

***To 'render war impossible': the Rhodes Scholarships,  
educational relations between countries, and peace***

**Speech by the Warden of Rhodes House, Oxford, Dr Donald Markwell,  
at the 'Sailing Dinner' of the Canadian Association of Rhodes Scholars,  
Ottawa, Saturday 24 September 2011**

It is a real delight for me to be back in Ottawa with so many friends – old, new, and about to be made – and to greet Rhodes Scholars of different generations, including – why we are all here – the Canadian Rhodes Scholars of 2011, whom I have greatly enjoyed meeting today, and whom I look forward to welcoming to Rhodes House next Saturday. You will be joining a vibrant community of Rhodes Scholars in Oxford – a community of Scholars of high calibre like yourselves and with many activities at Rhodes House as well as in your colleges and departments. Some of this is reflected in the 'Glimpses of Rhodes' video to which I emailed you a link, and which is on our website.<sup>1</sup>

Canadian Rhodes Scholars have a proud history of achievement in Oxford, and not only in ice hockey; and of subsequent leadership and service in many fields. It is not for nothing that, arising from the governance renewal of recent years, there are three Canadian Rhodes Scholars among our Rhodes Trustees – the Regius Professor of Medicine in Oxford, Sir John Bell (Alberta & Magdalen 1975); a highly successful businessman and philanthropist, John McCall MacBain (Quebec & Wadham 1980); and the global head of McKinsey, Dominic Barton (British Columbia & Brasenose 1984). Another Canadian, Professor Margaret MacMillan, the distinguished international historian and Warden of St Antony's College, Oxford, also serves as one of our Trustees. Other Canadians prominent in Oxford include Rhodes Scholars such as the Dean of the Law Faculty, Timothy Endicott (Ontario & Corpus Christi 1983), and two professors of International Relations – Neil MacFarlane (Quebec &

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.rhodeshouse.ox.ac.uk/page/glimpses-of-rhodes>

Balliol 1976) and Jennifer Welsh (Prairies & St Anne's 1987). Neil's chair is named for Lester Pearson, the Canadian winner of the Nobel Prize for Peace.

There being two Rhodes Scholar professors of International Relations in Oxford is entirely consistent with the strong contribution to international affairs of Canadian Rhodes Scholars over the decades and today. This is reflected in the careers of a number of people here tonight. Bob Rae, as you know, who was here earlier this evening, was opposition critic on foreign affairs before becoming leader of the Liberal Party, and has written extensively on international issues. In earlier times, a Canadian Rhodes Scholar, Arnold Smith, was the first Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, and two Canadian Rhodes Scholars, George Ignatieff and Yves Fortier, as Canadian diplomats, have been president of the UN Security Council. In his memoirs, *The Making of a Peacemonger*, George Ignatieff (Ontario & New College 1936) writes:<sup>2</sup>

'If it hadn't been for the Rhodes scholarship ... I wouldn't have gone to Oxford, wouldn't have met Mike [that is, Lester] Pearson, and wouldn't have been persuaded by him to enter the External Affairs competition at Canada House in London.'

Ignatieff doubted he would have become a diplomat, and also credits his travels in Europe as a Rhodes Scholar in the late 1930s with deepening his understanding of international realities that required an active policy for peace.

Mention of these Scholars reflects the fact that an important part of the proud history and present – and, I am sure, the proud future – of Canadian Rhodes Scholars has been their contribution to public life in Canada, including in politics and the public service. My own first visit to Ottawa, in 1985, saw me, a young Australian Rhodes Scholar, invited by Eugene Forsey (Quebec & Balliol 1926), one of the greatest experts on constitutional conventions in the Commonwealth, to his installation as a Privy Councillor by the Governor-General, Madame Sauvé, at Rideau Hall. Or, to go to an earlier time, in the late 1950s, for example, there were three Rhodes Scholar ministers in the Progressive Conservative Government of John Diefenbaker, and the Speaker of the House of Commons was another Scholar, Roland Michener. A

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<sup>2</sup> George Ignatieff, *The Making of a Peacemonger*, University of Toronto Press, 1982, p. 256.

diversion: In 1967, as Roland Michener was about to become Governor-General of Canada, the Queen had him to lunch together with another Rhodes Scholar who was about to become Governor-General of New Zealand, Arthur Porritt (Lord Porritt).

