

# The Divide Between Order and Disorder

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**Chair: Lord Michael Williams of Baglan**

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## Chair: Lord Michael Williams of Baglan

Ladies and Gentlemen, it's a great pleasure to welcome you to the 2014 John Whitehead Lecture. I'm delighted that our speaker this evening is the distinguished American journalist and columnist Tom Friedman of the *New York Times*. This lecture honours John Whitehead for the many contributions that he has made over the decades to Anglo-American relations. It is perhaps appropriate that Tom Friedman has agreed to do this given your own long-standing association with the UK.

As a student you came to St Anthony's at Oxford where you were taught amongst others by the great Albert Hourani, and it was also here that you met your wife Ann, who was attending the somewhat more radical London School of Economics. I am tempted to say a long way to go to meet a girl from Des Moines, Iowa.

Before gaining your MPhil you spent a year here in the Bureau of UPI, an agency sadly no longer with us, and then went to Beirut, to Lebanon, for the first time beginning a long association with that country. Two years later in 1981 you were poached by the *New York Times*; a paper you have now been associated with for more than three decades. During that time you have filled many roles from reporter to foreign correspondent to op-ed columnist and editor, including a brief stint as White House correspondent in the early years of the Clinton Presidency. A role you described as a 'strange mix of reporting and baby-sitting' - more on that later perhaps.

While starting in the Middle East as a reporter Tom Friedman has gone on to write on an array of subjects including the environment and globalization. Producing books such as *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century* and *Hot, Flat, and Crowded* fantastic title you know, on why we need a green revolution and how it can renew America.

As well as maintaining a passion for golf, inherited from your father, although the *New Yorker* in the 2008 portrait quoted you as saying: 'it's the one place I can go and no one stops you to ask you what you think about the latest Israeli-Palestinian peace plan'.

Tom has been the recipient of no less than three Pulitzer prizes, two of them for reporting from the Middle East. As well as the honorary title of OBE from Her Majesty the Queen. Tom is going to speak tonight – bravely some would say – on the subject of Britain and America's Legacy in the Middle East. Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to join me in welcoming a commanding figure of American journalism – Tom Friedman

## Thomas Friedman

Thank you, but I'm actually not speaking on Britain and America's Legacy in the Middle East. I'm going to talk about Anglo-American relations but I'm going to get there via a very long way. Maybe something was lost in translation in the emails. What I'm actually going to do is speak about the world today, and my talk is called, for lack of a better title: 'A Brief Theory of Everything' – including the Middle East – and it will end up with Anglo-American relations and the centrality of them, which I really do subscribe to. Thank you so much for that introduction, it's great to be here at Chatham House and I've always wanted to do this.

This lecture is under Chatham House Rules – I always wanted to say that. No, it's all on the record and it's really a treat to be here. When future historians look back at the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, late 1990s-early 2000s and ask the question 'what was the most important thing happening in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century?', what will

they say? Will they say it was the sub-prime crisis? Will they say it was 9/11? Will they say it was the break-up of Brad and Jen? Or the marriage of William and Kate? What will they say?

I would argue that what they will say is that the biggest thing happening in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the thing that affected more other things, including Anglo-American relations, was that the world experienced exponential growth in three giant trends: the market, Mother Nature, and Moore's Law. What I'm going to talk about tonight are the global implications of this exponential growth on those three trends.

Now, in Silicon Valley they tell a very famous story about the man who invented chess, and the king he gave the game to loved this game. And after playing a few times he called the man in and he said 'I really want to reward you, what would you like'. The man said 'I would just like to feed my family your highness', and he said 'it shall be done, what would you like?'. And he said 'it's very simple, I would just like you to take one kernel of rice, and put it on the first square of the chess board, and then two on the second on the next, and four on the next, sixteen on the next, and keep doubling and my family will be fine'. And the king said 'for sure, it shall be done' - not realising that when you double things 63 times, the number you get is 18 quintillion.

