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Radio 4

THE ALISTAIR COOKE MEMORIAL LECTURE

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The Alistair Cooke Memorial Lecture

Monday 20:00 - 20:45

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An American Patriot Today

Programme Details

Monday 4 July 8pm - 8.45pm

In a tribute to one of the most insightful observers of America, the BBC presents the Alistair Cooke Memorial Lecture.



An American Patriot Today

The lecturer is Senator John McCain, one of the most popular politicians in the United States today.

In front of an invited audience at the English Speaking Union in London, on the day that Americans celebrate their independence from Britain 229 years ago, Senator McCain will argue that "to be an American patriot is to support a moral mission at home and abroad".

Introduced by broadcaster Nick Clarke, the biographer of Alistair Cooke.

Senator John McCain

U.S. Senator John McCain has a long career of public service.

After graduating from the Naval Academy in 1958, John McCain began his career as a Naval aviator.

In 1982, he was elected to Congress representing what was then the first congressional district of Arizona. In 1986, he was elected to the United States Senate to take the place of Arizona's great Senator Barry Goldwater. Senator McCain is currently the senior senator from Arizona.

In 2000, McCain ran unsuccessfully for the Republican

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Audio Help

Alistair Cooke

Letter from America

The first *Letter...* (1946)

The last *Letter...* (2004)

Obituary

Listen again

Listen again to the lecture

Listen again to the Radio 4 tribute to Alistair Cooke

Message Boards

The Today Programme

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ABC News
Australian news
CNN

nomination for President of the United States.

He is currently the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, and serves on the Armed Services, and Commerce, Science, and Transportation Committees.

Senator McCain has seven children and four grandchildren. He and his wife, Cindy, reside in Phoenix.

Useful Links:

[US Senate](#)

[Senator McCain's web site](#)

[Google news](#)
[Reuters](#)
[Africa.com](#)
[Hindustan Times](#)
[Le Monde](#)

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THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING UNION OF THE UNITED STATES

Creating Global Understanding Through English

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Coming Attractions

From London, the 2005 Alistair Cooke Lecture

MONDAY, JULY 4, from 3:00 to 3:45 p.m. Eastern Daylight Time

Live over BBC RADIO 4 from DARTMOUTH HOUSE

Shortly after the death of **Alistair Cooke** in March 2004, our branch's most influential Vice President, **Dr. Marjorie J. Williams**, suggested that the **English-Speaking Union** devise an appropriate way to help perpetuate a great journalist's legacy. The first fruits of Dr. Williams' inspired proposal will be realized on **Monday, July 4**, when **Senator John McCain** delivers the **British Broadcasting Corporation's** inaugural **Alistair Cooke Memorial Lecture** at **Dartmouth House** in Mayfair. This gathering will be co-hosted by the **ESU**, with its International Chairman, **Lord Watson of Richmond**, its Director-General, **Mrs. Valerie Mitchell**, and its Washington DC Area Branch Executive Director, **John Andrews**, on hand for the proceedings. Others to take part in the ceremony will include Mr. Cooke's daughter and literary executor, **Susan Cooke Kittredge**, his biographer, BBC Radio 4's **Nick Clarke**, one of his former television producers, **Richard Price**, and the BBC's Director-General, **Mark Thompson**.

Senator McCain's topic will be *An American Patriot Today*, and we're told that he is preparing some declarations of interdependence for the occasion. His remarks will be recorded, and if all goes as expected they'll soon be available in both audio and video formats. In the interim they can be heard live online at **8:00 p.m. London time (3:00 p.m. Eastern time in the U.S.)** on the **Fourth of July** over www.bbc.co.uk/radio4.

ESU Programs on C-SPAN

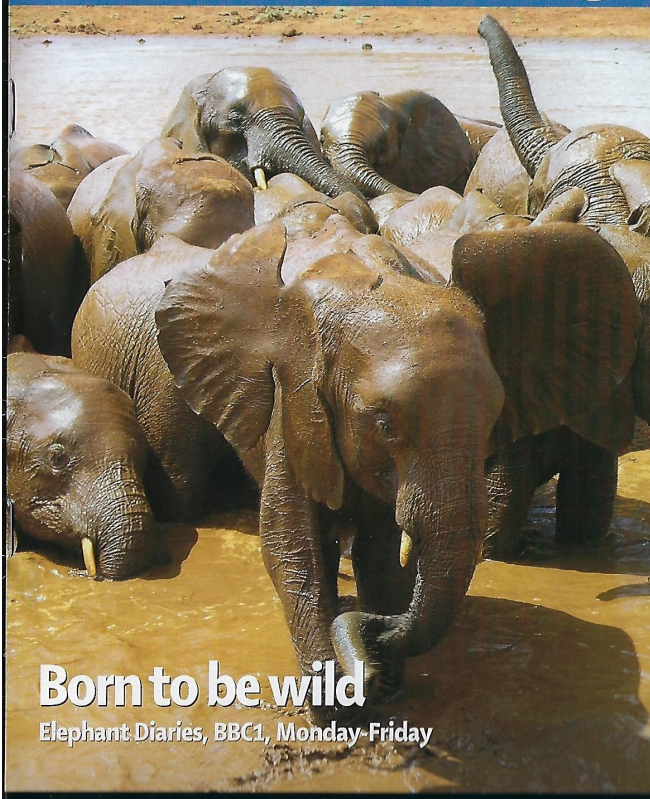
We're happy to report that a luncheon program the Washington branch of the **English-Speaking Union** co-hosted on **Tuesday, January 4**, at the **Woman's National Democratic Club** aired for the third time on **C-SPAN2's BookTV** service at **11:00 p.m. on Sunday, February 6**. If you saw it, you enjoyed a delightful presentation about "Two Centuries of Innovators" by **Sir Harold Evans**, a distinguished journalist whose latest best-seller has been made into a popular **PBS** series, ***They Made America: From the Steam Engine to the Search Engine***. Sir Harold's remarks had been featured twice on **C-SPAN2** during the **January 8** weekend. For more detail, visit the network's [online description](#) of the event.

Several months ago, at **11:00 p.m. on Saturday, May 29, 2004**, and at **8:00 p.m. on Sunday, May 30** -- **C-SPAN2** telecast an ESU program that had taken place on **Wednesday, April 28**. Our speaker for that occasion was **Hew Strachan**, who introduced his new book about ***The First World War*** during a luncheon the ESU hosted at the **Woman's National Democratic Club** in collaboration with the **Eisenhower Institute**. For several months Professor Strachan's remarks were archived on the network's ***History on Book TV*** page, where it could be downloaded and watched on a viewer's computer monitor.

