World Leaders Forum
Tony Blair: Address to Seton Hall University

February 3, 2009

It is a real honor to be here at the John C. Whitehead School. Thank you so much for that kind introduction. What I'm going to do is give you my world view in about twenty minutes. You can guess its depth and profundity from that. For me it is very inspiring, but also very thought provoking to reflect on the United States at this moment with a new president in charge. I know something of the feeling of coming to power, as I did in 1997 after eighteen years of opposing a conservative government. It was a moment of enormous euphoria. I will always remember being in that position.

There are a lot of differences between your US politics and ours. One difference is that our election campaign is about four weeks long. You do a slightly greater length, in order to get a better sense of the whole situation. The other difference is we have no transition period. You win the election; you're in office the next day. So, when I won the election the May 1, 1997, I literally was into Downing Street on May 2, having seen the Queen and having been asked to form the government. I remember, I went into Downing Street and the previous party had obviously been there for eighteen years, so everyone was really used to them. Now, when the new prime minister walks into Downing Street, he goes down the long corridor to the end where the Cabinet room is. The tradition is that all the people who work in Downing Street—and they are mostly professional civil servants, they stay there whatever the administration—line the two sides of the corridor to clap in the new Prime Minister. The other lot had been there for eighteen years and everyone had become used to them. So, as I went down the corridor shaking hands with people; they were practically crying. By the time I got to the end of the corridor, I felt guilty about the whole thing. I remember, I went into the cabinet room and I was exhausted because I had not slept; we had been campaigning for the last few weeks and so on. The Cabinet secretary—who again is a professional civil servant and is the senior guy—was just sitting in the cabinet room. I went in the

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Tony Blair, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1997-2007, visited Seton Hall University on February 3, 2009. Since stepping down from this position, he has become the Quartet's Middle East Envoy and has started the Tony Blair Interfaith Foundation. Currently, Mr. Blair is co-teaching a semiar at Yale University as a Howland Distiguished Fellow.

room. It was my first time in the British Cabinet Room; all this history surrounding me. He was a very nice, decent British guy from the old school. There he was sitting in the Cabinet. I sat down with him, feeling a little bit nervous, and he said to me, "Well done. You've won the election. Now what?"

I always remember that moment as thinking, "Yeah. Hmm. Now what?" So, I know a little of what it must be like for the new president coming in. There is this huge expectation, huge hope, and huge possibility. Of course, all of these things are real and are positive and can give an enormous sense of what is possible in a very challenging world. However, my argument to you this evening is really this: that in order for President Obama to succeed as you want him to and as we want him to, he must have some partners as well as spectators, and some supporters as well as cheerleaders. In other words, he's going to find some very tough challenges out there. The expectations may change with the election of a new president, but the problems don't. They remain the same, and they're hard to deal with.

My case to you tonight is really very simple. We live in a completely new and different world today. This is not just a new century and a new millennium. There is a completely different complexion to the way that politics works today. If we want not just this administration to succeed, or this president to succeed, but also those of us who want to be supporters and partners in that to help, then we have to understand the nature of that different and changing world and what that means for policy. I want to view that through three major challenges—the economy, the environment, and security.

On the economy, I would say this is the toughest intellectual and political challenge that I can remember. Normally what happens in government, just to let you in on a little secret, is you get a real crisis, and you call in the experts. Then normally, they sit down, and some will say this and some will say that. Ultimately, out of it you get an agenda and a consensus that develops. However, the really tough thing about this economic crisis is you call in the experts and they say, "We don't know."

What has actually happened over these past months has been that for the first time, the globally integrated nature of today's economy has really come home to us. It is not that we have not had recessions before, because we have. It is not that we have not had credit bubbles or asset bubbles before, because we have. What is different is that as a result of that globally integrated nature of the economy, and as a result of the new credit instruments and financial instruments that have been created around it, this economic crisis is different. The fundamentals of the financial architecture that people have taken for granted have been shaken. Therefore, the confidence that is the necessary precondition of a proper functioning economy has been put at risk, and put at risk in the most serious and grave way.

Now, this is hard. In each corner of the world today, people are coming to terms with it, and coming to terms with it in a way that's really, for me, unprecedented. I remember when the decision was taken not to rescue Lehman Brothers, and Lehman Brothers then went bust and all the consequential damage that was. However, on the

morning that Lehmans went broke, I was just on my way out of the house in order to catch a plane to America actually, I was watching our popular news program in the morning and there was the headline about Lehman Brothers. I was thinking, here were these people in remote corners of the United Kingdom, hearing about an institution that a few weeks ago or a few days ago they would not have heard of or thought could have an impact on their lives.