In the late 1950s, as I mentioned, there were Rhodes Scholars prominent in the Canadian parliament and government, and four deputy ministers; the governor, deputy governor, and chief of research at the Bank of Canada; and in External Affairs, as it then was, there was an especially strong representation of Rhodes Scholars. At the one time, Rhodes Scholars 'held the posts of Under-Secretary and Assistant Under-Secretary and were heads of Canadian missions in the United States, West Germany, the USSR, Brazil, Egypt, and [last but not least] Australia ... H.B.O. Robinson, the Department's representative in the Prime Minister's Office, had a particularly sensitive post, because [Prime Minister] John Diefenbaker was suspicious of the departmental establishment's ties to its former minister, Lester Pearson, now leader of the opposition'.<sup>3</sup> Basil Robinson, the Rhodes Scholar in Diefenbaker's office, later wrote a book, *Diefenbaker's World: A Populist in Foreign Affairs*, which draws on his own diaries. He writes of February 1962:<sup>4</sup>

'I also attended a Rhodes Scholars' lunch for the British High Commissioner, Lord Amory, at Carleton University. Amory made a wonderful speech. Rhodes Scholars were a sore point with the prime minister, one of whose greatest disappointments in life was not to have been selected for that scholarship. There were too many Rhodes Scholars around Ottawa for his taste.'

This is, of course, a reminder of the importance of trying to see ourselves as others see us, and of the importance of humility and of diplomacy, and perhaps of avoiding self-important cliquishness. But if there were 'too many Rhodes Scholars around Ottawa' for the populist Diefenbaker's taste, I am sure there were not too many for the taste of Cecil Rhodes. As we all know, he created his Scholarships to bring outstanding all-rounders into the broadening collegiate environment of Oxford partly to encourage and to help prepare them – in a phrase much used in recent decades –

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<sup>3</sup> Anthony Kenny (ed.), *The History of the Rhodes Trust*, Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 236-37.

<sup>4</sup> H. Basil Robinson, *Diefenbaker's World: A Populist in Foreign Affairs*, University of Toronto Press, 1989, p. 247.

to fight 'the world's fight', and he wanted them – us – in the words of his will, to come 'to esteem the performance of public duties as [their] highest aim'.<sup>5</sup>

We need to be careful not to be narrowly prescriptive about what this means. One of our Trustees, Julian Ogilvie Thompson, told last year's Coming Up Dinner at Rhodes House:

'By public duty Rhodes did not mean purely political life. He understood public duty in a characteristically late Victorian manner, as involving a commitment, in whatever career a Scholar pursued, to the cultivation of civic virtue. His Scholars were not to be chosen from those committed merely to their own individual self advancement.'

Julian Ogilvie Thompson continued:

'Remember too that public duty can be pursued through a career in business, the primary calling, after all, of the Founder whose scholarship you hold. More than ever today, in the developed as in the developing world, we require men and women of civic virtue to make business their calling and an honourable calling.'

At lunch today with the new Scholars, Brian Rolfes (Prairies & Wadham 1989) gave examples of contributing to the public good through work in the private sector. Whatever form it takes, I think there is a strong link between the notion of 'public duties' and 'service': Rhodes Scholars are encouraged to lead lives that somehow serve the public good and not merely their own private interests.

This emphasis on the Rhodes Scholarships as nurturing leaders committed to service, whose leadership is founded in good character, is of course an important part of what the Rhodes Scholarship is about. But Cecil Rhodes had another, related but distinct, purpose also, and it is increasingly clear to me that in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century this other purpose was often, if not always, more prominent than service. Rhodes's other purpose was peace.

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<sup>5</sup> Cecil Rhodes's 1899 will and 1901 codicil are at <http://www.rhodeshouse.ox.ac.uk/page/key-governance-documents>

Rhodes wrote his first will in 1877, at the age of 24. We might be tempted to regard it as full of youthful naiveté; it certainly reflected a world and attitudes very different in many ways from our own. Rhodes wrote that he wanted, through the growth of the British Empire, including through the re-entry of the United States into it, to bring about 'the foundation of so great a power as to hereafter render wars impossible and promote the best interests of humanity'.<sup>6</sup> This was, if you like, a version of Pax Britannica. Fast forward 24 years to 1901. In a 1901 codicil to his 1899 will, Rhodes provided for the creation of Rhodes Scholarships from Germany to go alongside the Rhodes Scholarships he had provided for from various parts of what was then the British Empire and from the United States. He wrote:

'The object is that an understanding between the three great powers [the British Empire, the United States, and Germany] will render war impossible and educational relations make the strongest tie.'

