

Remarks by Michelle Bachelet

President, Republic of Chile

September 24, 2007

MARY ROBINSON: Thank you very much for those warm words, but this evening is not about me. It's an evening where I really welcome that so many of you are gathered to honor leadership and to honor a particular quality of leadership which the world needs more of. A quality of leadership that women can bring as half the human race, and we are increasingly doing it.

We're doing it in so many areas in the business world, in academia, in local community beyond belief, but also increasingly in holding high office, in heading U.N. agencies, in being part of what the world very badly needs, which is the other way of looking, the perspective, the empathy, the enabling way in which women often lead. It's a different way of bringing together talents, maybe listening a little bit more, because traditionally women have had to listen because they hadn't as much voice and so we learned to do it.

I do recall, with great sense of how much it mattered at the time and how honored I was, being honored by the Foreign Policy Association in 1995, a long, long time ago now, and I never thought that I would have such a genuine huge privilege of standing here if you like, as a graduate of a dinner like this and honor a woman whom I singularly admire, singularly admire.

Before I get to why I singularly admire her, can I say that she has recently joined a club that I have the current honor to chair, the Council of Women World Leaders, and just to give you a flavor of our new recent membership, it spans different parts of the globe and different aspects of women's leadership. The first elected African president, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf became a member. The person who holds the GH and EU presidency during 2007, Angela Merkel, is a member. And Michelle Bachelet is a member.

So let us not think in terms of the one or the few, in fact, I'd love to have a kind of guessing game with you, but it's not appropriate to this evening about how many members there are, active members, in the Council of Women World Leaders. But let's try it for a little minute because I just want to be kind of provocative this evening. I'd ask this table here, how many do you think there are in the Council of Women World Leaders?

Take a wild guess.

FEMALE VOICE 1: How many?

MS. ROBINSON: That means women who have either been elected president or prime minister in the past, like myself, has-beens, or currently are president or prime minister.

FEMALE VOICE 1: 12.

MS. ROBINSON: Over here.

FEMALE VOICE 2: 47 and next Hilary Clinton.

MS. ROBINSON: Okay, well now we're over the top. I'll stop immediately, and I'll say, honorably [unintelligible] actively, 34, because there are women who didn't want to join a club of members. I won't mention one very distinguished woman prime minister from a neighboring island of Ireland. I wouldn't dream of mentioning her, but who didn't feel that she didn't want to join this club of women, but we are, so we are 34 members of the Council of Women World Leaders, and we are very active.

We are bringing together, with the help of the Ministerial Assembly of Women, which currently Madeline Albright also chairs, and I was with Madeline earlier this evening at another function, and she's extraordinarily active on women's issues. And we're bringing together networks of women ministers. We're bringing together younger women, mentoring across divides.

The Council of Women World Leaders is joining with the White House project that is represented here this evening and the Alanburg [phonetic] Foundation, and my day job realizing rights in a women leaders intercultural forum, spanning an intercultural link of women that President Bachelet is well aware of.

But let's come to our honoree of this evening. It is to me, something really very touching and moving that I can so identify with the way in which President Bachelet stood as a woman who had an experience that so many women have, an experience of motherhood, and for her, very much motherhood fending on her own at a particular time. An experience of professional life, an extraordinary professional life, surgeon, pediatrician, epidemiologist, and studies in military strategy.

She not only served as Minister of Health, she served as Minister of Defense in our country, an extraordinary combination under President Ricardo Lagos, whom I worked with very closely in the Club of Madrid, and we've become very strong friends.

And everything that I've heard, we've heard about the struggles of the past lead me to understand, in some small measure how much there must have been an inner compass, an inner strength, an inner determination that this woman has become the first elected woman president of her country, with so much to offer, with so many languages that she speaks. That she is fluent in Spanish, English, German, Portuguese, and French. That she has been able to put together in her cabinet a cabinet that is very diverse and that includes a significant number of women because she so decided.

That has come here, and this is my last point, has come here to New York with a very bipartisan group from Chile. Bipartisan because she knows that she is the leader of her whole population, of her whole country. I honor you, please come up and address the population.

PRESIDENT MICHELLE BACHELET: Thank you. Well, thanks a lot, thanks a lot Mary Robinson, because of your wonderful remarks, and thanks for the Friends of National Endowment for Democracy and Foreign Affairs Policy Association in this New York Democracy Forum Dinner for having the possibility to share with you some thoughts of how we're looking, the country, the region. And particularly because you are no strangers to Chile.

