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IMPARTIAL · CONSTRUCTIVE · AUTHENTIC

If We Are to Survive

ANARCHY IS KNOCKING ON THE DOOR ... THE NATION IS HOPELESSLY ADRIFT

Address by MUHAMMADU BUHARI, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Nigeria's Congress for Progressive Change
Delivered at the CPC's National Convention, Abuja, Nigeria, May 11, 2013

With your permission, Mr Chairman, I would like to begin by welcoming all the CPC delegates to this historic occasion. And our special welcome goes out to our friends and colleagues from sister-parties, notably Chief Bisi Akande, Chief Audu Ogbah, Musa Gwadabe, Dr. Yakubu Lane, Governors Raji Fashola and Ibikunle Amosun, former Governors Achike Udenwa, Segun Osoba and Chris Ngige, Alhaji Lai Mohammed of the ACN, Senator Ahmed Sani, Yariman Bakura, of the ANPP, and Owelle Rochas Okorocha of APGA.

2. But before I deliver my speech, I would like all of us here and across the country to reflect on the seriousness of the security situation in the country today. Some areas of the nation are virtual war zones in a country supposedly at peace. Whole local governments in some states in the North East are no-go areas to representatives of constituted authority. Marauders of

every description armed to the teeth with all manner of sophisticated armaments roam the national landscape with total and murderous impunity. The patience of this nation and the various communities within it has been severely tried and stretched to its limits. And there is no end in sight.

3. Anarchy is knocking on the door of many sections of this country and the Federal government has not demonstrated that it has the good sense to understand what is going on, or the competence to check it. The nation is hopelessly adrift. But, if we are to survive, this vicious circle of violence that has engulfed this nation must be brought to an end; and we implore the National Assembly to take the lead in this quest for peace. I am sure everybody in this gathering will join me in expressing sympathy for, and solidarity with, the good people of Borno, Yobe, Kano, and now, Nasarawa and Benue states on their suffering and travails.

4. Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests and fellow delegates, we must explore every opportunity to save our country. This is a historic moment when several different political parties have resolved to come together to change Nigeria for the better and stop the mindless drift that has been going on for the last fourteen years. We must understand and accept that we are here gathered to make history or forever stand accused and condemned by it. We must seize this moment that calls for patriotism and sacrifice—it is time to sacrifice everything—time, resources, ambition and ego—for the greater good. We should carry this process through to a successful conclusion, and leave our legacy and footprints on the history of Nigeria.

5. Many political analysts have long stated that the only way to stabilize the country is for opposition parties to merge and oust the ruling PDP. In 2010, during the run-up to the elections of 2011, ACN and CPC inaugurated committees to explore ways and means of merging into a single political party.

6. We have gone to the extent of developing a flag, a logo, a name and have even proceeded to discuss with the Independent Electoral Commission, INEC, about the modalities of consummating our plans; but time proved too short, and we were not about to give too many hostages to fortune.

7. So the present move is really a continuation of the efforts begun in 2010; and this time we have started early, following the rules step by step. On its part, the CPC has, within the last two months, established the following committees with appropriate terms of reference:

1. Merger Committee;
2. Convention Committee;

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3. Membership and Registration Committee;
4. Contact and Mobilization Committee; and
5. Publicity Committee;

8. The objective of these committees is to prepare CPC for the proposed merger; and these committees have satisfactorily concluded their assignments and their proposals have been submitted to NEC and to the Board of Trustees, and these are now being presented to you, the National Convention, the highest policy making body of our party. Other parties have fast-tracked their processes and some have even held their conventions. So far, so good.

No doubt, all the parties joining to form APC are coming in as equals; but, realistically, we all know that some are more equal than others. Nevertheless, every joining party will bring its peculiar strengths to this union and together we will, in every sense of the word, be too strong for the ruling party to resist. With this, we believe the time for real change has finally come to Nigeria—and it must change now before it become too late.

The government has failed in almost everything; it has proved unable to secure the nation's internal environment: there is insecurity everywhere. There is spiraling lawlessness all over the country. There is widespread and rising poverty and unemployment across the length and breadth of the country. There is a complete and total decline in the quality of social services and an irremediable dilapidation in the nation's socio-economic infrastructure across board.

9. There is an unprecedented fall in the nation's standard of living and an astronomical rise in the standard of dying. In short, today, there is nothing going right; and we have become a nation in which nothing works as it should, that is, if it works at all. When they said they have what they call a Transformation Agenda, we didn't understand, but we now know better; because, within the space of three years, they have transformed the country into a veritable wilderness, where everything that should work, doesn't; where everything that can get broken, has.

10. They promised to give the nation credible elections; they couldn't deliver. They promised to fight corruption, they couldn't deliver. They promised to stop the insurgency, and they couldn't deliver. This nation is witness to the fact that whenever we promised, we delivered. And today, I promise you most solemnly that we shall confront and eliminate corruption in the electoral process. We shall confront and eliminate corruption in the judicial process; and we shall most assuredly confront and eliminate it in the conduct of government business.

11. All these evils derive and draw inspiration from a government that is itself immersed to its neck in a cesspool of corruption; and is best characterized by its own favourite catch-phrases: whether it is 'Do or die,' or 'We will rule forever,' or 'No vacancy in Aso Rock,' or they want to 'fight to finish,' it is the same thing—something that could never be uttered by true democrats. Their behaviour, language and body language are in complete and total disregard for democratic norms and

the ordinary decencies of civilized conduct.

12. We intend to provide a government of different quality and tone to the people of Nigeria, one that will tackle the problem of insecurity, solve the perennial issue of incessant power failure, arrest the shameful deterioration in the standard of education, confront the decline in agricultural production head-on, and stop the collapse of commerce and industry.

13. Ladies and gentlemen, fellow CPC members on behalf of the Board of Trustees of our party, I commend the proposals shortly to be put before you. The best way to eliminate this government that has not brought anything to Nigerians except thievery of resources and violence is to accept to merge our parties. And we only elect to do this because that is what we believe to be in the best interest of the majority of the people of this country.

14. And I would like to end by once again thanking our steadfast supporters—you, the ordinary folks—who have been the unbreakable backbone of this struggle, from the time we started this journey in APP to ANPP and then to CPC. You did not do it for material gain; otherwise, you will have turned your backs on us. No doubt, you decided to stay the course as a mark of respect for our stand, and possibly knowing that we would never let you down. You relied on our judgment to forge ahead through the thicket of the country's corruption-laden politics. This we have tried to do to the best of our ability, and will continue to do so until the masses of this country secure a fair deal from those who lead them. What we desire is democracy and freedom for all our people. And in this struggle, we think we have done our bit.

15. At its formation, the CPC became the greatest crowd-pulling party in the nation's political history; and within six months of its registration, and in spite of all the rigging of the poll and the snatching of its votes, it was still able to get more than 12 million votes in the 2011 presidential election. After the merger, the sky will be the limit.

16. While thanking you again, I implore you not to relent as we embark on yet another move in the search for a better tomorrow for our country, Nigeria. We are now in the final stages of the move that will culminate in the merger of our party—the CPC—with three other parties. We join this effort compromising none of our principles but yielding to the belief that our diverse efforts, applied in unison, will help arrest the rot that has become our lot.

17. We go into this new arrangement still loyal to you and committed to what you stand for. We go into this arrangement conscious of our responsibilities to you and grateful for all the sacrifices you have been making since the beginning of our journey. We count on you, as we have always done, to guide, support and defend our position. We will strive to work hard to expand and level the democratic playing field in accordance with the dictates of the rule of law. We declare that we are in this together—and together we shall remain to the end.

18. We played by the rules and we accepted to play along-

side those who didn't; because we believed our participation was giving millions hope that positive change will come along the way. Now change has finally come; and they cannot stop it. And we are putting the current leadership of this nation on notice that our people will no longer tolerate its corruption or the rigging, vote thievery and general impunity that have become the norm and standard practice during elections in this country.

19. We have resolved that henceforth our votes must all be

counted—and they must all go on to count. And we declare that this nation has now resolved, through its united opposition, that it will never again tolerate or allow to pass the mayhem the government deliberately creates in order to cover up its guilt, obscure the issues and then blame the opposition in order to deceive gullible folks. And we will no longer be intimidated by anyone.

Thank you very much for your patience and attention. May God bless us.

This Is the Challenge of Thai Democracy

RECONCILIATION AND DEMOCRACY GAINING STRENGTH ... CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED THROUGH STRENGTHENING OF THE RULE OF LAW AND DUE PROCESS

Address by YINGLUCK SHINAWATRA, Prime Minister, Thailand

Delivered at the 7th Ministerial Conference of the Community of Democracies, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, April 29, 2013

Mr Chairman, excellencies, delegates to the conference, ladies and gentlemen.

I wish to begin by expressing my appreciation to His Excellency the President of Mongolia for inviting me to speak at this Conference of the Community of Democracies.

I accepted this invitation not only because I wanted to visit a country that has made many achievements regarding democracy, or to exchange ideas and views on democracy. But I am here also because democracy is so important to me, and more importantly, to the people of my beloved home, Thailand.

Democracy is not a new concept. Over the years, It has brought progress and hope to a lot of people. At the same time, many people have sacrificed their blood and lives in order to protect and build a democracy.

A government of the people, by the people and for the people does not come without a price. Rights, liberties and the belief that all men and women are created equal have to be fought, and sadly, died for.

Why? This is because there are people in this world who do not believe in democracy. They are ready to grab power and wealth through suppression of freedom. This means that they are willing to take advantage of other people without respecting human rights and liberties. They use force to gain submission and abuse the power. This happened in the past and still posed challenges for all of us in the present.

In many countries, democracy has taken a firm root. And it is definitely refreshing to see another wave of democracy in modern times, from Arab Spring to the successful transition in Myanmar through the efforts of President Thein Sein, and also the changes in my own country where the people power in Thailand has brought me here today.

At the regional level, the key principles in the ASEAN Charter are the commitment to rule of law, democracy and constitutional government. However, we must always beware that anti-democratic forces never subside. Let me share my story.

In 1997, Thailand had a new constitution that was created through the participation from the people. Because of this, we all thought a new era of democracy has finally arrived, an era without the cycle of coups d'état.

It was not to be. An elected government which won two elections with a majority was overthrown in 2006. Thailand lost track and the people spent almost a decade to regain their democratic freedom.