Promoting bonds of sentiment within the Empire and between what he called 'the English-speaking peoples' generally – including, he hoped, the French-speaking peoples of Canada and the Afrikaans-speaking people of South Africa - remained central to Rhodes's vision. But he was in 1901 not seeing 'so great' a British Empire as the means to 'render wars impossible' as he had said in 1877, but was now seeing the creation of 'an understanding between the three great powers' as the means by which to 'render war impossible'. It is 'educational relations' nurtured by his Scholarships and perhaps others to come afterwards which will help make 'the strongest tie' in this. It seems that part, at least, of the means by which this will be achieved is through the mutual understanding and goodwill that Rhodes envisaged would be created through their experience in Oxford in the hearts and minds of exceptional young people who would become leaders and people of influence in their various countries.

Between Rhodes's 1877 desire to 'render wars impossible' and the almost exact 1901 echo – to 'render war impossible' - he had repeatedly expressed the same desire. In letters and statements relating to his intended legacy, he wrote of his

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<sup>6</sup> Quoted from 'Facsimile volume of MSS. Afr.t.1 (draft of wills, letter and other docs. By Rhodes)', Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies, Rhodes House, Oxford.

desire for 'permanent peace in the world', 'the end of all wars', 'union with American and universal peace ... after 100 years', 'the discovery of an idea which ultimately leads to the cessation of all wars', and 'the peace of the world ... for all eternity'.<sup>7</sup>

Whatever we may make of his actions in his own life and times, these are Cecil Rhodes's words and declared goals.

If so-called realist thinkers about international relations believe that conflict is inevitable and inescapable, they stand in contrast to so-called idealist thinkers who believe that the conflictual nature of international relations can be overcome and more harmonious relations entrenched. This tradition is sometimes associated with the name of the philosopher Immanuel Kant, who - like Rhodes - dreamed of 'perpetual peace'. Idealist thinking about international relations was very significant in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, both before, during, and after World War I, 'the war to end all war'. Means of ensuring peace promoted by idealist thinkers have included, for example, the creation of a rule of law in international relations through, say, an effective League of Nations or United Nations; through the spread of democracy; through world government or world federation; through the influence of virtuous and powerful empires such as the British Empire was long thought by many to be; through the spread of free trade and other forms of economic interdependence; and through the spread of solidarity between peoples through various means. Needless to say – and I speak as someone much of whose academic work has been studying early 20<sup>th</sup> century idealist thinkers in international relations<sup>8</sup> – there is a good deal to be said that is critical, or at least robustly sceptical, of much idealistic thinking; but its noble purposes would today command widespread support.

Cecil Rhodes's most substantial scholarly biographer, Robert Rotberg<sup>9</sup>, spoke with Scholars at Rhodes House a few months ago, and I asked him whether Cecil

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<sup>7</sup> All quotations from the facsimile volume at Rhodes House cited above.

<sup>8</sup> For references re J M Keynes and Sir Alfred Zimmern, see <http://www.rhodeshouse.ox.ac.uk/page/the-warden>

<sup>9</sup> R.I. Rotberg, *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the Pursuit of Power*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1988.

Rhodes was an idealist or a realist. He replied that beyond doubt he was an idealist. So he was seen by many who knew him well.

In 1907, speaking at the unveiling of a memorial to Cecil Rhodes's 'munificence' in the Examination Schools in Oxford, one of his original Trustees, Lord Rosebery, referred explicitly to Rhodes's vision of Scholars from 'two great Empires' – the British Empire and Germany – and 'from the mightiest Republic that has ever existed', the United States, who would 'take back' from Oxford 'to their homes and their communities a message of peace, civilization and good will'.<sup>10</sup>

Lord Grey, Governor-General of Canada from 1904 to 1911, and the man whose name adorns the Grey Cup, was another of Rhodes's original Trustees. Speaking at the opening of the Rhodes memorial monument in Cape Town in 1912, Grey described Rhodes as 'a practical idealist'. He said that what he called 'the unswerving aim of Rhodes's life' included 'establish[ing], so far as possible, permanent peace between the civilised nations of the world'. Grey said that 'The steps which were to lead to the realisation of [Rhodes's] splendid hopes were: (1) The unity of South Africa; (2) the unity of the British Empire; (3) the union of the Anglo-Saxon and Celtic peoples.' These latter 'steps' Grey described as Rhodes's 'means' towards his end, 'permanent peace'.<sup>11</sup>

In short, not only did Rhodes himself say that he wanted the Rhodes Scholarships to help 'render war impossible', but his first Trustees – people who knew him – saw and presented this as central to his vision and ideal.

