to work together to create the building blocks of future solutions based on comprehensive standards. Fortunately,

organizations like the HyperLedger Foundation and the Enterprise Ethereum Alliance are fostering collaborating among a cross-section of players.

Creating an environment of partnership can also be effective in other ways, such as protecting against cyber attacks. As cyber criminals become more sophisticated and as the threats become increasingly complex, especially in a post-quantum computing world where we'll be in an arms race with the bad guys, our ability to work together will be even more critical. We'll be discussing this topic during a panel later today.

Principle #3: Engaging with Regulators

The third principle is engaging with regulators to create an environment that supports innovation and that also protects the safety of the global marketplace. We need to work in partnership with the supervisory community to define how new technologies will fit into existing regulatory regimes and where those frameworks will need to evolve as new solutions are implemented. Fortunately, many regulatory bodies globally have taken an early and active interest in this. We're encouraged by the words and actions of CFTC Chairman Christopher Giancarlo as well as by the work of the Financial Conduct Authority's Project Innovate and Innovation Hub in the UK. Around the world, supervisors are creating an environment for the experimentation and growth of fintech.

Unlocking the Promise of Innovation

With all this talk about technology, it's easy to lose sight of people, but that would be a mistake because it's all of us and our colleagues who truly hold the key to unlocking the promise of innovation. However, I want to narrow that scope to a subject that is critically important and also one in which I'm passionate about—and that's diversity.

In this day and age, we're well beyond needing to make the business case for diversity. Study after study have demonstrated that diverse organizations outperform non-diverse companies in virtually every metric. Despite the fact that we all know this, our industry still struggles to achieve an adequate level of diversity—and the issue is even more pronounced in the STEM areas of science, technology, engineering and math.

According to a 2017 report by the US General Accountability Office, between 2007 and 2015, the industry experienced only modest improvement in diversity, but the representation of African-Americans in management positions decreased and the number of women was unchanged. In fact, women accounted for only 29% of senior-level managers.

Specific to STEM, a different study found that in 2015, less than 37,000 women earned computing degrees vs. more than 125,000 men. This gap has been widening since 2001.

Now contrast this with the expected growth in STEM-related positions, which are expected to surge 13% in the coming years. And keep in mind that these trends come at a time when financial services is competing for talent against a wider range of companies, including tech firms like Google, Facebook and Netflix.

So we must do better, and not simply when it comes to STEM education, but in diversifying the management of our industry. And there are several ways to go about it.

For example, we have to start by looking inward and holding our managers accountable for identifying a diverse slate of candidates when filling open positions.

We also have to expand mentoring and sponsorship programs to identify and prepare diverse candidates for more senior-level positions and promote mobility opportunities to support growth.

And finally, we need to consider whether certain policies, such as work from home, flex hours and the like,

need to be updated to create better work-life balance.

There's no one-size-fits-all approach to solving the diversity dilemma, but rather it will take a combination of strategies to move the needle on an issue that is critical to unlocking the promise of innovation.

Conclusion

As I wrap up my remarks, I want to share with you a brief story from last week. I was at FIA Boca and had the opportunity to introduce best-selling author Walter Isaacson for his keynote. Walter has written several

biographies on creative minds—people like Einstein, Ben Franklin, Steve Jobs and, of course, DaVinci.

His talk focused on creativity as a team sport—that the spirit of collaboration and cooperation exists at times of great innovation. For instance, during the Renaissance in Florence, painters, sculptors, mathematicians, engineers and architects worked together during a period of great cultural change and achievement. The same thing occurred in 1776, when the representatives of the 13 colonies came together to build a free and independent nation. And 200 years later, we saw this again when

geeks, hackers, hippies and engineers launched the PC industry.

Today, we're on the cusp of dramatic change that will fundamentally alter virtually every part of financial services. At this unique moment in time, we must embrace the trends, work together in common purpose and capture the tailwinds to lead innovation and define the future of our industry.

At DTCC, we look forward to continuing to partnering with all our colleagues to drive positive change. I'm very excited to have this conversation with all of you throughout today and in the months ahead. I hope you enjoy today's program.

NEGOTIATING THE FUTURE OF ENERGY

It will take renewables time ... and they will add to the mix. One fuel's ascent doesn't mean the end of another. The world will need fuels of all kinds for some time to come.