As I was going out of the house to get into the car, there was a man who stopped me in the street; he recognized me and said to me, "Hey, who are these brothers anyway?" He thought, this is something out of America, it's a posse of people who have gone out searching for trouble. A few weeks later, there was a European Union finance minister who was describing the damage that had come from the economic crisis, and he said that all the events of the last few weeks had brought his country to the edge of a precipice, and now was the time for a giant step forward. There was a sort of sense right across the whole, the way our economies were being handled in these last few months, of real crisis.

It is an economic crisis that cannot be resolved simply by the policy here in America or back home for me in Europe. It will have to be done...with the G20.

Now, what do we have to do? We have to fix the financial sector, which is what the measures both here and abroad are seeking to do. We have to have a fiscal stimulus. That is absolutely right. We must have help to retrain people and give help to people who have become unemployed. But there's something else that we have to get right, and that is—what has financed the US deficit, and indeed ours to an extent over these past years—the willingness of China and other emerging markets to finance that.

Now the question is, as we unravel that imbalance, what is going to be the impact of it? The important point for these purposes is that this economic crisis, and this is what is unique about it, is an economic crisis that cannot be resolved simply by the policy here in America or back home for me in Europe. It will have to be done, as is now proposed, with the conference that will take place in April in London with the G20. Which means not just the main European countries, America and Japan, but also China and India and Brazil and so on.

At that conference, people will attempt to put in place a financial architecture for the future that protects us against this type of crisis, but also seeks to give us a way out of our present contemporary difficulties. The important thing about this economic crisis is that its impact has been pervasive. It may have started in the subprime market in the US, but it has not stayed there. It's gone global. And the action to get out of it has to be coordinated, again, on a global basis.

Now, one part of the fiscal stimulus package here, and indeed back home, as you know, will be in relation to investment. This gives us an opportunity to invest in things that provide us with a stronger economic base for the future. I would like to see one of those things be an investment in clean energy and renewable energy sources. This way the second big challenge I'm going to talk about, the environment,

can be beneficially affected by what we do in order to get our way out of this economic crisis.

Again, if you take the challenge of climate change, and look ahead, we see the challenge to the environment—and not just that challenge of global warming but also the challenge of energy security—how we make sure that in the time to come, we get our energy from more secure, more diverse, and more stable sources than we do now. This issue to do with energy policy and how we develop it will be a major challenge. This year, at the end of this year, at the end of the first year of the new presidency of the United States, people are expecting in Copenhagen for there to be a new agreement to succeed the current Kyoto Treaty on climate change. The essence of getting that deal will be, of course, for Europe to act, for America to act, and for Japan to act, possibly by cap and trade systems that will help create a system of emissions trading, and so incentivize business to develop the science and technology to reduce climate change. However, here is the extraordinary thing. If we shut down the whole of the UK tomorrow—and actually the weather's done quite a good job yesterday—but if we did that permanently, shut down the whole of the UK so that we made zero emissions, the growth in China's emissions, would make up all of what we would have saved by shutting down the UK within eighteen months.

In the next eighteen months, the population of China will grow by roughly the population of the UK. Over the next ten years, China will build more power stations than the whole of Europe has built since the Second World War. The reason they're going to do it is perfectly simple, and in a sense, perfectly justifiable. China is faced with a situation where even though on its east coast, Beijing, Shanghai, and places like that are pushing into the first world economy, China still has hundreds of millions of people living in poverty. Almost sixty percent of their population is still a rural, subsistence farming population. China is going to transfer those people into the industrialized sector and they are going to build, for example, somewhere in the region of seventy new international airports.

India is at an earlier stage of development than China. However, India again has hundreds of millions of subsistence farmers that are going to have to be industrialized in order to gain access to prosperity. The point is this: we are going to face a huge challenge, a challenge investing in clean technology in countries like ours, and it is going to be about getting the right emissions trading systems that incentivize business to develop clean energy in the future. None of it is going to work, however, unless we also have an agreement with the emerging countries like China and India whose emissions in the future will simply compensate for any of our reductions unless we make them part of the deal, unless we start developing solar power. The renaissance of nuclear power, carbon catchers, and storage are probably going to be coal fire, since seventy to eighty percent of those power stations in China and India are going to be coal fire. In other words, there is no way that we can deal with the issue of the environment except in coordination with those new emerging powers of the east. So, if you take climate change, just like the economy, the answer lies not in one country, not in one continent, but globally.