Three months earlier, on **Friday, February 13, 2004**, we had had the pleasure of hosting a luncheon at the **Woman's National Democratic Club** with **Jane Dunn**, who has been described by London's ***Sunday Times*** as one of Britain's best biographers. In a delightful presentation, Ms. Dunn discussed her latest publication, a dual portrait of **Elizabeth I of England** and **Mary Queen of Scots**. **C-SPAN2** sent cameraman **Richard Hall** to cover the event, and the network aired the program twice during the weekend of **February 21-22**. A repeat occurred on **April 18**, and for two months it too was viewable at C-SPAN's ***Public Lives on Book TV*** site.

The proceedings of these and several other ESU-sponsored events are now available in DVD and VHS recordings at C-SPAN's online [store](#).

TV&RADIO



Born to be wild

Elephant Diaries, BBC1, Monday-Friday

Radio

RADIO 1

7am Scott Mills 10 Jo Whitley 12.45pm Newsbeat 1 Colin and Edith 4 Vernon Kay 7 Zane Lowe 9 Lamacq Live. Hip-hop in Sierra Leone 1am Mary Anne Hobbs: the Breezeblock 3 OneClick 4-7am Nemone

RADIO 2

FM 88-90.2 MHz
6am Sarah Kennedy: the Dawn Patrol 7.30 Wake Up to Wogan 9.30 Ken Bruce 12noon Jeremy Vine 2 Matthew Wright in the Afternoon 5.05 Johnnie Walker 7.88C Jazz Awards 2005 8.30 The Album Chart Show with Simon Mayo 9 Live from the Stables 10.30 The Mark Radcliffe Show 12midnight Janice Long 3-6am Liz Kershaw

RADIO 3

FM 90.2-92.4 MHz
7am Morning on 3. Lizzy Millan: Pavana VI. Sarasate: Caprice basque for violin and piano. Mendelssohn: The Marriage of Camacho. Telemann: Ein waltzer held. (Don Quixotte auf der Hochzeit des Comacho). Mozart: Piano Sonata C. Telemann: Overture - Suite in G (Balletique de Quixotte). Grieg: At a Southern Convent's Gate. Kodaly: Variations on a Hungarian folk song. Massenet: Don Quixotte (Act 1, except). 10.10 CD Masters. Bach: Brandenburg Concerto No 1 in F. Debussy: Children's Corner. Nicholas Maw: Scenes and Arias. Haydn: String Quartet in F minor (The Kazon). Schoenberg: Song of the Wood Dove (Correlle) 12noon Composer of the Week: Ottorino Respighi 1 News: Radio 3 Lunchtime Concert. Schumann: Liederkreis. Frank Martin: Zechs Monologe aus Jedermann 2 Afternoon Performance. Mahler an Britten: What the Wild Flowers Tell Me. Britten: Gloriana. Colledge-Taylor: Violin Concerto in G minor. Dvorak: Symphonic Variations 3.40 Making Tracks 4 Stage and Screen 5 in June 7.30 Performance on 3. Peter Gabriel and Vossou. N'Door present highlights from Saturday's Live 8 Africa Calling concert at the Eden Project in Cornwall 9.30 Night Waves. The International Criminal Court (ICC) in Africa 10.45 Late Junction 12midnight Composer of the Week: Henry Purcell 1-7am Through the Night

RADIO 4

FM 12.4-14.6 MHz LW 198 kHz
6am Today 9 Start the Week 9.45 (LW) Daily Service 9.45 (FM) Book of the Week: Under Water to Get Out of the Rain 10 Woman's Hour 11 Live 8: a Backstage Story 11.30 Three Off the Tree 12noon (LW) News Headlines Shipping Forecast 12 (FM) News 12.04 You and Yours 12.57 Weather 1 The World at One 1.30 Counterpoint 2 The Archers 2.15 Afternoon Play: Dr Brighton and Mr Harding 3 Money Box Live 08700 100 444 3.30 Five Sorry Tales. See Choice 3.45 Headstrong and Proud 4 The Food Programme 4.30 Beyond Belief See Choice 5 PM 5.54 (LW) Shipping Forecast and Weather 6.30 O'Clock News 6.30 'I'm Sorry I Haven't a Clue' 7 The Archers 7.45 Front Row 7.45 The Reef 8 The Alistair Cooke Memorial Lecture: an American Patriot



The Alistair Cooke Memorial Lectures: R4, 8pm

Today 8.45 The Lady Behind the Daily Service 9 Nature 9.30 Start the Week 9.55 Weather 10 The World Tonight 10.45 Book at Bedtime: Mr. Starlight 11 Home Truths 11.30 Today in Parliament 12midnight News and Weather 12.30 Book of the Week: Under Water to Get Out of the Rain 12.48 Shipping Forecast 1 As World Service 5.35 World News and Shipping Forecast 5.43 Prayer for the Day 5.45-6am Farming Today

RADIO 5

MW 693.905 kHz
6am Breakfast 9 Victoria Derbyshire 12noon The Midday News 1 Simon Mayo 4 Drive 7 Sport on Five 10 Anita Anand 1am Up All Night 5-6am Morning Reports

BBC7

Dab, Sky 881, Dable, Freeview 78
6.30am The Milligan Papers 7 The Little Toe Radio Show 8 The Goon Show 8.30 Radio Active 9 Pen at End House 9.30 The Naked Nuns 10 Tom Jones 11 The Scepted Isle 11.15 Westway 11.30 Dear Bill 11.45 Adrian Mole - the Wilderness Years 12noon The Goon Show 12.30 'I'm Sorry I Haven't a Clue' 1 Producer's Choice 1.45 Shifting the Leaves 2 King Street Junior 2.30 'I'm Sorry I'll Read That Again' 3 The Little Toe Radio Show 4 The Big Toe Radio Show 5 The Seventh Dimension: The Kraken Wakes 6.30 Dear Bill 6.45 Adrian Mole - the Wilderness Years 7 The Goon Show 7.30 'I'm Sorry I Haven't a Clue' 8 Pen at End House 8.30 The Naked Nuns 9 Tom Jones 10 Radio Active 10.30 The Mark Steel Solution 11 The Beaton Generation 11.45 Quando, Quando, Quando 12midnight The Seventh Dimension: The Kraken Wakes 12.30 Dear Bill 12.45 Adrian Mole - the Wilderness Years 1 Pen at End House 2.30 The Naked Nuns 3 Tom Jones 3 Radio Active 3.30 The Mark Steel Solution 4 The Beaton Generation 4.45 Quando, Quando, Quando 5 Producer's Choice 5.45-6am Shifting the Leaves