Many of you here know that the government I am talking about was the one with my brother, Thaksin Shinawatra, as the rightfully elected Prime Minister.

Many who don't know me say that why complain? It is a normal process that governments come and go. And if I and my family were the only ones suffering, I might just let it be.

But it was not. Thailand suffered a setback and lost international credibility. Rule of law in the country was destroyed. Projects and programmes started by my brother's government that came from the people's wishes were removed. The people felt their rights and liberties were wrongly taken away.

Thai means free, and the people of Thailand fought back for their freedom. In May 2010, a crackdown on the protestors, the Red Shirts Movement, led to 91 deaths in the heart of the commercial district of Bangkok.

Many innocent people were shot dead by snipers, and the movement crushed with the leaders jailed or fled abroad. Even today, many political victims remain in jail.

However, the people pushed on, and finally the gov-

ernment then had to call for an election, which they thought could be manipulated. In the end, the will of people cannot be denied. I was elected with an absolute majority.

But the story is not over. It is clear that elements of anti-democratic regime still exist. The new constitution, drafted under the coup leaders led government, put in mechanisms to restrict democracy.

A good example of this is that half of the Thai Senate is elected, but the other half is appointed by a small group of people. In addition, the so-called independent agencies have abused the power that should belong to the people, for the benefit of the few rather than to the Thai society at large.

This is the challenge of Thai democracy. I would like to see reconciliation and democracy gaining strength. This can only be achieved through strengthening of the rule of law and due process. Only then will every person from all walks of life can feel confident that they will be treated fairly. I announced this as part of the government policy at Parliament before I fully assumed my duties as Prime Minister.

Moreover, democracy will also promote political stability, providing an environment for investments, creating more jobs and income. And most importantly, I believe political freedom addresses long term social disparities by opening economic opportunities that would lead to reducing the income gap between the rich and the poor.

That is why it is so important to strengthen the grassroots. We can achieve this through education reforms. Education creates opportunities through knowledge, and democratic culture built into the ways of life of the people.

Only then will the people have the knowledge to be able to make informed choices and defend their beliefs from those wishing to suppress them. That is why Thailand supported Mongolia's timely UNGA resolution on education for democracy.

Also important is closing gaps between rich and poor. Everyone should be given opportunities and no one should be left behind. This will allow the people to become an active stakeholder in building the country's economy and democracy.

That is why my Government initiated policies to provide the people with the opportunities to make their own living and contribute to the development of our society. Some of these include creating the Women Development Fund, supporting local products and SMEs as well as help raising income for the farmers.

And I believe you need effective and innovative leadership. Effective in implementing rule of law fairly. Innovative in finding creative peaceful solutions to address the problems of the people.

You need leadership not only on the part of governments but also on the part of the opposition and all stakeholders. All must respect the rule of law and contribute to democracy.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Another important lesson we have learnt was that international friends matter. Pressure from countries who value democracy kept democratic forces in Thailand alive. Sanctions and non-recognition are essential mechanisms to stop anti-democratic regimes.

An international forum like Community of Democracies helps sustain democracy, seeking to promote and protect democracy through dialogue and cooperation. More importantly, if any country took the wrong turn against the principle of democracy, all of us here need to unite to pressure for change and return freedom to the people.

I will always support the Community of Democracies and the work of the Governing Council. I also welcome the President's Asian Partnership Initiative for Democracy and will explore how to extend our cooperation with it.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to end my statement by declaring that, I hope that the sufferings of my family, the families of the political victims, and the families of the 91 people, who lost their lives in defending democracy during the bloodshed in May 2010, will be the last.

Let us continue to support democracy so that the rights and liberties of all human beings will be protected for future generations to come!

Thank you.

My Government Will ...

QUEEN'S SPEECH DETAILS AGENDA OF UK GOVERNMENT

Address by ELIZABETH II, Queen of England

Delivered as annual "Queen's Speech," British Parliament, London, May 8, 2013

My lords and members of the House of Commons. My government's legislative programme will continue to focus on building a stronger economy so

that the United Kingdom can compete and succeed in the world.

It will also work to promote a fairer society that re-

wards people who work hard.

My government's first priority is to strengthen Britain's economic competitiveness. To this end, it will support the growth of the private sector and the creation of more jobs and opportunities.

My ministers will continue to prioritise measures that reduce the deficit—ensuring interest rates are kept low for homeowners and businesses.

My government is committed to building an economy where people who work hard are properly rewarded. It will therefore continue to reform the benefits system, helping people move from welfare to work.

Measures will be brought forward to introduce a new employment allowance to support jobs and help small businesses.

A bill will be introduced to reduce the burden of excessive regulation on businesses. A further bill will make it easier for businesses to protect their intellectual property.

A draft bill will be published establishing a simple set of consumer rights to promote competitive markets and growth.

My government will introduce a bill that closes the Audit Commission.

My government will continue to invest in infrastructure to deliver jobs and growth for the economy.

Legislation will be introduced to enable the building of the High Speed Two railway line, providing further opportunities for economic growth in many of Britain's cities.

My government will continue with legislation to update energy infrastructure and to improve the water industry.

My government is committed to a fairer society where aspiration and responsibility are rewarded.

To make sure that every child has the best start in life, regardless of background, further measures will be taken to improve the quality of education for young people.

Plans will be developed to help working parents with childcare, increasing its availability and helping with its cost.

My government will also take forward plans for a new national curriculum, a world-class exam system and greater flexibility in pay for teachers.

My government will also take steps to ensure that it becomes typical for those leaving school to start a traineeship or an apprenticeship, or to go to university.

New arrangements will be put in place to help more people own their own home, with government support provided for mortgages and deposits.

My government is committed to supporting people who have saved for retirement.

Legislation will be introduced to reform the way long-term care is paid for, to ensure the elderly do not have to sell their homes to meet their care bills.

My government will bring forward legislation to cre-

ate a simpler state pension system that encourages saving and provides more help to those who have spent years caring for children.

Legislation will be introduced to ensure sufferers of a certain asbestos-related cancer receive payments where no liable employer or insurer can be traced.

My government will bring forward a bill that further reforms Britain's immigration system. The bill will ensure that this country attracts people who will contribute and deters those who will not.

My government will continue to reduce crime and protect national security.

Legislation will be introduced to reform the way in which offenders are rehabilitated in England and Wales.

Legislation will be brought forward to introduce new powers to tackle anti-social behaviour, cut crime and further reform the police.

In relation to the problem of matching internet protocol addresses, my government will bring forward proposals to enable the protection of the public and the investigation of crime in cyberspace.

Measures will be brought forward to improve the way this country procures defence equipment, as well as strengthening the reserve forces.

My ministers will continue to work in co-operation with the devolved administrations.

A bill will be introduced to give effect to a number of institutional improvements in Northern Ireland.

Draft legislation will be published concerning the electoral arrangements for the national assembly for Wales.

My government will continue to make the case for Scotland to remain part of the United Kingdom.

Members of the House of Commons, estimates for the public services will be laid before you.

My lords and members of the House of Commons.

My government will work to prevent conflict and reduce terrorism. It will support countries in transition in the Middle East and north Africa, and the opening of a peace process in Afghanistan.

My government will work to prevent sexual violence in conflict worldwide.

My government will ensure the security, good governance and development of the overseas territories, including by protecting the Falkland Islanders' and Gibraltarians' right to determine their political futures.

In assuming the presidency of the G8, my government will promote economic growth, support free trade, tackle tax evasion, encourage greater transparency and accountability while continuing to make progress in tackling climate change.

Other measures will be laid before you.

My lords and members of the House of Commons, I pray that blessing of almighty God may rest upon your counsels.

You Are the Dream. This Is Your Moment.

YOU ARE THE CREATORS, THE BUILDERS, THE CLIMBERS, THE STRIVERS WHO CAN DELIVER PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY

Address by BARACK OBAMA, President, United States

Delivered at the National Museum of Anthropology, Mexico City, Mexico, May 3, 2013

Hola! Buenos dias! It is wonderful to be back in México, lindo y querido. I bring with me the greetings and friendship of the people of the United States, including tens of millions of proud Mexican Americans.

This is my fourth visit to Mexico as President. Each time, I've been inspired—by your culture, by the beauty of this land, and most of all, by the Mexican people. You've welcomed my wife Michelle here. You've welcomed our daughter Malia and her classmates to Oaxaca. And as a proud dad, I have to say—her Spanish is getting pretty good. It helps that she is smarter than me.

It is an honor to be back in Mexico City—one of the great cities of the world. Es un placer estar entre amigos. It's fitting that we gather at this great museum, which celebrates Mexico's ancient civilizations and their achievements in arts and architecture, medicine and mathematics. In modern times, your blend of cultures and traditions found its expression in the murals of Rivera, the paintings of Frida, the poetry of Sor Juana and the essays of Octavio Paz.

Paz once spoke words that capture the spirit of our gathering today—in this place that celebrates your past, but which this morning is filled with you, the young people who will shape Mexico's future. "Modernity," Paz said, "is not outside us, but within us. It is today and the most ancient antiquity; it is tomorrow and the beginning of the world; it is a thousand years old and yet newborn."

That's why I wanted this opportunity to speak with you today. You live at the intersection of history of which Paz spoke. You honor your heritage, thousands of years old, but you are also part of something new, a nation remaking itself. And as our modern world changes around us, it is the spirit of young people, your optimism and idealism, that will drive the world forward.

You see the difference between the world as it is and the world as it ought to be; between old attitudes that can stifle progress and the new thinking that allows us to connect and collaborate across cultures. That includes how we think about the relationship between our two nations.

Despite the deep bonds and values we share, attitudes—in both countries—are sometimes trapped in old stereotypes. Some Americans only see the Mexico depicted in sensational headlines of violence and border crossings. Some Mexicans may think America disrespects Mexico, that we seek to impose ourselves on Mexican sovereignty, or, alternatively, wish to wall ourselves off. And in both countries, such distortions can breed myths and misunderstanding that only make it harder to make progress together.

I have come to Mexico because it is time to put old mind-sets aside. It's time to recognize new realities, including the impressive progress in today's Mexico. For even as Mexicans continue to make courageous sacrifices for the security of your country; even as Mexicans in the countryside and in neighborhoods not far from here struggle to give their children a better life...it's also clear that a new Mexico is emerging.

