

# Transcript

00:00:00 Speaker 1

It is a pleasure to welcome you all for a special event tonight as we celebrate the publication of the memoirs of Ambassador Nabila Al-Mullah.

00:00:10 Speaker 1

Nabila, who is a very dear and very old friend of the center.

00:00:14 Speaker 1

Our connections go back over 20 years now.

00:00:18 Speaker 1

From when we first had the honor of inviting you to Oxford as part of a program to examine the empowerment of women.

00:00:29 Speaker 1

and where it took you.

00:00:30 Speaker 1

So we invited only those women who had been pioneers and groundbreakers into their own domains.

00:00:36 Speaker 1

We had Noel Mutawakil, who was the first gold medalist in Morocco, the first woman gold medalist.

00:00:41 Speaker 1

We had film directors.

00:00:43 Speaker 1

We had the capitaine of industry.

00:00:48 Speaker 1

We had the first woman ambassador to serve her country as ambassador to, well, so many places, and that was Nabilah.

00:00:58 Speaker 1

And it's in that context that I am pleased to welcome you to what is, I believe, the first of our no, it's the second of our rebranded Lectures on Gender and Sexuality Seminars.

00:01:09 Speaker 1

And in that sense, we continue to celebrate the legacy of Ambassador Nabila El-Mullah as a pioneer breaking new ground in the diplomatic accord, but within the Arab world.

00:01:21 Speaker 1

Since her time as a speaker in that conference all those years ago,

00:01:26 Speaker 1

Ambassador Mulla has returned to this community.

00:01:30 Speaker 1

She did so in the dark days of COVID as an academic visitor.

00:01:35 Speaker 1

She has spent three years, those three years of which off and on, have confirmed her as an enduring member of our community.

00:01:43 Speaker 1

As we like to say, once an Antonian, always an Antonian.

00:01:48 Speaker 1

And in those years, if I've had one recurring refrain in our conversations, it has been the wish

00:01:56 Speaker 1

that Nabila would sit down and write her experiences, to leave us a memoir of her work in diplomacy in so many theaters, in Southern Africa, in the United Nations, in Europe, in the Balkans, in Kuwait, in academia, and in diplomacy.

00:02:14 Speaker 1

And so we had to celebrate the publication of her book.

00:02:18 Speaker 1

I was thrilled to see it come out.

00:02:21 Speaker 1

I was delighted to get the opportunity to read it.

00:02:23 Speaker 1

And for those of you who have not yet had the pleasure of reading the book, I'm pleased to say that Ambassador Elmulla has brought copies, which she's charging the very

discounted price of 0 pounds for, with the promise that she'll be happy to sign your copies as well.

00:02:40 Speaker 1

It's a great deal.

00:02:42 Speaker 1

So our plan tonight is I'm going to sit down and engage Ambassador Elmulla in a conversation about her life and her book.

00:02:51 Speaker 1

And after we've had a while to go through the issues that she sees fit to expand upon in conversation with me, I'll open the floor to you, where you can ask questions beyond what she's covered in her book.

00:03:03 Speaker 1

And it can be not just about her experiences in diplomacy, but where the world stands today in light of her experiences.

00:03:11 Speaker 1

Talking about the world today is something you have become an expert on long since, Kabira, and I know everyone would benefit from getting the Kuwaiti perspective.

00:03:20 Speaker 1

of the chaotic state of the world today.

00:03:22 Speaker 1

So without any further ado, let us make a start.

00:03:26 Speaker 1

Thank you.

00:03:26 Speaker 1

Naveena, welcome.

00:03:28 Speaker 1

Thank you very much.

00:03:28 Speaker 1

It's such a pleasure to have you here.

00:03:35 Speaker 1

You are, of course, a girl born and bred in Kuwait, but you have taken your education abroad from your earliest university days.

00:03:43 Speaker 1

And of course, you were an undergraduate at the American University of Beirut.

00:03:48 Speaker 1

So could you tell us about that decision to take your high school diploma at 16 and go galloping from Kuwait to Beirut in the 1960s?

00:03:59 Speaker 2

Eugene, you leave me breathless after the introduction, because I would like to say a few words about Oxford, and you're not leaving me any space.

00:04:10 Speaker 1

But I could never censor you.

00:04:12 Speaker 1

I could never stop you from speaking your mind.

00:04:16 Speaker 2

No, really, because Oxford has this kind of magic of attraction.

00:04:24 Speaker 2

And St.

00:04:25 Speaker 2

Anthony, I am really attached to it, I don't know, emotionally in some ways or another.

00:04:33 Speaker 2

And congratulations on the 75th anniversary of St.

00:04:40 Speaker 2

Anthony.

00:04:41 Speaker 1

Yeah, this year.

00:04:42 Speaker 2

Yes, and I feel it is really

00:04:44 Speaker 2

really a big thing in St.

00:04:46 Speaker 2

Anthony.

00:04:47 Speaker 2

I always felt attached to the people that taught here, and there were some of them that I almost met, but I did not.

00:04:58 Speaker 2

This is one of them that was taught by my professor, by Walid Al-Khaldi.

00:05:07 Speaker 2

I remember sometime I asked about him, the late Derek Hopworth.

00:05:12 Speaker 2

I think some of you would know him.

00:05:14 Speaker 2

He was one of the early St.

00:05:18 Speaker 2

Anthony.

00:05:19 Speaker 2

So this attachment to St.

00:05:22 Speaker 2

Anthony in particular is really great.

00:05:24 Speaker 1

But you've met one of our founding mothers, because you mentioned Elizabeth Monroe in your book.

00:05:30 Speaker 2

Yes, but it is so strange.

00:05:33 Speaker 2

I don't know what is the relationship between her and my family.

00:05:38 Speaker 2

I think it was all okay.

00:05:40 Speaker 2

We have no scandals to share.

00:05:43 Speaker 2

No scandals.

00:05:45 Speaker 2

But I was surprised to, when I applied to study here in Oxford and there are some gaps in my memory, she wrote me the sweetest of letters advising me and the letter said, you know, if you were my daughter, I would advise you to do this and this and this, you know.

00:06:07 Speaker 2

And

00:06:08 Speaker 2

Later on, he said, this is really a celebrity, Elizabeth Monroe.

00:06:14 Speaker 2

Why is she wasting her time on me?

00:06:18 Speaker 2

You know, who am I?

00:06:19 Speaker 2

You know?

00:06:20 Speaker 2

And then I didn't follow that.