Address by BOB DUDLEY,
Group Chief Executive, BP



Delivered at Association of International Petroleum Negotiators
International Summit, London, April 24, 2018

Good morning everyone.
It's great to be here.

And it is inspiring to see so many of the industry's finest negotiators in the room today.

Steven (Otiller) was very persuasive (as you'd expect!) when he asked me to speak—as was my long-time friend, Doug Glass. Actually, I didn't take much persuading....it's an honour to join you.

Thank you Steven, for your invite and your kind words just now.

And most of all, a big thank you for the leadership you have shown as President of this great organisation.

You have played a pivotal part in AIPN's successful history.

I know you'll be missed, but in Graham Cooper, you have the ideal person taking up the mantle.

Graham, I wish you the very best as President, and let me assure you of BP's continued commitment to AIPN.

We were here at the outset, when AIPN was just an idea. And we'll

continue to support AIPN long into the future.

There's an important job that still needs doing, to bring on the next generation of negotiators.

Experience comes with time on the job.

But having a strong support network from the outset is also important, and that's where the Young Negotiators Group comes in.

I encourage you to keep up the good work—we're going to be busier than ever in the years ahead.

When I started in this industry in 1979, I was working as an exploration project analyst...part of the negotiating team who would travel to places like Libya or Trinidad.

It was a dream job for someone who just wanted to see the World!

I was the guy who worked up the spreadsheets by hand for the lead negotiators. It led to many late nights, but it was a great job.

It's also stood me in great stead ever since.

That's important in our changing industry.

And today, the clockspeed is faster than at any time I can recall.

And that leads me to the three areas I'd like to talk about today.

First, the challenges our industry faces.

Second, the choices to be made in response to those challenges.

Third, is a point about relationships which are increasingly important when it comes to making the right choices and unlocking some of the new opportunities ahead.

Challenges

So challenges first, and the main one which is the dual challenge.

How to deliver around a third more energy for a growing world, while at the same time delivering energy that's better, cleaner and helps towards the Paris goals.

On current trends, our Energy Outlook estimates the world will need

around a third more energy by 2040 to power growing prosperity and lift two-and-a-half billion people out of low incomes.

That's the equivalent of taking all of today's demand and adding another China and European Union to it.

Gas is growing fast, at around 1.6% a year.

Oil demand is continuing to grow, at 0.5%, while renewables are growing faster than any fuel in history, at 7% a year.

That's leading us towards the most diverse fuel mix there's ever been with quarter-shares each for oil, gas and coal, and the other quarter coming from renewables, nuclear and hydro together.

That mix will certainly help to slow the growth rate of emissions down over time.

But that is still growth when the climate goals set out in Paris require a sharp fall.

Choices

That means we are going to be making some important choices in the years ahead when it comes to the energy deals we do, and places we put our investments.

Let me just look at three of those choices, at a really high level.

Realism on renewables

The first is renewables, which are clearly going to be increasingly important, but it's also important that we're realistic about what they can achieve.

In BP we've been in renewables for close to 40 years now, so we have some experience that's relevant here.

Today we have a significant wind business in the US, biofuels in Brazil—and biopower as well.

And we've just returned to solar in a new way with Lightsource BP, learning from the ups, as well as the downs, from our previous work in this area.

There's no doubt that renewables can be an exciting investment opportunity—particularly where you can

partner wind and solar with gas to counter the intermittency issues.

The challenge for renewables is that they start from a low base and energy transitions don't happen overnight.

The 1900s were characterized as the oil century, even though more coal was used.

The 1800s were the age of coal, even though the world consumed twice as much wood.

So it will take renewables time too, and they will add to the mix.

One fuel's ascent doesn't mean the end of another.

The world will need fuels of all kinds for some time to come.

Oil and EVs

When it comes to choices about oil, I want to tackle this question about oil demand peaking and electric vehicles killing off demand.

While it is true that the share of oil in the energy mix will decline over time, it's not about to be killed off by EVs. Not anytime soon.

At some point oil will stop growing. But the pace of any subsequent decline is likely to be very slow, with the world needing a lot of oil for a long time to come.

Think plateau...not peak...when you think of oil.

You can see why that's the case when you look at a really extreme scenario.

That's what our chief economist, Spencer Dale, did in our Energy Outlook, when he modelled what could happen if there was a worldwide ban on the traditional combustion engine.