I see a Mexico that is deepening your democracy. Citizens who are standing up and saying that violence and impunity is not acceptable. A courageous press working to hold leaders accountable. A robust civil society, including brave defenders of human rights who demand dignity and rule of law. Political parties that compete vigorously, transfer power peacefully, and forge the compromise on which progress depends. And even as the work of perfecting democracy is never done—as we know in both our countries—you go forward knowing the truth that Benito Juarez once spoke: "democracy is the destiny of humanity."

I see a Mexico that is creating new prosperity. Trading with the world. Becoming a manufacturing powerhouse—from Tijuana and Monterrey to Guadalajara and across the central highlands—a global leader in automobiles and appliances and electronics. But also a center of high-tech innovation, producing the software and hardware of our digital age. One man in Querétaro spoke for an increasing number of Mexicans. "There's no reason to go abroad in search of a better life," he said. "There are good opportunities here."

Indeed, I see a Mexico that has lifted millions from poverty. Because of the sacrifices of generations, a majority of Mexicans now call themselves middle class, with a quality of life that your parents and grandparents could only dream of. This includes new opportunities for women, who are proving that—when given the chance—you can shape the destiny of your country, too.

In you, Mexico's youth, I see a generation empowered by technology. I think I see some of you tweeting and WhatsApping right now. And whether it's harnessing social media to preserve indigenous languages, or speaking up for the future you want, you're making it clear that your voice will be heard.

And I see a Mexico that is taking its rightful place in the world. Standing up for democracy in our hemisphere. Sharing your expertise with neighbors across the Americas—when they face earthquakes or threats to their citizens or go to the polls to cast their votes. You've joined the ranks of the world's largest economies, and became the first Latin

American nation to host the G-20, another confident step on the world stage.

Just as Mexico is being transformed, so too are the ties between our two countries. As President, I've been guided by a basic proposition—in this relationship there is no senior partner or junior partner. We are two equal partners—two sovereign nations that must work together in mutual interest and mutual respect.

Just as I worked with President Calderon, I have reaffirmed with President Peña Nieto that the great partnership between our two countries will not simply continue, it will grow even stronger, even broader. In my time with President Peña Nieto, I've come to see his deep commitment to Mexico and its future. We share the belief that as leaders our guiding mission is to improve the lives of our peoples. And so we agree that the relationship between our nations must be defined—not by the threats we face—but by the prosperity and opportunity we can create together. And if we are serious about being equal partners, then both our nations must recognize our responsibilities.

Here in Mexico, you've embarked on ambitious reforms—to make your economy more competitive and your institutions more accountable to you, the people. As you pursue these reforms, know that you have the strong support of the United States. Because whether you're looking for basic services, or trying to start a new business, we share your belief that you should be able to make it through the day without paying a bribe. And when talented Mexicans like you imagine your future, you should have every opportunity to succeed right here in the country you love.

In the United States, we recognize our responsibilities as well. We understand that the root cause of much of the violence here—and so much suffering for many Mexicans—is the demand for illegal drugs, including in the United States. Now, I do not believe that legalizing drugs is the answer; instead, I believe in a comprehensive approach—not just law enforcement, but education, prevention and treatment. And we're going to keep at it—because the lives of our children and the future of our nations depend on it.

We recognize that most of the guns used to commit violence here in Mexico come from the United States. In America, our Constitution guarantees our individual right to bear arms, and as President I swore an oath to uphold that right—and I always will. At the same time, as I've said back home, I will continue to do everything in my power to pass common sense gun reforms that keep guns out of the hands of dangerous people—reforms that will save lives in both our countries. Meanwhile, we'll keep increasing the pressure on the gun traffickers who bring illegal guns into Mexico, and we'll keep putting these criminals where they belong—behind bars.

We recognize our responsibility—as a nation that believes that all people are created equal—to treat one another with dignity and respect. This includes recognizing how the United States has been strengthened by the extraordinary con-

tributions of immigrants from Mexico and by Americans of Mexican heritage.

Mexican Americans enrich our communities, including my hometown of Chicago, where you can walk through neighborhoods like Pilsen and La Villita, dotted with murals of Mexican patriots, where you can stop at a fonda or hear the rhythms of timeless ballads, and where we are inspired by the deep faith of our peoples at churches like Our Lady of Guadalupe.

We're grateful to Mexican Americans in every segment of our society—for teaching our children, running our companies, serving with honor in our military, making breakthroughs in science, and standing up for social justice. As Dr. Martin Luther King told Cesar Chavez, we are “brothers in the fight for equality.” Indeed, without the strong support of Hispanics, including so many Mexican Americans, I would not be standing before you today as President of the United States.

Our shared future is one of the reasons that we in the United States also recognize the need to reform our immigration system. We are a nation of laws, and like every nation we have the responsibility to ensure that our laws are upheld.

But we also know that, as a nation of immigrants, the immigration system we have in the United States now doesn't reflect our values. It separates families when we should be reuniting them. It's led to millions of people living in the shadows. It deprives us of the talents of so many young people—even though we know that immigrants have always been an engine of our economy; starting some of our greatest companies, pioneering new industries.

That's one of the reasons I acted to lift the shadow of deportation from DREAMers—young people brought to the United States as children. And that's why I'm working with our Congress to pass common sense immigration reform. Reform that continues to strengthen border security and strengthen legal immigration, so citizens don't have to wait years to bring their family to the United States. Reform that holds everyone accountable—so immigrants get on the right side of the law and so immigrants are not exploited and abused. Most of all, reform that gives millions of undocumented individuals a pathway to earn their citizenship. And I'm optimistic that—after years of trying—we're finally going to get this done.

Obviously, we seek to work with the Mexican government on all issues related to a well-regulated border. But I also believe that the long-term solution to the challenge of illegal immigration—so we're not dealing with this, decade after decade—is a growing, prosperous Mexico that creates more jobs and opportunity right here.

I agree with the Mexican student who said, “I feel like we can reach the same level as anyone in the world.” And so I firmly believe...juntos, podemos lograr más. Together, we can achieve more. So with the remainder of my time today, I want to focus on five areas where we can do more.

First, let's do more to expand the trade and commerce that creates good jobs for our people. We already buy more

of your exports than any other country. We sell more of our exports to Mexico than we do to Brazil, Russia, India and China—combined. Mexican companies are investing more in the United States, and we're the largest foreign investor in Mexico—because we believe in Mexico, and we want to be a partner in your success.

Guided by the new economic dialogue that President Peña Nieto and I announced yesterday, let's do more to unlock the true potential of our relationship. Let's keep investing in our roads, bridges and border crossings so we can trade faster and cheaper. Let's help our smaller businesses, which employ most of our workers, access new markets—the big markets right across the border. Let's empower our young entrepreneurs as they create the startups that can transform how we live. And let's realize the Trans-Pacific Partnership, this year, so our two nations can compete and win in the fast-growing markets of the Asia Pacific.

Second, let's not just sell more things to each other, let's build more things together. With many of our companies operating in both our countries, parts are now being shipped back and forth across the border as they're assembled. So every day, U.S. and Mexican workers are building things together—cars, aircraft, computers, satellites.

I believe this is only the beginning. Given the skills of our workers, it makes even more sense for companies from around the world to set up shop in our countries. As Mexico reforms, we'll be able to do even more business together. And the more that our companies collaborate, the more competitive they'll be and the more products we'll sell to the world.

Third, as we secure our economic future, let's secure our energy future, including the clean energy we need to combat climate change. Our nations are blessed with boundless natural beauty—from our coastlines and farmlands to your tropical forests. And just as the science of climate change is undeniable, so is the fact that our economies must become greener.

In the United States, we've made historic commitments to clean and renewable energy, and reduced our emissions of harmful carbon pollution. Here in Mexico, you're a leader in cutting carbon emissions and in helping developing countries do the same. Together, let's keep building new clean energy partnerships by harnessing wind and solar and the good jobs that come with them. Let's keep investing in green buildings and smart grid technologies so we're making our planet cleaner and safer for future generations.

Fourth—and this is part of staying competitive, too—let's do more together in education so our young people have the knowledge and skills to succeed. Here in Mexico you've made important progress—with more children staying in school longer, and record numbers of students like you getting a university education.

Just imagine how much the students of our two countries could do together and learn from each other. That's why President Peña Nieto and I announced a new partnership in higher education—to encourage more collaboration between our universities and students. We're going to focus

on science, technology, engineering and math. It's part of my broader initiative called 100,000 Strong in the Americas. We want 100,000 students from the United States studying in Latin America, including Mexico. And we want 100,000 Latin American students—including Mexicans like you—to come study in the United States.

Finally, to help energize your careers and spark the industries of the future, let's truly invest in innovation, research and development. Here in Mexico, you're now a global leader in graduating engineers and technicians. One of Mexico's leading scientists, Rafael Navarro-González, is helping analyze data from the rover on Mars.

Together, let's remember that every dollar and every peso that we invest in research and development returns so much more to our economies—more jobs, more opportunity. So let's forge new partnerships in areas like aerospace, IT, nanotechnology, biotechnology and robotics. Let's answer the hope of a young woman—a student at the National Polytechnic Institute—who spoke for many in your generation, so eager to make your mark. She said, "give us jobs as creators." Give us jobs as creators.

Mexico, I know there are those—in this country and beyond—who are skeptical of your progress; who doubt your capacity to make the most of this moment. They say the headwinds you face are just too stiff. They say Mexico has been here before, eyes fixed on a bright horizon, on the verge of great possibility, only to be blown off course.

It is true that nothing is inevitable. Progress and success is never guaranteed. The future you dream of, the Mexico you imagine—it must be earned. And no one else can do it for you. It can only be earned by you. You are the future. As Nervo wrote in "La Raza de Bronce"—*tu eres el sueño. You are the dream.*

For just as it was patriots, young and old, who answered the call when Father Miguel Hidalgo rang that church bell two centuries ago, you—your lives, in a free Mexico—are the dream they imagined. And now it falls to you to keep alive those virtues for which so many generations of Mexicans struggled.

You are the dream—the generation that can stand up for justice and human rights and human dignity, here at home and around the world.

You are the creators, the builders, the climbers, the strivers who can deliver progress and prosperity that will lift up the Mexican people for generations to come.

You are the men and women who will push this nation upward as Mexico assumes its rightful place in the world, as you proudly sing: "in heaven your eternal destiny was written by the finger of God."