Now that story is used to great effect by my friends Erik Brynjolfsson and Andy McAfee, in a brilliant book they wrote last year called the *Second Machine Age* and they used that story of the doubling to demonstrate the power of Moore's Law. A law I am sure many of you are familiar with, coined by Gordon Moore, the co-founder of Intel that says the power and speed of micro-chips will double every 18 to 24 months, this dates back to the early 80s I believe.

And Brynjolfsson and McAfee use that story of the chess board because their argument according to Moore's law, is that we just entered the second half of the chess board, when the doubling gets exponential and starts to get really big and you start to see some really funky things. You start to see computers that can win in Jeopardy. You start to see Robots that can milk cows. You start to see computers that can win in chess and you can even start to see self-driving cars.

Now think about it, I'm 61, I can see a few people who are my contemporaries out there. And I grew up on the Jetsons cartoon, sci-fi, George Jetson. Always remember George Jetson flew his own flying saucer. The people who invented this science fiction cartoon could not imagine what we have today. That we've entered the second half of a chess board – a self-driving car. So Moore's Law has now entered its exponential phase.

I know a little about this as back in 2004, I sat down and wrote a book about just as it was entering the exponential phase called 'The World is Flat' and the simple theory of that book was that four things converged right around the year 2000 to basically flatten the global economic playing field.

The first was the PC, built under Moore's Law and what the PC allowed and enabled for the first time in the world, was for individuals to author their own content and create their own words, data, content, photo, spreadsheets, video, in digital form – in the form of bits and bytes. And once your content could be created in digital form it meant it could be manipulated in so many ways and so many more places.

That converged with – it didn't have to, but it did – with something called the internet which allowed me to not only offer digital form but also send it anywhere in the world virtually for free. This coincided with the emergence of something called workflow software, which allowed me to collaborate on my content with you and your content, from anywhere in the world and that happened to coincide with the emergence of something called Google, which allowed me to search my content and you your content and

vastly enhance our collaboration. My argument in *The World is Flat* was those four things converged right around the year 2000 and created a global economic playing field on which more people and more places could suddenly compete, connect, and collaborate on more things, in more ways, with greater efficiency, with less money than ever more. Hence, I declared 'the world is flat'.

Had I been a more honest man, I actually would have called the book 'The World is Flattening', because there are only about a billion people on that platform back then, but it never would have sold that many books. So, I was not a more honest man, but I had a sense of where it was going.

2011 I sat down to write a new book called *That Used to Be Us* with my friend Michael Mandelbaum called *How America Lost its Way in the World it Invented and How We Can Come Back*. The first thing I did when I sat down to write this new book was to get the first edition of *The World is Flat* off my book shelf, just to remind myself what I had written back in 2004. I cracked it open to the index. I looked under A, B, C, D, E, F, Fa, Fac, Face - Facebook was not in it. When I was running around the world in 2004, saying 'the world is flat', we are so connected, Facebook didn't exist, Twitter was still a sound, the Cloud was still in the sky, 4G was a parking place, LinkedIn was a prison, and applications were what you sent to college, big data was a rap star, and Skype was a typographical error. I love doing that, can I do that again?

All of that happened in just the seven years between 2004 and 2011. That's what happens when Moore's Law enters the second half of the chess board, and just think about what happened. My ability to author my own content went from the PC to the iPad or cell phone connected to the Cloud, which meant I could download the most powerful tools of creativity in the world for nickels, dimes, and pennies. My ability to send that content went from the internet to broadband and wireless, which meant I could send my content to so many more places and from so many more places, with so much greater volume. My ability to collaborate - well - that went from workflow software to Facebook, Twitter, crowdfunding and crowdsourcing. My ability to search went from Google to big data, so I could immediately capture new trends and turn them into new services. All that happened in just seven years. And that's the story of the doubling in Moore's Law. Now that alone would be enough to create some pretty disruptive politics and economics. But it merged with another exponential move, and that was in globalization.