He looked at a ban on new sales of petrol, diesel, and plug-in hybrid cars, phased in during the 2030s ahead of a complete ban by 2040.

Even in that extreme case, oil demand overall could still be higher by 2040 than it is now, at around 100 million barrels a day.

And there's another remarkable side to that calculation.

Our Outlook finds that even a

worldwide ban like that barely moves the dial on greenhouse gas emissions.

Emissions could still go up 7% by 2040—not far off the 10% rise projected if the world continues on the course it's on today—and much higher than the near-50% fall thought necessary to be on course for the Paris climate goals.

I'm not trying to downplay EVs in any way.

They have a really important role to play, particularly in urban areas where they can improve air quality, and we see tremendous business opportunities for BP...not just in EVs, but in the broader revolution in mobility that's underway.

We just have to be realistic and be clear that EVs are not the silver bullet for reducing emissions.

More gas, less coal

So that's renewables and oil...

The third big fuel choice is gas, and we believe in BP that gas has a really big part to play in shaping the future of energy.

Increasingly we see that gas is accessible, affordable, and a cleaner alternative to coal when burned for power.

In China for example, a switch to gas could see the share of coal in industrial energy fall from almost a third today to something like less than a quarter in 2040.

You can see how significant that might be when you look at the US, where replacing coal with gas in power generation has helped bring emissions back down to where they were in the early 1990s.

At BP, six of our seven major projects last year were gas, as are 13 of our 22 planned out to 2021.

We are growing gas in our portfolio and see it as the perfect partner for renewables, which alone won't be able to meet future demand.

That's why we should be focussed on a race to lower emissions, not a race to renewables.

In short, the world is going to need energy from all fuels for some

time to come, so we need to make all fuels cleaner.

Advancing the energy transition

All this is helping inform our approach and the choices we're making in BP.

We're focussed on growing our gas production, while working to limit the impacts of methane.

We're increasing our oil production, but doing so in more efficient, cleaner and better ways.

And we're expanding our existing renewables businesses with the right opportunities and also looking to create new low carbon businesses through venturing and innovative partnerships.

We set out more on this in our Advancing the Energy Transition launch just last week, down the road at St. James's Square.

We set out how we are Reducing emissions in our own operations, Improving our products to help customers lower their emissions, and Creating low carbon businesses.

Reduce. Improve. Create.

We also set targets on our emissions, including an overarching target of zero net growth in our emissions out to 2025.

Our production is set to grow—by around 5% a year out to 2021—but our emissions will not.

Underpinning that target we also set specific targets for greenhouse gases and methane.

The first is to deliver 3.5 million tonnes of sustainable greenhouse gas reductions by 2025.

And the second, over the same timescale, is a methane intensity target of 0.2%.

That second target takes a little explaining.

I think Steve Pacala, from Princeton University—one of the world's leading climate scientists—describes it well.

He said that if the 0.2 target became an industry standard it would, “take oil and gas methane from being a big component of

global warming to being essentially a negligible component of global warming.”

Relationships

That's our approach:

Reduce-Improve-Create.

Other oil and gas companies have their own approaches to helping meet the dual challenge.

There's is no single right way of doing things.

It's about all pulling in the same direction, and we see that more than ever across our industry.

New ways to partner

The partnerships and collaborations we are making will help this aim.

And increasingly we see new ways to partner with others.

BP is working with nine other major oil and gas companies through the Oil and Gas Climate Initiative, or OGCI, to collaborate on action to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

A couple of weeks back we announced a strategic alliance with Petrobras to explore joint projects in Brazil and beyond.

And just last week, we announced the next of a series of projects with Reliance to increase domestic gas supplies for India.

These are new deals, new ways of working, and a different type of partnership from days of old.

They reflect the ever-changing needs and priorities of the energy industry. And the ability for people from different companies and lines of work to get 'round a table and make a deal.

AIPN

These new business models and ways of working are why the AIPN is so important.

Negotiations are becoming more complex and taking off in new directions.

At the same time, we also need to move fast to get things done.

That puts strong intuitive negotiation skills at a premium—and not just strong skills but efficient processes as well.

In BP we have certainly benefited from the commercial framework the AIPN provides and are pleased to input into their development.

I know from my colleagues that the AIPN Model Contracts mean negotiations can start at an already advanced stage.

For BP this is like taking a good 40% off the time of a typical negotiation process.