CLASSIC FM

FM 100.0-101.9 MHz
7am Simon Bates 11 Most Wanted 12noon Lunchtime Requests 2 Relaxing Classics at Two 4 DriveTime 6.30 Newsnight 7 Smooth Classics at Seven 9 Evening Concert: With Nick Bailey 12midnight Mark Griffiths 5-7am Easier Breakfast

Oneworld

Dab, Sky 877, Dable, Freeview 87
6am The Last of the Mohicans, repeated 2pm 10pm 6.30 Les Misérables, repeated 2.30pm 10.30pm 7 A Postillion Struck by Lightning, repeated 3pm 11pm 7.30 Classic Fairy Stories, repeated 3.30pm 11.30pm 8 Tales From the Norse Legends, repeated 4pm 12midnight 8.30 Vintage Radio, repeated 4.30pm 12.30am 9 Lucky Jim, repeated 5pm 1am 9.30 Wives and Daughters, repeated 5.30pm 1.30am 10 Vintage BTL, repeated 6pm 2am 10.30 Summer Squawkbox, repeated 6.30pm 2.30am 11 The Tempest, repeated 7pm 3am 11.15 Jane Austen - a Biography, repeated 7.15pm 3.15am 11.30 The True History of the Kelly Gang, repeated 7.30pm 3.30am 12noon Between the Lines, repeated 8pm 4am 12.30pm Without Fail, repeated 8.30pm 4.30am 1 Moll Flanders, repeated 8pm 5am 1.30 Your Blue-Eyed Boy, repeated 9.30pm 5.30-6am

Virgin

MW 121.5kHz
6am Pete and Geoff: Breakfast Show 6am News 10pm Neil Francis 4 Kelly 7 Robin Burke 10 Martin Collins 1am Steve Harris 4-6am John Osborne

TalkSPORT

MW 1053.1089kHz
6am Alan Brazil and Graham Breecefort 10 Ian Collins 1pm Hawksee and Jacobs 4 Paul Green-Turner and Mike Parry 7 Windsor Racing: With Derek Thompson 9.30 James Whale 1-6am Mike Mendoca

WORLD SERVICE

MW 618 kHz SW 6.195-9.410 MHz
8am World News 8.06 Talking Point 8.45 Off the Shelf 9 World News 9.06 Agenda for Africa 9.30 The Music Feature 10 World News 10.06 Health Matters 10.30 The World 11 World Briefing 11.20 Irish News 11.30 World Business Report 11.45 Sports Round-Up 12noon World News 12.06 Outlook 12.45 Off the Shelf 1 World News 2.06 Agenda for Africa 3.30 The Music Feature 2 Newshour 2.55 Sports News 3 World News 3.06 Health Matters 3.30 The World 4 World Briefing 4.30 British News 4.45 The Premiership 5 Europe Today 6 World Briefing 6.30 World Business Report 6.45 Analysis 7 World News 7.06 Agenda for Africa 7.30 The Music Feature. Jazz trumpeter Guy Barker visits Cuba to meet musicians in the first of four programmes taking in the sounds of Jamaica and Cape Town 8 World News 8.06 Health Matters 8.30 The World 9 Newshour 9.55 Sports News 10 World Briefing 10.20 World Business Report 10.30 Alistair Cooke Lecture 11 The World Today 12midnight World News 12.06 Outlook 12.45 Off the Shelf 1 World News 1.06 Agenda for Africa 1.30 The Music Feature 2 World News 2.06 Health Matters 2.30 The World 3 The World Today 4 World News 4.06 Outlook 4.45 Off the Shelf 5 World Briefing 5.20 World Business Report 5.30-8am The World Today

MONDAY 4 JULY

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

Monday, July 4, 2005

Radio

Radio 1

FM 97.9-99.8 MHz
7 00 a.m. Scott Mills.
10 00 Jo Whitley.
12 45 Newsbeat.
1 00 Colin and Edith.
4 00 Vernon Kay.
7 00 Zane Lowe.
9 00 Lamacq Live.
1 00 Mary Anne Hobbs: the Breezeblock.
3 00 oneclick/Magazine.
4 00 - 7 00 a.m. Nemone.

Radio 2

FM 88-90.2 MHz
6 00 a.m. Sarah Kennedy: the Dawn Patrol.
7 30 Wake Up to Wogan.
9 30 Ken Bruce.
12 00 Jeremy Vine.
2 00 Matthew Wright in the Afternoon.
5 05 Johnnie Walker.
7 00 BBC Jazz Awards 2005.
8 30 The Album Chart Show with Simon Mayo.
9 00 Live from the Stables.
10 30 The Mark Radcliffe Show.
12 00 Janice Long.
3 00 - 6 00 a.m. Liz Kershaw.

Radio 3

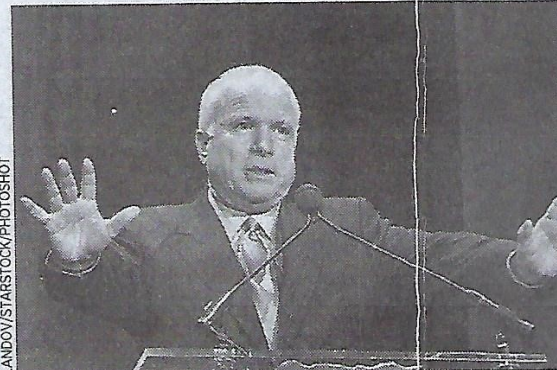
FM 90.2-92.4 MHz
7 00 a.m. Morning on 3.
10 00 CD Masters.
12 00 Composer of the Week: Ottorino Respighi. Six pieces for violin and piano 1 (*Berceuse*). Marcia Crayford (violin), Diana Ambache (piano). *Semirama* (Act 1: opening). Hungarian Radio and TV Chorus, Hungarian State Orchestra/Lamberto Gardelli. *Passo Mezzo e mascherada* (*Ancient Aids and Dances*). Orpheus Chamber Orchestra. *La Pentola Magica* (excerpts). BBC Philharmonic/Gianandrea Noseda. *Trittico Botticelliano*. Academy of St Martin-in-the-Fields/Neville Marriner.