00:06:22 Speaker 2

Maybe I'll leave it to someone from the family to follow this line of, why would she bother about me?

00:06:30 Speaker 2

You know?

00:06:31 Speaker 2

And the same thing with, actually, with the later Albert Hourani.

00:06:37 Speaker 2

I was thrilled.

00:06:38 Speaker 2

I was feeling a small pipsqueak, I would say.

00:06:42 Speaker 2

I was invited to a seminar when I first entered the Foreign Ministry by the first Foreign Minister of the Emirates, Swedi.

00:06:55 Speaker 2

And he wrote me a letter, Foreign Minister writing this junior person in the Foreign Ministry inviting her to speak.

00:07:07 Speaker 2

in a panel for the newly, for the new force in the foreign ministry.

00:07:17 Speaker 2

And Berhorani was there, rubbing shoulders.

00:07:21 Speaker 2

This was a celebrity, you know.

00:07:24 Speaker 2

And I said, wow, you know, this is great.

00:07:27 Speaker 2

And then apparently, I did have entertain him when he passed by in Kuwait and had a dinner for him.

00:07:35 Speaker 2

But I don't have, I don't recollect well, you know.

00:07:38 Speaker 2

I'm of age, they say, I forgot it all.

00:07:40 Speaker 2

But I did not, I have the proof that there was a letter from Albert Horani thanking me for hosting him in Kuwait and introducing him to other people there.

00:07:54 Speaker 2

So, I mean, the connection is there.

00:07:56 Speaker 1

Yeah, you showed me the letter.

00:07:57 Speaker 1

I've seen the letter Albert wrote you.

00:07:59 Speaker 2

And with the typical mistakes, you know, I think at the time the typewriter and he was

00:08:04 Speaker 2

connecting and stuff like that.

00:08:06 Speaker 2

So I have connections and in spite of all these connections, they could not extend here at St.

00:08:14 Speaker 2

Anthony the visiting status except for two years.

00:08:19 Speaker 2

You know, their rules in St.

00:08:22 Speaker 2

Anthony, if you are an academic visitor, it's only two years.

00:08:26 Speaker 1

You got a third.

00:08:27 Speaker 2

I got a third because of COVID.

00:08:29 Speaker 1

Well, I think because of persuasion.

00:08:31 Speaker 1

I just think you're irresistible and the warden couldn't say that again.

00:08:35 Speaker 2

I will give you credit over COVID.



00:08:39 Speaker 2

But it's always a very lovely, it's a very enriching time to be here in Oxford.

00:08:45 Speaker 2

The feel of being here in the library.

00:08:49 Speaker 2

I remember one time yesterday someone came over, said, do you need anything else?

00:08:54 Speaker 2

He said, why?

00:08:54 Speaker 2

He said, we're closing.

00:08:56 Speaker 2

It was close to midnight, I forgot myself.

00:09:00 Speaker 2

You forget yourself when you are immersed in something you really enjoy doing.

00:09:06 Speaker 2

And I really enjoyed being here in the libraries, in the bookstores and all that.

00:09:13 Speaker 2

I promised myself, actually, when I first came to Oxford and said, okay, I'm going to make a tour of the libraries here in Oxford.

00:09:23 Speaker 2

Little did I know that was too high of a standard.

00:09:26 Speaker 2

I said to myself, no, I'm not going to make all the trips.

00:09:29 Speaker 2

How many?

00:09:29 Speaker 2

Over 300 or something like that.

00:09:31 Speaker 1

Too many libraries.

00:09:32 Speaker 2

Too many libraries.

00:09:33 Speaker 2

So I restricted my trip to some places.

00:09:37 Speaker 2

So that was my...

00:09:39 Speaker 1

But can I take you back to Beirut?

00:09:40 Speaker 1

Because I want to bring it back to you.

00:09:42 Speaker 2

I will always go back to Beirut.

00:09:44 Speaker 1

So let's go back.

00:09:44 Speaker 1

It was 1968 when you went to start your undergraduate studies.

00:09:49 Speaker 2

Undergraduate, but I was there before.

00:09:51 Speaker 2

I studied high school in Beirut, but I don't call that as part of my formative years.

00:09:59 Speaker 2

But from that evangelical school in Beirut, I went to the AUB.

00:10:08 Speaker 2

Fantastic, fantastic atmosphere, vibrant, you name it.

00:10:14 Speaker 2

It's like it's a

00:10:16 Speaker 2

Why would you go to another place if it is already greener here in your own hometown?

00:10:24 Speaker 2

Why would I go there?

00:10:27 Speaker 2

So finally, I was not only content, I was very pleased that I stayed there in Beirut.

00:10:36 Speaker 2

Times that were unraveling in terms of the politics, it was

00:10:41 Speaker 2

in the streets, in the cafeteria.

00:10:44 Speaker 1

This is the time of the June War of '67, the Palestinian Revolution in full strength.

00:10:49 Speaker 2

And the feeling on campus, you know, all over the place, and it extended in the surroundings.

00:11:00 Speaker 2

You go across the street.

00:11:02 Speaker 2

Faisal Restaurant, for example, is known as some kind of a place where you go in and you find all these names.

00:11:12 Speaker 2

politicians and whatnot, and you can talk to anyone.

00:11:16 Speaker 2

It was a different atmosphere.

00:11:18 Speaker 1

And your professors were among some of the most influential thinkers in the Arab world and of Middle Eastern studies generally.

00:11:25 Speaker 1

You were taught by Constantine Zouret.

00:11:29 Speaker 2

It's not only that.

00:11:30 Speaker 2

I was really impressed when one of my professors was correcting the texts, what was there in the texts that we were made to read.

00:11:44 Speaker 2

You know, we were studying about the communist parties in the Arab world and he was correcting the text.

00:11:52 Speaker 2

This is a treasure, you know, when you have the education that is more down, you know, we know the region.

00:12:04 Speaker 2

Why do we have to study the texts of

00:12:11 Speaker 2

that comes from abroad, I always wanted.

00:12:15 Speaker 2

And this had been my aim all the time, you know, and now I'm giving lectures in Kuwait to the students, and I tell them, don't take anything for granted.

00:12:27 Speaker 2

What is there?

00:12:28 Speaker 2

Always question that.

00:12:30 Speaker 2

Why did they write this information?

00:12:33 Speaker 2

You know, a foreigner would not know more about my country than the one

00:12:40 Speaker 2

who is here, who has the heart, who has the experience, you have to feel for what you are writing.