The doubling of Moore's Law both drove more globalization and was driven by more globalization. Basically what happened, in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and late 20<sup>th</sup> century, is that the world went from connected to hyper-connected, and from interconnected to interdependent. These are differences of degree that are differences in kind.

They are hugely impactful on the world system, because what happens when the world goes from interconnected to interdependent is you get geopolitical inversion whereby your friends can kill you as fast as your enemies. If Greeks do not pay their taxes, my retirement fund in America will be affected. Greece is in NATO - we have a mutual defence treaty with Greece. Greece can kill me now. And the other geopolitical inversion that happens, is your rivals falling becomes more dangerous or as dangerous as your rivals rising.

If China goes from eight percent growth to one percent growth tomorrow, there isn't a person in this room who won't be impacted. If China gets another aircraft carrier, I couldn't care less, let them get two. So globalization has also entered the second half of the chessboard. And the third thing to enter the second half of the chessboard is Mother Nature.

The world climate system oscillated for 800,000 years between 180 parts per million of carbon in the atmosphere in 280 parts per million carbon in the atmosphere for 800,000 years. Since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, we have gone from 280 parts per million in the atmosphere to over 400 – that is exactly 100 times faster than the end of the last Ice Age. Mother Nature has gone into an exponential phase.

At the same time demographics, I was born in 1953, there aren't many human beings who could have ever said this: that since the beginning of human beings the population of the planet doubled in my lifetime. The population of the planet doubled in my lifetime and we're about to add two billion more between now and 2050. So demographics has also entered the second half of the chessboard and you can see in a country like Egypt which now graduates 700,000 college students every year for 200,000 places. So I think the biggest thing going on in the world today is that these three giant forces - the market, Mother Nature, and Moore's Law - have all entered the second half of the chessboard.

Now let's look next at what are some of the signs of that. I like to collect these stories as I travel around the world, it's one of my favourite things to do, so let's start with Moore's Law. A year and a half ago, Ann and I were out in San Francisco at the New School Summit and I rented a Hertz car and in the middle of the summit all my plans changed. When I had to return the car, where I had to return the car, no problem, I called 1800 Hertz, I got the automated artificially intelligent voice on the phone and it said give me your Hertz reservation number, which I did and I waited for it to say now please stay on the line a Hertz service representative will be with you shortly, your call may be recorded for quality purposes: I never got the Hertz representative, I did the entire interaction with artificial intelligence, and it was complicated.

Note to my girls, I think you might not want to think about being a Hertz service representative when you look for a career. No problem. Last year some of you may have seen this, I did a documentary for Showtime on climate change and the Arab Spring. I was in Yemen and flew here to Heathrow Airport. I was standing in line, minding my own business, slightly jet lagged, man in front of me had read *The World is Flat* turned around and engaged me in conversation. I did to him what I do to people everywhere and I said 'sir, what do you do' and he said 'I'm in software'. 'Software, I love software, what's your software?', he said 'our software is designed to make every lawyer obsolete'. Usually gets a big applause in America. The company is called Neota Logic, and it's basically turbo tacks for the legal profession and it's designed to automize roughly 40 percent of work that lawyers do every day. If you go to their website there's a letter there from a person who wrote in and said 'yeah but your software can't hold hands and wipe away tears'. Under this Neota Logic said 'you will surely see a press release when we can'.

That's Moore's Law in the legal profession in the second half of the chessboard. Note to my girls – you might not want to think about the legal profession. No problem: maybe they'll be columnists. Well, last week I was leaving my parking garage beneath the Hyatt on Wisconsin Avenue in Bethesda, Maryland. And I'm driving out, just took out my parking ticket, gave it to the guy, barely a new immigrant, and I gave him 10 dollars to pay, and he gave me my money back and he said 'I read you'. And so I said 'oh, thank you', he said 'I don't always agree with you, but I always read you'. So I said 'oh that's great, that's my favourite kind of reader, you always have to check whether they agree or not agree, no problem' and I left. A week later same parking lot, I'm driving out, give the guy the money. He said 'Mr Friedman, I'm a columnist, I have my own website'. I said, 'that's great, do you want to give it to me', he writes it down and I go home. He's Ethiopian, writes his own website, and writes about the World Bank in Ethiopia. In the second half of the chessboard, everyone is a columnist now, even the parking attendant.