In describing Rhodes as a 'practical idealist', Lord Grey was of course celebrating the fact that Rhodes had created something enduring and tangible in the form of the Scholarships he established as a means towards achieving his ideal. Approaching the goal of peace through the route of education even today can seem innovative, and was truly ground-breaking over a century ago. This commitment to

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<sup>10</sup> Rosebery quoted from George R. Parkin, *The Rhodes Scholarships*, Constable & Co, London, 1913, p. 236.

<sup>11</sup> Grey quoted from Parkin, p. 82.

unprecedented and specific action to achieve noble goals, and to considering problems boldly from new angles, was part of what his contemporaries found so remarkable about Rhodes. The commitment to action meant that the Scholarships became a reality, and not merely a dream that Cecil Rhodes once had, long since lost.

When Rhodes died in 1902, his Trustees needed talented and energetic people to do the work of actually creating the Scholarships. Their first masterstroke was to turn for the so-called 'Organizing Secretary' for the Scholarships to a Canadian, George Parkin, headmaster of Upper Canada College, an enthusiast for Imperial unity, friend of some of the Trustees from Oxford days, and a man of seemingly boundless energy and passion but also good practical judgement. (He was also, by the way, the grandfather of Alison Grant who married George Ignatieff.) In the early years immediately after Rhodes's death, Parkin hurtled around the globe consulting and negotiating the arrangements by which the provisions of Rhodes's will would be given effect – for example, how Scholars would be selected. If Parkin had not done this brilliantly, we would not be here tonight. And had he not persuaded the Trustees very soon after Rhodes's death to increase the number of Rhodes Scholarships for Canada beyond the number provided by Rhodes, many people here tonight might otherwise be watching television at home this evening! Parkin richly deserves the naming of part of Rhodes House – the space between the rotunda and Milner Hall – as the 'Parkin vestibule', where his bust may be found. In the first two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Parkin was widely known, but is now too little remembered; a biography of him is understandably called *Parkin: Canada's Most Famous Forgotten Man*.<sup>12</sup>

In 1912-13, after nearly a decade of the Scholarships, Parkin completed a book, simply called *The Rhodes Scholarships*, which gave the background to the Scholarships. Parkin said that Rhodes's will 'embodies the thoughts of a man whose ideal of life was public service and who looked upon wealth as a trust to be used for the public good'. Rhodes's 1899 will, his final will, followed several others, going back to 1877. Parkin said that they 'were all inspired by the same central idea – the

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<sup>12</sup> William Christian, *Parkin: Canada's Most Famous Forgotten Man*, Blue Butterfly, 2010.



widening of Anglo-Saxon influence with a view to securing the peace of the world'.<sup>13</sup> After quoting the sentence in Rhodes's 1901 codicil about 'an understanding between the three great powers ... render[ing] war impossible and educational relations mak[ing] the strongest tie', Parkin wrote:<sup>14</sup>

'Such is the international scope of this remarkable testament – the contribution of a singularly original and powerful mind to the solution of the world's problems. It was arrived at in the mind of its Founder by a long process of evolution, the original motive of which was intense conviction - the moving spring a far-reaching idealism which gathered strength and direction as his outlook on the world widened.'

It is an important point that Rhodes's thinking was continually evolving – his core purposes consistent, but his understanding of the context and his ideas on how to enact his purposes ever developing – and he clearly expected and empowered his Trustees to develop his program further to meet changing times and practical realities. Such remains their duty today.

I am tonight stressing Rhodes's declared purpose of his Scholarships promoting peace through educational relations because this was clearly a major part of his purpose which was conspicuous for some decades but has been less conspicuous in recent decades, and should, in my view, again be given its intended centrality.