That's like getting a 10-mile head start in the London Marathon.

That's a game-changer in this fast-moving energy environment where the patterns of deals and energy trends are shifting.

So I would say the value of AIPN today is greater than it's ever been.

Conclusion

Let me finish with one final observation about the role of the negotiator.

I know you guys tend to stay out of the limelight.

You work behind the scenes and often out of view.

But what you do is pivotal to the continued success of our industry, and therefore the greater prosperity of the world.

Artificial Intelligence can never replace emotional intelligence.

AI can't look someone in the eye in the small hours and make a deal. We've all been there.

I've always said this is a relationships business.

The role of human contact and relationships is as important in our work today as it has ever been, maybe more so.

That's why the art of negotiation must be preserved, supported and grown.

That's why the role of the AIPN is as important as it's ever been.

And why BP will support it for years to come as we seek to advance the energy transition.

Thank you.

ISRAEL IS A FORTRESS, BUT NOT YET A HOME

The solution to the great complexity of Israeli–Palestinian relations can be summed up in one short formula: if the Palestinians don't have a home, the Israelis won't have a home either. The opposite is also true: if Israel will not be a home, then neither will Palestine.

Address by DAVID GROSSMAN,
Author

Delivered at an event associated with Memorial Day for Fallen Soldiers
of Israel and Victims of Terrorism, Tel Aviv, April 17, 2018

Dear friends, good evening. There is a lot of noise and commotion around our ceremony, but we do not forget that above all, this is a ceremony of remembrance and communion. The noise, even if it is present, is beyond us now, because at the heart of this evening there is a deep silence—the silence of the void created by loss.

My family and I lost Uri in the war, a young, sweet, smart and funny man. Almost twelve years later it is still hard for me to talk about him publicly.

The death of a loved one is actually also the death of a private, whole, personal and unique culture, with its own special language and its own secret, and it will never be again, nor will there be another like it.

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It is indescribably painful to face that decisive ‘no.’ There are moments when it almost sucks into it all the ‘have’ and all the ‘yes.’ It is difficult and exhausting to constantly fight against the gravity of loss.

It is difficult to separate the memory from the pain. It hurts to remember, but it is even more frightening to forget. And how easy it is, in this situation, to give in to hate, rage, and the will to avenge.

But I find that every time I am tempted by rage and hate, I immediately feel that I am losing the living contact with my son. Something there is sealed. And I came to my decision, I made my choice. And I think that those who are here this evening—made that same choice.

And I know that within the pain there is also breath, creation, doing

good. That grief does not isolate but also connects and strengthens. Here, even old enemies—Israelis and Palestinians—can connect with each other out of grief, and even because of it.

I have met quite a few bereaved families over these past years. I told them, in my experience, that even when you are at the heart of the pain you should remember that every member of the family is allowed to grieve the way they want, the way they are, and the way their soul tells them to.

No one can instruct another person how to grieve. It's true for a private family, and it's true for the larger ‘bereaved family.’

There is a strong feeling that connects us, a feeling of a joint fate, and the pain that only we know, for which there are almost no words out there, in the light. That is why, if the definition of a ‘bereaved family’ is genuine and honest, please respect our way. It deserves respect. It is not an easy path, it is not obvious, and it is not without its internal contradictions. But it is our way to give meaning to the death of our loved ones, and to our lives after their death. And it is our way to act, to do—not to despair and not to desist—so that one day, in the future, the war will fade, and maybe cease completely, and we will start living, living a full life, and not just subsisting from war to war, from disaster to disaster.

We, Israelis and Palestinians, who in the wars between us have lost those dearer to us, perhaps, than our own lives—we are doomed to touch reality through an open wound. Those wounded like that can no longer foster illusions. Those wounded like

that know how much life is made up of great concessions, of endless compromise.

I think that grief makes us, those who are here tonight into more realistic people. We are clear-eyed, for example, about things relating to the limits of power, relating to the illusions that always accompany the one with the power.

And we are wavier, more than we were before the disaster, and are filled with loathing every time we recognize a display of empty pride, or slogans of arrogant nationalism, or leaders' haughty statements. We are more than wary: we are practically allergic. This week, Israel is celebrating 70 years. I hope we will celebrate many more years and many more generations of children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, who will live here alongside an independent Palestinian state, safely, peacefully and creatively, and—most importantly—in a serene daily routine, in good neighborliness; and they will feel at home here.

