

Speech delivered by
His Excellency LUIZ INÁCIO LULA DA SILVA,
President of the Federative Republic of Brazil
at the
London School of Economics (LSE)
London, 14th July, 2003

I would like to begin my presentation by thanking Professor Anthony Giddens, Director of the LSE, for having invited me to be here today. I would like to acknowledge the presence of many Brazilian friends, foreigners, some of the Ministers of my Government, my colleague Luiz Dulci, who is the Secretary-General of the Office of the President of the Republic; my friend Celso Amorim, who is here at this table and who is the Minister of External Relations; my friend Tarso Genro, former mayor and Minister-Coordinator of the Economic and Social Development Council; my colleague Marco Aurélio (Garcia), Special Advisor on International Affairs; my companion Marisa Letícia, and I hope that no Englishman will carry her off; my dear colleague Ambassador Bustani and his wife; the Senator of the State of Rio de Janeiro, Senator Crivella, who is accompanying us here; the Coordinator, or rather, the President of the Commission for External Relations of the Chamber of Deputies and Deputy for the State of São Paulo, Zulaiê Cobra; my colleague

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the Governor of the State of Paraíba, Cácio Cunha Lima, who is present with us. I would also like to greet an old colleague from right here, from England, who took me to a debate in Oxford some three years ago, Professor Leslie (Bethell), who is here visiting with us. Thank you for your presence.

I've decided to read what I plan to say so as not to break down in tears, because I am 57 years old. And as we grow older, we become more... emotional. And, since I regard the task that we have in Brazil as being huge - because it is not a task for just Brazil alone, it is a task that can impact other parts of the world - I think we need to work with the greatest sense of responsibility. I shall read my speech and then I shall comment further on what I have said here so as not to lose the habit of speaking spontaneously.

It is an honour to be invited by the LSE, a School that has played an important role in the history of socialism in England and which continues to be an important centre of learning for the social sciences.

Its founders - Beatrice and Sidney Webb - members of the Fabian Society, are the authors of "A History of Social Struggles", which was translated many decades ago in Brazil and which played a significant part in the education of many labour militants and socialists in my country.

In more recent times, sociologist Ralph Milliband became a source of inspiration for democratic socialism.

Other personalities have, in one way or another, been associated with this institution, such as the great intellectual and pacifist Bertrand Russell, to whom humanity is so greatly indebted.

I came to London to participate in the Summit of the Progressive Governance, at the invitation of Prime Minister Tony Blair. I came here to bring the message that got me elected by 53 million Brazilian men and women to govern Brazil. It is a message that I have been taking to several other fora during these short six months of my government.

I was in Porto Alegre with my friends and colleagues from the World Social Forum. I went to Davos, to the World Economic Forum. I took part in the dialogue held with the G-8 [countries], in Evian; and now I have come for the meeting with leaders of the Progressive Governance.

Over this same period, I held meetings with almost all of the leaders of South America, with Presidents Jacques Chirac, George Bush, Vladimir Putin, Hu Jintao, M'Beki of South Africa, with Chancellor Gerhard Schröder, the Prime Minister of India, many Heads of State and Government and important international personalities.

In last year's elections, the Brazilian people displayed courage and maturity. They were aware of the serious economic and social crisis the country was in and decided on a change of direction.

Our responsibility is, therefore, huge.

We have to find solutions to short, medium and long-term problems.

We faced a number of difficulties fuelled by political and financial speculation.

The economy, as everyone is aware, was vulnerable.

The US dollar was valued at 4 reals. Inflation was forecast to reach 40% over the 12 following months. The Brazil risk reached 2400 points.

Overseas credit lines had been cut. So, the foreign vulnerability of our economy was enormous.

To turn this situation around, we adopted a strict monetary and fiscal policy and encouraged exports.

Six months later, we are already beginning to see the results of this policy.

The US dollar has fallen from 4 to 2 reals and eighty cents. The inflation forecast has been lowered from 40% to 7% per annum. The Brazil risk fell from 2400 to 700 points.

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International credit lines have been resumed.

At this point, a clarification is required. Even at the time when we decided on a more stringent monetary policy, so as to avoid a relapse into [high] inflation, we also made the decision to disburse a large part of the funds earmarked for social policies, and I shall talk a little more about this later.

Exports have been increasing and they are expected to reach about 20 billion dollars in 2003.