Likewise, it is true if we look at the issue of security, people say to me, "It's not Iraq we should worry about, it's Afghanistan." Then someone else will say, "No, it's actually Pakistan." Still, someone else will say, "No it's not Iraq or Afghanistan or Pakistan, you should be worried about Iran." I'm afraid the rather uncomfortable truth is that it is all of the above, plus some. We should worry, if we're studying what is happening carefully, about Algeria. We should worry about Somalia. We should worry about Sudan. We should worry about Yemen. We should actually worry about the whole of the broader region of the Middle East. Truthfully, what is happening there is one struggle with many dimensions. It is a struggle that is a challenge to us and to how we act, and it's a challenge, existentially, I believe, to how Islam develops, not just as a religion, but also as a civilization. This is not a conventional battle that is being fought in any of these places. It cannot be won by conventional politics. The truth of the matter is, politics gets polarized, here, back home in Britain, and Europe as well. There are those people who believe there should be military means to deal with these problems; they're essentially a security problem in nature. There are those people, on the other hand, who say, "Actually, no, diplomacy is the solution." This division between hard and soft power doesn't answer the problem, because we need a combination of the two.

Therefore, of course, part of it will have to be fought by military means, but there are other things that we need to do. One of those things I work on is the Middle East peace process. I would say the G8 is virtually gone in the last few months. I think it inconceivable that for the G8 in Italy this year, you will not have China and India and other countries invited—nothing more important, nothing more urgent, nothing more fundamental to the security of that region and of the wider world. But that's not all that it needs. It also needs—which is the reason I started my foundation about religious faiths working together—is a sense that religion, instead of becoming a source of conflict and division, can actually be a source of reconciliation and progress, as indeed the best exponents of religion have shown throughout the ages. It needs an emphasis on things like education, so that when we have a relationship with a country like Pakistan, it's not a relationship that's simply about conventional development, economic and trade ties, and regional politics. How can it be that we're surprised when hundreds of thousands of young children, young boys, are educated in religious Madrassas in Pakistan from eight in the morning until six in the evening?

When I was there [Pakistan] once, I asked about the curriculum and the person replied to me, "The Quran." And I said, "Yes, but apart from the Quran?" And they said, "There is no apart from the Quran." So, from eight in the morning until six in the evening, that is what they learn and yet, we're surprised that after a time, we have a problem. We should be surprised if we didn't. This security threat cannot be dealt with by conventional means. It is not something susceptible to either diplomatic or military solutions. It needs a combination of security measures and diplomacy. That diplomacy has got to reach right down into the roots of this problem in a way that we have not done so far and must do so with determination, commitment and

urgency. The problem, as well, cannot be dealt with unless it is on a global basis. It's not just the problem of one country; it's the problem of many. It's not even a problem of one region; it is a problem of many. Thus, the solutions lie, again, in combination and consort.

So what does this mean? It means that the world today is interdependent and interconnected. It means that the challenges, therefore, cannot be met by one nation alone, but must be met by nations acting in combination together. Also because of the nature of this modern world, the pace of change is so acute and intense, it drives so fast at us, that these problems are urgent. They force themselves upon our agenda with a gravity and a sense of emergency that should wake us up to how fast and how profoundly we need to act.

First, we have a set of global alliances that we need to make good. If it's a global problem, and global challenges, then we need global alliances to meet them. It is the United States and the European Union now. It's hard enough sometimes, the relationship between Britain and America. It was Winston Churchill who said—or actually, I can never remember if it was Winston Churchill or Oscar Wilde, and there is a difference—who said that we were two nations divided by a common language. Thus, it can be difficult between Britain and America from time to time, imagine what it's like in the European Union, between Britain and France, for example.

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Since this is a school of diplomacy, let me give you a lesson in diplomacy. I thought I spoke French pretty well, but not as well as I thought I did anyway. Shortly after I became Prime Minister, I decided to do a press conference with the French Prime Minister in French – live in French. I get asked a question by a French journalist who says, "Are there any policy positions of the French Prime Minister you desire to emulate?" And I meant to say, "there are many policy positions of the French Prime Minister I desire to emulate." Instead of which I said, "I desire the French Prime Minister in many different positions." Right. So the lesson is, don't speak a foreign language unless you can really speak it.