00:12:49 Speaker 2

And that's why I thought that being in Beirut with these professors was something else.

00:12:56 Speaker 2

Who would you say?

00:12:57 Speaker 1

I was going to say, because here you had the beginning of a lifelong friendship with Walid Khalidi.

00:13:02 Speaker 2

Oh, Walid Khalidi was something, you know, I

00:13:06 Speaker 2

I see him even up to today.

00:13:08 Speaker 2

He celebrated this year his 100th birthday.

00:13:13 Speaker 2

And I made it a point that after graduation and going all over the place, that whenever I can, I will go and visit him, he and his wife, Aliyah Khamha Rasha.

00:13:25 Speaker 2

I will go and visit them regularly.

00:13:28 Speaker 2

So I'm a regular sight.

00:13:31 Speaker 1

Yeah, well, and again, they must have been very influential in the worldview.

00:13:36 Speaker 1

Here you were being taught in the Arab world by Arab professors who were the best in their fields.

00:13:42 Speaker 2

Absolutely.

00:13:43 Speaker 1

They must have felt that you were part of a new generation that could go forth and, if you like, impress Arab priorities on diplomacy.

00:13:52 Speaker 2

And we were receptive.

00:13:54 Speaker 2

The student body was very, it was vibrant, it was willing to learn, it was reading, you know, because this is malaise, I don't know if you,

00:14:05 Speaker 2

experience it here in Oxford.

00:14:08 Speaker 2

But people don't read, don't read books or anything.

00:14:12 Speaker 2

But we were...

00:14:14 Speaker 1

Present company excluded.

00:14:16 Speaker 1

These guys read books.

00:14:17 Speaker 1

You watch what happens to that pile of your books in the back of the room.

00:14:20 Speaker 2

I hope that.

00:14:22 Speaker 2

I really, I mean, it's very important, you know, I tell the students now in the university, I said, you have to read this TikTok and WhatsApp and

00:14:31 Speaker 2

podcasts and whatever, it's not enough.

00:14:34 Speaker 2

You have to know the origin of the ideas, how did it develop, how it was used, how it was manipulated.

00:14:45 Speaker 2

In politics, it's also very important in my work, I would say, but who wrote this?

00:14:51 Speaker 2

Who is behind this draft resolution?

00:14:55 Speaker 2

Who inspired the draft?

00:15:00 Speaker 2

Who can influence the draft?

00:15:01 Speaker 2

Because that's the only way you can contain a problem and be able to solve it.

00:15:08 Speaker 2

If you just go about knowing the information and not understanding what is behind it, that means nothing.

00:15:18 Speaker 2

Your role is nil.

00:15:20 Speaker 1

Ambassador Al-Mullah, I find it somehow a double standard that you are complaining about podcasts while you're in the process of recording one.

00:15:27 Speaker 2

Oh, is that a podcast?

00:15:28 Speaker 1

It's going to be one when we're done with this.

00:15:30 Speaker 1

You can say hello to your listeners now.

00:15:35 Speaker 1

The thing that's striking is that, of course, studying political science and current affairs was not your attention when you went to the AUB.

00:15:44 Speaker 1

You were more likely to follow in the line of your sisters and go into

00:15:49 Speaker 1

the sciences or into medicine?

00:15:51 Speaker 2

Yeah, it was a great attraction.

00:15:53 Speaker 2

I was really, I always admired my older sisters, Najiba, who was the first woman doctor in Kuwait.

00:16:01 Speaker 2

And the sciences, you know, finished high school.

00:16:05 Speaker 2

I did the baccalaureate, I did it, you know, in sciences in Lebanon.

00:16:10 Speaker 2

And I thought I would be a fantastic medical whatever, you know, pharmacy or something like that.

00:16:20 Speaker 2

I had to be realistic.

00:16:21 Speaker 2

It did not attract me.

00:16:23 Speaker 2

I was sitting there in the midst of a huge auditorium, and it meant nothing to me.

00:16:31 Speaker 1

You're very rude about it here.

00:16:32 Speaker 1

You say it was very boring.

00:16:33 Speaker 2

I hope that the I hope the professors there would not mind or whatever would read it.

00:16:39 Speaker 1

The scientists in the room might object.

00:16:41 Speaker 1

But my question really is, I can't see in your family if there was anyone who had



00:16:49 Speaker 1

gone into diplomacy or politics the way that you did.

00:16:52 Speaker 1

And so who's your mentor figure for that decision?

00:16:55 Speaker 1

That was a big decision.

00:16:57 Speaker 2

No, not the living ones.

00:16:58 Speaker 2

My mentors were long dead.

00:17:01 Speaker 2

You know, my father, grandfather were in politics.

00:17:06 Speaker 2

They were assisted the emirs, but no one influenced me in that decision.

00:17:13 Speaker 2

The decision to go into politics was purely mine.

00:17:17 Speaker 2

I don't think that the family were very happy that I was getting into that kind of trade.

00:17:27 Speaker 1

Well, we're going to come back to your family's attitudes when it comes to your appointment to New York.

00:17:32 Speaker 1

But this decision of joining the ministry, and of course, the first thing that Sheikh Sabah asks you as you're about to get posted

00:17:42 Speaker 1

to the UN mission, is it not your family?

00:17:45 Speaker 1

What did he say?

00:17:46 Speaker 2

That's true, you know, and it was surprising for me.

00:17:49 Speaker 2

He said, it's none of my mother's business.

00:17:52 Speaker 2

He turned around, he said, you go and ask your mother whether...

00:17:56 Speaker 1

This is if she can go and take the job.

00:17:58 Speaker 2

You know, if she would allow you, if you can go to New York to join the mission there.

00:18:05 Speaker 2

So I turned to him, well, my mother wouldn't mind.

00:18:09 Speaker 2

He said, I'm not asking you.

00:18:12 Speaker 2

I'm asking you to go and ask your mother.

00:18:15 Speaker 2

He said, well, my mother wouldn't mind.

00:18:17 Speaker 2

You know, I was so abrasive.

00:18:19 Speaker 2

To this day, I don't know how, the way that I was answering him.

00:18:25 Speaker 2

You don't talk that way to a minister, you know.

00:18:29 Speaker 2

Really, you know, an ambassador here in North Sudan.

00:18:33 Speaker 2

We toe the line.

00:18:34 Speaker 2

We're quiet, you know.