Kidjo from Benin, Algerian violinist Akim El Sikameya, Senegalese percussionist Modou Diouf, Malian superstar Salif Keita and Youssou N'Dour himself. 9 30 Night Waves. Isabel Hilton and guests explore the challenges facing the International Criminal Court (ICC) in Africa - the first permanent world court set up to try genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. 10 15 Late Junction. Specially recorded session featuring Scandinavia's Eivind Aarset, plus a meeting of the Pontic lyra of Matthaïos Tsahourides and the Persian kamancheh of Ardeshtir Kamkar with the percussion of Hussein Zahawy.

12 00 Composer of the Week: Henry Purcell. *Rejoice in the Lord Always*. Winchester Cathedral Choir, Brandenburg Consort, director David Hill. Organ Voluntary in D minor. Paul Plummer (organ). *I Will Love Thee, O Lord*. Choir of New College Oxford, King's Consort/Robert King, Michael George (bass). *Retir'd from Mortals' Sight*. Nancy Argenta (soprano), Nigel North (archlute), Harpsichord Suite No 3. Kenneth Gilbert (harpsichord). *Funeral Music*. Oxford Camerata/Jeremy Summery. 1 00 - 7 00 a.m. Through the Night.

Radio 4

FM 92.4-94.6 MHz; LW 198 kHz
6 00 a.m. Today.
9 00 Start the Week.
9 45 fm Book of the Week: *Under Water to Get Out of the Rain* by Trevor Norton.
9 45 lw Daily Service.
10 00 Woman's Hour. Includes at 10 45 Part six of *The Reef* by Edith Wharton.
11 00 Live 8: a Backstage Story.
11 30 Three Off the Tree.



My country: Senator John McCain takes US patriotism as the theme for his Alistair Cooke Memorial Lecture (R4, 8.00 pm)

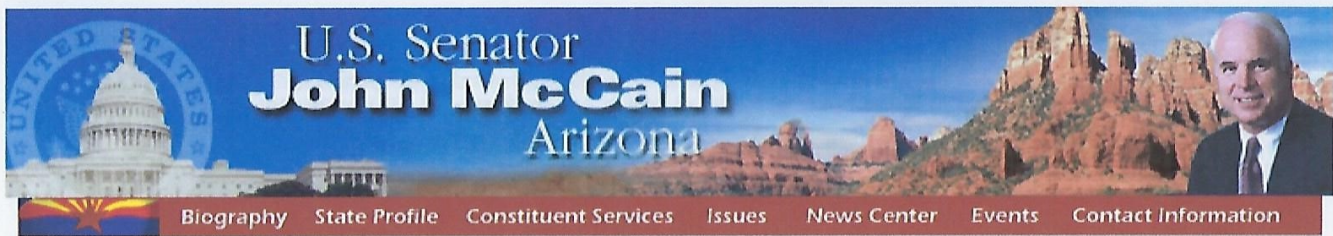
Gillian Reynolds' Choices

Beyond Belief Radio 4, 4.30 pm

What makes a Jew? The British Jewish community is small, about 270,000 at the moment but the contribution Jews make in every walk of life is as, Ernie Rea, chairman of this sterling series says, phenomenal. His aim today is to explore contemporary Judaism's different branches, from orthodox through to the various kinds of reform. Three excellent speakers help him define tradition, teaching, belief, interpretation and observance.

The Alistair Cooke Memorial Lecture Radio 4, 8.00 pm

Senator John McCain speaks to an invited audience at Dartmouth House on *An American Patriot Today*. Today's date, American Independence Day, is of course significant. But Alistair Cooke's role in bridging various transatlantic differences of opinion will, naturally, be remembered. McCain, once described by Cooke as a "hero with a gift for believable indignation," is certainly worth listening to.



News Center

Press Releases

ALISTAIR COOKE MEMORIAL LECTURE: AN AMERICAN PATRIOT TODAY

For Immediate Release

Monday, Jul 04, 2005

The following is a speech delivered by Senator John McCain at the Alistair Cooke Memorial Lecture in London on July 4th:

Good Evening. I'm honored to be here, and I thank the BBC for inviting me to deliver the Alistair Cooke Memorial Lecture. I have to admit hesitating when I first received this gracious invitation, simply because the name Alistair Cooke suggests an eloquence and wit that surpasses my meager talents. While this lecture is in honor of the man who was named the Best Living Speaker of the English Language, I'm afraid that the man delivering it tonight has been characterized somewhat differently in recent years.

For 58 years, Alistair Cooke used his weekly radio broadcasts to explain the ups, downs, and arounds of the United States and its place in the world. Over the decades his "Letter From America" covered thousands of topics, and in a few broadcasts he even mentioned me. In February 2000, he referred to me as "John McWho?" among other, more charitable names, and he might have been the only commentator, anywhere, to utter the statement "I can foresee a landslide for Governor Bush . . . for Mr. Gore or . . . for John McCain." Mr. Cooke was a wonderful broadcaster and an insightful observer of the human parade, but, I very much regret to say, he was a less successful election forecaster.

I wonder how he might have described events on this day, July 4, the 229th anniversary of America's Declaration of Independence. What might he make of our annual celebratory rituals of the day which he had frequent occasion to experience, and would he find in them some deeper insight into the American character that might render us more comprehensible to other people? Drive the streets of any American town today and you'll see flags waving in front of almost every home; visit a park tonight and you'll be entertained by red, white, and blue firework displays in the night sky; every sporting event will begin with the national anthem; and ask any American on the street what thought accompanies the word "America" and you are likely to hear incantations of liberty, freedom, and the other ideals of our founding fathers. We Americans are fond of celebrating our patriotism, which other cultures might mistake for the sum of our civic virtue. But that is a mistaken impression. And so in my own "Letter From America" tonight, I'd like to offer a few of my own thoughts on American patriotism and its animating influence on our government, and the role America plays in world affairs.