The relationship inside Europe is going to have to strengthen, and our transatlantic relationship is going to have to come back together again. Then, as it's been very obvious from all the challenges that I've outlined, we then need to create other alliances, the US and China for example. There is virtually nothing more important for the new President of the United States than to get the right strategic relationship with China and then, of course, with India, other emerging countries, and in the Middle East. We will never solve that problem unless we are allied to the modern and moderate elements within Islam and within the region, who want to make progress and who will partner with us if we are prepared to be their partners.

We need global alliances. We need global institutions. One thing that's amazing—I don't know if you study here the workings of the G8, but I would say the G8 is virtually gone in the last few months. I think it inconceivable that for the G8 in Italy this year, you will not have China and India and other countries invited.

The G20 has become the official forum for economic policy making. I could go right across the institutions of international diplomacy and make the same point; the UN Security Council, how we deal with issues to do with the environment, 190 countries sitting around a table trying to get an agreement at Copenhagen, the delegate from a country of a population of 100,000 lecturing the US on what its policy should be—it's a nonsense we're going to have to reform. If we need global alliances to deal with the global problems, we need global institutions.

There's one final thing that we need. We also need a sense of global values. See, the whole point about the world that's developing is that the challenges are global and we live in a global community—though the term "global community" is a kind of a cliché today, it is a cliché because it's true. Because those challenges I've just outlined—the economic crisis, climate, security—they all require people to come together, not just in traditional alliances, but actually alliances that bridge the gulf between the developing and developed world. Now if that is true, such an alliance cannot be based on a narrow view of national self-interest, because it doesn't work. So if America says to China, "look, this is what we need you to do in economic policy, and you're just going to have to do it," the reality in today's world is they'll say, "No. Let's talk about it."

So if we want to deal with security and the security threat, of course we need to have the right engagements with the countries that can help us. The types of alliances we have today are going to be significantly different, broader and more significant in terms of the shared purpose that is required, than ever before. If you want a shared purpose, whether it's for a team, or a university, or a country, or a community of nations, you need to have shared values. You need to share something of the same spirit. You need to be on the same page, not just with what you do, but also with what you believe, not with simply what you say, but the motivation with which you say it and then act on it.

One of the reasons why I have said so many times that we should take Africa seriously as a problem is not just because I believe that for millions of people to die of preventable causes every year such as famine, conflict, and disease should be a wake-up call to our conscience. It's also because I can see in Africa today, that the consequence of political disintegration and lack of economic development is not just felt in poverty and death and misery for the people in those countries. It is increasingly exported. It increasingly crosses out of the frontiers of such deprivation, and is spread across Europe, across the Middle East, and across the Far East.

These global values that are necessary for that shared purpose, what are they? Well, of course they are freedom, and of course they are democracy. However, there is another value that we must stand for if we are to be successful, and that is the value of justice. That is, in the end, the clarion call that brings people into public service. It's not simply a sense of wanting to assume responsibility or desiring power, it is also a sense of commitment to others. It is a belief in the power of community. It is a belief that there is something more important than simply ourselves. It is a belief that we owe obligations to others, not merely ourselves.

It's the reason why this university, this school, was founded. It was founded in the sense of commitment, of decency, of values that aren't just about voting for people and voting for governments, but are about equity and fairness and opportunities for people that don't have them, and treating our neighbors as ourselves. Now, here's the fascinating thing, these values, that are so important, that brought me into politics, and are certainly in political life at its best, are imbued in the actions and concerns of political life. These values, which are about what we can do for other people, are values that today are not merely right. They are the only way that our world can work. And that's the great thing about the twenty-first century.

It's a time of challenge. But it's also a time of open possibility.

This power of globalization that is integrating the world, that means that the students here, will come from so many different nations and so many different cultures and civilizations and backgrounds, and yet they all come here because that's the way the world is today. And actually, I like that world. I think we learn from differences and diversity. We are enriched by other people with their different experiences. However, that world can only work if we are prepared to base it on justice. No other idea is so powerful. No other motive force can bring people who might be tempted to extremism or isolationism into the fold of global citizenship. That is why it is important. That is why what you do here at this school has a significance far beyond Seton Hall and South Orange. This is what it's all about. It's about you coming here, getting that spirit of global citizenship and then taking it out and making a difference in the world. That's what's important. That is the only thing in the end that makes life truly worthwhile, that gives it purpose. The great thing today is that you can think that in doing so, you're not merely acting in the interest of the common good. Actually, you're making this country more secure, my country more secure, our world more prosperous, and our people better able to seize the fantastic opportunities the twenty-first century offers.