Globalization in the second half of the chess board, I collect these examples all the time, but this is one from when I was in New Delhi in October 2010, picked up the Hindustan Times as there was a front page

story, a small item, caught my eye and it said that a Nepali telecommunications firm had just started providing third generation 3G mobile network service at the summit of Mount Everest - the world's tallest mountain. This would, quote 'allow thousands of climbers and trekkers who explore the region every year, access to high speed internet and video calls using their mobile phones'. Do you realise how many phone calls are being made as we speak from the top of Mount Everest beginning 'Mom, you will never guess where I'm calling you from'. That's globalization in the second half of the chessboard.

Here's globalization in the second half of the chess board: my mother-in-law went to college in Grinnell Iowa, Grinnell College, wonderful, small, liberal arts college in Iowa – 1600 students. She later became chairman of the board, God bless her. In 2011, I got these statistics from Grinnell, nine percent of all applications to Grinnell College came from China, and of these 43 per cent had perfect 800s on their math SATs. That's also globalization in the second half of the chessboard. That's not Stanford, that's not UC Santa Barbara, that's Grinnell College in central Iowa.

Lastly, Mother Nature in the second half of the chessboard, I can give you many, many examples of that. The one that I am most familiar with, because I just did a documentary about it, is the drought in Syria. You cannot understand the Syrian revolution unless you understand that in the four years preceding the Syrian uprising, Syria experienced the worst drought in its modern history. A million Syrian farmers and herders left their homes in the countryside, flooded the cities, lived anywhere they could, crowded into any corner or home with relatives. The Assad government did nothing for them. They did not cause the revolution, but when the revolution started these traditionally conservative people – farmers and herders – were the first to rush to join. That's how Mother Nature in the second half of the chessboard starts impacting all of this.

There was one other globalization example I wanted to give, because it had to do with this documentary I did. Because when we were in Egypt doing the documentary I stopped at the souvenir shop in Cairo airport to pick up something to take back to my house. And I was looking through the souvenirs and of course they have a lot of pyramid ashtrays there, and pyramid pencil holders. And what's really interesting when you turn over the pyramid ashtray, do you know what it says on the bottom – 'Made in China'. So when you're a low wage country, and another country half a world away can make your national icon into a souvenir, ship it, and sell it for a profit, more than you can, you know with globalization you're in the second half of the chess-board. So what's the implication of all of these things on politics, economics, and geopolitics?

Well the first thing I can tell you about this world where we're in the second half of the chess board – market, Mother Nature and Moore's Law, is it's a great world, it's a fantastic world to be a consumer in, and you all know that. You can now buy anything online. And you can get it delivered tomorrow if you want, whether it's shoes, or a car, or a book, or a tailor-made suit, in this world it's going to be fantastic to be a consumer.

Second, in this world, it's going to be amazing to be a maker. You want to be a maker in this world, when you can now start a global company overnight by renting out your spare bedroom on Air BnB to get your seed capital, working for Uber in your spare time as a driver, downloading the most powerful tools in the world virtually free from the Cloud - to be a maker in this world is going to be awesome, and we already see that.

Unfortunately it's also a great world to be a breaker in. because when it's a great world to be a maker in, its also an amazing world to be a breaker in, and one only need to watch ISIS's use of YouTube and

Twitter, or the fact that Hamas was able to make a drone in Gaza during that war, to understand that breakers today are having a field day, and that's really, really scary.