Our foreign vulnerability has decreased considerably.

The recovery of Brazil's international and domestic credibility is opening the way for new investments in manufacturing and is setting the foundation for sustainable development.

The measures adopted during this transition period are generating the conditions for a new cycle of growth with social justice.

The Brazilian people understand this process and have confidence in our programme. That is why we were able to count on their support during this necessarily very difficult period.

We cannot expect to repeat the growth pattern of the past of around 7% per annum between 1930 and 1980. Brazil became the world's eighth economy, but it neglected to improve its people's living conditions.

The exceptional growth during those years was not accompanied by indispensable social reforms. Income and power continued to be concentrated. While the rich got richer, the poor became poorer. We have succeeded in overcoming authoritarianism, but we haven't done away with social inequalities.

And our foreign vulnerability increased.

The programme of change that we have started to implement envisages a return to growth with effective income distribution, jobs creation and social inclusion.

It promotes a deepening of democracy, with increasing citizen participation along with a positive presence of Brazil in the world, in a manner consistent with our interests and responsibilities.

We need to build up a large mass consumer market so as to incorporate the 40 million Brazilian men and women who live on the fringes of productive activity, consumption and public services, and who have scant access to educational and cultural goods.

We will enact effective land reform, along with solid agricultural policies.

We are developing public policies in health, education and culture, housing, basic sanitation, environment, transport and tourism. We will invest in basic infrastructure in order to ensure a new expansion cycle that Brazil is so much in need of.

We are formulating non-paternalistic industrial policies and are democratizing credit, making it more accessible to millions of small producers and consumers, as well as to small and medium-sized Brazilian companies.

But we face immediate challenges.

And one of them is hunger. The hungry cannot wait.

The Zero Hunger Programme puts forward structural solutions, but, at the same time, it provides for emergency measures.

And it is for this reason that we started out with a pilot programme in the State of Piauí, in the city of Guaribas, where we began distributing the first tickets, which we call coupons, that people can use to buy foodstuffs. Let me share a bit of information that I became aware of just before I went there. In Guaribas, 250 children a month were hospitalized with diarrhoea. In the month after these children started eating, only 15 children were hospitalized. And in the last 4 months there have been no cases of infant mortality.

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And more importantly, economic activity in the city boomed because the government also committed itself to buying the produce of all small rural producers.

We also launched the First Job Programme. It provides an opportunity for hundreds of thousands of youths who would otherwise be drawn into drug trafficking and organized crime. It is important to understand the youth issue in Brazil. At present, more than 70% of all crimes are committed by persons between the ages of 15 and 25. They have no prospects for employment or the possibility of studying, and their parents are unemployed. They easily fall victim to organized crime and drug trafficking. The First Job Programme seeks to provide an opportunity for young people to have a job. We are trying to work in partnership with several economic sectors in our country to ensure that individuals can study while holding a job. And many youths will be hired to work with public policies implemented by the Government itself, such as the literacy programme that we want to carry out in the country, involving thousands of youths who can lead these programmes and do community service.

This is how we are deepening democracy. Society has been called on to help in determining the directions the government will take. We have set up what is perhaps the most important democratic mechanism in the Government: the Economic and Social Development Council. We are encouraging the participation of other fora. We have widened our political dialogue by encouraging other forces to join our project for growth with equality. It is important to remember the role of the Economic and Social Development Council. It is a means by which representative groups from organized society can debate major national issues. And we also had a stroke of luck: Tarso's bad luck in not being elected Governor of the State of Rio Grande do Sul meant he became [instead] Head of the Council. Participation in it ranges from representatives of bankers to members of the "landless workers" movement, the colleagues from CUT* and several other segments of society such as CNBB**, representatives of the Evangelical Church; in other words, it very fully represents Brazilian society, thus helping us to strengthen Brazilian democracy.