In 1946, the first and long-standing American Secretary to the Rhodes Trust, Frank Aydelotte, previously president of Swarthmore College and then director of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, wrote a book published in the United States as *The American Rhodes Scholarships: A Review of the First Forty Years*, and published elsewhere under the title *The Vision of Cecil Rhodes*. Aydelotte, who worked very closely with the first two Wardens of Rhodes House, wrote:<sup>15</sup>

'In founding his system of scholarships Rhodes hoped to realize the great purpose of his life – the unity of the English-speaking peoples and the formation with Germany

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<sup>13</sup> Parkin, pp. 84-5.

<sup>14</sup> Parkin, p. 98.

<sup>15</sup> Frank Aydelotte, *The American Rhodes Scholarships: A Review of the First Forty Years*, Princeton University Press, 1946, p. 112.

of so great a power as to make war impossible. He saw what generations of idealistic thinkers had seen before him and what two world wars have now taught the rest of mankind, the necessity of substituting law and order for the chaos of anarchy and force which has during the long history of the human race characterized relations between nations.'

I think that Aydelotte thought that the fact that war had not yet been rendered impossible made it more, not less, important to keep on trying to contribute to that goal. And we might reasonably say that although the Rhodes Scholarships alone clearly cannot 'render war impossible', which is itself perhaps an impossible dream, they can nonetheless make some valuable contribution to international understanding and cooperation, and to increasing the prospects for peace.

One sign that the peace-through-educational-relations purpose of the Rhodes Scholarships was so conspicuous in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is that, when American Rhodes Scholars were believed by other Oxonians to be keeping too much to themselves and not mixing with students from Britain and other countries, they were accused of thwarting 'Mr. Rhodes's intentions'.<sup>16</sup>

Please let me give two illustrations of the peace purpose in action, associated with the German Adam von Trott and the American J. William Fulbright. Adam von Trott was a German Rhodes Scholar for 1931. In 1937-38, he went on a long trip to 'America and the Far East', sending reports to Rhodes House. On the ship back to Germany in November 1938, he wrote to the Warden, C K Allen, saying that he hoped to visit him soon, and continued:<sup>17</sup>

'I wonder how Rhodes matters have been running in these turbulent times. The bad boys [that is, his fellow German Rhodes Scholars] haven't written me a word about it from Berlin. But this voyage and the sanity and vigour which I have found in the bonds to former Rhodes Scholars in so many places all over the globe has increased

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<sup>16</sup> Lord Elton (ed), *The First Fifty Years of The Rhodes Trust and The Rhodes Scholarships 1903-1953*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1956, p. 90. See also, e.g., D. Markwell, Departure Luncheon speech, Bon Voyage Weekend for Rhodes Scholars, Washington, DC, 29 September 2010, at <http://www.rhodeshouse.ox.ac.uk/page/the-warden>

<sup>17</sup> Quoted from Adam von Trott file, Rhodes House, Oxford.

rather than diminished my interest even in the Berlin end of it. I think our own institution [the Rhodes Scholarships] should contribute something to solving the very problem which is facing our two countries now. Sorry to get rhetorical – but, don't you agree? Remember me to Mrs. Allen ...'

Whatever Adam von Trott thought Rhodes Scholars could contribute to Anglo-German relations in late 1938, he was ultimately to be executed in the summer of 1944 for his role in the July 20 assassination attempt against Hitler. He is one of two German Rhodes Scholars executed by the Nazis for their roles in resistance to Hitler. We are very proud of them.

Later in 1944, an Arkansas Rhodes Scholar from 1925, J. William Fulbright, was elected to the US Senate. When Warden Allen congratulated him, Fulbright replied – in a slightly odd expression, given that Cecil Rhodes had been dead over 40 years:<sup>18</sup>

'I confess that I feel it is quite an honor to be the first Rhodes Scholar to enter the Senate. I only hope that I may be able to make some contribution toward the peace and stability which Cecil Rhodes would like to see in this world.'

Senator Fulbright was to become the longest-serving chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He championed U.S. involvement in the UN, and condemned what he called 'the arrogance of power' reflected in its Vietnam entanglement. His name is best remembered for the Fulbright awards, whose purpose is 'to promote better understanding of the United States abroad and to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and of other countries'. Senator Fulbright wrote:<sup>19</sup>

'My experience as a Rhodes Scholar was the dominant influence in the creation of the Fulbright awards. ... That experience, together with the devastation of the second world war and the existence of large uncollectable foreign credits, resulted in the Bill creating the scholarships. ... The recipients of these awards may be considered as grandchildren of Cecil Rhodes, scattered throughout the world.'