You are the dream. This is your moment. And as you reach for the future you know is possible, always remember that your greatest partner—the nation rooting for your success more than anyone else—is your closest neighbor and strongest friend, the United States of America.

Viva México! Viva los Estados Unidos! Que Dios los bendiga!

A Green Glow to the Land of the Living Fire

I AM HERE TO ASK YOU TO LET THAT FIRE LIGHT THE PATH TO A GREEN AND PROSPEROUS ENERGY FUTURE FOR ROMANIA

Address by MARTIN LIDEGAARD, Minister for Climate, Energy and Building, Denmark

Delivered at Parliament, Bucharest, Romania, April 19, 2013

Thank you for inviting me to speak here today.

It is a pleasure to be in the land of the living fire—the “focul viu.”

I am here to ask you to let that fire light the path to a green and prosperous energy future for Romania.

In your country the effects of a warming climate are felt with extreme floods and droughts leading to bad harvests for farmers and rising costs of food for consumers.

The future will likely make such extreme weather events more frequent with climate change affecting the entire watershed of the Danube River, changing the conditions—most significantly here in the delta—with severe economic consequences.

We are on a trajectory to a catastrophic 3.5 degree Celsius increase in global temperature. If we keep sitting on our hands the increase will be an unthinkable 6 degrees, which will cause irreversible damage to our climate, our living conditions and our economies.

That goes for Romania—that goes for Denmark—and that goes for the rest of the world.

At the same time energy consumption is predicted to rise by one third during the next 25 years while the extraction of oil from known fields is going the other way.

Prices will most likely rise and certainly fluctuate more making it hard for businesses to plan and even harder to create growth. It is time for action!

As a European Union and global community we find ourselves at a crossroads...

We can choose to do nothing and hope for the best or we can take destiny into our own hands and do something.

The reason why I stand here in front of you today is because I want to tell you about the journey that my own country, Denmark, has started—and that may be an inspiration to you.

In Denmark we have chosen the road to a fossil fuel free energy system in 2050—a system based on renewable energy and high energy efficiency.

And the reason is very simple: It is possible to make a transition to a green economy in a sound economic manner. In fact, it is a good investment.

The transition to a green and efficient energy system has several advantages:

- Renewable energy will deliver predictable and steady prices for consumers.
- Using the energy available locally and using it efficiently will create local jobs and local development—right here in Romania—instead of giving our money to others in re-

turn for their energy.

- And energy efficiency means that you will harvest the cheapest energy available—the energy you don't use at the moment—with only a short-term investment.

One, you may ask yourselves why should we be in such a hurry? And why should Romania, Denmark or the EU take the lead?

Two thirds of the energy capacity needs to be replaced over next two decades. We need a plan.

Denmark has a long tradition for ambitious energy targets, and a consensus-based approach to energy politics in parliament. This means that industry and investors trust the goals of government—such as the political goal of a low-carbon future.

Thereby we limit the political risk and make energy sector investments easy for institutional investors and others planning for the long term. It also provides transparency and predictability allowing for industry and business to invest in the long term.

Two, you may also ask yourselves: Is this terribly expensive? And what are the social costs?

The expansion of renewable energy and energy efficiency goes hand-in-hand with economic growth.

- Since 1980, the Danish economy has grown by almost 80 %, while our energy consumption has remained more or less constant and CO₂-emissions have been reduced.

- Our electricity prices are below the European average even though renewable energy now covers almost 20 % of our total consumption of energy and 40 % of our electricity production.

- And the most recent Energy Agreement in Denmark will reduce the Danish greenhouse gas emissions by 34 % in 2020. By 2035 the electricity and heat production should rely 100 % on renewable energy.

By setting clear targets and using coherent regulation we provide industry and investors with an edge on the global competition, saving energy and creating local jobs.

Just last week, Vestas Wind Power announced that they will bring even more wind power to Romanians on a contract with Lukerg Renew. They plan to go from 60 to 200 local staff by 2014 while cooperating to train even more in the industry.

In Denmark, we have become a trial market for new products and services—a global sand box for energy development, and Danish companies have become market leaders especially in second generation bio-fuels and wind power.

Now, was Denmark somehow in a more favourable position for a green transition? Or is this an opportunity for other countries as well?

I often hear politicians say: OUR challenges are unique and extraordinary. We can't do what you did.

But actually Romania is on its way to do just that. And Romania, you are perfectly suitable for this: Denmark has no hydro power potential, only little biomass resources available and a national context that is not especially favourable to renewable energy. But you have. You installed 2,000 MW during the last three years.

The next level is:

- Strong interconnectors with neighbouring countries
- Careful analyses and long term planning—and coherent policy development
- Muster political will as well.

Both Romania and Denmark has embarked on a journey. Such a journey will inevitably pose many questions along the way.

We could all return to the path of fossil fuel addiction, but the gains of a green transition are all too clear:

- Improved security of supply and steady consumer prices
- Potential for economic growth and job creation
- An honest contribution to the global challenge of limiting climate change

In February, Romania and Denmark signed a Joint Statement on Green Growth. We emphasized the importance of cooperation—and acknowledged that the green transition contributes to growth and job creation. Others realize this

as well.

My Ministry has recently established a Low Carbon Transition Unit that assists growth economies like China and South Africa in making the transition to renewable energy by drawing on the experiences from Denmark. We want to share our best practices as much as we can.

Romania has a strong tradition of supporting climate change legislation—from UNFCCC to the Kyoto protocol. We acknowledge that Romania is first among peers and a leading wind market in Eastern Europe.

Yet when the crisis hits we are shaken. This is only natural. It is in times like these that we must huddle—stay far-sighted—and help each other reach our common goals.

With the support from the European Union, full participation in the European energy market and increased use of available EU funds, I believe that Romania can reap the gains of the green transition through careful investments.

By doing that we will be known as the generation that made a bold choice, acted in time and took the road towards preserving our prosperity—and the climate for future generations. If we can't do it, it can't be done.

It is a road that leads to predictability in the energy markets, increased European energy independence and creates local jobs and development.

I wish Romania the best of luck on your journey to a clean, cheap and steady energy supply in the decades to come.

Thank you

A National Challenge—and a National Plan

A CHALLENGE FOR AUSTRALIA: TO RESPOND TO THE HUGE REDUCTIONS IN REVENUE GROWTH OVER THE NEXT FOUR YEARS

Address by JULIA GILLARD, Prime Minister, Australia

Delivered to think tank Per Capita at the National Portrait Gallery, Canberra, Australia, April 29, 2013

With the federal budget just 15 days away, I thank you for this opportunity to share with you the clearest possible picture of the purpose and context of our budget deliberations.

This year's budget will be about a national challenge—and a national plan.

A challenge for Australia: to respond to the huge reductions in revenue growth over the next four years.

The Government's medium-term fiscal strategy—to deliver fiscal surpluses on average over the economic cycle—is designed to give effect to this purpose in practice.

It commits us to support jobs and economic growth when private sector demand is weak.

This is what we did so successfully during the Global Financial Crisis and, as a result, we kept around 200,000

more Australians in work.

It commits us to making budget decisions so that in the good times and the hard times, through the inevitable variations in economic activity and Government revenue from year to year, we can afford the investments and services that make our nation stronger, smarter and fairer.

It also ensures that we don't simply "chase revenue down"—we don't cut to the bone and spurn wise investments, damaging jobs and growth now and in the future.

Instead our fiscal strategy responds to the economic cycle.

In the language of economists, we allow the budget's automatic stabilisers to do their work as well as actively controlling spending to reach surplus at the right part of the economic cycle.

That means for the coming budget, we must fund new initiatives by making savings.

This is a necessary discipline.

This need for balance over the cycle has been summed up nicely by the Treasurer many times: if we are Keynesians on the way down, we have to be Keynesians on the way up—Keynesians right through the economic cycle.

The need to understand how the cycle is changing is summed up best in the remark so famously attributed to Keynes himself:

“When the facts change, I change my mind—what do you do, sir?”

In the face of the challenges we now face as a nation, this is what any smart leader, any forward-looking government, must be prepared to do.

So today I want to set out the facts that underpin the decisions our nation faces as we approach this year’s budget.

First, the good news, the shared achievement that we should never take for granted.

Unlike so many nations, Australia’s economy is stable and resilient.

Our economic fundamentals are sound.

We have contained inflation, low interest rates, low public debt.

We are one of only eight nations in the world to have a triple-A rating with a stable outlook from all three major ratings agencies—something Australia has never previously achieved.

Our economy is now more than thirteen per cent larger than it was in December 2007.

We have bounced back from the Global Financial Crisis better than any major advanced economy.

If we had made the wrong decisions during the Global Financial Crisis our nation could easily be struggling with recession today.

Instead, Australia is now the twelfth-largest economy in the world—when Labor came to Government we were fifteenth.

Unlike the rest of the world, we have very modest debt—because we have borrowed in the right way and at the right time, to support growth during the global financial crisis.

Our level of debt is the same as a person earning \$100,000 a year with a \$10,000 mortgage.

Millions of Australians with mortgages and personal loans would love to be in a position where their only debt was equal to ten per cent of their income.

Similarly, countries around the world would love to be in Australia’s debt position and have an unemployment rate as low as ours.

Indeed, the fundamental proof of our resilience is our ability to create and support jobs.

Since 2007, we have created almost 900 000 jobs in this country, in a period when twenty eight million new people joined the jobless queues world-wide.

Our national prospects in the Asian Century are bright.

As the centre of global economic gravity shifts east, it shifts towards Australia.

Our diplomatic and trade successes in China last month, our improved relationship with India, our strengthening economic ties with Indonesia and our flourishing alliance with the United States—these are all proof that our plan to be one of the winners in the Asian Century is bearing fruit.

However—and this is key—while Australia is stable, resilient and close to centres of growth, the wider world economy is quite a different story.

There is serious, persistent weakness in global growth—and continued volatility in the global economy.

To take one example, a resource-rich nation like Canada has only grown by five per cent in total over the last five years.

The advanced economies grew at only 1.2 per cent last year and global growth reached only around 3 per cent.

This global weakness creates important economic pressures in Australia.

The contrast between our stability and resilience and the volatility and fragility of so much of the rest of the world is a reason for the continuing strength of the Australian dollar—consider this.

Today over 30 central banks around the world hold Australian currency in their reserves.

The increasing importance of our currency for central bank reserves worldwide is recognised by the International Monetary Fund.