Last December I had the privilege of speaking at the Oxford Union, where I argued that the relationship between the U.S. and Europe is one of the world's most important, built as it is not merely on shared security and economic interests but also on a commonality of political values. While I described these views, I suppose that my amor patria was as evident to the students as my belief in the importance of a strong transatlantic relationship. One young woman expressed surprise at my ardor, saying that causes motivate her, not country. To her, perhaps, and maybe to others as well, the patriotism on display every July 4th in America might seem little more than empty chauvinistic gestures. Well, they mean more than that to Americans, but I think my young inquisitor would be more surprised to know that I share her conviction. For me, and for most Americans, the United States is a cause.

My father was a naval officer and my childhood was an itinerant one as we moved from one base to another more times than I can enumerate. I was nearly forty-five years old before I could claim a hometown. Until I moved to Arizona, whenever I was asked, "where are you from?," I always answered, the United States. I never felt any shame that I couldn't be more specific.

America is an idea as well as a place. We were conceived in liberty, and not in an organic development from ethnic associations or a mystical attachment to the land. Our nationalism is not a celebration of tribal identity nor is it a sentimental attachment to "our amber waves of grain" and "purple mountains majesty." When we celebrate the Fourth, we are instinctually exalting the political values of a nation where the people are sovereign, recognizing not only the inherent justice of self-determination, not only that freedom empowers individuals to decide their destiny for themselves, but that it empowers them to choose a common destiny. And contrary to the suspicions of detractors in other countries, the common destiny many if not most Americans idealize surpasses material gain and self-interest.

Nationalism is not intrinsically good. For it to be so, a nation must transcend attachments to land and folk to champion universal rights of freedom and justice that reflect and animate the virtues of its citizenry. Racism and despotism have perverted many a citizen's love of country into a noxious ideology, Nazism and Stalinism being two of the more malignant examples. National honor, no less than personal honor, has only the worth it derives from its defense of human dignity. Then, and only then, do terms like patriotism and honor and doing one's duty have a moral quality, are they virtues in themselves. Many a patriotic German sought honor in doing one's duty to fuhrer and fatherland. History and humanity, not to mention a just God, scorn them for it. Prosperity, military power, a well-educated society are the attainments of a great nation, but they are not its essence. If they are used only in pursuit of self-interest or to serve unjust ends, they degrade a nation's greatness. Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union were temporarily powerful nations. They were never great ones.

I would like to say that I have always held this view of American patriotism, but in truth it was one of life's many ironies that led me to a deeper appreciation for my country. I fell in love with my country when I was held a prisoner of war in Vietnam. I had loved her before then, but like most young people, my affection was little more than a simple appreciation for the comforts and privileges most Americans enjoyed and took for granted. It wasn't until I had lost America for a time that I realized how much I loved her and why.

I loved what I missed most from my life at home: my family and friends; the sights and sounds of my country; the hustle and purposefulness of Americans; their fervid independence; sports; music; information – all the attractive qualities of American life. But though I longed for the things at home I cherished the most, I still shared the ideals of America. And since those ideals were all that I possessed of my country, they became all the more important to me.

It was what freedom conferred on America that I loved the most – the distinction of being the last, best hope of humanity; the advocate for all who believed in the Rights of Man. Freedom is America's honor, and all honor comes with obligations. We have the obligation to use our freedom wisely, to select well from all the choices freedom offers.

The 19th century observer of America Tocqueville observed of an earlier generation of Americans that they were "haunted by visions of what will be." No nation complacent in its greatness will long sustain it, and we are not a people of half-measures. Americans instinctually understand that we are an unfinished nation, a great but not a perfect one. To be sure, Americans use our freedom to advance our individual interests, and to help secure for our children more prosperous, safer and gratifying lives

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The 19th century observer of America Tocqueville observed of an earlier generation of Americans that they were "haunted by visions of what will be." No nation complacent in its greatness will long sustain it, and we are not a people of half-measures. Americans instinctually understand that we are an unfinished nation, a great but not a perfect one. To be sure, Americans use our freedom to advance our individual interests, and to help secure for our children more prosperous, safer and gratifying lives

than we were blessed to inherit. But most of us also appreciate that it is the responsibility of free people to prove again, as those who came before us proved, that a people free to act in their own interests will perceive their interests in an enlightened way, will live as one nation, in a kinship of ideals, and make of our power and wealth a civilization for the ages, a civilization in which all people share in the promise and obligations of freedom.

The values of freedom inspire our patriotism: government derived from the consent of the governed; equal justice under the law; an economic system that is an open market for our creativity and competition. We have not always lived up to these values. But our history, I stoutly argue, is the history of our progress, with obvious but temporary setbacks, toward living out the authentic meaning of freedom. We know when and where we have failed. But we also know that those values are worth fighting for.

The enemies who attacked us on September 11, 2001, and who still threaten us and our allies, obviously do not share our values. They abhor them. They may not like our foreign policies, but it is our character – and I am including the United Kingdom and all our democratic allies in the pronoun "our" – it is our democratic character that they truly revile. When we fight them we are fighting to protect our security, but we are also fighting to protect the global ascendancy of our ideals.

We must fight them. And our object must be not only the destruction of our foes, but the success of liberty in the very lands in which they wish to establish a political-religious empire based on their perverted interpretation of Islam that substitutes a lust for violence for a love of peace, and fascism for justice. The more countries that are governed by the consent of the governed, the fewer cultures there will be where resentment over injustices inflicted by rulers on their subject peoples can be misdirected toward an irrational hatred of those countries that most sincerely believe in their right to self-determination.

Our enemies regard materialism as the only value of liberty. They believe liberty is corrupting, that the right of individuals to pursue happiness makes them weak. They thought us no match for the violent, cruel struggle they planned for us. They are mistaken.

What ensures our success in this long struggle with Islamic extremism is that our military strength is only surpassed by the strength of our ideals, and our unconquerable love for them. Our enemies are weaker than we are in men and arms, but weaker still in causes. They fight to express hatred for the progress of liberal ideals, a hatred that has fallen time and again to the armies and ideals of the righteous. We fight for love of freedom and justice. We will never surrender. They will.

Many people listening tonight might have disagreed with the decision to topple Saddam Hussein's regime and liberate the people of Iraq. I choose the word "liberate" purposefully, because I firmly that our intervention was a right and just decision. The United States and the United Kingdom, and virtually every country with a substantial intelligence service, believed Saddam possessed weapons of mass destruction, which he might have shared with those of our enemies who are not constrained by obligations to protect regimes and territory. Evidently, we were mistaken, and we are now seized with investigating why our intelligence failed and how it can be improved. But I have little doubt that had we allowed the status quo in Iraq to persist, with the sanctions regime eroded to the point of utter worthlessness, Saddam would have eventually presented us with the threat we feared we already faced.