The 27 State governors were called on to give their unanimous support for proposals for Fiscal and Social Security Reform. It is important to stress at this point the importance of the governors' support. I am not the first President wishing to undertake reforms. Every President has wanted to do this. Everyone, without exception. It so happens that, when you think about undertaking reforms, you [begin] to interfere with vested interests, you interfere with precisely the interests of a party that I wouldn't say is even privileged, but a party that has already had access to the benefits of citizenship, while a vast majority of the Brazilian people have no participation and are entitled to very little. There are 40 million people without enough to eat. The state governors made an exceptional contribution because, in the three meetings we held, not only did we manage to unanimously adopt the draft tax reform, but we also succeeded in approving a draft for the social security reform. And the most important gesture was that 27 governors accompanied me to the National Congress to deliver the reform drafts. This was a gesture that demonstrated the consolidation of a democratic political process in our country. And we shall be working together in the run-up to October, when I think all of the reforms will be adopted. We shall undertake other reforms, including that of the trade unions. We also want to introduce political reform and to review the somewhat outdated Brazilian labour code.

By reforming social security, we shall make the retirement and pension system fairer and more sustainable. With the new tax policies, the industrial sector will be strengthened.

We are fighting corruption without letup. This is a very important point. It is important for British students and professors to understand this, since here in the UK you live in a welfare state that is at least 50 years ahead of what we have. It is important for you to grasp that: either we undertake social security reform now or otherwise in five or ten years' time a lot of people, including pensioners, will receive nothing. I'll give an example of an important State in Brazil: Minas Gerais. Minas Gerais collects 450 million reals a year and spends 4 billion. In other words, it collects only 10% of which it pays out. Now, people must understand that resources are not inexhaustible. If the water level in the well falls, but you continue drawing water, one day the water will dry up. So, contributions are required for the system to continue working properly. On the matter of corruption, we have achieved

something new, although without any grandstanding. The Brazilian lottery system, working through the Federal Savings Bank, randomly selects 100 cities at a time for auditing. We began with small cities and now are working up to cities with 100,000 inhabitants. Brazilians are well acquainted with the lottery system. We chose the city by draw and review spending of federal monies in that city. We have not set out to catch people. We do not want to prematurely condemn anybody. If we find that a Mayor has committed some small mistake inadvertently - because of misinformation -, our aim is not to fault him, but rather to help him get things right the next time. If the crime is serious, then we shall refer the case to the Public Prosecutor. And, why are we doing this? Because we take it for granted that no one should be condemned before a thorough investigation. We are tired of seeing people in Brazil being condemned by the press and, ten or fifteen years later, with nothing having been proven against the person, the smear remains. And, since I do not wish for others what I do not desire for myself, we will act with the utmost seriousness in reviewing any accusation of corruption. But, once proven, the person will have to pay the price for his actions.

The new foreign policy has allowed Brazil to strive to integrate itself in international trade, while preserving its sovereignty. By affirmative diplomacy, we are fostering regional South American integration and establishing new partnerships.

Our priority is South America: the rebuilding of Mercosul should go beyond the existing Customs Union by addressing agricultural, industrial, social, cultural, science and technology issues, and by building political institutions, as well as moving towards a regional parliament. Further along, we wish to make progress towards a single currency. That is why we are discussing the constitution of the Latin-American parliament or a parliament for Mercosul. And we would like to have a monetary institute so that we can begin to lay the foundations for a future - I hope in the near future - single currency.

We are making determined efforts to draw the Andean and Mercosul countries closer together and to unite South America. It is imperative for us to build the infrastructure required for the physical integration of our economies. Physical integration of our continent will require resources, including foreign resources. But it also opens up opportunities for

investments, for the benefit of companies within the region and beyond. An important detail: in South America and in Latin America, we usually speak of integration quite freely. Brazilians have at one time or another dreamt of Latin America and South America integration and of one day giving it their support. However, nothing but words have come of this, because the elite governing Brazil for decades and decades, only looked to Europe and to the United States and paid little heed to South America. We want meaningful change. We want to stop talking of integration by words and to begin developing integration through physical infrastructure. Because integration requires highways, railroads, bridges, direct flights from capital to capital. For instance, there are countries in South America from which you can only fly to Brazil by changing flights in Lima, in Peru, or in Miami. If someone wants to do business in Brazil but has first to go to Miami, he/she might just as well do business directly in Miami. He/she won't bother to go to Brazil. So, we are making preparations. On August 8, we will have a big debate in Brazil, organized by BNDES* and by CAF**, which is a financial institution for the Andean community, to set out the main projects for physical integration between two or more countries, so that, following this, we can search the world for financing.