Later this year, the IMF will begin quarterly reporting on central bank holdings of seven currencies and the Australian dollar will be one of them.

This shows we are a great investment, but that comes at a price.

The dollar’s strength puts pressures on our economy, particularly our trade-exposed industries.

It would be irresponsible simply to wait in hope for these pressures to ease.

So the Government has a plan to create and support jobs, based on our five pillars of productivity, designed to seize the opportunities that proximity to Asia creates.

This back drop to our budget decision making—Australia’s resilience, global weakness, a persistently high dollar—have been known for some time.

What is new is how strong the revenue pressures on the nation’s budget are.

We must plan for these strengthening pressures—and that is a key part of preparing our budget for this year.

The persistent high dollar, as well as squeezing exporting jobs, also squeezes the profits of exporting firms: with lower profits for these companies comes lower company tax going to Government.

We can’t assume this will change soon.

The high dollar is also placing competitive pressures on firms here, who face new pressures from cheaper imports—holding down prices across the board, with the high dollar

making it hard for these firms to pass on price increases, holding down profits—and in turn holding down company tax.

Consumers do benefit, but many businesses are doing it tough.

All this means the data on our economy now reveals a significant new fact.

This is the striking and continuing divergence between what economists refer to as real GDP growth and nominal GDP growth.

My best shorthand description of those terms is this.

Real GDP growth is growth in the volume of the economy.

The actual activity in the economy, how many jobs there are, the quantity of infrastructure we build, the amount of goods and services we export—how many tonnes of coal, how many international students pay for a course here, how many houses are built.

Nominal GDP growth counts this growth in volume and it also counts growth of the prices of all these things.

Today, real GDP is growing solidly—we're creating more jobs, exporting more goods and services and buying and selling more from each other, just as we planned.

However prices are growing at a slower rate than is usual for this stage of the economic cycle, a slower rate than was forecast—and so nominal GDP growth for this current year is significantly slower than was forecast and we expect nominal GDP growth for future years to be revised down.

The current data shows nominal GDP growth after the first half of the 2012-13 year was an annual rate of two per cent.

At budget last year, we had forecast nominal GDP to grow at five per cent.

What's changed?

While the prices of our exports continue to be lower than their recent peaks because of weak global demand and increasing global supply, the prices of imports are now lower than forecast because of the strength of our dollar.

The prices of goods produced at home are also lower than forecast because competition from imports is so fierce.

This is now putting so much downward pressure on prices that growth in nominal GDP is actually lower than growth in real GDP.

What's more, this has now been true for nearly an entire financial year—since the beginning of the June quarter last year.

This has never happened for such a long period in the whole half a century and more of the National Accounts.

Not during the global financial crisis, not during the 1991 or 1982 recessions.

Not even during the Menzies "credit squeeze" of 1961, which was effectively a deliberate policy attempt to slow price growth, do we find a similar effect.

Now, that's a long explanation of a pretty technical fact.

But for the budget bottom line, it's a very meaningful fact—because, naturally enough, companies don't pay tax

on volume, they pay tax on value, which is driven by price.

The Pharaoh might have kept one fifth part of the grain from the field but the Tax Commissioner collects in dollars and cents.

So even if the economy is growing as much as expected, when prices are growing much less than expected, tax grows much less too.

The "bottom line for the budget bottom line" is this: the amount of tax revenue the Government has collected so far this financial year is already \$7.5 billion less than was forecast last October.

Treasury now estimates that this reduction will increase to around \$12 billion by the end of the financial year.

This unusually low revenue, which wasn't forecast even a few months ago, creates a significant fiscal gap over the budget period.

Put simply, spending is controlled but the amount of tax money coming to the government is growing much slower than expected.

Inevitably, confronted with the facts, the economic simpletons and sloganeers will squirm and throw in arguments to distract.

First, you will be told that revenue for the next financial year is still expected to be more than this financial year. That's true—at the same time our population will be larger, more people will be on the age pension, health costs will continue to rise.

Indeed the growth in health and in the age pension will be far higher than the growth in tax money.

So revenue growth will be less than natural growth in key areas of expenditure and is spectacularly lower than reasonably predicted.

It is the failure of growth in tax money to match reasonable predictions that creates the budget challenge.

Second, you will be told it isn't about less tax money in but about spending.

However, as informed commentators like Tim Colebatch pointed out last week, excluding east Asia, total government spending in Australia is already the second lowest in the developed world.

Of the advanced Western economies, only Switzerland spends a smaller share of its economy on government than does Australia.

The total size of government here is less than the US, less than the UK.

Not as measured in revenue either, measured in spending.

And let me reiterate, for the future we will continue to match new spending in the budget with savings.

Given all this, tax money down, spending controlled, the question for budget planners is difficult to answer, but simple to state: how, and how fast, to fill that significant fiscal gap?

Some of the above factors will return to trend—overall, revenue is being revised downward over the coming four

years, not permanently.

However in part, this is a return to normality—returning to long-term averages.

Australia will not go back to the extraordinary revenue peaks of “mining boom mark I” from 2002-03 to 2007-08.

While we should expect revenue to improve as we move to the production and export phase of the current mining boom, it’s clear that the extraordinary revenue peaks of the mid-2000s won’t be repeated.

The overall story: by 2005-06 the share of the economy taken in tax reached a peak of 24.2 per cent—compared to 22.4 in 1996 and 22.2 as we reported in our last update in October.

The huge profits of that time meant that company tax revenue reached an astonishing 5.3 per cent of GDP in 2006-07 compared to a share of 4.5 per cent of GDP last financial year—a fall of around \$10 billion in company tax a year.

Capital gains tax was 1.5 per cent of GDP in 2006-07—last financial year it was 0.4 per cent.

We collect less than one-third of the amount compared to seven years ago and in dollar terms the drop in tax collection is around \$15 billion a year.

Quite apart from any other factor, remaining competitive in the contemporary global economy doesn’t allow us simply to turn back time on tax collection by dialling up tax revenue to these levels.

If I can summarise a complex picture in a few brush strokes, it’s these:

The prices for what Australian companies sell overseas are lower, imports are cheaper, local competition is fierce.

Those things add up to business making less profit than planned.

That puts pressures on our stable and resilient economy and it is one reason businesses and workers still need to work so hard to get ahead.

When businesses make less profit than planned, it also means government gets less money in tax than expected.

That’s the big challenge for the nation in this budget—and it defines the decisions the government’s confronting as we put the budget together.

Once again, to break this complex picture down in to a personal story.

Imagine a wage earner, John, employed in the same job throughout the last 20 years.

For a period in 2003 to 2007 every year his employer gave him a sizeable bonus.

He was grateful but in his bones knew it wouldn’t last.

The bonuses did stop and John was told that his income would rise by around five per cent each year over the years to come.

That’s the basis for his financial plans.

Now, very late, John has been told he won’t get those promised increases for the next few years—but his income will get back up after that to where he was promised it would be.

What is John’s rational reaction?

To respond to this temporary loss of income by selling his home and car, dropping his private health insurance, replacing every second evening meal with two-minute noodles.

Of course not.

A rational response would be to make some responsible savings, to engage in some moderate borrowing, to get through to the time of higher income with his family and lifestyle intact and then to use the higher income to pay off the extra borrowing undertaken in the lean years.

Running a nation is always more complex than running a family budget and analogies only work so far.

But I trust the nature of the challenge we confront is now clearer, understood within the framework of the purpose of our fiscal policy and the detail of our medium-term fiscal strategy—and I trust that all would acknowledge the government has some serious decisions to make and announce in the coming two weeks.

As we make those decisions let me be crystal clear about what we will and won’t do.

We won’t, during this time of reduced revenue, fail the future by not making the wise investments that will make us a stronger and smarter nation.

Better school funding and school improvement will not be jeopardised.

Our nation cannot afford to leave children behind or to leave our nation’s future economy limping behind the pack, unable to attract the high wage, high skill jobs of the future.

To return to John, you would not expect him to stop funding his son’s top quality schooling or his daughter’s university studies.

He would know that to do so would be to condemn his family to a poorer future.

And we won’t fail to make the wise investments that make us a fairer nation.

DisabilityCare must not be jeopardised.

A fragmented, unfair, inefficient system hurting 400 000 Australians with disability and their families and carers—and putting at risk anyone who could acquire a disability—cannot be left in place.

Once again, we wouldn’t expect John to deal with his temporary loss of income by failing to properly support the care of his wife, who has a profound disability.

What is more, these necessary investments are affordable if we make smart decisions.

So the way we proceed with these investments is to fund new structural spending with new structural savings.

But, because we now are confronted with new facts and far more significant reductions in tax money than was expected, we are going through the process now of making decisions to spend less in some areas than we had hoped, to raise more in revenue in some areas than we had planned.

Guiding us as we make these decisions is the key principle of burden-sharing.

Because I lead a Labor government, I lead a government

which understands that the whole of society benefits from the services government provides.

In turn we believe that the whole of society should carry a fair share of the burden of funding government, that the whole of society shares the burden of these saving decisions.

The more who share the work, the lighter the load for all. Business, families, institutions.

Everyone benefits—so everyone contributes.

In the national interest, for the common good.

Now, there are no easy choices.

Of course as a Labor Prime Minister, I find these decisions both urgent and grave.

This revenue discussion is not historical, it's very contemporary.

There is new news here compared to six months ago—and new news here compared even to three months ago.

Therefore, I have expressly determined we need to have every reasonable option on the table to meet the needs of the times, even options previously taken off the table.

The nation and the government must have maximum flexibility to deal with these complex—and rapidly changing—events.

That is my approach.

In the budget, the government will do the right thing by the nation, the right thing for the long-term.

We will save responsibly, even when that means spending less on things which are important and valuable.

We will invest wisely for the future.

No one will be singled out, the burden of our decisions will be shared across the whole Australian community.

We will not cut to the bone.

That is the government's approach—and it is a bright dividing line in Australian politics today.

I began by saying that this budget will be about a challenge and about a plan.

It will also be about a choice.

Our opponents and their friends crudely flaunt the bitter language of the cut throat and the brandished axe.

We govern for all Australians, we govern to strengthen the economy and to spread the benefits to all.

Those values illuminate modern Labor every day we govern.