But that's a debate for historians in the future. We are in Iraq today, there is no disputing that. Saddam is gone, there is an elected government, and we are obliged to help fight for its success.

As our television screens fill with the carnage wrought by the terrorists and Baathist insurgency, let us not forget what Iraqis are trying to accomplish, and how important it is to us that they succeed. They are putting behind them decades of brutality and building a multireligious, multiethnic, tolerant democracy in the heart of the Middle East. Surely this is something every caring person, no matter their views on the invasion of Iraq, can support.

While the Iraqi people will suffer the most, both America and Europe would suffer severe repercussions should the elected government there fail. Al Qaeda views the West as weak, unable to accept casualties. Its leaders cite American withdrawals from Lebanon in the 1980s and Somalia in the 1990s as predictive of our resolve in this current struggle. If the terrorists prevail in Iraq, exported violence, warlordism and civil war will be their achievements, and all of us – American, European, Asian, and African – will be far less secure. That is why there is a compelling case for all countries to help the Iraqis in any way possible. I am not just referring to troops on the ground. I am speaking of everything from computers to well digging, from doctors and civil engineers to military and police trainers. The scope for help is limited only by the creativity and generosity of the donors.

To speak of Iraq while in London, I would be remiss if I neglected to mention America's deep gratitude to the British people for their support throughout our operations in that country. Our cooperation in Iraq is the latest manifestation of a relationship of extraordinary closeness and historic significance. From 1941, when the Anglo-American alliance kept the world from descending into darkness, through the Cold War, when our countries stood together in opposition to the imperialism and cruel ideology of Soviet Communism, to this very day, when we fight as allies and stand as friends, our relationship has withstood every challenge. I have never doubted for a moment that the world would be incalculably worse off without the strong British-American partnership.

Our partnership would not be as sound as it is today absent the leadership of your Prime Minister Tony Blair. Today, he is placing important challenges at the top of the G8's agenda, climate change and Africa, priorities I concur with. A Kyoto treaty that absolves huge emerging and polluting countries, India and China from their responsibility for reducing emissions, is obviously not viable. But there remains much that the West, including my country of course, can and should do to control the potentially cataclysmic effects of greenhouse gasses. I support a market based cap and trade system to reduce emissions, and the promotion of clean technologies, particularly nuclear, to reduce our need for fossil fuels. And I think the United States needs to address this problem more urgently than we have been inclined to do.

I cannot tell you tonight what precise level of aid to Africa is appropriate, but I hope that all G8 countries will be generous. Europeans have a special historic responsibility, as so many of the endemic problems in Africa date to the colonial era. But Americans should be as generous as befits a prosperous, decent and concerned society.

Both America and Europe have to honestly examine how our farm subsidies not only cost our own taxpayers billions of dollars every year, but also prevent African farmers from selling their produce on the international market. While I am sure Africans appreciate any financial assistance we offer, it is very odd to offer cash for development with one hand, while using the other to close our markets to African goods, helping ensure that these countries can't generate export-led growth.

Beyond development aid to Africa, I believe the world has a first responsibility to save lives when they are being systematically destroyed. Yet despite our despair and shame over the murder of 800,000 Rwandans in 1994, we have done far too little to stop the violence in the Sudanese state of Darfur. Our State Department estimates that between sixty and one-hundred sixty thousand have been killed there; some nongovernmental organizations put the total at 400,000. Refugees have flooded into vulnerable camps in Darfur and across the border into Chad. The United States government has labeled the killing there "genocide." The world has done a little, but not enough. If we do not do more – including putting more international forces on the ground to secure the camps, stop the violence, and ultimately help refugees return home – we will end up saying "never again" one more time. I don't have the strength to bear such shame anymore.

I believe these actions are moral imperatives. Generations of Americans have believed – as I believe – that we are part of something providential; a great experiment to prove that democracy is not only the most effective form of government, but the only moral government. And as the spread of technologies accelerates the flow of information and quickens history's pace, more societies demand their basic democratic rights.

Recent democratic successes in heretofore closed societies are very heartening and put the lie to the notion that only western nations or well developed economies or Judeo-Christian societies are capable of embracing and sustaining liberal political values. The Rose Revolution in Georgia. The Orange Revolution in Ukraine. Elections in Afghanistan, Iraq, Palestine. The Arab Spring. The Cedar Revolution in Lebanon and the Tulip Revolution in Kyrgyzstan. Protests in Uzbekistan, Belarus, Azerbaijan and elsewhere; repressed for now but for how much longer? I am in London, speaking of political matters, and I must give in to temptation and quote Winston Churchill. "Dictators," he said, "ride to and fro upon tigers which they dare not dismount. And the tigers are getting hungry." That's not just a fact of European political life, but of humanity.

No matter where they live, no matter their history or religious beliefs or the size of their GDP, all people share the desire to be free; to make by their own choices and industry better lives for themselves and their children. To an American, and I believe to most free people, human rights exist above the state and beyond history. They cannot be rescinded by one government any more than they can be granted by another. They inhabit the human heart, and from there, though they may be abridged, they can never be wrenched.

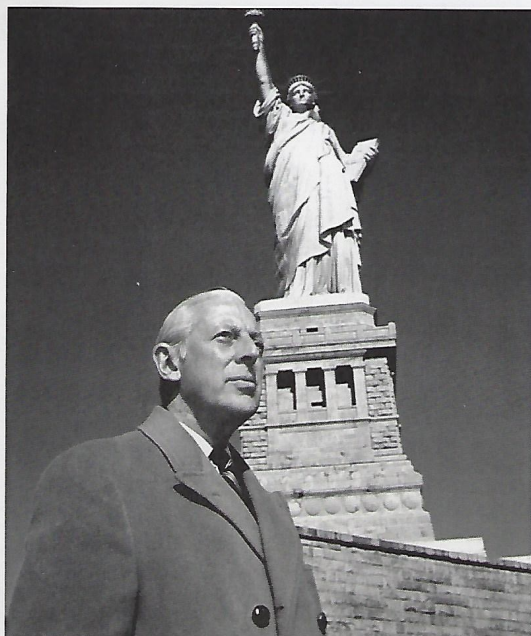
Furthermore, it is in the security interests of the United States and inseparable from the moral foundation of our national character to do all that is practical to help oppressed people wrest their rights from regimes that govern without their consent. To accept the abridgement of those rights in other societies must be no less false to the American heart than to accept their abridgement in our own society. Injustice and tyranny abroad should be as intolerable to Americans as they are intolerable in our own country.