What is a home?

Home is a place whose walls—borders—are clear and accepted; whose existence is stable, solid, and relaxed; whose inhabitants know its intimate codes; whose relations with its neighbors have been settled. It projects a sense of the future.

And we Israelis, even after 70 years—no matter how many words dripping with patriotic honey will be uttered in the coming days—we are not yet there. We are not yet home. Israel was established so that the Jewish people, who have nearly never felt at-home-in-the-world, would finally have a home. And now, 70 years later,

strong Israel may be a fortress, but it is not yet a home.

The solution to the great complexity of Israeli-Palestinian relations can be summed up in one short formula: if the Palestinians don't have a home, the Israelis won't have a home either.

The opposite is also true: if Israel will not be a home, then neither will Palestine.

I have two granddaughters, they are 6 and 3 years old. To them, Israel is self-evident. It is obvious to them that we have a state, that there are roads and schools and hospitals and a computer at kindergarten, and a living, rich Hebrew language.

I belong to a generation where none of these things are taken for granted, and that is the place from which I speak to you. From the fragile place that vividly remembers the existential fear, as well as the strong hope that now, finally, we have come home.

But when Israel occupies and oppresses another nation, for 51 years, and creates an apartheid reality in the occupied territories—it becomes a lot less of a home.

And when Minister of Defense Lieberman decides to prevent peace-loving Palestinians from attending a gathering like ours, Israel is less of a home.

When Israeli snipers kill dozens of Palestinian protesters, most of them civilians—Israel is less of a home.

And when the Israeli government attempts to improvise questionable deals with Uganda and Rwanda, and is willing to endanger the lives of thousands of asylum seekers and expel them to the unknown—to me, it is less of a home.

And when the prime minister defames and incites against human rights organizations, and when he is looking for ways to enact laws that bypass the High Court of Justice, and when democracy and the courts are constantly challenged, Israel becomes even a little less of a home—for everyone.

When Israel neglects and discriminates against residents on the fringes of society; when it abandons and continuously weakens the residents of southern Tel Aviv; when it hardens its heart to the plight of the weak and voiceless—Holocaust survivors, the needy, single-parent families, the elderly, boarding houses for children removed from their homes, and crumbling hospitals—it is less of a home. It is a dysfunctional home.

And when it neglects and discriminates against 1.5 million Palestinian citizens of Israel; when it practically forfeits the great potential they have for a shared life here—it is less of a home—both for the minority and the majority.

And when Israel strips away the Jewishness of millions of Reform and Conservative Jews—again it becomes less of a home. And every time artists and creators have to prove—in their creations—loyalty and obedience, not only to the state but to the ruling party—Israel is less of a home.

Israel is painful for us. Because it is not the home we want it to be. We acknowledge the great and wonderful thing that happened to us, by having a state, and we are proud of its accomplishments in many areas, in industry and agriculture, in culture and art, in I.T. and medicine and economics. But we also feel the pain of its distortion.

And the people and organizations who are here today, especially the Family Forum and Combatants For Peace, and many more like them, are perhaps the ones who contribute most to making Israel a home, in the fullest sense of the word.

And I want to say here, that half of the money from the Israel Prize that I will be receiving the day after tomorrow, I intend to donate and divide between the Family Forum and the Elifelet organization, which looks after the children of asylum seekers—those whose kindergartens are nicknamed “children’s warehouses”. To

me, these are groups who do sacred work, or rather—do the simply human things that the government itself should be doing.

Home.

Where we will live a peace and safe life; a clear life; a life that will not be enslaved—by fanatics of all kinds—for the purposes of some total, messianic, and nationalist vision. Home, whose inhabitants will not be the material that ignites a principle greater than them, and supposedly beyond their comprehension. That life in it would be measured in its humanity. That suddenly a nation will wake up in the morning, and see that it is human. And that that human will feel that he is living in an uncorrupted, connected, truly egalitarian, non-aggressive and non-covetous place. In a state that runs simply on the concern for the person living within it, for every person living within it, out of compassion, and out of tolerance for all the many dialectics of ‘being Israeli’. Because ‘These are the living words of Israel’.