00:18:37 Speaker 2

But I wasn't.

00:18:38 Speaker 2

I think I was notorious for that.

00:18:41 Speaker 2

So I went back and home and I told my mother, I said, this is what Sheikh Sabah says.

00:18:48 Speaker 2

She said, he did the proper thing.

00:18:50 Speaker 2

You're not born of nothing.

00:18:53 Speaker 2

You're not, you have roots in the family and the family should approve at least.

00:19:00 Speaker 2

And I don't fear for you.

00:19:01 Speaker 2

Go ahead.

00:19:05 Speaker 2

That's very interesting, mother hovering over me.

00:19:08 Speaker 2

But it was a very interesting experience in my life.

00:19:11 Speaker 2

That I will never forget with Sheikh Salah.

00:19:15 Speaker 1

Well, I think it just reminds us of the importance that being from a family in Kuwait holds.

00:19:21 Speaker 2

Yes.

00:19:22 Speaker 1

And that there is a sense of responsibility between the families.

00:19:25 Speaker 2

That's true.

00:19:25 Speaker 1

That the Sheikh would not wish to send a member of a family to a job against the wishes of their family.

00:19:31 Speaker 1

So you're grounded.

00:19:32 Speaker 1

You had good roots.

00:19:33 Speaker 1

But it sounds like you went with your mother's blessing.

00:19:36 Speaker 1

And the family generally, were they proud of you?

00:19:38 Speaker 1

Do they think that this was remarkable, that you were being sent not as a short-term, two-week visit to New York, but you were being posted to represent your country on one of the biggest stages of the world?

00:19:50 Speaker 2

You know, strange enough, Roger, I don't think they showed much emotion.

00:19:56 Speaker 2

Now I'm mad at it.

00:19:58 Speaker 2

Why were they proud of me?

00:19:59 Speaker 2

Why did they hate this kind of development?

00:20:02 Speaker 2

It was a big thing.

00:20:04 Speaker 2

But at the time, I think everything was done in a very soft way.

00:20:10 Speaker 2

I think people who know my family, know their style, it's like you don't brag about it.

00:20:17 Speaker 2

You're not going to have my face in every newspaper or something like that.

00:20:25 Speaker 2

I think that was a very good move because it kept me on my toes.

00:20:32 Speaker 2

I did not get too proud or didn't think so big of myself when you don't have everyone patting your back and saying, oh, great, you are a great and things like that.

00:20:51 Speaker 2

You learn humility.

00:20:53 Speaker 2

So I

00:20:55 Speaker 2

I really learned to be humble by the family and by my own society because they didn't make much I do about it.

00:21:05 Speaker 1

But I want to push you on that because I don't think humility quite captures the dynamic.

00:21:10 Speaker 1

Not that I think you're an arrogant person, but because what you were doing was groundbreaking in being a woman taking on such a job.

00:21:17 Speaker 1

And so it's not through being humble or the normalcy of the act, you were actually doing something transgressive.

00:21:24 Speaker 1

novel, breaking the mold.

00:21:26 Speaker 1

And there must have been some sense of, is this appropriate?

00:21:31 Speaker 1

Is this the right thing for a young woman to be doing?

00:21:34 Speaker 1

An unmarried young woman?

00:21:36 Speaker 1

You know, I think what you were doing was a far more revolutionary thing, taking the job for its time.

00:21:42 Speaker 1

Yeah, Had anyone done it before you?

00:21:45 Speaker 2

I don't know, but you know, you think it's funny, you know, this kind of impression that one has

00:21:53 Speaker 2

breaking new grounds, hitting the, what you call it, the ceiling and stuff like that.

00:22:01 Speaker 2

Life goes on.

00:22:02 Speaker 2

You make a dent and you make a dent whether you break the ceiling, the glass ceiling or not, you know.

00:22:10 Speaker 2

And why do we ascribe these things to people and what they do by making it an event?

00:22:20 Speaker 2

It is an act.

00:22:22 Speaker 2

whether you make it big or not, this is just going forward, and I don't think we should stay there and clap for anyone who advances something or another, because this is life, we just progress.

00:22:39 Speaker 2

And progress is needed.

00:22:42 Speaker 2

And I think I looked at it philosophically and seen, okay, big deal.

00:22:48 Speaker 2

I was being cool, not because

00:22:51 Speaker 2

Not because I didn't really think of myself as being great at the time.

00:22:57 Speaker 2

Now I think I'm good.

00:22:59 Speaker 2

You are.

00:23:02 Speaker 1

Now you get to New York and your ambassador is the great Abdullah Bishara.

00:23:07 Speaker 1

And one has the sense from reading your book that Abdullah Bishara is another one of the kind of mentor figures in your life.

00:23:13 Speaker 1

I mean, Walid al-Khayli will come out of AUB as an enduring influence in your life.

00:23:19 Speaker 1

Abdullah Bishara as well.

00:23:20 Speaker 1

And what a remarkable diplomat, what a remarkable Arab.

00:23:25 Speaker 2

But I tell you a story.

00:23:26 Speaker 1

Ambassador.

00:23:26 Speaker 2

A mentor is always a mentor.

00:23:30 Speaker 2

sort of hovered over me for quite some time.

00:23:34 Speaker 2

When I was assigned to go as ambassador to Austria, he turned to me and he said, you know what, you have to read this book about the siege of Vienna by Bonaparte.

00:23:47 Speaker 2

So Russia, Allah, turned to him and she said, you know, stop, she is not your student any longer.

00:23:56 Speaker 2

You know, he was always, did you read this book?

00:23:59 Speaker 2

Did you read that book?

00:24:00 Speaker 2

You know, I felt like, oh my God, you know.

00:24:02 Speaker 2

It never stops.

00:24:04 Speaker 2

It never stops.

00:24:06 Speaker 2

And then there was this other thing about the memoir itself.

00:24:10 Speaker 2

And he said, during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1978, he told me, how did it go?

00:24:23 Speaker 2

Do you have special

00:24:25 Speaker 2



ideas about the thing and stuff like that.

00:24:28 Speaker 2

And we're pointing his finger and he said, You have to write all of these things down, you know.

00:24:34 Speaker 2

I said, Why is he still talking to me as if I was a student, you know?

00:24:40 Speaker 2

Here I am a big diplomat, you know, if you really are my own.

00:24:44 Speaker 2

And this professor is trying to direct me, I want to do it.