Fourth, it's a terrible world to be a leader in. You do not want to be leading anything in the second half of the chessboard. Why? Because every leader today, every leader, is now in a two-way conversation. Whether you're Xi Jinping, the president of China, and now have 400 million Chinese on Sina Weibo or you're the leader of this wonderful organization [Chatham House], or you're a columnist, or the president, every leader today is in a two-way conversation with the led and it is incredibly, incredibly noisy. Leading anything today is hell on wheels.

Speaking of future historians, what do you think future archaeologists will think when a thousand years from now they dig down and they reach Washington DC in the year 2012, they are really going to puzzle over this when they dust away the stones and pull out the file in the White House that says that the president's chief of staff resigned voluntarily to run for, not get, the mayor of a mid-western town called Chicago. 'Course I'm talking about Rahm Emanuel leaving the White House to run for mayor. Now they will really scratch their heads these archaeologists, they will say 'did the chief of staff of Caesar ever voluntarily give up his job to run for mayor of Carthage'. What's that about? It's actually not very much fun any more to be the second most powerful man in the United States, arguably the second most powerful man in the world. It's actually more fun to be the mayor of Chicago, you know why? Because our Founding Fathers believed in representative democracy, they wanted the will of the people filtered through elected representatives, and their idea of elected representatives was white males who own land, fortunately we have expanded on that concept.

Under the doubling, with the explosion of Twitter, Facebook, and all of these social networks, I would argue our representative democracy has very subtly become a popular democracy. You have Congressmen walking around the halls of Congress today flipping through their Twitter feeds. Our Congress is so much more like American Idol, than it is the Constitutional Congress – it isn't even close anymore. And for any of these people, if you stop and ask them: 'are you having fun', 'are you enjoying this', the answer is 'no', and that is why fewer and fewer people will go into these jobs. It is going to be hell on wheels to lead anything in this world.

Fifth, pluralism in this world, in the second half of the chessboard is going to be the single, most important strategic advantage any society can have. For a very simple reason that in the second half of the chessboard every top-down iron-fisted hierarchy is collapsing – we see this most graphically in the Middle East, a pluralistic region which lacks pluralism. And therefore, increasingly the only way to govern societies is horizontally through social contracts between the constituent communities. What's actually going on in the Middle East is a whole region's going from vertical, iron-fisted, top-down control of its pluralistic nature, to horizontal control, or no control at all, because the only way now that these hierarchies cannot survive in the second half of the chess board. And therefore if you already have a pluralistic society, or you can build one in the second half of the chessboard, it is an enormous strategic advantage. That is one of America's secret strengths. We have twice now elected a black man whose middle name is Hussein, whose grandfather was a Muslim, who defeated a woman to run against a Mormon. Who does that?

Our ability, and we are a work in progress, boy we got a lot of problems you only need to look at the news from Ferguson to know that, but that pluralism, in a world where leading anything is going to be hard and sustaining any kind of hierarchy is going to be difficult is an enormous advantage. Pluralism in the second half of the chess board of Moore's Law where you have a flat world and the advantage goes to who can

assemble the best team anywhere in the world, let alone in your own country to drive innovation and entrepreneurship - watch out. The advantage of pluralism in this world is going to grow exponentially.

Now we get to the two cores of the problem, which bring us back to geopolitics. In this world, in the second half of the chessboard, the single most important socio-economic fact, is that average is officially over. Average is over. Every boss today, he or she now has cheaper, easier, faster, more efficient access to the above average automation, above average software, above average cheap labour, above average robotics, and oh my god above average cheap genius. Average is official over. And if you want to know what is stressing out every developed and developing society it is that fact.

Woody Allen's dictum that 90 per cent of life is just showing up is n/a – no longer applicable. If you just show up now, you will not get average any more. Everyone has to find their unique value, their unique extra to define why they should be hired, promoted, and advanced. I always tell my girls, I'm all fuddy duddy, I'm lucky when I graduated from college I got to find a job. You will have to invent a job, that is the biggest difference between us and our kids. They may get lucky, they may as my girls did get their first job, but to stay in that job and to advance in that job, you will have to invent, reinvent and reengineer that job, in the second half of the chess board so much more often than my generation.