History shows that there have been many great powers before, and there will undoubtedly be many more in the future. But Americans think we are different, truly unlike past superpowers, countries who sought territorial gain or imperial dominion. We wish to free, not to enslave; to trade, not to steal; to enlighten and learn; not to dominate and convert. We are not a perfect nation. We make mistakes. But we strive to improve. We always strive to improve. Because we are haunted by a vision of what could be not only for us and our friends but for humanity, in all its various distinctions.

The object of American power and wealth is not, as our critics allege, simply to garner more power, grow richer, and eliminate threats that don't exist. We could have bought oil from Saddam Hussein at a much cheaper price than we have paid to return the natural resources of that rich country to the Iraqi people. We have an idea that we cherish, and that we believe -- not arrogantly, not ignorantly, not cynically -- but confidently and happily believe is universal. We believe that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We will fight for that idea, and we will die for it; not just to preserve those rights for ourselves and our posterity, but to help others claim them for themselves. That is what America, the United Kingdom, and others are doing in Iraq today. I think it is noble work, and history will honor us for it. Because it can be said of us that we lived out the authentic meaning of freedom, as described by the great poet John Donne:

"Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind; and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."

Thank you for listening, and happy Fourth of July.



The Alistair Cooke Memorial Lecture Delivered by
Senator John McCain



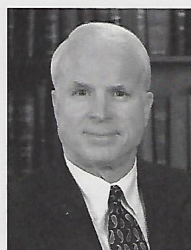
Mark Thompson, Director General BBC,
is pleased to invite

John f. Andrews

to the Alistair Cooke Memorial Lecture,

"An American Patriot Today,"

delivered by Senator John McCain and
broadcast on BBC Radio 4 and the BBC
World Service.



"To be an American patriot is to support
a moral mission at home and abroad"

Senator John McCain

After graduating from the Naval Academy in 1958 John McCain began his career as a naval aviator. In 1967 he was shot down over Vietnam and held as a prisoner-of-war for five and a half years. He has received numerous military awards, including the Purple Heart. John McCain was elected to Congress in 1982 and to the United States Senate in 1986 representing the State of Arizona. In 2000 he ran unsuccessfully for the Republican nomination for President of the United States. He is Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, and serves on the Armed Forces, Commerce, Science and Transportation committees.

Monday 4th July 2005

19.00
Reception

19.45
Guests to be seated
for live transmission
(latecomers will not
be admitted)

20.00-20.45
Lecture and discussion

Venue
The English
Speaking Union
Dartmouth House
37 Charles Street
London W1J 5ED

PLEASE BRING THIS
INVITATION WITH YOU

RSVP
Sara Morgan
e: sara.morgan@bbc.co.uk
t: 020 8008 2049

The Alistair Cooke Memorial
Lecture is produced by
BBC Radio 4 and the BBC
World Service.

Transmission times
BBC Radio 4 (Live)
20.02, 4th July

BBC World Service
(in Europe)
22.30 (BST), 4th July
11.30 (BST), 5th July

www.bbc.co.uk/radio4
www.bbcworldservice.com

The BBC wishes to thank the
English Speaking Union for
making Dartmouth House
available for this event.



The Lord Watson of Richmond CBE
Chairman of the English-Speaking Union

requests the pleasure of the company of

Dr John Andrews OBE
for Tea

on the House of Lords Terrace, Palace of Westminster
for members of

The English-Speaking Union
on

Wednesday 6th July 2005

Entrance by Black Rod's Garden

3.30 to 5.00 pm

(Please show this card at the entrance)

NOT TRANSFERABLE

Please note photography is not permitted

This event is in support of the programmes of the ESU

ESU Expands in Eastern Europe

The ESU Czech Republic was launched before a packed audience at the Blue Auditorium of the Carolinum at Charles University, Prague on 22 June. Turn to page 2 for the full story.



Above: L-R Lord Watson, Chairman ESU of the Commonwealth, HM Ambassador, Ms Linda Duffield, Ian Tervit, Chairman ESU Czech Republic, Pavel Mudra, Treasurer of ESU Czech Republic Committee, Ludja Zabloudilova from Gymnazium Brno, Tom Mertin, Member of Czech Republic Committee, Valerie Mitchell ESU Director-General and Ambassador Cabaniss US Ambassador at the Launch of ESU Czech Republic.

London Debate Challenge a Success

The ESU London Debate Challenge is open to all of London's 415 state sector schools to develop young people's confidence, communication and learning skills through debate.

The Challenge is generously supported by Coca-Cola Great Britain & Ireland, Tesco PLC, Sir John Cass's Foundation and the DFES.

David Reid, Chairman of Tesco PLC, Charlotte Oades, President of Coca-Cola Great Britain & Ireland and the Reverend Brian Lee, Sir John Cass's Foundation attended the event and met with all the contestants.

Turn to page 2 for the full story.



Above: L-R The Reverend Brian Lee, Sir John Cass's Foundation; Alex Lawson, The Latymer School, Enfield; Susie Lederhose, The Latymer School; David Reid, Tesco PLC; Sean Robinson, The Latymer School and Charlotte Oades, Coca-Cola Great Britain & Ireland.

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The first-ever Alastair Cooke Memorial Lecture Broadcast Live from Dartmouth House



Above: L-R Lord Watson, Representative Joe Schwarz (Republican, Michigan) and Senator John McCain (Republican, Arizona).

In July BBC Radio 4 broadcast live the first Memorial Lecture in honour of Alastair Cooke, who used his brilliance with the English language to build understanding between both sides of the Atlantic.

The programme was presented by Alastair Cooke's biographer, broadcaster Nick Clarke, and the Lecture given by Senator John McCain, one of the best-known members of the US Senate and possible future US Presidential candidate.

For 40 years, Alastair Cooke's weekly radio dispatch, *Letter from America*, captured the hearts and minds of listeners as he explained America and the Americans to the wider world. Alastair Cooke once described John McCain as a "hero with a gift for believable indignation."

Taking as the title of his lecture *An American Patriot Today*, Senator McCain maintained that "to be an American Patriot

is to support a moral mission at home and abroad."