00:24:49 Speaker 2

He kept on repeating his word, How are you, what are you doing with your memoir?

00:24:55 Speaker 2

So finally I picked enough courage and turned to him and I said, Professor Walid, when are you going to finish your memoir?

00:25:04 Speaker 2

So this has been going every year, you know, and he knows that I'm working on the memoirs.

00:25:12 Speaker 2

I didn't tell him that I finished.

00:25:15 Speaker 2

I am petrified that he will read the book and he will say,

00:25:21 Speaker 2

You should have wrote more about this.

00:25:23 Speaker 2

You should have done more about this.

00:25:24 Speaker 2

You should have that.

00:25:25 Speaker 2

You know, the fear of being judged by someone you hold in high esteem.

00:25:31 Speaker 2

For me, his idea and the way that he looks at things stands paramount.

00:25:38 Speaker 1

Well, you've kept these people close to you.

00:25:41 Speaker 1

And I want to bring you back to Abdullah Mishana because I've met you with him before.

00:25:45 Speaker 1

The depth of your friendship is so obvious for anyone to see.

00:25:49 Speaker 1

And you work very closely through

00:25:51 Speaker 1

really some very important crisis moments in the history of the region.

00:25:55 Speaker 1

You mentioned 1978 and the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

00:26:01 Speaker 1

Really, and at this time, of course, Kuwait was on the Security Council.

00:26:06 Speaker 1

Yes.

00:26:06 Speaker 1

So you really were a front row eyewitness to the politics of the late 70s?

00:26:13 Speaker 2

You know, it's funny when you talk, when I go back to 1978 and think that

00:26:21 Speaker 2

Deja vu.

00:26:22 Speaker 2

Things did not change much because that was the establishment of the United Nations forces in Lebanon.

00:26:32 Speaker 2

And I was there with the team that negotiated the draft and details of it are there.

00:26:41 Speaker 2

And things has not changed since that time.

00:26:45 Speaker 2

I look at the

00:26:47 Speaker 2

What we are experiencing today in southern Lebanon, and this is what made me think:  
Shall I write more?

00:26:55 Speaker 2

about UNIFIL, that's the peacekeeping in Debanon, UNIFIL.

00:27:04 Speaker 2

And we are facing the same kind of problems now that we were facing in 1978.

00:27:12 Speaker 1

Among them, I mean, in 1980, you're going to have Iraq's invasion of Iran at the  
beginning of a murderous war that, of course, would

00:27:22 Speaker 1

have foreboding consequences for Kuwait a decade later.

00:27:26 Speaker 1

But the diplomacy of the United Nations and Kuwait's position, as it were, right next  
door to the war, this must have really been a direct strategic concern for you and your  
country.

00:27:38 Speaker 2

They were difficult times, the war itself, Iraq and Iran.

00:27:44 Speaker 2

And I had my own personal feelings about the whole thing because I always doubted

00:27:51 Speaker 2

the, what was happening in the region.

00:27:57 Speaker 2

I did not, I always felt uneasy about the total acquiescence to the Iraqi line.

00:28:07 Speaker 2

And at times I resented, honestly, I really resented the fact that Iraq was dictating to the countries of the region.

00:28:19 Speaker 2

you know, we did not have much say in things, especially our role in Kuwait, you know, because Sheikh Sabah was the coordinator for bringing the parties together.

00:28:36 Speaker 2

And he, Saddam always belittled the leadership in the region, you know, and he had his own ways.

00:28:45 Speaker 2

And I had the sort of, you know, how

00:28:48 Speaker 2

of their own diplomats, that quite a number of them were arrogant, and they thought that we were part of their own teams, and we had to draw the line.

00:29:01 Speaker 2

And for me, I didn't tag that at all.

00:29:05 Speaker 1

Well, you were bankrolling Iraq's war debts right through the years of the war, which is going to, of course, be part of Saddam's claims against Kuwait.

00:29:15 Speaker 2

Yeah, they were difficult times, and the only way that you can thwart that is through the financial help, because the threats were there by Iraq.

00:29:25 Speaker 2

They were real, the hegemony by Iraq on the politics of the region.

00:29:34 Speaker 2

There were certain times when I recall that the Iraqis were handing over

00:29:44 Speaker 2

She said, If we are criticized about the killing of this spy that we found, they call him the Farhud, they always call him the enemy, whatever, this is what you should read.

00:30:03 Speaker 2

Indeed, I said, Now it comes to that, I don't work for them, you know, I work for Kuwait.

00:30:10 Speaker 2

really resented that.

00:30:11 Speaker 2

And I thought, I'm staying away from that particular item of the agenda because I cannot do it.

00:30:18 Speaker 1

As a diplomat, of course, at the United Nations, while you would be expected to show fraternal support to Iraq as an Arab country, nonetheless, you also had to interact with Iran.

00:30:30 Speaker 1

And so how were your relations at the UN with Iran during the Iran-Iraq war?

00:30:36 Speaker 2

I think they were cordial.

00:30:40 Speaker 2

It was an interesting time to see because the cordiality between the Iranian and the Iraqi representatives at the time, and they were they had decent diplomats, both of them, you know.

00:30:56 Speaker 1

The Iraqis and the Iranians.

00:30:57 Speaker 2

And the Iranians?

00:30:59 Speaker 1

With each other.

00:31:00 Speaker 2

With each other.

00:31:00 Speaker 2

I mean, you look at them and this was diplomacy, you know.

00:31:08 Speaker 2

there were no shouting across the aisles or anything of the sort.

00:31:13 Speaker 2

So, but, one has to be very tolerant and one has to develop what we call in Arabic, you have to develop a crocodile skin so you are not affected by what is going around.

00:31:34 Speaker 2

If you distance yourself,

00:31:37 Speaker 2

from an issue, you are a better person to be able to see what goes around.

00:31:44 Speaker 2

If you become so involved mentally, psychologically, anything, you will be, you will fail to see the right or wrong in any attitude.

00:31:58 Speaker 2

I'll give you one example.

00:32:00 Speaker 2

So I was intrigued with the, this

00:32:05 Speaker 2

Towards the end of the Iraq-Iran war, there was an attempt to produce a document on who started the war.

00:32:18 Speaker 2

This was a very important question all around.

00:32:20 Speaker 2

And many people forgot about the way things went because finally we have peace.

00:32:30 Speaker 2

We have a Security Council resolution.

00:32:33 Speaker 2

calling countries to withdraw to internationally recognized boundaries.