We are determined to repay our debt to Africa, to which we are linked by strong ethnic and cultural ties. Next month, in August, I shall be visiting five countries of that continent. At this point, it is important to remember this: the last time Brazil was actively engaged in Africa was during the seventies, during the Geisel Administration, when it established diplomatic ties with Angola. From then on, Brazil practically forgot Africa. And what is most troubling, today there isn't a single flight by a Brazilian company to any country in Africa. What we see are flights by African companies to Brazil. I will give an example: Cape Verde, a country with only 500,000 inhabitants, has a weekly flight to Brazil, while Brazil doesn't have a single flight to South Africa. Well, what I said about South America applies equally to Africa: if a representative from a company in Africa wants to do business in Brazil and he/she has to go to Paris to catch an airplane to come to Brazil, he/she will just as well do business in Paris. He/she won't do business in Brazil. So, we are also thinking about restoring our integration with Africa, creating the conditions for travelling, so that people from Africa can come to Brazil and those in Brazil can go to Africa; because I think Brazil has historical, moral and cultural responsibilities to help Africa.

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Beyond our region, we are seeking closer contacts with major developing countries, such as China, Russia, and why not include India, among others.

We have already had the first meeting of Foreign Ministers from Brazil, South Africa and India. We have thus formed a kind of G-3 of the South. Obviously, this group can be enlarged.

The idea is to work with countries that share our aspiration for a fairer and more democratic economic and political order and to do all of this in close coordination with our partners in Mercosul and in South America.

We want to open up new horizons for our relations with the Arab world. We are proposing - with excellent results- a summit between the countries of South America and the Arab world to discuss trade, investments and other forms of economic cooperation.

We seek a mature relationship with Europe and with the United States, one that allows for greater cooperation in all fields, while fully respecting our differences. It is important to remember that our relationship with the United States and the European Union is quite stable. At present, Brazil does practically 26% of its trading with the United States, 25% or 26% with the European Union, about 30% with South America; and then there is the Asian world, which includes China, now our second largest individual partner. We export to the tune of US \$8 billion to China, which is an exceptional partner. So what are our ideas on this? Europe has a more or less solid structure. The United States has a more or less solid structure. And when countries are more advanced economically and socially, they are smarter at negotiating, they are tougher, they defend their interests better. They have less need for us. So, what is it that we must do? Create another bloc. We are trying, on the basis of a strengthened Mercosul, to arrive at an agreement with the European Union that will benefit Mercosul in the ALCA* negotiations. Secondly, to seek out partners, such as South Africa, Russia, India, China and other countries so as to make rich countries understand that we are no longer so dependent on them. It will then be easier to negotiate. I went to the meeting at Evian and I said to the Presidents there - we were 12 of the almost 20 Presidents there - I said, look, China, India, Brazil, South Africa, even Algeria [and] Mexico don't need to be invited by the G-8 to hold a meeting. We are capable, on our own, of holding meetings

* ALCA – “Área de Livre Comércio das Américas” (Free Trade Area of the Americas/FTAA)

and establishing partnerships. Well, this is a game, this is a difficult game. The game played by international politicians is like marriage. As you know, it's no use if just one wants it, both parties must want it. Isn't it so? Both parties must desire it. Oftentimes the two are madly in love. But, when it comes to saying 'Yes', one pulls back. Because all countries, when talking about foreign trade, have a trade surplus in mind. As it happens, it is not possible to have only trade surpluses. Someone has to run a deficit. Because everybody wants to sell more than they buy. This logic applies to the United States as it does to Brazil. So the game must be balanced. Very often it is easier to talk about such policies than to translate them into effective policies. I wish that international politics were something like me and Marisa: we met and got to know each other and in five months we were married... and for 30 years we have been doing business. And the trade surplus is all hers.

Developing countries such as Brazil have been making enormous and successful efforts to increase the competitiveness of their products and to develop their infrastructure. But these successes are thwarted by the protectionist measures of rich countries. This veritable "trade apartheid" aggravates social exclusion. We need to fight this with determination. And, may I mention at this point that the new Ministry of Development and our Ministry of External Relations have been very effectively engaged in convincing multilateral organisations to fight for a reduction in the barriers between so-called rich countries and emerging countries so as to foster a more balanced and fairer flow of trade. It is a tough task, but I think there is a possibility that over the next 10 years we can make significant progress.

It is for this reason that multilateralism and respect for international law are [the] pillars that must sustain the world order. We are in favour of initiatives to strengthen the UN and other multilateral bodies.