You are familiar with this Legendary Republic Institutions that were forged in my country during the 19th Century, and which in the mid-20th Century gave birth to one of the most vibrant and long-lived democracies. And you also know what happened in 1973, and you also know how in 1990, we restored democracy and with it the respect for people's rights.

And here, allow me to mention our debt of gratitude to all the friends oversees that will support our struggle to recover freedom. Thank you very much.

Seventeen years have passed since then, and there are some obvious questions. Has Chile consolidated its established democracy? Are there any lessons to be learned from the process through which we have lived? And what are our challenges right now? And I want to ask you to accompany me in the following exercise.

Let's move back 20 years. The opposition to the dictatorship has just opted for a peaceful transition to democracy rather than a violent approach. [Unintelligible] are ambition. In 16 years' time, Chile will be a fully democratic country free of [unintelligible] risk of a return to authoritarian rule, people's civil rights will be totally respected, the progress achieved towards truth and justice in case of human rights violation will have few perils among other transitions around the world. The remaining anti-democratic provisions of the constitution will have been repealed. The economy will have grown at an average annual rate of more than 5.5%. The poverty rate will have dropped from almost 40 to 13.7%. Enormous progress will have been achieved in housing, [unintelligible] healthcare and education. Road, port and airport infrastructure will have been almost completely renewed. A woman will have been elected as President of the Republic.

In 1988, would you have dreamed or have nightmare, whatever you want to consider, for a moment of such an outcome? Probably not. Yet, that is precisely what has happened. In other words, Chile's transition to democracy, it's a success story. This reflects the will of an entire country to reach agreement on returning to the path of progress, democracy and social justice that had characterized us for decades.

It remains the will of [unintelligible] politicians and that is also one of the reasons why I came here with a bipartisan delegation, because I think that you build everyday the relationship, the friendship, the, as we call it, civil friendship with all the parties and all the political perspective. And I think that Chile's transition reflects the will of Chilean's politicians to put past and terrorism behind them and to adopt a new attitude to the challenges of the future. Well, it's not that paradise, but almost I would say.

During the dictatorship, Chile was, in the words of Georgetown University Political Scientist Arturo Valenzuela, a nation of enemies. Today, it is a society that grows more united day by day, and I really am proud of what we have achieved and we have all achieved it. I am proud to have contributed to the reconciliation of Chileans and to a better future to our children.

During my election campaign, I said that [unintelligible]. It's difficult to explain this, because it means so many different perspective. In English, we could say something like Chile is each and every Chilean, but we're talking about how we face inequalities. In the older perspective there's income distribution, gender issues, territorial issues, age issues and so on. And the idea that a country is built by all its citizens, that was how Chile achieved great things in the past and that is how we want to build a better country today.

I think that the main lesson of Chile's political process is the importance of reaching agreements, of engaging in dialogue, and growing in understanding.

But today, Chile's democracy faces new challenges. Because of what we have achieved, we can now set ourselves even more ambitious goals, that's progress, that's development. And we can, of course, address not only those areas in which we remain weak but also the new concerns and realities that have emerged in the world's [unintelligible].

And that's why we came today to a special meeting on climate change, because even though some people could think it's a little bit sophisticated, it's not sophisticated, it's a problem of all of us, and we have to be here.

These new challenges can be divided into two categories. Those that have to do with revitalizing or democracy and those have to do with guaranteeing our citizens social rights. This is very important because when we think about how we can really consolidate democracy I remember a conversation I had last year with Madeline Albright, because we were spoken, but I didn't find the right words in English to say it. And the words is, what I tried to explain is democracy has to deliver and that's very important.

Well, but let me do an analogy. If we have already succeeded in consolidating a government of the people because our citizens freely elect the rulers, then today, the challenge lies in other two proposition, in government by the people, in other words a more vital, better quality democracy with great citizens' participation, and for the people, and that is a democracy that delivers and ensures more and better public goods for all citizens.

Let's us consider the first of these challenges. The starting point for addressing this challenge is one of which we all agree to the way, the only way to strengthen is strengthen democracy with more democracy. The fact that I'm here with all the president of the coalition and opposition parties is a demonstration as [unintelligible] day-to-day [unintelligible], political interest takes second place, and the country's interest is in the first place.