A state that will act, not on momentary impulses; not in endless convulsions of tricks and winks and manipulations; and police investigations, and zig-zags, and flip-flops backwards. In general—I wish our government to be less devious and wiser. One can dream. One can also admire achievements. Israel is worth fighting for. I also wish these things for our Palestinian friends: a life of independence, freedom and peace, and building a new, reformed nation. And I wish that in 70 years’ time our grandchildren and great-grandchildren, both Palestinian and Israeli, will stand here and each will sing their version of their national anthem.

But there is one line that they will be able to sing together, in Hebrew and Arabic: “To be a free nation in our land,” and then maybe, at last, it will be a realistic and accurate description, for both nations.

WHO MY MOTHER REALLY WAS

I'm comforted by your presence and your palpable love for this woman we came to know as Winnie Nomzamo Madikizela Mandela. As she said in her lifetime, "I am the product of the masses of my country and the product of my enemy." May we learn from her and be inspired by her courage.

Address by ZENANI MANDELA-DLAMINI,
Diplomat, South Africa



Delivered at Orlando Stadium,
Soweto, South Africa, April 14, 2018

Ladies and gentleman, family, friends and all those who've travelled from near and afar to be at my mother's funeral, good morning. Your presence means everything to me and my family. Ever since we announced that my mother had departed this world, we've been comforted and strengthened in our hour of grief and weakness by your love, your messages, your visitations, and above all your testimonies of what my mother meant to each of you.

From the afternoon of April the 2nd, when we had to share, even as our hearts were heavy, that we had lost the woman the world knew as Winnie Madikizela Mandela, but who I simply called mum, we have been shielded from our own pain by your love for her.

To those of you who took time to come to Mama's house to pay your respects, to bring us your condolences: thank you. We have been touched by your humanity. May you do for others what you have done for us.

I stand here this morning to both mourn my mother and also, like you, to celebrate her life. Because hers is one of the most unique stories in recent history. She dared to take on one of the most powerful and evil regimes of the past century, and she triumphed. For those who have not had the time or the courage to go beyond the quick headlines or the rushed profiles, I urge you to search the archives so that you may fully appreciate who my mother really was, and why her life and story matters so much.

One of the most important measures of how someone's life has been

lived is the extent to which they have touched others. By this measure, my mother's life was a remarkable one. For those of us who've been close to her, we have always appreciated just how much she meant to the world. But even we were unprepared for the scale of the outpouring of love and personal testimonies from so many. From the rising generation, which is too young to have been around when my mother took on the Apartheid State, to those who hail from the African Diaspora, we have been reminded of how she touched so many, in ways that are so deeply personal.

As a family we have watched in awe as young women stood up and took a stand of deep solidarity with my mother. I know that she would be very proud of each of you, and grateful for your acts of personal courage: for joining hands in the #IAmWinnie movement, wearing your doeks and bravely mounting a narrative that counters the one that had become, to our profound dismay, my mother's public story over the last twenty-five years of her life. Like her, you showed that we can be beautiful, powerful and revolutionary—even as we challenge the lies that have been peddled for so long.

As the world—and particularly the media, which is so directly complicit in the smear campaign against my mother—took notice of your acts of resistance, so too did this narrative begin to change. The world saw that a young generation, unafraid of the power of the establishment, was ready to challenge its lies, lies that had become part of my mother's life. And this was also when we saw so many

who had sat on the truth come out one by one, to say that they had known all along that these things that had been said about my mother were not true. And as each of them disavowed these lies, I had to ask myself:

"Why had they sat on the truth and waited till my mother's death to tell it?" It is so disappointing to see how they withheld their words during my mother's lifetime, knowing very well what they would have meant to her. Only they know why they chose to share the truth with the world after she departed. I think their actions are actions of extreme cruelty, because they robbed my mother of her rightful legacy during her lifetime. It is little comfort to us that they have come out now.

I was particularly angered by the former police commissioner George Fivaz for cruelly only coming out with the truth after my mother's death.

And to those who've vilified my mother through books, on social media and speeches, don't for a minute think we've forgotten. The pain you inflicted on her lives on in us.

Praising her now that she's gone shows what hypocrites you are. Why didn't you do the same to any of her male counterparts and remind the world of the many crimes they committed before they were called saints.