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<sup>18</sup> Quoted from J. William Fulbright file, Rhodes House, Oxford.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted from Elton, p. 212.

The Rhodes Scholarship as a progenitor of many other scholarships, and a pioneer of international student mobility and of the internationalisation of Oxford and of other universities, is an important story. If 'educational relations make the strongest tie', then one hopes that all of these forces contribute to the prospects of peace: the vision Fulbright inherited from Rhodes.

I have dwelt at such length on the peace purpose of the Rhodes Scholarships – on which, implausibly, even more could be said – because as we today work to give the best effect we can to the great ideals upon which the Rhodes Scholarships are founded, we need sufficient clarity about what those ideals are. It seems especially fitting to speak of this here in Ottawa – almost in the shadow of the Peace Tower; in a city which has, for example, given its name to a treaty banning landmines, a treaty that arose – like the Rhodes Scholarships – from private initiative and active citizenship; here in Ottawa, where so many Rhodes Scholars have worked to promote good international relations, and where more might again.

The Rhodes Scholarship is in important ways unprescriptive and unprogrammatic. We identify, invest in, and engage exceptional young people, and support them in what seems to them the best use of their talents. We do not prescribe courses of study, fields of activity, or – Heaven forbid! – opinions. But the cumulative effect of the Scholarships, in the warp and weft of real life, should be to promote certain things, importantly including service and international understanding.

Some of this will be through Scholars who specifically devote themselves to the goal of promoting international harmony. Just as Scholars in earlier generations have sought to do this – I have mentioned figures from Adam von Trott to George Ignatieff to J. William Fulbright – so I have no doubt that many Scholars today are working to improve international relations in a diversity of ways, some more controversial than others. For example, in the United States, Republican Senator Lugar is the ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Susan Rice, a Democrat, is Ambassador to the United Nations. There have been and are many Rhodes Scholar diplomats and writers on international affairs, and many whose studies and careers are in fields, including in healthcare, development, trade, and much more that relate directly or indirectly to the prospects of peace. Many are active in NGO

work and in international organisations. To illustrate the diversity let me simply embarrass two people who are here tonight – Adriaan De Hoog and Roxanne Joyal. While Roxanne works for Free the Children, Adriaan has followed his diplomatic career with writing novels of diplomacy; his website tells us that in his third, just-about-to-be-launched novel, *Natalia's Peace*, 'forces pushing for a more enlightened world order are pitted against ones that profit from armed conflict, as the novel examines what the international community could do to end senseless killing'.<sup>20</sup> Just as there are many ways in which Rhodes Scholars can live lives of service, so there are very many ways in which they can contribute to international understanding, cooperation, and peace. I know that many Scholars are today contributing in diverse ways, and I have no doubt many more will in the future.

There are some obvious and important implications for the Rhodes Scholarships of clear focus on the peace and international understanding purpose of Rhodes. The first is for the experience of current Scholars – the need to encourage them to get to know Scholars and other students of other countries, not just their own, and to think about and engage with international issues. Encouragingly, when on the day I became Warden I emailed the then-current Scholars and asked them for ideas on how to improve the Scholarship, the most important theme of their answers was the desire for more opportunities to get to know Scholars from other countries. This has been an important theme of our social and other activities at Rhodes House. Similarly, we have had several speakers at Rhodes House on international issues, and Canadian Rhodes Scholars (some here tonight) earlier this year led the organisation at Rhodes House of the so-called Global Scholars' Symposium, bringing together overseas postgraduate students in Britain on major scholarships, to discuss world challenges.<sup>21</sup>

A second possible implication is that the more we are focussed on international understanding and cooperation, the more we should try to give reality to the global community of Rhodes Scholars – through all the means we have of communication

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<sup>20</sup> <http://www.adriandehoog.com/> - accessed 24 September 2011.