00:32:39 Speaker 2

But there was one item calling the Secretary General, calling on the Secretary General to find out who started the war.

00:32:51 Speaker 2

And that thing was squashed.

00:32:54 Speaker 2

No one really paid attention to it.

00:32:58 Speaker 2

What was

00:33:02 Speaker 2

taken, I think, out of context in the whole thing was this call to study the security of the region.

00:33:11 Speaker 2

A favorite with now Lavrov, a favorite with the others.

00:33:16 Speaker 2

You know, Lavrov, when I met him, he was as a permanent representative in New York.

00:33:22 Speaker 2

First thing we sat down, it's a courtesy call and everything, said, oh yes, we have to pay attention to paragraph 4, I think, of this Security Council resolution, security of the region.

00:33:36 Speaker 2

I mean, what do you have to do?

00:33:37 Speaker 2

I mean, you are Russia.

00:33:38 Speaker 2

You're up there, you know, security of a region.

00:33:42 Speaker 2

We discussed security of the region among the regional countries.

00:33:46 Speaker 2

You know, it's Iran and the other countries, Iraq and the other GCC countries.

00:33:51 Speaker 2

It was a favorite.

00:33:53 Speaker 2

of both even the Iraqis and the Yemenis at the time with their left cleaning or whatever, attitude.

00:34:02 Speaker 2

I paid more attention to that of who started the war, and it is a fantastic, it's an example of how politics are made or unmade when you think of it.

00:34:20 Speaker 2

That particular report

00:34:23 Speaker 2

was never publicized.

00:34:25 Speaker 2

Even the Iranians, I was surprised, you know, why aren't the Iranians jumping up and down, you know, because of this report?

00:34:33 Speaker 2

Because it exonerates Iran and it states specifically that it was Iraq that started the war.

00:34:42 Speaker 2

But the circumstances, now we come here to why wasn't it recognized as a

00:34:52 Speaker 2

big thing because it happened during the Iraq war on Kuwait and everyone also involved with the repercussions of the aftermath of the war that they didn't pay attention to this document by the Secretary General, you know, and this reminds me, you know, this is something similar to what you have here in the UK.

00:35:23 Speaker 2

I attended here in Oxford a very interesting seminar on the Wilkoff Report, and the Wilkoff Report, Chilcott, Chilcott, Chilcott, Chilcott, John Chilcott, John Chilcott Report, you know, and what happened to that report?

00:35:42 Speaker 2

You know, the study about the 2003



00:35:50 Speaker 2

war on Iraq.

00:35:53 Speaker 2

And it was, it came, now it's coming to a time when it doesn't make a difference.

00:35:58 Speaker 2

It didn't make any ripples in the UK.

00:36:02 Speaker 1

No.

00:36:02 Speaker 1

it came out the same week as the Brexit referendum, which I'm afraid eclipsed poor John Chulcott's years and years of labour.

00:36:10 Speaker 1

And 12, 14 volumes of reporting.

00:36:13 Speaker 2

So the timing is very interesting.

00:36:14 Speaker 1

But you were here for that John Chulcott.

00:36:16 Speaker 2

Yes, I was.

00:36:17 Speaker 2

very impressed.

00:36:18 Speaker 2

I was very impressed of the way that

00:36:20 Speaker 2

You had the students taking up the volumes and working on it.

00:36:26 Speaker 2

But you see, that is something similar to what happened to that report by the Secretary General.

00:36:31 Speaker 2

It came at a time that was in a fortune.

00:36:34 Speaker 2

It did not catch the attention of the world.

00:36:40 Speaker 2

So it was kept in abeyance.

00:36:45 Speaker 2

Do you remember that document?

00:36:46 Speaker 1

But I want to bring you back to your work at the UN.

00:36:49 Speaker 1

We were talking about Kuwait geographically being between Iraq and Iran.

00:36:54 Speaker 1

But Kuwait is a small country, small population, but it's always punched above its weight because of its economic influence, its role as an oil producer.

00:37:05 Speaker 1

And it's been a stabilizing factor in Arab politics, really from its independence.

00:37:11 Speaker 1

But I imagine that Kuwait also found itself being caught up in the politics of the Cold War.

00:37:16 Speaker 1

that the Soviet concern with regional security, the American concern, the whole question of reflagging Kuwaiti ships.

00:37:23 Speaker 1

Did you find Kuwait being buffered by Soviet and American policies during these eight years of the Iran-Iraq war?

00:37:35 Speaker 2

I don't get that.

00:37:38 Speaker 2

I don't get your question directly.

00:37:40 Speaker 1

Was Kuwait caught up

00:37:43 Speaker 1

in Cold War politics between Soviet regional priorities and American regional priorities, particularly over the question of energy security and the whole re-flagging of oil ships that went on.

00:37:54 Speaker 2

No.

00:37:55 Speaker 2

I mean, I think we're quite cautious when it comes to these things.

00:38:03 Speaker 2

It's true.

00:38:04 Speaker 2

We went first to the Americans.

00:38:07 Speaker 2

There was not

00:38:09 Speaker 2

direct immediate response by them.

00:38:12 Speaker 2

And so we thought, okay, the Soviets will be interested and they immediately expressed interest to that.

00:38:20 Speaker 2

But then after the Americans knew that the Soviets were forthcoming, they sort of softened their stand and they offered that.

00:38:30 Speaker 2

But we maintained our relationship with the Soviets and we kept on

00:38:37 Speaker 2

some of the vessels were raising the Soviet flag at the time.

00:38:44 Speaker 2

It was an interesting kind of thing.

00:38:49 Speaker 2

But I go back to your expression, Eugene, when you said we did not really act above our weight.

00:39:01 Speaker 2

We did not.

00:39:04 Speaker 2

I think

00:39:05 Speaker 2

When you look at what we did then, it is much more guarded than what is happening now with countries of the region.

00:39:20 Speaker 2

Countries of the region now, they might be described, their actions, as acting above their weight.

00:39:29 Speaker 2

if you mention any of the GCC countries, it would be.

00:39:32 Speaker 1

Undiplomatic to remain them, of course.

00:39:34 Speaker 2

And there are quite a few, so it's how receptive the rest of the world is to that role, and if they are, they will not describe it the way that you did.

00:39:54 Speaker 2

Will anyone say that, for example, what is happening today with UAE hosting the meetings of the Russians and the Americans on Ukraine, is that above their weight?

00:40:10 Speaker 1

Punching above their weight.