Over the past week and a half it's become clear that South Africa, and indeed the world, holds men and women to different standards of morality. Much of what my mother has been constantly asked to account for is simply ignored when it comes to her male counterparts. And this kind of double standard acts also to

obscure the immense contribution of women to the fight for the emancipation of our country from the evil of Apartheid. I say ‘fight’ because the battle for our freedom was not some polite picnic at which you arrived armed with your best behaviour.

The Apartheid state developed a sophisticated and brutal infrastructure for our oppression. It was intolerant of any talk of democracy, especially from a woman activist. I hope that the rediscovery of the truth about my mother helps South Africans come to terms with the pivotal role that she, Winnie Nomzamo Madikizela Mandela, played in freeing us from the shackles of the system of terrorism and white supremacy known as Apartheid.

At my mother’s 80th birthday in September 2016, I said: ‘One day, the story of how you fought back so valiantly against that terrible and powerful regime will be told. Without the distortions.’ It is not two years since I uttered those words and already they’re coming true. Those who notice such things would have realized that her 2013 book, *491 Days*—which tells the story of the brutality she experienced at the hands of the Apartheid state, the depths of her despair and her extraordinary resilience and defiance under extreme pressure—was already an invitation for a deep re-evaluation of her life. Because anyone who reads that book grasps just how much my mother dedicated her life to the struggle for a free South Africa.

She made the choice that she would raise two families: her personal family and the larger family that was

her beloved country. And to her there was no contradiction in this choice, because she cherished freedom as much as she treasured her family. She was not prepared to choose between the two. She believed it was her calling to defend and protect both from the constant assaults by the Apartheid State.

Five years ago we lost my father and the world descended on South Africa to show its love for him. I truly believe that it is worth repeating that long before it was fashionable to call for Nelson Mandela’s release from Robben Island, it was my mother who kept his memory alive. She kept his name on the lips of the people. Her very appearance—regal, confident, and stylish—angered the Apartheid authorities and galvanized the people. She kept my father’s memory in the people’s hearts.

For those who have wondered, let me assure you that even at the height of her activism, my mother always found a way to let me and my sister know that we were the most special people in her life. When we could not be with her, she wrote letters to us. When we were with her, she did not even have to say anything: her love for us was written on her face. But because she had such a big heart, my mother could also love the community where she lived, no matter where that was. So that when she was banished to Brandfort, she immersed herself in the affairs of this little community and improved the lives of the people, who, in turn, received her with so much love.

In closing, let me say that when you read popular history about the

liberation struggle as it currently stands, you can be forgiven for thinking that it was a man’s struggle, and a man’s triumph. Nothing could be further from the truth. My mother is one of the many women who rose against patriarchy, prejudice and the might of a Nuclear-armed state to bring about the peace and democracy we enjoy today.

Every generation is gifted one or two people who shine as brightly as the brightest stars. My sister and I are doubly lucky, in that we got to call Winnie Nomzamo Madikizela Mandela our mother and Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela our father. Unlike many of those who imagine a contested legacy between my father and my mother, we do not have the luxury of such a choice. The two of them were our parents. And all we ask is: no matter how tempting it may be to compare and contrast them, just know that sometimes it is enough to contemplate two historical figures and accept that they complemented each other, far more than any popular narrative might suggest.

I’m deeply grateful to have known and cherished this woman that I called my mother. It is difficult to accept that she is no longer with us. Because she was always so strong. I’m comforted by your presence and your palpable love for this woman we came to know as Winnie Nomzamo Madikizela Mandela. As she said in her lifetime, ‘I am the product of the masses of my country and the product of my enemy.’

May we learn from her and be inspired by her courage.

Thank you.

OUR FIRST AND MOST IMPORTANT TEACHER

Barbara Bush filled our lives with laughter and joy and in the case of her family, she was our teacher and role model on how to live a life of purpose and meaning.

Address by JEB BUSH,
Former Governor, Florida



Delivered as a eulogy at the funeral of First Lady Barbara Bush,
St. Martin's Episcopal Church, Houston, April 21, 2018

As I stand here today, to share a few words about my mom, I feel her looming presence behind me.

I know exactly what she is thinking right now.

“Jeb, keep it short ... Don’t drag this out ... People have heard enough remarks already ... And, most of all, don’t get weepy. Remember, I’ve spent decades laughing and living a life with these people!”

And that is true.

Barbara Bush filled our lives with laughter and joy and in the case of her family, she was our teacher and role model on how to live a life of purpose and meaning.