I thank you for the opportunity to discuss them with you today Honourable Vice President Joice Teurai Ropa Mujuru,

Our Joy Is Stronger When We Hold Dear the Memory of How Our Independence Was Achieved

LET US STRIVE FOR PEACE, RESPECT AND GOODWILL TOWARDS ONE ANOTHER

Address by ROBERT GABRIEL MUGABE, President, Zimbabwe

Delivered at 33rd Independence Day Celebrations, Harare, Zimbabwe, April 18, 2013

Honourable Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai,
Honourable Deputy Prime Minister Professor Arthur Mutambara and Mai Mutambara,

Honourable Deputy Prime Minister Thokozani Khupe,
Mai Muzenda,

Honourable President of the Senate, Mai Edna Madzongwe,

The Honourable Speaker of the House of Assembly, Mr. Lovemore Moyo,

The Honourable Chief Justice Godfrey Chidyausiku,

Honourable Ministers,

Honourable Members of Parliament,

Service Chiefs,

His Worship the Mayor of Harare, Muchadeyi Masunda,

Families of Heroes of the Zimbabwe Liberation Struggle,

War Veterans, War Collaborators, Ex- Detainees, and Restrictees,

Your Excellencies Members of the Diplomatic Corps,

Esteemed Foreign Guests and Visitors,

Performing Artists joining us on this day,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Comrades and Friends,

I am delighted and honoured to preside over this Thirty-third Anniversary of our country's Independence and sovereignty. To a great extent, the Celebrations attest to our ability as a people united by a common destiny, a people called by one name—Zimbabweans—rising up to various challenges and remaining vigilant through the three decades, in order to protect our much-cherished freedom.

Sure, the Nation still faces challenging but not insurmountable tasks ahead. Hence I wish this early on, to encourage the continuance of the hard work, patriotism, dedication and selfless service which are the tools we need to carry our country forward.

However, for now, at this juncture it gives me great pleasure to convey my congratulations to every one of you on the auspicious occasion of this 33rd Anniversary of our Independence Day. Makorokoto! Amhlophe!

We celebrate this happy and joyous birthday with a great sense of national pride. Our joy is, however, stronger when we hold dear the memory of how our Independence was achieved. Colonialism was a stubborn and obstinate beast

that would not yield to peaceful means of seeking a settlement to the question of majority rule. Hence, it had to take an armed struggle to bring the settler colonialists to agree to majority rule, which eventually brought us to the negotiating table at Lancaster House, resulting in the attainment of our Independence in April, 1980.

Fellow compatriots, we now know the story of climate change only too well. Once again, this year, the early rains promised a good agricultural season only for us later to face the stress of a prolonged mid-season dry spell in most parts of the country, which has threatened the country's food security situation. As Government closely monitors the situation, drought mitigating measures have been adopted to ensure the extension of the Grain Loan Scheme and to activate an enhanced, timeous Grain Importation Programme.

In addition, Government's commitment to food security at both household and national levels is reflected in our National Food and Nutrition Security Policy, which is a collaborative effort with United Nations agencies and other stakeholders.

The development of a national irrigation policy, for long a talking point, is without doubt our best hope for alleviating the impact of the persistent droughts that are clearly a result of climate change. The successful conduct of last year's Population Census should further strengthen our national policy formulation and subsequently better equip Government in dealing with the important issue of food security.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Comrades and Friends, you will recall that Article VI of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) which led to the formation of the Inclusive Government recognized our fundamental right and duty as Zimbabweans to work on a new Constitution for the country. We now have produced it.

Once the Draft Constitution was ready, a national Referendum was held on 16th March 2013. The results announced by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) show that the people voted resoundingly for its adoption as the supreme and fundamental law of the land. As Head of State and Government, I am glad to note that the successful outcome of the Referendum demonstrated beyond any doubt the greater values and aspirations that bind us as a people than those which divide us.

Allow me to congratulate all Zimbabweans who voted for the Draft Constitution in large numbers, and for showing great maturity by voting wisely and in a very peaceful manner. May I also commend the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission, polling officers, the security services, particularly the Zimbabwe Republic Police, and all those who were involved in making the entire process a success for a job well done! Our people have spoken and eloquently enunciated their wishes. I say Amhlophe! Makorokoto! Congratulations once again!

The country is now due to hold Harmonized Elections, guided by a new-home grown Constitution. As with the Referendum, I wish to urge the Nation to uphold and promote

peace before, during and after the elections.

It is pleasing to note that our economy has remained resilient on a positive growth path registering an estimated 4,4 per cent growth rate in the past year. Agriculture, mining and tourism were the key drivers of this growth, a reminder, if one was needed, that we have the resources in our land to lift our Nation to greater heights.

The stable macro-economic environment characterized by low inflation of less than 5 per cent, enabled Zimbabwe to maintain its position as one of the fastest growing economies in the region. Against the combined background of the illegal sanctions, the fragile global economic environment, negligible external support and the negative effects of climate change on our agriculture, Government is largely relying on domestic resources to address infrastructure bottlenecks such as shortages of spare parts for industry, repair of vandalized installations and the erratic electricity and water supplies. Government is also aware of the liquidity crunch faced by the country and will take appropriate measures to ensure that the matter is fully addressed.

The Land Reform Programme, for which we were vilified, testifies today to a palpable improvement in livelihoods of Zimbabweans who benefited from the Programme. This is a fact now widely acknowledged, at times still grudgingly, by our critics.

Agriculture grew by 4,6 per cent in 2012 led by tobacco, cotton and sugar. Tobacco accounted for 10,7 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and is set to continue its leading role in the economy, following the registration of more than 66,245 tobacco farmers compared to 35,749 farmers in the previous season. It is Government's wish to see sanity in cotton prices as this sector provides strategic industrial raw material for our clothes and for the production of edible oils and stock feeds.

In manufacturing, the primary focus of the Government is to increase value addition and promote trade relations within the bilateral, regional and multilateral frameworks. In this regard, Government has been promoting enhanced value-addition of primary commodities in all the sectors in order to restore the manufacturing sector's production capacity, increase output and hence availability of commodities for both the domestic and export markets.

As a major sign of confidence in our countries and their people, Zimbabwe and Zambia won the bid to co-host the 20th Session of the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) General Assembly in Victoria Falls and Livingstone respectively in August this year. Preparations for this major event continue. As the date for the UNWTO General Assembly approaches, I wish to urge all Zimbabweans to contribute to the Nation's preparations and support this initiative which has the potential to increase opportunities for new investments, employment creation and income generation.

Through aggressive destination marketing, Zimbabwe has witnessed surging interest from regional and international

airlines intending to come to the country. Consequently, in 2012, four airlines, namely the United Arab Emirates, KLM Dutch Airlines, Mozambican Airlines and Air Namibia commenced services to Harare thereby improving capacity, connectivity and competitiveness; moves that are set to further promote Zimbabwe as a tourist destination. We look forward to the full resumption of regional and international flights by the national airline, Air Zimbabwe.

As part of strategies to alleviate poverty, 59 Community Share Ownership Trusts (CSOTs) have, to date, been registered throughout the country to develop and rehabilitate community infrastructure in accordance with the priorities of the different communities. Furthermore, employee Share Ownership Schemes are also being set up in order to enable workers to participate and benefit from the indigenization and economic empowerment programme.

Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) are a major source of livelihood for many people and will continue to receive financial support from the Government. In this context, the Small Enterprises Development Corporation (SEDCO) disbursed US\$1,022 million in 2012, sustaining at least 1,205 jobs. In addition, one hundred and fifty four (154) Savings and Credit Cooperatives were registered in 2012, recording a total savings of \$386,800-00 in the first six months of the same year.

To improve their operational environment, a total of 5,846 MSMEs were relocated into factory shells, vendor marts and flea markets, while others were allocated commercial stands. Local authorities and the private sector are encouraged to work together to house micro, small and medium business.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Comrades and Friends, it is most appropriate for me on this occasion to pay tribute to our

defence and security forces for their dedication and commitment in maintaining the peace and security of our free and sovereign Zimbabwe.

Our foreign policy continues to be anchored on the sacred desire to safeguard our hard-won independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. These principles, as well as those of peace, stability and economic prosperity, underpin our relations with countries within SADC and beyond. The country is grateful for the unwavering support and assistance it has received from SADC and the African Union in the implementation of the Global Political Agreement.

Zimbabwe welcomes the reengagement efforts that were recently initiated by Britain and the European Union, and we hope that these efforts will lead to the unconditional lifting of illegal sanctions on Zimbabwe.

As we celebrate our 33rd Independence Day Anniversary, let us take time to reflect on the need for full commitment to Zimbabwe, and gear ourselves towards holding peaceful Harmonized Elections this year. I urge our people to replicate the peaceful and tranquil atmosphere that characterized our Referendum and thus shun all forms of hate and violence.

Let us strive at all times for peace, respect, and goodwill towards one another and to work for the unity and development of our country and people.

Once again, I say
Happy Birthday Zimbabweans!
Happy 33rd Independence Day Anniversary!
Long Live Zimbabwe!
Long Live our Independence!
Makorokoto!
Amhlophe!
Congratulations!
I thank you.

U.S. Policy Towards Continuing Engagement with Sri Lanka and Maldives

RECONCILIATION AND ACCOUNTABILITY ARE OFTEN LONG AND COMPLICATED PROCESSES. BUT IT IS IMPORTANT TO START AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

Address by MICHELE J. SISON, U.S. Ambassador to Sri Lanka
Delivered at a Foreign Correspondents Association forum, Columbo, Sri Lanka, April 8, 2013

Thank you for inviting me to speak tonight. It is a pleasure being here, and also a pleasure to have the opportunity to show my support for the role of the media here in Sri Lanka at a Foreign Correspondents Association meeting.

I have been asked to speak about the next steps for U.S. engagement with Sri Lanka. First of all, let me emphasize that we value our relationship with Sri Lanka and the people of Sri Lanka. I would like to spend a few moments talking about how we see the current situation in Sri Lanka,

and why the U.S. decided to table a second resolution a few weeks ago at the Human Rights Council.

The people of the United States have a long history of friendship and cooperation with the people of Sri Lanka. In the 1800s, the sole representative of the U.S. government was a consular agent. He is said to have sat on the porch of the Galle Fort Hotel, waiting for the ships to come in so he could register American sailors.

We seem to be a lot busier these days at the U.S. Em-

bassy! Now, in the 21st century, our ties with Sri Lanka have continued to expand and deepen. Today we are one of the largest contributors of humanitarian and development assistance in Sri Lanka, as well as a big supporter of education and civil society.