There was something that sustained the American middle class and the British middle class for the 50 years after World War Two and it was something called the high-wage, middle-skilled job. The high-wage, middle-skilled job. There is no such thing anymore as a high wage middle-skilled job. There will only be a high-wage, high-skilled job when average is over.

You know the story about the modern American factory? It just has two employees, a man and a dog. The man is there to feed the dog, and the dog is there to keep the man away from the machines. I exaggerate but in the second half of the chessboard that's where this is going. I know what you're thinking, you're thinking very easy for you to say Mr Smartypants *New York Times* columnist. Now let me tell you about my job, I became the foreign affairs columnist for the *New York Times* in January 1995, and I actually inherited the office of James Reston in the Washington Bureau. I got to inherit the office from this great editor and columnist from the 1960s and 1970s at the Times, and I got to meet him once in fact. I suspect Mr Reston used to come to that office back in the 1960s and 1970s and say to himself every morning 'I wonder what my seven competitors are going to write today', and he personally knew all seven. I can name them – Walter Lippmann, Mary McGrory, Stewart Alsop.... I know all seven. I do the same thing. I come to that same office every morning and I say to myself 'I wonder what my 70 million competitors are going to write today', I have 70 million competitors, including now the garage attendant underneath the Hyatt Hotel in Bethesda.

I've been going to China basically once a year for the last 20 odd years. During those 20 years I had really only one goal, that I could write a column that would tell my mother-in-law in Chicago something she didn't know about China that she would find new and interesting. Now it happens that my mother-in-law has never been to China and so truth is, if I wanted, I could have written an average column. I'm in China, they have panda bears, chopsticks, they've got this big wall running through the middle of the country. I mean if I wanted I could have written an average column. Three years ago some of you may have noticed, *New York Times* started [newyorktimes.com.cn](http://newyorktimes.com.cn), *New York Times* in Chinese. Where we are basically translating the paper and a few of the columnists - and I was honoured to be one - into Chinese every day. Now it had to be shutdown because we reported that when Jiabao the Prime Minister's mother who at 95 was worth 2.7 billion dollars, and was living in a nursing home the Chinese shut it down, but one day they will reopen [newyorktimes.com.cn](http://newyorktimes.com.cn).



When my column is in Chinese, I have a very different goal when I go to China. It is not to tell my mother in law in Chicago something she doesn't know about China, it is to tell Chinese something they don't know about China, otherwise why should they read me? That's not average any more, that's not average. And that leads to the last implication of this world.

Average isn't just over for individual workers, average is now over for countries. During the Cold War you could be an average little country somewhere and either the Americans or the Soviets would be happy to rush in and help give you scholarships, maybe build your army, give you weapons, build your stadium, your foreign ministry. My wife and I, we were just in Madagascar, the presidential palace there was built by the North Koreans. In the Cold War you could be an average little country and there were these two superpowers who would compete over giving you scholarships to attend Patrice Lumumba university in Moscow or Wichita state. And it was a world of walls, so you were protected from a lot of competition. Now enter the second half of the chessboard – no more walls to protect you, and no superpowers to compete over you. Average is now over for countries too.

That brings us to the core geopolitical point of this lecture which is that the world today is no longer divided in my view between East and West or North and South, communist or capitalist, the world is now divided between the world of order and the world of disorder. Because under the pressure of these three giant geopolitical trends – the market, Mother Nature, and Moore's Law – developed countries are being stressed like your own, and weak countries are literally being blown up and entering the world of disorder.

I got a taste of this in Israel last year. Interesting number in Israel - 52,000, 52,000 is the number of Ethiopian, Eritrean, and South Sudanese who have walked, biked, trained, bussed across the Sinai desert to Israel. They are not Zionist. They are not Jews. They are not looking for religion, they are looking for one thing – order. They literally walked from the world of disorder to Israel because it is an island of order and the closest they could find. 52,000 where did I hear that number? That's the number of Guatemalan, Honduran, and El Salvadoran children who have been sent by their parents from Central America in the last year, to the United States and now we have no idea what to do with them. They have literally walked from their world of disorder to the world of order. This to me is the new divide in the world.