However, we still have important pending challenges as regards to representative democracy. One of these is to reform our electoral system, the so-called Binomial System. Briefly, each electoral district returns two members to each House of Congress, and that

means that in approximately 90% of the cases they elect one candidate from each coalition, one for the conservation and one for the opposition. The thing is that this severely undermines competition between the two coalitions, while at the same time other parties, which in some districts may take more than 15 or even 20% of the votes, obtain no seats.

My government has presented a bill to partially reform the system, which we hope will be approved by Congress. But we also have to address another problem. The problem of electoral apathy. More than two and a half million Chileans, mostly very young people, are not exercising the right to vote because they simply do not register to do so. I mean in our country there is a special system where you don't, you can freely go and register to vote. If you register to vote, you have to vote. If you don't, you don't have to.

So the thing is, if you ask me what I would prefer, to have automatic registration and that everybody chooses if they want to vote or not and that's the candidates idea to have [unintelligible] solution so the people will go to vote. But there's no agreement in our country about that. So that's why we have promoted a reform that is not the best, in my opinion, but at least it's better than what we have, that would mean automatic registration, a registration at the age of 18 but will also, that's the age for voting in our country. But we're also proposing that a person can voluntarily deregister and thereby be absent from the obligation to vote. We, I think voting is a right. It shouldn't be an obligation, it's a right, but not everybody believes in that. So that's why we're trying to find the best solution that could make everybody comfortable with it.

A few years ago, a law was introduced that provides state funded campaign financing and place a cap on spending. Today, my government is proposing changes to make this mechanism more transparent and to introduce stiffer penalties for those who infringe its terms.

But that is not all. We're also striving to create a democracy that is more participatory, that includes more and more citizens in the process of designing public policies and that incorporate sectors which have been traditionally excluded. I'm talking about stakeholders to include in the political definitions, stakeholder's opinions, and then we make the decisions. But to make richer public policies, because stakeholders, I think they have a voice and they have proposals and suggestions.

One proposal in this direction is the People's Bill that I presented to Congress in July. This would empower citizens to present legislative initiative in all areas except those such as fiscal spending and taxation and matters relating to international relation that are exclusive prerogative of the President of the Republic according to Chilean's law.

Most of my government is the [unintelligible] promoting ventures of affirmative actions to ensure gender parody and guarantee a number of, minimum number of women in Congress. To this end, I plan to present a bill providing the necessary incentive for political parties to include more women in their list of candidates and I should add and in places that it can win, because otherwise, you will have lots of women in places that will never win. So we need an important thing in this.

Another important issue concerns the conditional recognition of indigenous people and the right to preserve and develop their own culture in an environment of respect, and my government's promoting the ratification of the International Labor Organization Convention 169 for indigenous and [unintelligible] people. And the United Nation, Chile also supported the approval of the declaration on the rights of indigenous people.

But if I say that we have one challenge, the second great challenge of Chile's democracy today, that of government for the people. It's in my view, one also shared by many other Latin American democracies, today's citizens not only expect democratic behavior from their leaders, they also democracy to deliver on day-to-day needs. Thus, giving real meaning to the concept of a citizen's right to have rights, as proposed by the well-known German Chilean sociologist Norbert Leonard [phonetic].

In [unintelligible], as in any democracy, new problems and new concerns appear. These include the ease with which people can slip back into poverty as well as rise up of it. And the continual existence of different types of discrimination, such as those based on age, ethnic origin, or gender. And then there is a great vulnerability of those who live just above the poverty line.

Moreover, the existing individual and contributive solutions to the provision of social security have proved inadequate to the task of ensuring protection for all Chileans. As a result, we must urgently address what Pierre Rosenbaum terms the new social question. To that end, it is [unintelligible] that we create the system that can integrate existing social policies and allow them to be sufficiently a dynamic to the important changes and increasing security about each of these measures that my government's implementing.

I simply want to draw attention to our guiding principle in this field, which is that Chilean's democracy must ensure the social rights of all our people. This is what we are seeking to achieve. For example, through a reform of the pension system. This initiative is one of the most important social reforms that our country has undertaken in recent decades.