The most lasting and fair solutions to issues of international peace and security, including the threat of terrorism, result from concerted agreements within multilateral fora and which promote respect for human rights.

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We maintain that international crises can and should be resolved peacefully. In the rare and extreme cases when this is not possible, the authorization by the UN Security Council of the use of force is indispensable.

For greater effectiveness and a real democratization of the international organizations, it is vital that the UN Security Council be reformed.

In order to enjoy greater legitimacy and representativeness, the Security Council should be enlarged to include developing countries from various parts of the world among its permanent members. In this regard, countries from several regions, many of them from South America, have expressed support for Brazil as a permanent member of the Security Council. An important point: in my conversation with [Prime Minister] Tony Blair yesterday, I told him that I would like to have the UK's support. When I held talks with [President] Bush, I made it a point to tell him not to ever forget that Brazil wants to be a permanent member of the UN Security Council. And we also want other countries included. It is untenable to retain a structure created after the Second War and which does not take into account the changes that have taken place in the world. So, it is necessary to put an end to this business of the right of veto, in other words, that a single country can exercise a veto. A country can say: "I am not going to comply with a certain decision." That has to end. This means that we need more democratic decision-making, decisions must be taken by the majority and must be carried out. Were this the case, we would certainly have already solved the conflict in the Middle East between Israel and Palestine. The conflict between Israel and the Palestinians cannot be dealt with as if it were of interest only to the United States. In other words, it is in the interest of humanity, you know, that the Palestinians have their State and that Israel has its State. We don't want to play one off against the other. What we want is for the UN to make a decision. I think that this is fundamental. That is why we have fought so hard for the restructuring of the Security Council.

In all of my speeches at international fora, I have called upon world leaders to take up the fight against hunger. More than one billion human beings are excluded from productive activities, consumption, culture and citizenship. In Davos and in Evian, I supported the creation of a fund to fight hunger and I presented suggestions for setting it up.

There are other proposals with similar objectives. We need to work this out jointly, by bringing together political leaders, personalities involved in social work, entrepreneurs and academics to study the means to implement the best aspects of the proposals on the table.

But the essential requirement for success is strong political will on the part of decision-makers. Therefore, I shall continue to call on the leaders of the international community to take on their responsibilities. This is more than a foreign policy issue; it is an ethical and humanitarian imperative.

The world can count on the determination of the Brazilian people as we build a fairer and more prosperous society for all.

It can count on the political will of the Brazilian Government to combat social imbalances, poverty, diseases, illiteracy and corruption.

My dear colleagues, we are changing Brazil and we want to help the world to change.

We want a new compact for peace and the well being of [all] peoples.

We want resolute action for sustainable development along with social justice. We want to strengthen democracy and freedom, while respecting pluralism and diversity.

My friends, it is no simple task to make into a human rights issue the debate on the fight against poverty, illiteracy, hunger [and] the struggle against so much injustice that exists in the world. It is easier to discuss issues that society is more comfortable with than it is to make those who have food to eat feel pity for those without food. Hunger, no matter how much it is described in books, won't [really] be felt by the reader. And this is the most extreme reality that we experience in some areas of the world. And what is of concern is that genetic engineering has already made it possible to feed the whole world. In the case of my country, there are 43 million people who do not have access to the calories and proteins they need. But Brazil produces enough food, per capita, for everybody. But it so happens that these people don't have the income required to buy food. There is no easy solution to