Senator John McCain said he was "honoured to deliver the Alastair Cooke Memorial Lecture. He not only gave us a sense of our relationship with the British, but also a good dose of British culture and history."

Richard Price, ESU supporter and former chairman of the British Academy of Film and Television Arts (BAFTA), secured the BBC for this event. Others who took part in the ceremony included Alastair Cooke's daughter and literary executor, Susan Cooke Kittredge and the BBC's Director-General, Mark Thompson.

The audience included ESU Governors, BBC journalists, broadcasters and members of the press. The event was also attended by Lord Watson, Valerie Mitchell, and Dr John Andrews, Executive Director of ESU Washington, DC Area Branch.



Left: Nick Clarke, broadcaster and biographer of Alastair Cooke, congratulating Senator John McCain after the lecture, with Maria Balinska of Radio 4 applauding.

National Mooting Competition

In the 12th century a Moot was the name given to a meeting of free citizens to dispense justice; modern mooting is the presentation of mock legal argument to test the skills of advocacy. The ESU is the organiser of the longest-running mooting competition in the UK.

The competition has been running for 33 years. Since 2000 it has received the generous support of Essex Court Chambers, and is now known as the English-Speaking Union Essex Court Chambers National Mooting Competition. The contest gives law students from universities throughout the UK the opportunity to gain experience in their future roles as advocates. Mooting now forms a compulsory part of certain law courses.

The semi-finals of this year's contest took place at Dartmouth House in June with competing teams from Birmingham, City, Manchester and Oxford universities. City and Oxford emerged as the victors and went on to meet in the Final at a fitting venue, the Lord Chief Justice's Court at the Royal Courts of Justice.

Following an impressive set of submissions, the team from City University was declared the winner by the judging panel comprising the Hon. Justice Lawrence Collins, Jeffrey Grouder QC and Robert Stevens.

City's Elizabeth Prochaska and Benedict Rogers were duly presented with the National Mooting Competition Mace. All four finalists received cheques and each will be offered a mini-pupilage at Essex Court Chambers.



Above: Winning Team L-R Elizabeth Prochaska and Benedict Rogers, City University London, with the National Mooting Competition Mace at the Royal Courts of Justice.

House of Lords Tea Party



Above: Lord Watson with 2005 Parliamentary Interns and SSE scholars on the Terrace. To the right of Lord Watson are two SSE Scholars, Shanley Lestini from Ravenscroft School, Raleigh, North Carolina and Jacqueline Thomas from Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, New Jersey. Shanley and Jacqueline have spent the past year at Dollar Academy and Marlborough College respectively.

At the annual Tea Party held on the Terrace of the House of Lords on 6 July, Lord Watson introduced the parliamentary interns from America to an enthusiastic audience.

Many MPs testified to the great value they have gained from the internship programme while the interns, the SSE scholars and the international students reported their huge enjoyment of their time in Britain.

The Tea Party was attended by Peers, MPs and ESU Alumni as well as members of 14 ESU Branches in the UK and visitors from no fewer than 15 countries. This annual event has established itself as one of the most popular in the ESU calendar.

The 3-City Proposal linking Washington, Paris and London was agreed on the Terrace of the House of Lords during the Tea Party.



Pictured: R-L Mr Colin McCorquodale, Chairman UK London Branch, Mme Lucette Loussouam, President ESU France, Paris, Lord Watson, Dr John Andrews, Executive Director ESU US Washington DC, Mrs Andrews, Valerie Mitchell.

Secondary School Exchange Scholarships (SSE)

Secondary School Exchange (SSE) Scholarships provide the opportunity for scholars to live and study in North America during their Gap Year before university. This year, 16 scholars were selected to travel to various parts of the USA to attend High School for a year. Prior to their

leaving, the scholars and their parents attended briefing days at Dartmouth House, where they met six graduates of the SSE programme and had the chance to discuss their worries and concerns about the trip, as well as to make new friends and explore Dartmouth House.

Walter Hines Page Briefing

Walter Hines Page was a US Ambassador in London during the First World War, and gave great encouragement to the founding of the ESU. The scholarships that bear his name are funded by Teaching Unions and Associations to give scholars the opportunity to travel to the USA for two weeks to study an aspect of American education which is relevant to their professional interests. In 2005, grants were awarded to seven scholars. These will enable them to explore topics ranging from under-achievement in boys to online learning and assessment.

In July a Briefing Day was held at Dartmouth House when Maureen Duncan, Deputy Head of Whitefield School, Walthamstow, spoke about her experiences of the Scholarship, and scholars were also given the chance to explore the Page Memorial Library.



Above: Walter Hines Page Scholars: Maureen Fenton, Phillippa Kanini-Parsons, Adele Cushing and Glyn Barlow with returned Scholar, Maureen Duncan.

Support the ESU

If you would like to strengthen the ESU's ever increasing educational programme by a donation or a legacy in your Will, please contact
Jo Wedderspoon
at Dartmouth House,
37 Charles Street,
London, W1J 5ED,
telephone 020 7529 1550,
email jo_wedderspoon@esu.org.

Your help would be greatly appreciated.

ESU Chilton Art History Scholarship

Miss Christina Reti from Canada has been awarded the 2005/06 Scholarship to attend the Master's Course at Christie's Education.



THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING UNION
Creating global understanding through English

Patron: Her Majesty The Queen

President: HRH The Prince Philip Duke of Edinburgh KG KT

Chairman: The Lord Watson of Richmond CBE

Deputy Chairmen: Lady Appleyard and The Lord Hunt of Wirral PC MBE

6 July 2005

Dr John F Andrews OBE
ESU Washington, DC Area Branch
1604 New Hampshire Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009
USA

Dear John,

Very many congratulations on being the driving force behind the Alistair Cooke Memorial Lecture on Monday. It was indeed an outstanding success and we deeply appreciate all the time and effort which you personally put into it. We shall always help you where we can, and Dartmouth House will be available for any future memorial lectures when they will take place in London.

As always, John, it is a pleasure to work closely with you and we are full of admiration for all you have done to continue to further strong links between the UK and the US, and may I also add between our two ESU countries.

*It was lovely to meet Jan,
With warmer best wishes to you both,
Love ever,
Valerie*

VALERIE MITCHELL (MRS)
Director-General

Director-General: Mrs Valerie Mitchell OBE

Dartmouth House, 37 Charles Street, London W1J 5ED Telephone 020 7529 1550 Fax 020 7495 6108