Under the present system workers hold individual savings accounts administered by private companies into which they must pay contribution over their working life. On reaching retirement age, they can draw on this savings and their earnings. However, the system has been found to have important failings, which we are now seeking to correct. These include discrimination against women, because we live longer, so we always have smaller pensions than men, the lack of competition among administration companies and [unintelligible], and to ensure a basic pension for the lowest income, 60% of Chileans, irrespective of whether they have contributed or not.

We believe that is ethically imperative to provide greater protection for the senior citizens, who many today lack of protection. A month ago, the [unintelligible] House of Congress approved this reform and it's currently before the Senate. And I would like to make a comment on this. Earlier I was hearing Mary Robinson, and I love to hear her because every time I speak of the way women do things, men put the terrible face in his hands, and it looks like, you know, sort of a feminist sort of a thing.

But the thing is that I believe if you can, as a government, produce consensus or at least you can know exactly what sort of diversions you have and consensus you have. So, for example, this reform of financial system reform, instead of just sending a product that I would like to Parliament, I organized a national council with groups of different perspective, pension people, trade unions, entrepreneurs and so on, and also a specialist in the area. So we receive a wonderful, a wonderful, I would say, document with alternatives.

And as a government we decide we go this way. And some people say to us, from the opposition, naturally, they say we want decisions, not commissions. The thing is, next year, on the first of July, 2008, I will be able to pay for our older people better pensions. So I believe that this strategy is not about strategy at all. Because I think the thing that the government has to do is to build consensus to know -. I mean there's some things that you're going to go, even though you die, you know. It's so symbolic and so important you will do it anyway, even though it won't work. But most of the things, we want to do things that work. So that's why I think you have to find the ways how things can work. And that's my way and I think it's - some people don't understand it, but I think it's [unintelligible] pretty well.

Don't get bored, I'm just finishing. I was talking to you that we're maintaining the economical model, but are changing it in some way because we believe that market, it's not the only way to act in a society and that you have to have a citizens society, where the market plays a role but where the state can make sure that people gets what they need. And a rights-based approach is also the inspiration for other social reforms.

In healthcare, for example, we are implementing the highly complex plan to ensure that Chileans, whether covered by the National Health Service or private medical insurance, will receive timely and efficient attention for a number of illness. Of course, everybody will receive attention for everything, but there are some illness that because of the acute, how acute they are or how great, no, [unintelligible], grave they are, or how costly they are, you have to make people sure to get the health support they need.

So the idea of this plan gives them a guaranteed right to care in the event of suffering these illnesses. Similarly, Chile already has a system of unemployment as insurance that provides benefits to those workers who lose their job. But today we aim to increase those benefits and to extend the system's coverage to more workers. This proposed reform is a further example of the priority we have given, we are giving to the rights-based approach.

In summary, we believe that democracies must improve the delivery of public goods to their citizens, that they're guaranteed minimal level of social protection must be defined democratically, and the public policies must then be implemented accordingly.

First, if they ask what do you prefer, do you prefer an authoritarian regime that works economically for you or do you prefer a democratic regime that doesn't work economically for you? Well, of course, most prefer an authoritarian regime that economically works for them. Of course, anybody would prefer a democracy who would economically works for the person. But what I mean is that democracy really must deliver, has to deliver, because that's the way you consolidate democracy, you legitimate democracy, and that's

the way people really believe that democracy is not perfect but it's the best system. And I think that's one of the things that our democracies in Latin America have been lacking of, and that's, I would say, the output of democracy that a side that we have to do much more on that.

Well, friends, the story of Chile's transition to democracy we believe is one of success. That doesn't mean that everything's okay. We have terrible challenges and problems, but if 16 years ago, we have proposed as our goal what we have, in fact, achieved, we would probably have been accused of dreaming to build a more inclusive and equitable society.

Clearly, the quality of Chilean democracy has improved, bringing with it new levels of participation and economic and social well-being for its citizens. Also more demanding people, because that's part of democracy. Our democratic, I'll always say, and I was when I was Minister, and I have to put everybody to try to get into a consensus on what about the health reform we're going to develop. And I thought it was so difficult sometimes. I thought wow, it should be very easy to govern with a dictatorship, you didn't have to put any people, you know, in common with other ones. You just say, this is what I'm going to say.

But anyway, I'm democratic and while our democratic experience is as any democratic experience, as every democratic experience, it's unique, really. And I'm certain also the aspiration of all our citizens for the future that await us and certainly [unintelligible] of all of us who are today, tonight at this dinner. So thank you very much and I will be receiving your questions.