00:40:11 Speaker 1

I mean, the expression is not pejorative.

00:40:14 Speaker 1

It doesn't mean that they were doing the wrong thing.

00:40:16 Speaker 1

It means that they were assuming more importance in world affairs

00:40:20 Speaker 1

And the size of the population of the country might lead you to experience.

00:40:24 Speaker 2

I have trouble with that because I think it does sound pejorative.

00:40:29 Speaker 1

Okay, it is not meant that way.

00:40:30 Speaker 1

So I retract the statement, but...

00:40:34 Speaker 1

I mean, I would describe St.

00:40:35 Speaker 1

Anthony's as a college that punches above its weight.

00:40:38 Speaker 2

I would.

00:40:38 Speaker 1

Because we have so much more going on here than any of the wealthier colleges do.

00:40:45 Speaker 1

So to be punching above your weight is an expression of admiration.

00:40:50 Speaker 1

Yeah, I don't want to insist on it.

00:40:51 Speaker 2

No, well taken, you know, but I sort of.

00:40:53 Speaker 2

Okay, we move on.

00:40:56 Speaker 1

When did you come to the end of your assignment to the United Nations?

00:41:04 Speaker 2

It was a tricky thing with the United Nations.

00:41:09 Speaker 2

I was assigned as ambassador to Zimbabwe.

00:41:13 Speaker 2

Yes.

00:41:14 Speaker 2

But my name still appeared as a member of the delegation in New York.

00:41:22 Speaker 2

You know, I wasn't aware that was an anomaly, and it was.

00:41:27 Speaker 2

But I was not aware until

00:41:29 Speaker 2

Someone from the, an old friend, actually some of him, a skip who was an ambassador to Kuwait at some time, came to me and he said, your name in the list is raising brows, eyebrows.

00:41:50 Speaker 2

I said, why?

00:41:51 Speaker 2

He said, you can't be in two places.

00:41:53 Speaker 2

You have diplomatic status and tax exemption.

00:41:59 Speaker 2

in New York, in the States, and you are ambassador in Zimbabwe.

00:42:05 Speaker 2

I said, oh, oh, I didn't know that had repercussions like that.

00:42:10 Speaker 2

So I went to the ambassador at the time.

00:42:12 Speaker 2

I said, is this true?

00:42:14 Speaker 2

Why?

00:42:15 Speaker 2

It's getting me into trouble.

00:42:16 Speaker 2

You know, every time I go around, I buy something.

00:42:19 Speaker 2

It's not that I use it for high purchases.

00:42:23 Speaker 2

So

00:42:24 Speaker 2

That was the time when I, the umbilical cord with the United Nations was cut, with our mission to New York, and I was in that course.

00:42:36 Speaker 1

But can we dwell on the fact that that umbilical cord was cut because you'd just been appointed ambassador to Zimbabwe?

00:42:45 Speaker 1

I mean, this is, but it's an important thing to stop and just say, you were the first woman from your country to serve as ambassador.

00:42:53 Speaker 1

This was

00:42:53 Speaker 1

a very big moment.

00:42:54 Speaker 1

Let's not just slip over this.

00:42:57 Speaker 2

It wasn't a big deal at the moment.

00:42:59 Speaker 1

Seems like a big deal to me.

00:43:01 Speaker 2

Now, I look back and said, really people think that it was a big thing.

00:43:06 Speaker 2

You know, it's just things happen.

00:43:09 Speaker 1

I know, but that's where the feminism of the 1970s and 80s stood, was taking note of the first woman pilot of a commercial airliner.

00:43:18 Speaker 1

The first woman

00:43:20 Speaker 1

Commander of the Navy, the first woman ambassador.

00:43:22 Speaker 1

It was, these are milestones, they were big milestones.

00:43:25 Speaker 2

You see, now these, all of these things are lower.

00:43:29 Speaker 2

Now it is the first one who has a purple hair.

00:43:33 Speaker 2

It is the first one who defives, or it's the first one who did that.

00:43:37 Speaker 2

You know, the word, this expression, I have a sensitive thing about it because I see it recurring all over the world.

00:43:48 Speaker 2

celebrating the first.



00:43:50 Speaker 2

The first, why, so what?

00:43:53 Speaker 1

This is seriously awkward though, Nadila.

00:43:55 Speaker 1

Here I am mansplaining to you why it's a big deal you were named ambassador.

00:44:00 Speaker 1

I don't know where to go with this line of questionation.

00:44:04 Speaker 2

You know, I'm not going to say don't take me seriously.

00:44:08 Speaker 2

You have to take me seriously.

00:44:10 Speaker 1

Always have.

00:44:11 Speaker 2

Always have.

00:44:12 Speaker 2

But really, this kind of thing to

00:44:17 Speaker 2

categorize things, the building on the celebratory aspect of something annoys me, because we are supposed to advance in life.

00:44:36 Speaker 2

We are supposed to do things in life.

00:44:39 Speaker 2

Why should we stand up and say, okay, you are the first who did this.

00:44:43 Speaker 2

You are the first who did that.

00:44:44 Speaker 2

You know, progress is needed.

00:44:47 Speaker 2

Progress is demanded.

00:44:50 Speaker 2

But why do we have to stop to play all these accolades and things like that for the person?

00:45:03 Speaker 2

Life demands progress.

00:45:07 Speaker 2

And I think, you know, it's a little bit too much on our part to say,

00:45:16 Speaker 2

Bravo.

00:45:17 Speaker 2

Bravo every once in a while.

00:45:19 Speaker 2

And Bravo for Trump because he did that.

00:45:22 Speaker 2

Bravo.

00:45:22 Speaker 2

I didn't say that.

00:45:25 Speaker 1

I wish to stress.

00:45:26 Speaker 1

I was not making that argument.

00:45:27 Speaker 1

And we're moving on quickly here.

00:45:30 Speaker 1

Because what I was going to say is you were posted to Southern Africa at a particularly exciting moment.

00:45:36 Speaker 1

Oh, wow.

00:45:37 Speaker 1

I mean, fasten your seatbelt.

00:45:38 Speaker 1

You really went for an incredible ride watching Southern Africa emerge from the shadow of apartheid laws.

00:45:46 Speaker 1

And you come under, truly one of the most outstanding political figures of the 20th century.

00:45:55 Speaker 2

Absolutely.

00:45:56 Speaker 1

Nelson Mandela.