this challenge because it is necessary to understand that, quite often, the money given by rich countries to help often ends up in the ruler's bank account instead of being used against hunger. We are tired of hearing in the news of rulers who hold huge bank accounts in foreign banks while their people are dying from diarrhoea caused by malnutrition. So, it is necessary to create multilateral mechanisms to deal with these issues in a manner that benefits the international community. We Brazilians don't intend to solve the global hunger problem. We want to try and solve our problem. If we succeed, we will have taken an extraordinary step [forward]. But we want to make a contribution and to draw attention to the fact that political leaders who make a speech that in this or that country there are no human rights, should remember that in many cities, States and countries, millions of children die because of hunger before they are a year old. These are also victims of the absence of human rights in that country. I think that we have to tug at the heart [strings] of people. I don't know why, maybe I am too much of a romantic, but I think that the most sensitive part of human beings is their pockets. Everybody expresses a willingness to act. But when it comes to putting their hand in their pocket, things get more difficult. That is why I think we must first touch people's hearts. And if we are in fact to touch people's hearts they have to be certain that our behaviour is proper, that we are honest, that we are fair and that we will formulate the right policies wherever we may be. Nobody is willing to help someone they do not trust. So we started by developing a policy of promoting trust in South America. Because politics is about human relationships. I told Professor Giddens that all my life I had judged Tony Blair by what I read in the newspaper. So, if the Brazilian press or a friend said something false about Tony Blair, this became my opinion of him. I am sure that Tony Blair, all his life, made a political judgement about me based on what President Fernando Henrique Cardoso said to him. Clearly, it is not possible for two people to get to know each other through others. And in my political life I have 500, 600, a million examples of people that I said I didn't like, without ever having seen them. What gives me the right to judge them? And once I had seen the person, I changed my mind. And I am sure that a lot of people said "I don't like Lula", "I won't vote for Lula because he won't do what has to be done, because he doesn't know, he doesn't even speak English. How is he going to rule the country?" Prejudices and more prejudices were the result. So, this direct contact is, indeed, what guarantees success in politics and, above all, in international relations. It was for this

reason that I went to Evian, it was for this reason that I went to Davos, and the reason why I came here. It is for this reason that I am going to Africa. It is for this reason that I am going to the Arab world and to China. It is for this reason that I shall return to the United States. In other words, you can rest assured: I didn't rise to the Presidency by chance. It was not somebody else that wanted me to be president - "Well, let's put forward Lula to run for office." No. I wanted so much to be president that I was stubborn. I failed three times but didn't give up. And I wanted to be president because for a long time I had been convinced that it was necessary to prove, to my country and to the world, that we could do more and better than what has been done up to now. Therefore, that is why you can be sure my dear friends, university professors, students, Brazilians and foreigners, my dear Leslie (Bethell), you can rest assured that we have a clear understanding of what our victory means. And I have a clear notion of the historic pledges made to the people of my country. I do not forget a commitment. I have an understanding of the expectations created in countries closest to Brazil in South America. I am aware of the expectation that we've created in Africa and in the left in Europe. But the greatest expectation we've created has to do with what I said in 1982 when asked why I wanted to be Governor of the State of São Paulo (I lost that race too). And I said: "I want to be Governor to prove to myself that I am capable of doing for the country and for the people what I think others should do." That is an extraordinary challenge. I've spent my whole life fighting for land reform; now, I will have to bring it about. Now, I cannot put the blame on someone else. I can say that there is no money. But I cannot blame Tony Blair; I cannot blame Schröder; I cannot blame Bush. I have to understand and provide the means. "Get on with it my man, find the money!" Yes, we will have to do it. In other words, if we wish to increase the minimum wage - we will have to do it. If we have to improve the quality of public university - we will have to do it. We will have to do it. Well, what's the miracle? It is that I am not the one to do it. I can be the spokesman for something that I wish to build together with Brazilian society. I am in charge, but Brazil is not my responsibility alone. Brazil is my responsibility, the responsibility of each governor, of each mayor, of each congressman, of each senator, of each student and also of the Brazilian students here in the UK. Because I expect, within the shortest time possible, to benefit from your studies here. They will allow you to contribute to the development of our dear country. That is why we supported scholarships. This is not an issue of class. It is an issue of formal

education. And because Brazil has been able, for some time now, to send its young people to study here, Brazil now has true centres of excellence serving our country. And I want us to have more. And I want Brazil to grow so much that we can offer to poor countries the skills which, yes, very often we acquire when we are abroad. Brazil has an obligation to open up more vacancies for African students to study in Brazil - to give them an opportunity. Because we have to show solidarity. And that is why I'd like to say this to you, as I have said to my colleagues: the most important thing in life for a politician is not to lose the right to walk with his/her head held high. I always say that I live just 600 metres from my union headquarters, the place where everything happened in my life. Six hundred metres! From my apartment, I can see the union at all times. When I leave Government, I won't have any other place to go other than São Bernardo do Campo. And I want to meet up with my metal-worker colleagues and be able to look them in the eye, face to face, and say: I fulfilled my commitments, I kept my word. If I didn't do more, it is because it was not possible to do more. I don't want to go down in history as a President who has a picture [of himself] hung in the room for portraits of former-presidents. I want to go down in history as a president that carried out the promises made during his electoral campaign.

Thank you very much and good luck.