MS. ROBINSON: Madame President, I think that was a remarkable address. This is a very sophisticated audience of the Foreign Policy Association and the other groups who are here, who've heard many speeches by Heads of State, normally they're safe, set piece, very positive, just give the message the people will listen to. What you did this evening, I think was to give us your thinking, your thought processes, how you are coping with the challenge and the enormous responsibility of being a good Head of State, of being a bipartisanly good Head of State, of trying to understand where your country is and be for it, above all else.

I'm told that there may be just a moment or two when one or two people may want to ask questions. It's quite late, so people may or may not. Does anybody have a burning question for the President?

MALE VOICE 1: We have a few written questions.

MS. ROBINSON: Oh, a few written questions. And do I give her the medal first or later?

MALE VOICE 1: Let's go ahead and give the metal.

MS. ROBINSON: I think I should go ahead and give her the metal. I'm dying to give her the metal. Madame President, it is with great pleasure and in a sense of humility that I put this metal on you.

PRESIDENT BACHELET: Thank you very much.

- MALE VOICE 1: The hour is late so we are going to keep it brief. The first question is: Chile's economy is the strongest in Latin America. Is the increasing threat of inflation and the recent union demonstrations cause for concern?
- PRESIDENT BACHELET: Well, I would say that inflation in Chile today is more related to external factors. It's due to mainly, you know, increase of food prices, you know, all the corn and wheat and milk and those sort of things. So it's not internal factors, it's more, and of course, fuel. And so we believe that we hope, and also because we had, I mean as you had, a terrible hot summer before we had an incredibly cold winter, and we lost [unintelligible] for, you know, agricultural production of the winter. So inflation, still is not that high but it's higher than we would like.

And the second thing is that union demonstration, well, the thing is that I think during a long time we have had in our country workers that were like second-class workers, and you know, this workers that are subcontractors. That the thing is that there was in many, I mean not everywhere, but in many places, their labor conditions were not the best. So that's why President Lagos passed the law, a bill, in order to regulate better the condition, the labor condition of these people. And even though this, during my government, we approved this law. Of course, not everybody had, one of them.

It's very difficult when you have an industry in any area that you have workers that do the inside the company and workers outside the company, they make the same jobs but one of them receives half or third of the salary of the other one. It's very difficult. So those are the sort of things that has to be solved by a lot of industry and not only private sector, also state, public sector industry. They have to organize their human resources in order to fulfill what the law says about this. And there were some in the case of [unintelligible], that was the public sector of the industry. And they hadn't done what they should do. So, I mean some of them, it's because people are not doing what they have to do.

On the other hand, there was another trade unions demonstration in a private sector company, and we knew about this because that company was doing antique trade unionist work, and they have done a lot of things. And we told them, you will have problems, you have to solve this problem, otherwise, you're going to have, you know, a problem there. And they didn't do what they have to do. And what happens, it is a private issue until they strike, and then they ask the government to solve the problem.

So I think we all have to do what we have to do. The government has to do what it has to do, but the private sector also. And we're working a lot on social responsibility for the businesspeople, because we believe [unintelligible] of their rights, are more aware that they can demonstrate. We're not in a military regimes where strikes were forbidden.

But on the other hand, Chile has been very successful in the economy. Copper prices has been very high, so people say, "Come on, why my salary is not much bigger? Why I'm not being much richer?" Even though the salary has been improving a lot. But not enough.

So the thing is, I ask myself, how can we deal with this issue because we need to on one hand continue growing economically. I mean a country like ours has to grow. I have no doubt about it. How can we continue being competitive, but on the other hand, how can

we have workers with good labor conditions and with better salaries.

So, I think in Chile that's how we are looking at it, is that we make, we have to make like a social agreement, a social pact to see how we can find the best way, and we're talking about subsidies, of different instrument, I'm not going to go into details right now. How can we deal with a country that must be competitive, because we have been doing things well in the economy, but if you don't do new things, you will be back, you will be going back. I mean we need to continue advancing.

How we can maintain competitiveness, but on the other hand, we have dignified, decent conditions of labor. And that's one of the issues that we are addressing right now and we're working on it. Because if a country improves its economic [inaudible] cannot assure you there will be no more demonstrations during my government. Probably there will be.