On behalf of our family, we want to thank the thousands and thousands of expressions of condolence and love for our precious mother.

We want to thank Mom’s caregivers for their compassionate care in the last months of her life.

I want to thank Neil and Maria for their next-door-family-love of our parents.

We want to thank Jon and Susan for their eloquent words. Meacham, you might have been a little long, but it was beautiful!

We want to thank Russ and Laura for their friendship and pastoral care of our parents.

And, we want to thank all who are gathered here to celebrate the life of Barbara Bush.

It is appropriate to express gratitude because we learned to do that at a very early age. You see, our mom was our first and most important teacher.

Sit up.

Look people in the eye.

Say please and thank you.
Do your homework.
Quit whining and stop complaining.
Eat your broccoli. Yes, Dad, she said that.

The little things we learned became habits and they led to bigger things like...

be kind...
always tell the truth...
never disparage anyone...
serve others...

treat everyone as you would want to be treated...

And, love your God with your heart and soul.

What a blessing to have a teacher like that 24-7!

To be clear, her “students” weren’t perfect. (That’s an understatement!)

Mom got us through our difficult times with consistent take-it-to-the-bank unconditional, but tough, love.

She called her style a “benevolent dictatorship” but honestly it wasn’t always benevolent.

When our children got a little older, they would spend more time visiting their Gampy and Ganny.

All it would take was one week and when they came home, all of a sudden, they were pitching in around the house, they didn’t fight as much, and ... they were actually nice to be with!

I attribute this to the unbridled fear of the “Ganny lecture” and the habit-forming effects of better behavior taking hold.

Even in her 90s, mom could strike fear into her grandchildren, nephews, nieces and her children if someone didn’t behave.

There were no safe spaces or micro-aggressions allowed with

Barbara Pierce Bush. But in the end, every grandchild knew their Ganny loved them.

We learned a lot more from our Mom and our Ganny.

We learned not to take ourselves too seriously.

We learned that humor is a joy that should be shared. Some of my greatest memories are participating in our family dinners where Mom would get into it, most of the time with George W as you might imagine, and have us all laughing to tears.

We learned to strive to be genuine and authentic by the best role-model in the world.

Her “authentic” plastic pearls;

Her not coloring her hair (by the way, she was beautiful to the day she died);

Her hugging of an HIV/AIDS patient at a time when his own mother wouldn’t do so;

Her standing by her man with a little rhyming poetry in the 1984 election;

And in a thousand other ways, Barbara Pierce Bush was real and that is why people admired and loved her so.

Finally, our family has had a front seat of the most amazing love story.

Through a multitude of moves: from New Haven to Odessa to Ventura to Bakersfield to Compton to Midland to Houston to DC to New York to DC to Beijing to DC to Houston to DC and back to Houston and Kennebunkport; their love was the constant in our lives.

My Dad is a great letter writer and he would write mom on their wedding anniversaries which totaled an amazing 73 years.

Here is one of them written on January 6, 1994:

Will you marry me? Oops, I forgot, we did that 49 years ago! I was very happy on that day in 1945, but I am even happier today. You have given me joy that few men know. You have made our boys into men by bawling them out and then, right away, by loving them. You have helped Doro be the sweetest greatest daughter in the whole wide world. I have climbed perhaps the highest mountain in the world, but even that cannot hold a candle to being Barbara's husband. Mum used to tell me: "Now, George, don't walk ahead." Little did she know

I was only trying to keep up—Keep up with Barbara Pierce from Rye, New York. I love you!

The last time my Mom went into the hospital, I think Dad got sick on purpose so he could be with her. That's my theory at least, because literally a day later he showed up with an illness.

He came into her room while she was sleeping and held her hand. His hair was standing straight up, he had on a mask to improve his breathing, he was wearing a hospital gown. In other words, he looked like hell!

Mom opened her eyes and said, "My God, George, you are devastatingly handsome."

Every nurse, doctor, staffer had to run to the hallway because they all started crying.

I hope you can see why we think our Mom and our Dad are teachers and models for our entire family and for many others.

Finally, the last time I was with her, I asked her about dying. Was she ready to go? Was she sad?

Without missing a beat, she said, "Jeb, I believe in Jesus and he is my savior. I don't want to leave your dad, but I know I will be in a beautiful place."

Mom, we look forward to being with you and Robin and all of God's children. We love you!

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