The U.S. has [been] a good friend [to] Sri Lanka in times of need. The United States was one of the first countries to respond to the devastating 2004 tsunami. The U.S.S. Duluth arrived within days of the disaster to provide assistance, and we were one of the leading partners in helping with recovery from that terrible event in communities all over the island.

The U.S. also helped the government and people of Sri Lanka in every way we could to try to end the LTTE's reign of terror—decades of LTTE attacks which included countless suicide bombings and the assassination of Sri Lankan President Ranasinghe Premadasa.

We, too, have faced terror. We know how it can tear at the very fabric of state and society.

The United States was at the forefront in formally designating the LTTE as a terrorist organization. This designation played a key role in helping to dry up the LTTE's overseas support networks, helping to contribute to its ultimate demise. The LTTE remains on the U.S. Foreign Terror Organization list to this day. We know that families and communities all over Sri Lanka suffered terribly during these many long years of violence. So we have been a longtime friend of the Sri Lankan people, in good times and in bad. We know the challenge of maintaining national security against the threat of terrorism.

An equally important challenge, however—one that bears on our very identity as a nation—is to protect and maintain our core principles of democracy and rule of law during difficult times.

The United States and Sri Lanka have long had a strong relationship. It is a relationship that historically had been based upon shared democratic values. And that is precisely why the United States will always speak up when we feel such values are threatened.

As many of you know, the United States remains particularly concerned about threats against, and attacks on, media outlets in Sri Lanka. Several prominent journalists have fled the country, and a number of attacks on journalists remain unresolved. This includes the 2009 killing of “Sunday Leader” editor Lasantha Wickrematunge, the January 2010 abduction of Prageeth Ekneligoda, and the July 2011 attack on Uthayan news editor Gnanasundaram Kuganathan.

I know that this room full of journalists is only too aware that attacks against the media continue to this day, and that suspects are rarely apprehended—or, if apprehended, are almost never convicted. Just last week, the Uthayan offices in Kilinochi were attacked by masked assailants, one of a series of unsolved attacks against Uthayan, and its employees over the past several years.

I raise these issues because the United States has always worked to defend the universal right to freedom of expres-

sion. We believe freedom of expression by all individuals, including the media, is not only an essential democratic prescription, in its own right, but also critical in protecting other democratic institutions and values.

In a participatory democracy, people must have access to accurate information about the situation in their country and the activities of their government if they are to make informed choices—choices which provide the fundamental legitimacy of the government that represents them. Thus, we urge the Sri Lankan authorities to fully investigate the Uthayan attack and hold the perpetrators accountable.

Support for freedom of expression was in fact one of the many recommendations of the Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission report, and was also raised in the March 2013 resolution at the Human Rights Council in Geneva. The United States has raised other concerns recently, as well, including dismay over the process that led to the impeachment of the Chief Justice and what that means for a free and independent judiciary in Sri Lanka.

And just this weekend, we saw that the Bar Association of Sri Lanka and others raised concerns about the announcement of a significant number of transfers of judges and magistrates by the Judicial Services Commission. I understand that the Bar Association has appointed a subcommittee to look into this development.

As you might have noted, the March 21 Geneva United Nations Human Rights Council resolutions also cited concern about discrimination on the basis of religion or belief. Against this backdrop, the United States, along with many Sri Lankan citizens, is alarmed by the recent attacks on Muslim businesses and certain inflammatory calls to action. This type of hateful sentiment must not be allowed to fester.

The resolution also stressed the importance of the full participation of the local population, including representatives of civil society and minorities, in efforts to promote justice, reconciliation, and livelihoods.

And, of course, the United States has expressed disappointment with the stalled progress on reconciliation and accountability since the end of the conflict in 2009. As you know, this is the second year the U.S. has sponsored a resolution in Geneva. Some have asked me, “why a second resolution?” Let me explain.

The 2012 resolution, passed by a majority of countries on the Human Rights Council, sent a clear message that the international community shared the United States' concerns regarding the lack of progress on reconciliation and accountability. The 2012 resolution simply asked the government of Sri Lanka to fulfill its own commitments to its people from its Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission report, and to meet its own international obligations.

Following the 2012 resolution, the United States Government continued to raise concerns on the human rights front. We monitored the situation throughout the country, engaged with the government when we had concerns, and offered assistance whenever we were able.

Of course, I want to emphasize that this was just one aspect of our engagement here: we continued our major work on economic growth and humanitarian assistance projects, exchange visitor programs, demining, and much more.

A few months after the 2012 resolution, the government of Sri Lanka took the positive step of releasing a National Action Plan to implement its commitments regarding the recommendations of the LLRC report. Unfortunately, the National Action Plan did not cover all the recommendations of the LLRC, just as the LLRC recommendations did not address all the outstanding issues of reconciliation and accountability. Nevertheless, the National Action Plan included many steps that, if completed, would be helpful for the country.

Some have complained that the desire to see real and credible progress in these areas is either unfair or unrealistic. It is true that reconciliation and accountability are often long and complicated processes that can take years to complete.

We understand this. But it is important to start those processes as soon as possible, and to accomplish what it is possible quickly. There were a number of items in the LLRC report and National Action Plan which could have, in fact, been achieved quite quickly.

Some items were subjects of intense international scrutiny. For example, the government accepted LLRC recommendations to investigate the killing of five students in Trincomalee in January 2006 and the killing of seventeen “Action Against Hunger” aid workers in August of the same year. These killings were already the subject of a commission of inquiry, but now—more than six years later—there have been no perpetrators brought to justice. The LLRC report also maps out a path to progress on investigating enforced and involuntary disappearances. However, the Special Commissioner to conduct these investigations has not yet been appointed.

Even freedom of movement remains restricted, as we saw last month—when hundreds of family members of the disappeared were blocked in Vavuniya and prevented from coming to Colombo to ask what had been done to account for their loved ones.

I will note that the government has provided the diplomatic community with regular briefings on the status of implementing the recommendations of the LLRC National Action Plan. We appreciate these efforts. But, some of the most important steps in achieving real reconciliation have not yet moved ahead. Government dialogue with the TNA on political devolution is crucial.

It is also important to continue to return property to rightful owners and to implement a process that resolves outstanding land claims issues. And, of course, people must not only be able to return to their homes, they must be able to return to their livelihoods as well. That means farmers must be able to go back to their farmlands, and fisherman must be given access to the sea. The people of the former conflict zones must be able to live their lives without inter-

ference, as do other citizens of Sri Lanka.

So, at the beginning of 2013, the U.S. Government looked at what the government of Sri Lanka had undertaken to do under its own LLRC report. We looked at the conditions around the country. We compared those to the government’s commitments and stated goals. We realized that not only were many of the concerns that led to the first resolution still there, but also, that in some ways the situation had deteriorated.

The U.S. then consulted widely with other countries. We found a broad consensus that the international community should remain focused on the situation in Sri Lanka. Many countries shared concerns about the pace of reconciliation and accountability.

Some have asked me what the U.S. means when we speak of “reconciliation” or “accountability.”

When we say reconciliation, we mean finding a way for all Sri Lankans to live together in peace, harmony, and security in a unified country...a country in which the democratic space exists for all to be able to express their views freely, and for all to share in the prosperity of the country in terms of access to land, employment, education, and so forth. When we say accountability, we mean, identifying those responsible for committing abuses and imposing consequences for these acts or omissions.

Some form of credible investigation is in the interest of the government concerned. For when there are serious allegations of human rights violations—whether a government likes it or not—those allegations will persist until they are credibly addressed. We note reports that highlighted a Sri Lankan Army Commission of Inquiry report on actions undertaken in the final phase of the conflict. We respectfully suggest that this report should be made public.

As Sri Lanka moves forward from the Human Rights Council session, we will look closely at what steps the government chooses to take in response to the resolution.

This brings us back to the original question: what happens next? I would submit that this depends on the government of Sri Lanka. The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights’ report dated February 11, 2013 reaffirmed a long-standing recommendation for “an independent and credible international investigation” into alleged violations of international human rights and international humanitarian law in Sri Lanka. The latest resolution took note of this call, and asks the Office of the High Commissioner to update the Council on Sri Lanka’s progress at the September 2013 session and present a comprehensive report in March 2014. The latest resolution also encourages Sri Lanka’s government to respond to the eight outstanding requests by UN special procedures mandate holders.

As we examine next steps, we will renew our consideration of all mechanisms available, both in the Human Rights Council and beyond. But it is important to emphasize that calls for reconciliation and accountability should not simply be seen as exhortations by the international community—

reconciliation and accountability should be viewed as essential to ensuring a peaceful and prosperous future for the country. History has shown that societies that do not adequately address reconciliation and accountability usually return to a conflict situation at some point down the road. Thus, however difficult this process is, it is ultimately vital to the stability of Sri Lanka.

Let me close by reiterating that while we do have concerns about some recent developments here, our relationship with the people of Sri Lanka is enduring. At the same time that we raise the concerns I have listed just now on the human rights and democratic governance front, we continue to contribute to the development and prosperity of Sri Lanka in a wide variety of ways, every day and throughout the country.

We continue with our academic support programs at the universities of Peradeniya, Ruhuna, and Jaffna. We have civil society capacity building, youth empowerment, and English-language teaching programs in all regions of the country, as well as programs for the disabled. We fund economic growth projects in the former conflict zones to expand livelihood opportunities, enhance economic productivity, and increase incomes. We are working to revive agricultural production in the Northern Province, providing food security and support for newly resettled IDPs. We support mine-awareness and demining programs, and work with the military on humanitarian assistance and disaster relief

preparedness. We support clean energy access and public-private alliances in aquaculture, horticulture, and industry. We are funding the construction of a forensics lab within the Ministry of Justice.

Last Friday, I announced U.S. support for a labor inspection system for the Sri Lankan Labor Ministry to promote worker's rights. Later this month, we will offer a maritime law enforcement course to the Sri Lankan Coast Guard. We have worked with other Ministries to protect vulnerable populations, including recent funding of a women's shelter.

So you can see, by anyone's standard, U.S. engagement with Sri Lanka remains robust and multifaceted. Our US-Sri Lanka relationship is not limited to a single agenda, as some have claimed, but represents a truly multidimensional approach driven not by any short-term agenda but by long-term goals and partnerships. It is my sincere hope that this partnership with Sri Lanka can expand, even as the Human Rights Council resolution sends a strong signal from the international community that the government of Sri Lanka must do more to fulfill its obligations to its people.