00:45:56 Speaker 1

And you got to know all of these architects of the new Southern, I say Southern Africa to embrace all the territories that you served your country in.

00:46:06 Speaker 1

But talk us through what it was like to be an eyewitness to that transformation.

00:46:10 Speaker 2

Oh, wow.

00:46:11 Speaker 2

You know, it's

00:46:14 Speaker 2

That was very exciting, according to me.

00:46:19 Speaker 2

When I was in the foreign ministry before going to New York, I handled the African questions.

00:46:31 Speaker 2

It was very interesting for me because I enjoyed knowing more about these colonies and their history, how they were

00:46:44 Speaker 2

managed and stuff like that.

00:46:46 Speaker 2

So being involved from a distance, from headquarters, and then following the questions when I went to New York on Southern Rhodesia, the independence of Zimbabwe, and going on the question of apartheid and following all these processes of sanctions against South Africa.

00:47:14 Speaker 2

which was extremely interesting.

00:47:17 Speaker 2

And we were involved as Kuwait with two of them.

00:47:22 Speaker 2

Kuwait was the chairman of the arms embargo group, a sanctions committee against South Rhodesia, South Africa.

00:47:35 Speaker 2

And Bishara, Ambassador Bishara was the chairman.

00:47:39 Speaker 2

I was representing Kuwait at the seat, so it was

00:47:43 Speaker 2

fantastic moment to see how it's working, how do you study the sanctions and stuff like that.

00:47:50 Speaker 2

And we relied a lot on non-governmental organizations.

00:47:55 Speaker 2

And I don't know if you know one of them, Abdul Minty, who was a leader of anti-apartheid in civil society.

00:48:09 Speaker 2

And then this was on arms embargo, and I was representing Kuwait also

00:48:13 Speaker 2

a group that is monitoring, but this was from the General Assembly, monitoring the supply and shipping of oil and petroleum products to South Africa.

00:48:26 Speaker 2

So this was very important for me because you're dealing with issues that you are involved with, and then you go to the region itself and you see

00:48:40 Speaker 2

what was happening there.

00:48:42 Speaker 2

I recall that in one of them, when I went to a part of a delegation to South Africa, pick water, but turned to me in particular, he said, you were sanctioning oil to South Africa, and now you want to sell your oil to South Africa.

00:49:06 Speaker 2

You know what I said?

00:49:10 Speaker 2

because my signature is there on the sanctions committee, if any of the ships violate the sanctions or violate the to South Africa.

00:49:21 Speaker 2

So these were interesting times, you know, with the developments also happening with Namibia swap following the lengthy talks about independence.

00:49:38 Speaker 2

You know, it was something, you see, you're celebrating my being the first there.

00:49:50 Speaker 2

I was celebrating these countries coming to the world.

00:49:59 Speaker 2

And for me, that is our celebration.

00:50:03 Speaker 2

That was a big thing.

00:50:04 Speaker 2

to be there, to see the result of your work through the Security Council or the General Assembly.

00:50:11 Speaker 2

They are independent countries.

00:50:15 Speaker 2

That was the thrilling.

00:50:18 Speaker 2

For me, it was worth more than the titles I have or anything else.

00:50:25 Speaker 2

I was seeing history in the making.

00:50:28 Speaker 2

I'm seeing

00:50:29 Speaker 2

people who fought their life, Walter Cisulo, oh my God, this man in South Africa.

00:50:38 Speaker 2

I was so pleased when someone, you know, said, you really would like to see Walter Cisulo, this is one of the giants of, I mean, the people who worked for the against apartheid, said, naturally I would love to, you know, so, and we went to this

00:51:02 Speaker 2

to his home, very modest home.

00:51:07 Speaker 2

That was, for me, a thrill, you know?

00:51:10 Speaker 2

Of course.

00:51:12 Speaker 1

Oh, the picture of you with Mandela, you must have enjoyed getting the chance to meet the man so soon.

00:51:16 Speaker 2

Oh, no, yes, yes, absolutely.

00:51:20 Speaker 2

So it's, that was more of a thrill than anything else in my career, you know, and then

00:51:28 Speaker 2

I quieted down.

00:51:31 Speaker 1

I don't believe you for a minute.

00:51:33 Speaker 2

Not so much, but I always had that streak of knowing what was there and trying to find the best way to resolve a situation.

00:51:43 Speaker 2

And when you see a situation resolved, that is the biggest thrill in life.

00:51:51 Speaker 1

That's why you're a diplomat.

00:51:53 Speaker 1

What comes to in the book is the person you describe yourself to be.

00:51:58 Speaker 1

You've written your book with a modesty and a discretion, and you've done us a service of taking your experience and putting it on paper.

00:52:08 Speaker 1

And, you know, like Walid Halidy here, I mean, I've been nagging you to write a memoir.

00:52:14 Speaker 1

I even told you should be doing it here in Oxford.

00:52:16 Speaker 1

That's what you should be doing when you come to Oxford.

00:52:18 Speaker 1

You should write a memoir.

00:52:20 Speaker 1

And now you have.

00:52:21 Speaker 1

I have more questions, but I'm aware, dear audience, that I've been monopolizing our speaker for the better part of the past hour.

00:52:28 Speaker 1

And what I'd like to do now is open the floor to your questions.

00:52:32 Speaker 1

If you flag, I can pick up.

00:52:35 Speaker 1

But it would probably be only fair to give you a chance to put questions.

00:52:40 Speaker 1

You don't have to have read the book to benefit.

00:52:42 Speaker 1

I mean, just to say that the other postings that Ambassador Enmulla will enjoy would be ambassador to Austria at the time of York Haidar's Freedom Party.

00:52:53 Speaker 1

Bring a little fascism into your life.

00:52:56 Speaker 1

Great moment.

00:52:58 Speaker 1

your work at the IAEA where you get your wings in nuclear monitoring, returning to the United Nations this time as ambassador, and then of course your work as ambassador to Belgium.

00:53:13 Speaker 1

So there's a lot more in the career, but you can see why I'm pausing here to open it up to you because I keep going at this rate.

00:53:18 Speaker 1



I've got here until about 7.30 and you still won't get to ask a question.

00:53:22 Speaker 1

So let me open the floor to you to any of the issues we have addressed

00:53:26 Speaker 1

For those who haven't, yes, I just put a hand up.

00:53:28 Speaker 1

I'll take two or three questions.

00:53:30 Speaker 1

Please join me in extending warmest thanks to a last round of applause.