The world of order is built around two kinds of states: states with sustainable order, like this one whose order is built bottom-up on consensual politics and shared values – and when you have shared values therefore you can have institutions, and states of imposed order – Russia, China and the like, where order is from the top down.

All you need to do is read the newspaper to know that the price of imposed order is going up every day. The number of people you have to kill, or arrest. The number of people you have to censure is getting more and more expensive in the second half of the chessboard. So that's basically the divide I see emerging in the world today under the pressure of these three doublings, and that brings us to the John Whitehead moment. Thank God, because I wasn't getting paid.

The biggest geopolitical challenge today, and I see it in the paper, is how do we manage such a world? How do we contain the disorder and transform it where possible into order? Now I believe this is the central geopolitical challenge of our time today, and the only way we can do that, is if the world of order comes together and understands that in this interdependent world, unless we collaborate and work together to both contain and remediate the disorder, no single country can do it alone because the Cold War remember was about containment. Containment is actually relatively easy, to remediate disorder you

need to build things. It's very different from containment. So it's easy to have an alliance in the Cold War, we just put up this wall and we all stand and put a hand on the wall. But when you're dealing with the Ebola virus in West Africa, or the ISIS virus in the Middle East, you're talking literally about building things, and that is where, to me, the central pole of the world of order has always been - American-European, and in particular the Anglo-American alliance.

And what I worry about more than anything right now, is I watch here on the eve of the Scottish vote, and I have no opinion this, I'm here as an outsider, I'm with the queen – please just think about this, ok. What I worry about, terribly, is that America is going to lose its wingman in defending first the world of freedom, and in remediating the world of disorder. I mean this as no insult.

We have been partners in this for so long, and yes Germany will help us and always has, France will be there, but there's nothing like the Anglo-American alliance and at a time when we need to contain and remediate the world of disorder, the idea that this Great Britain would be fractured, I have to tell you, worries me enormously. Because I look across the [English] Channel and I see a continent deeply enfeebled economically and therefore not able to join in this project as it might in the past.

I see a Russia that should be in the world of order, actually creating more disorder, and I see a China that wants to be a free-rider in this world, not a stakeholder, and seems to think it's on another planet. So what this is doing is putting more and more pressure on my country to act against ISIS, act on Ebola, the president announced this morning. And right now, I have to tell you, we are not a serious country. Our politics is structurally paralysed. We are sitting around wondering what Hillary Clinton will wear at her coronation when we have two and a half more years of Obama. Two and a half more years of disorder – we've written that off, we've shut down, we've just written that off. We Americans are kicking around our country like it's a football, and it's not a football, it's a Faberge egg. And so with us behaving that way and this country possibly taking a bite out of itself, I ask myself, how are we going to contain and manage this world of disorder?

So let me just end, I really did write something down. The Cold War, you all have to remember, this is so important to remember now, involved two competing visions and countries of order. It's really really important, the Soviet Union represented a different kind of order but it represented a status quo power and it was a different kind of power certainly to what the western alliance was. As a result all we in the West needed to do was collaborate enough to contain, as they say about communism. Today it is different, today it is a world of order against disorder and that disorder can only be contained by the world of order collaborating with the people in disorder to build their societies. To get not only freedom from, but freedom to, and freedom to requires not only shared values but shared institutions, but building is so much harder than containing, it takes so much energy and resources. So we've got to stop messing around at home, as if this moment is just the same-old, same-old. This is not the same-old. We are in the second half of the chessboard with the three most powerful forces shaping politics and economics on this planet—market, Mother Nature, and Moore's Law – and our real, and tacit allies had better wake up as well, preserving and expanding the world of sustainable order, is the leadership challenge of our time.

Thank you very much.