So, it's a time of challenge. But it's also a time of open possibility. And if we hold in our hearts and in our minds the idea of justice as the powerful force that drives us to do good, not merely in our own community and in our own nation, but in the world, then the twenty-first century will be a time of hope for this generation and for generations to come.

Thank you.

Question and Answer Forum:

Audience: What role does religion play in promoting peace in the Palestine-Israeli conflict, and how can the Tony Blair Faith Foundation assist established religious organizations in the region that seek to promote awareness and respect of Judaism and Islam?

Blair: Actually, just started in these last months, there is a coming together of the Abrahamic faiths—Judaism, Christianity, Islam—in relation to Jerusalem, which is one of the major issues in the Israel-Palestine question. What happens to Jerusalem? Their idea is to get it accepted by all the faiths that Jerusalem should be open for worship to people of all faiths. So, I think there is a role that religion can play for good. It is also important, however – and we learned this in Northern Ireland – that those who are in positions of prominence in religion, speak out against the bad things and against extremism and fundamentalism in religion. My foundation seeks to work in the Middle East, as well as Europe, America and elsewhere, to try and give people at least an understanding of the other person and also to try and make sure that we understand our rich common heritage. One of the things I do, as well as reading the New Testament, I read the Old Testament and I read the Quran. To any of you students who want to learn about other religions, read. For example, read the Quran, although apparently the translation's never quite the same as the original. Nonetheless, it gives you a sense of it. How many Christians actually know that Jesus is a revered prophet in Islam? There are many misconceptions that people have about the differences and there's much ignorance about the common space. So that's what my foundation seeks to do.

Audience: What do you see as the proper role for the European Union, both in regional and global affairs? Do you foresee any changes in the relationship between the United Kingdom and the EU in the coming future?

Blair: Usually, that last bit about the UK and Europe is a reference to the single currency, which Britain is not part of and I think probably that's unlikely to change in the near future. However, I think more generally the role for Europe is very clear. Europe is the largest political union and biggest commercial market in the world, and Europe should leverage that power. Europe sometimes tends to get lost in little byways of detailed legislation from Brussels and so on, but actually, what Europe should be about is creating a strong economy. It should be about a common energy policy and a common foreign and defense policy. It should be about tackling issues like organized crime and illegal migration. It should be also a partner of America and then in strategic relationships with countries like China as a force for the type of values that we believe in. So I think that Europe is immensely important. And I think and hope that it would play an even bigger part in world affairs in the time to come.

Furthermore, I think for my country, the new world in which we live today is a world in which Britain can play a major part. However, when I gave you that statistic about Britain's population and the rise in China's [population], you realize that as this century develops, the only way for a country like Britain to play a strong part is in alliance with others. So its alliance with America is important, its strategic position as a partner in Europe is important. And someone said at my last European Council meeting, about eighteen months ago now, "we used to talk in Europe about big countries and small countries; the smaller countries, like Luxembourg and so on, the larger countries like France and Germany." Actually, in today's world, we're all small countries, but together we can combine to be more effective. So that's what we should do. We should have a far more coherent and unified set of policies on those major questions. If we do that, incidentally, then we can help in partnership with the US to secure the things that both sides of the Atlantic really believe in. That is what I want for Europe.

Audience: How was your decision to delay public conversion on Catholicism until after you left office based upon, if any at all, the history of domestic law in Great Britain, as well as the ongoing peace process in Northern Ireland?

Blair: I suppose Northern Ireland might have been a factor. But really, I've been going to mass with my family, because my wife's a Catholic and my children were brought up in the Catholic faith, for many, many years. However, I wanted to become a full member of the church. I did it after I left [office] just because religion in our country is treated a little bit differently from religion in your country. In America, it's probably hard to get elected if you say you don't believe in God. Actually, in the UK, it's not. Let me give you an example. I once wanted to finish a major address I was giving with the phrase, "God bless Britain and the British people." It was just one of those kinds of speeches that was sent around, and then there was kind of an emergency committee meeting. I was sitting there as prime minister, and they said to me, "What's that?" And I said, "Well, God bless Britain, God bless the British people." Then one of them said to me, "This isn't America, you know." And I actually said to him, "Well I wasn't going to say, 'God bless the American people', I was going to say…" But it's just treated differently. So I felt that in the end, I had many, many other challenges and it's a private decision. It would have – if I'd taken it as Prime Minister – it would have become a very public decision. So I decided to do it in that way. I don't know whether that's right or wrong, but that's the way it happened.