But during Ricardo Lagos, there were thousands of demonstrations. There were people months outside the [unintelligible] with Minister Soledad Albara [phonetic], she's the President of the Christian Democratic Party, we were minister, we saw that, but everybody has forgotten. And everything seems to happen in my government, but that's another issue. I don't care about it. I mean, but I'm telling you that that's part of democracy. That is not necessarily instability and we're working on that.

But on the other hand, if we don't address the issue that if the economy goes well, people feels they have the right to live better. I mean we're not understanding what democracy is for. And so, I think that all of us have to make more efforts in order that prosperity is in everyone's house and not only in a few ones. Thank you.

- MALE VOICE 1: These two questions are interrelated and or at some level they may be and we'll leave it at that. Can Chile's economic model be replicated throughout Latin America as an alternative to Chavismo and what measures would you like to see the next U.S. administration adopt to improve American policy towards Latin America?
- PRESIDENT BACHELET: Well, the thing is that usually when you read from Miami Herald, New York Times, Washington Post, The Economist, Financial Times or whatever, you find this like the division between the good guys and the bad buys in Latin America. Is Latin America going red? was the title of an article. I think that, and I said in the Columbia University, where I was just before I came here, I think that Latin America is going more like the rainbow.

When you think of Brazil, and I'm talking Brazil, because Brazil and Chile, we have a lot of similarities, we think a lot of common perspectives, and we're doing many similar things in the economic point of view inside of the countries. But Brazil has an enormous internal demand and [unintelligible] it's more related to internal demand not to external demand. So Brazil doesn't need FTAs, so he can choose what FTAs he wants to implement and what he doesn't want to implement.

On the other hand, Chile, whose GDP is like 60 or 70% related to external trade, well, we have been very active in developing FTAs with a lot of regions abroad, because we need it for our development. The country who has some capabilities, other countries have others.

Having said so, I think that Chile, and we have been doing this every time we go to every meeting in Latin America or wherever we go, we explain how Chile has developed, how it has work, how... We're not talking of rhetorical speeches, we're talking of a country that in 1985 had a poverty of 49% that in 1990, its poverty was 38.6% and in 2006, it's 13.7%. I mean it worked, it worked, it really worked.

We're talking about a country that from each ten students of higher education, I mean tertiary education, college or universities, seven of them are the first in their families to go into higher education. So we're talking on a country who has given more equity for the person. I mean just to say some of the issues.

And we tried to explain why this model that Chile has developed, the development model, it's a good way. So is Chileans' economic model a possibility to replicate it in other countries? Yes it is. Have we, we have I would say we are very clear of what we think we have to do, and we're willing to share with all our friends and we're doing things. For example, with Central America, we have developed a fund and we have joined with the Inter-American Development Bank, and we said, we put one part, you put two parts, and they accepted. And we have given this fund for Central America in order that they develop their own [unintelligible] like [unintelligible] Chile, Chile, where we are taking care of how we incorporate innovation in the economic processes.

And with Caribbean countries, we also put some money with OAS, and we are developing projects for the development of Caribe. So Chile is doing this job and we'll continue working, but of course, because we are really convinced that it works. And I think we can, we will, are we willing to share our experience, but of course. The other people need to, want to share our experience with them, because in some time, these are the sort of things I shouldn't say, but everybody thought that Chile was the best student but the worst classmate, you know, because they thought that we were arrogant. That we were doing things well and we felt superior in some sort of thing, but that's not true. And that is necessary that we do our jobs so people understand that we want to be, to share with them our experience and every country will use the experience according to their own characteristic.

But we have work in the region is that we have to integrate to solve many common problems of respecting diversity. And we are willing to do much more in this area. Thank you.

And according, and what would I like to see in the next U.S. administration, to improve the policies towards Latin America. Well, last year you asked me something like that and I don't know what I answered, but then I thought that what I should have told you, at the first of all, look at us as adults, we are adults, we are not children. Believe that we are capable of doing things, first of all, things.

And second, I would say look at Latin America as a possibility because even though, I mean and don't look at with prejudices. America is a rainbow and has lots of possibilities. And third, try to think on specific policies that can help countries that are having hard times, cooperating but in this areas that countries need. I mean hear the voices of the countries. And I think that people will be very grateful to feel that they have a good ally in the

United States of America. Thank you very much.

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