<sup>21</sup> See, e.g., <http://www.rhodeshouse.ox.ac.uk/page/think-global---confronting-world-challenges-from-climate-change-to-humanitarian-intervention>

and events spanning national boundaries – such as the lively global Rhodes events we had at Rhodes House on the Oxford Alumni Weekend last weekend, or the 2012 events I recently mentioned in an email and which are on the Rhodes House website. It is often forgotten that Cecil Rhodes in his will encouraged what we would call alumni relations, including connection between current Scholars and alumni<sup>22</sup> - something our annual survey of current Scholars shows many of them are keen to have more of. The desire for increased opportunities for Scholars of all generations to connect with Rhodes House and with each other has been clearly reflected in the consultation of the last two years, and we are doing our best to facilitate such opportunities.

The notion of a global community of Rhodes Scholars is not a recent one. For example, in a volume entitled *The First Fifty Years of The Rhodes Trust and The Rhodes Scholarships 1903-1953*, Lord Elton discussed ideas of how, in his words, 'to maintain a viable Rhodes community not only within each constituency but throughout the world'. He mentioned events, such as the reunion on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary that he was marking; publications such as what he called 'the Warden's sprightly and informative annual Christmas letter'; the overseas travels of officers of the Trust; and more. He wrote that 'the time may come when the need will be felt of a periodical, and conceivably an Association, to do throughout the world what is already being done for the national constituencies.'<sup>23</sup> Today, we are together refreshing our thinking about what is best done at local, national, and global levels, including working in time towards a global online community; and I would like to thank officers and members of the Canadian Association of Rhodes Scholars and the Canadian Rhodes Scholars Foundation for your leadership in this. I urge all Rhodes Scholars of all generations to participate fully in the evolving life of the global community of Rhodes Scholars.

A third possible implication of having Rhodes's focus on peace clearly in mind is in our thinking about what countries Rhodes Scholars should come from in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In the consultation of Scholars around the world over the last two years,

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<sup>22</sup> Section 34.

<sup>23</sup> Elton, pp. 46-7.

asking from what countries there should be Rhodes Scholars, there has been considerable support for seeking the additional resources needed to increase Rhodes Scholarships from India and Africa, to reinstate them in some places where they have been cut, and in time, with proper safeguards and great care, to create Rhodes Scholarships from China and perhaps other parts of the world. Input from Scholars is helping the Trustees towards a strategic vision of the best geographic footprint for the Rhodes Scholarships so that they have the greatest relevance and positive impact possible in the world of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It is early days, but I am quietly confident that in time good will come. Throughout, of course, we will protect the criteria, selection process, quality assurance, and reputation of the Rhodes Scholarships.

I said that any expansion opportunities would require additional resources – additional to the £100+ million we need to raise over the course of this decade simply to secure and improve upon our existing Scholarships. So far we have raised in pledges or cash some £20.4 million – an encouraging start. The exciting news is that, as of this month, we formally have tax deductibility in Canada for donations to the Rhodes Trust, fully recognised by the Canada Revenue Agency. The long, frustrating wait is over, and Canadian Scholars can now commence fundraising in earnest. Expect to hear before long from your fellow Canadian Scholars about this. Thanks to the generosity of some Scholars, a Canadian development director will be appointed, working from Toronto, to support the Canadian Rhodes fundraising effort. I would also commend the generosity of the Scholar who will pay for ‘reverse Rhodes’ students coming from Oxford to Canada over the next decade while the Canadian Rhodes Scholars Foundation discontinues its fundraising so as to ensure total focus on fundraising to secure the Rhodes Scholarships.

The participation of all of us in this effort – according to our capacity – in Annual Giving, bequests, and if we have the capacity, major gifts – is extremely important. The participation of all of us will maximise support, will encourage Scholars capable of major gifts to give fully to their capacity, and will be important as we go to non-Scholars, corporations, and foundations. Our lives were transformed by the incredible gift of a Rhodes Scholarships, and we should do everything we can to secure and improve it for future generations.

It is for the sake of future generations that Cecil Rhodes created the Rhodes Scholarships - to recognise and nurture excellence in intellect, character, leadership, and service, for the good of communities in many countries; and, as I have stressed tonight, to promote understanding and peace between countries. His aim was to 'render war impossible' through 'educational relations'. What will be our contribution to this in the realities of our time? This, I think, requires careful thought and determined action, and I know that Canadian Rhodes Scholars can be counted on fully to play their part – to play your part - in this.