Audience: If you could recommend one book to the students of diplomacy, what would it be and why?

Blair: Well, nothing I've written [jokingly]. Actually, I don't quite know how to answer that, but I'll tell you a book I have just literally finished reading. I'm not saying if you

gave me several months to think about it I couldn't come back and give you a better answer, but this is a book I've just read which I think gives you a really good insight into contemporary problems, even though its subject matter deals with events many centuries ago. It is a book by someone called Amin Maalouf, called The Crusades Through Arab Eyes. And it's a really interesting account of the Crusades, but written through an Arab and Muslim perspective, drawing on the sources of contemporary Arab and Muslim writers. And it's a very, very interesting insight. If you want to and if you're interested in the Middle East and you're interested in working out how this relationship between the West and Islam has developed in the way that it has, it's a fascinating book to read. It's also thoroughly enjoyable, well written, with all sorts of extraordinary and strange anecdotes about those times. If I had any other book about diplomacy, the best biography of Churchill was rewritten by a guy named Martin Gilbert, and that's also a great book. He's written several books. There's a shorter book and a longer book. Read the shorter volume, which is still I think almost 1000 pages. That's a great read, too, and when I think of some more, I'll send them to you.

Audience: Given your wide-ranging accomplishments while you were in office, what do you see as your greatest legacy?

Blair: I don't know, really. I sometimes think that this will really be for other people to judge. Obviously, I had a foreign policy position that was very controversial. Now, I believe in it strongly because I'm an interventionalist in foreign policy. For me, getting rid of dictatorships whether in Sierra Leone, Kosovo, Afghanistan, or Iraq is, for me, something I'm proud of. Then there are the domestic issues to do with reform and so on. I guess one very major part of it would be Northern Ireland as well, and bringing about peace there. It is not a bad place to kind of finish on, because in Northern Ireland, this was a conflict that had been going on for centuries. People just thought that it could never be resolved, yet today, people who are the bitterest of enemies sit down in government together. What that shows you is that there's all sorts of people who would be cynical and world weary. One of the most frustrating things about being a Prime Minister is that people can always give you a thousand good reasons for not doing something, but very seldom give you one good reason for doing something. I would reflect on my legacy by saying that where I have regrets, it's in not being brave enough or courageous enough to have done the things that I really thought I should do because caution was the easier way. People get very cynical about politics, and they get very cynical about political leaders. Whatever euphoria surrounds any political leader sooner or later, the old adage of Mario Cuomo comes home, which is that you campaign for office in poetry but you govern in prose. And that's just the way that it is.

What Northern Ireland taught me was that in the end things can change. And they can change for the better. Actually, if you look back through history, there are all sorts of setbacks and defeats and catastrophes. But actually, there is a steady,

onward march of progress for humanity, and we should never lose our optimism or our sense of confidence that that is so.

Let me end on this, which is about the ingenuity of the Irish. No doubt there would be people here with some Irish blood in them – actually, there's Irish blood in everyone if you go back long enough – I reckon it all started there, really. The Irish and us, during the course of the Northern Ireland peace process, we used to go away for these prolonged negotiations. We'd go three or four days at a time, and just work away at getting to issues. We had one of those prolonged negotiations at a time when my wife was expecting a child – my little boy Leo. And she was heavily pregnant at the time. We went to one of these negotiations and one of the Irish delegation came over to me during the course of the negotiation and he said to me, "Well, Mr. Blair, isn't it a wonderful thing that your wife's expecting a child? God's blessing on you." And I said, "Well that's very, very kind." And he said to me, "I was just wondering what would you be thinking of calling the child?" And I said, "Well, I don't know really but I think if it's a boy I'll call it after my dad." So he said, "Well isn't that a wonderful thing? How lovely for you and your family." Anyway, I thought no more about it and went away. My wife gave birth and I go back into another one of these prolonged negotiations, and I saw him across the room of the negotiation. The guy has the most incredible suntan. I don't know whether any of you have ever been to Northern Ireland, it's a great place, but you don't get a suntan there. So I said to him, "What's this? Where'd you get this?" And he said, "ah well, you're responsible for that." And I said, "How come?" Then he replied, "Well you remember that conversation we had about you and your wife and naming the child?" I said, "Yes." And he said, "Well I went down the next day and put 1000 pounds at the bookmaker's in the name of the child." I mean, that's probably as good a legacy as any.

Thank you.