We are now approaching Avurudda, the traditional New Year, at the end of this week. Each year, this celebration brings the hope of new beginnings and fresh promise. It also brings an Opportunity for Sri Lanka to recommit itself to reconciliation and accountability, and making sure all can enjoy a lasting peace. Thank you, and I welcome any comments or questions you might have.

Restoring the Reputation of the UK's Financial Services Sector

IS IT NOT TIME FOR A VERY VISIBLE COMING TOGETHER OF THE PRINCIPLE PLAYERS IN THE SECTOR?

Address by CHUKA UMUNNA, Shadow Business Secretary, United Kingdom
Delivered in London, April 15, 2013

Thank you for that introduction and thank you for inviting me here today.

The importance of the City to British business

For us, the future of financial services—the City—is incredibly important. Any potential Government hoping to take office and any current party of Opposition charged with scrutinising what the Government does, should want to see the City thrive.

It is a key business sector which—along with the associated legal, accountancy and other professional services—gives us a competitive edge and a comparative advantage due to our talent, our legal system, the liquidity of our financial markets and our time zone.

It is a sector which we look to pump oxygen into the rest of the economy, helping businesses in other sectors expand and grow.

The need for business growth was starkly highlighted in the recent Budget. We learnt that the Government is now borrowing £245bn more than it planned, with welfare spending up by £20bn and nearly one million young people unemployed. The Government's interest seems to be exploiting our economic problems, as we have seen on welfare, rather than solving them. They are trying to blame the very families who are paying the price for the Government's failure. What we actually need is action now to boost house building and get people back to work with a compulsory jobs guarantee. And we need a different kind of economy with a financial system that serves our businesses.

When we talk about diversifying our economy, we are not talking about reducing the size of our financial services sector but growing the size of other sectors of the economy. The financial services sector has a crucial role to play in that diversification, which is why—to coin a phrase—I am intensely unrelaxed about the problems small businesses and

entrepreneurs face in dealing with our banks.

And, of course, it goes without saying that the sector performs vital utility functions for us as individuals. Like water and electricity, our banks are essential to every day life, safeguarding our deposits, providing a payment system and so on.

So my first point is this: we are unapologetically critical of the City when needs be but we cannot be anything other than pro City, given its central importance to the economy at home and paying our way in the world abroad.

Restoring the reputation of the City and rebuilding trust

Next, if the City is to continue to perform its functions—as a global financial hub and provider of finance to the real economy at home, it must command trust and confidence.

The attempted rigging of LIBOR, the gross misselling of interest rate swap products to small businesses and the payment protection insurance scandal, amongst other things, have done immeasurable damage to the international and domestic reputation of the City.

After these events, there were the usual expressions of regret from senior management, a reprimand and/or a fine from the regulator and strong adverse comment from Westminster. Yet, there was little visible collective action on the part of the sector as a whole.

Given the collective hit the sector has sustained through all these scandals, is it not time for there to be a very visible coming together of the principle players in the sector to address the ongoing reputational crisis the sector faces—a public summit of the key industry leaders where action points can be agreed and then implemented?

Yes, regulators and Government have a role to play, but supervision and regulation cannot act as a substitute for trust—you cannot regulate or legislate for being trust worthy.

So my second point is this: if the sector is to recover trust, it needs to be seen to very visibly be getting its own house in order. That is why I very much welcome today's event.

It is why I welcome the fact that there are those who are now speaking out engaging in the public debate, leading the process of change. Anthony Jenkins at Barclays and Stephen Hester at RBS are doing this and Anthony Browne, newly installed at the British Bankers Association, has said his main mission is restoring trust. Good.

But much more needs to be done and there are still many lessons to be learnt. Barclays releasing details of £40m worth of bonuses to senior executives at the same time as the Budget announcement sent all the wrong messages and is indicative of this.

It goes without saying that politicians are not in a position to lecture on trust—we are less popular than you and we learnt the hard way after the expenses scandal, when we had to get our house in order. But at least the people saw politicians brought to book—with some of our number

serving time in jail for their wrongdoing.

Particularly in respect of the LIBOR rigging scandal, it seems to me that we will not rebuild trust with the public or affect a culture change in finance until custodial sentences are imposed on those guilty of criminal wrongdoing in your sector. It cannot be right that someone who seeks to cheat the benefits system out of a couple of hundred pounds in my constituency may well be thrown into jail for doing so, but those who seek to rig the financial system and receive hundreds of thousands of pounds as a result never seem to suffer the same fate. Is not the prospect of jail for gross wrongdoing one of the best ways we can affect a culture change?

Changing culture and making our banks safe

This brings me to my third point: if our banks are to rebuild trust, we need to see a change in culture in the sector and our banks must be made safe. Never again must we be in a situation where they have the potential to bring down our entire economy; never again must the perception or reality be that the interests of those in the sector are being put ahead of the customers and beneficiaries the sector is supposed to serve.

So today, it is essential that the reforms under way to address these two interconnected issues must be completed and implemented in full.

Structural reform to separate retail from investment banking activities is not just necessary from the point of view of stability and security, it will also improve the culture in our banks. Both the Independent Commission on Banking and ongoing Parliamentary Commission on Banking have made various recommendations in this regard. We are clear: if the letter and spirit of the ICB's proposals are not delivered and we do not see cultural change in our banks, we think full separation will be necessary.

And whilst action at the level of the institution is important, institutions are made up of individuals, which is why remuneration arrangements that create the right incentives and behaviours are important as well. The EU has led reform in this area.

But, beyond reform of pay, there must be much stronger individual responsibility for decisions made and action taken. That is why we have argued for a new code of conduct for bankers. As Ed Miliband said in his banking speech last July, just as the doctors and lawyers professions have clear rules and codes of conduct which lay down what is expected, we need the same for banking where anyone who breaks the rules can be struck off.

Of course, structural reform and stronger individual responsibility are not a panacea; we need proper resolution mechanisms, making it easier and less costly to sort out banks that get in to trouble, and greater capital and other loss absorbing capacity in our banks as well.

At this juncture I should say we should have better regulated the banking sector during our time in office but we

didn't and that is a source of regret.

In fact, mea culpa in that respect is due across the political spectrum given the consensus which existed around a more light touch approach before the crash. During the Second Reading of the Financial Services and Markets Bill in July 1999 my opposite number, Vince Cable, expressed broad support for the regulatory framework we put in place, saying its "philosophy" and "architecture" reflected "a broad consensus"—consequently neither of the two current parties of Government voted against FSMA in Opposition.

A banking system that serves the real economy

Finally, we need a banking system that better serves the real economy—one of my principal concerns as Shadow Business Secretary is that it does a better job for British industry and our small businesses.

This is not just a problem of the recent banking crisis. We have had a banking system that is too concentrated—with five banks serving nearly five million businesses—for some time. And with too little diversity of business models—where if one bank will lend you money they all will, and if one bank won't, they all won't.

So we would reduce the barriers to entry for challenger banks to create more choice, building on the recent proposals of the old FSA.

We are delighted that Nationwide—a mutual—will enter the market for business lending next year.

We want more sources of alternative finance, from innovations in factoring like MarketInvoice or in peer to peer

lending like FundingCircle which Labour local authorities are using to invest money in local businesses.

And we are arguing for a proper British Investment Bank, with funds distributed not through the existing bank network as in the Government's proposal, but through a new network of geographically mandated regional banks—a British version of the German Sparkassen.

Therefore my fourth and final point is that if the sector is to do a better job for our wealth creators, we need not just more competition "in" banking but more competition "to" banks as well.

Conclusion

Let me finish by saying this: today, I represent many City workers in my Lambeth constituency. What they do matters enormously to Britain's place in the world and to the growth of the global economy. Having worked in the City myself for several years, I know the overwhelming majority of people there, yes, want to do well, but are hardworking, honest people who want to do a good job for our country too.

But I also see on Streatham High Road, which runs through the middle of my constituency, the struggles of the businesses in other sectors who struggle to access finance and the long term, patient capital to grow. They are my constituents too.

All we ask is that in addition to providing a global hub which helps the UK compete, our financial sector does a far better job for them at home too.

Thank you.

Let Our Voices Help the World

AGREEING AMONGST EACH OTHER ... IS NOT ENOUGH

Address by ERTHARIN COUSIN, Director, United Nations Food Programme
Delivered at the Hunger—Nutrition—Climate Justice Conference, Dublin, Ireland, April 15, 2013

President Higgins, thank you for opening this conference for us. To my fellow speakers and colleagues, and to all the distinguished guests here today, thank you for giving me and WFP this opportunity to greet you this morning.

As the first speaker from this podium who does not originate from this Emerald Isle, and as the head of one of the organizing partners for this event, I want to begin by expressing my sincere thanks to the Government of Ireland and to the Mary Robinson Foundation—Climate Justice for their hard work and determination in bringing us all together for this conversation.

Over these next two days we will speak a lot about partnerships, and it is often said that partnerships begin at home. From the engagement and enthusiasm of the United Nations World Food Programme staff that are here with me today—representing over 12,000 WFP workers in 80 coun-

tries—I know that our partnership with the Irish people in the global pursuit of a just society with food and nutrition for all has put down some mighty, mighty roots. And those roots will grow into this conversation and the outcomes of the conversation over the next two days.

Most importantly, I want to join others who have spoken before me to express my appreciation and give a warm welcome to the over 100 women and men from civil society and national organizations participating in this landmark event. Many of you are already working closely with WFP in your home countries, and others, we look forward to getting to know you better through these essential discussions.

These discussions are essential because we must listen to and connect with local voices. We must ensure the voices of the poorest and most marginalized people are not just heard but also listened to and included in the dialogue and the

outcomes. Because participatory community-based planning is our best hope for managing the uncertainties of the future and constructing a pathway to a food secure, climate just, hunger-free equitable world.

But there can be no justice if people are allowed to go hungry or children to become malnourished; no justice at all if one-third of humanity is condemned to never achieve their full potential because we failed to provide pregnant and lactating women and their young children with nourishing food during the first 1,000 days. There will be no justice if we fail our responsibility to properly manage the world's resources in the face of a volatile and changing climate.

We recognize these linkages between justice, powerlessness and food insecurity all the time. In 2012, WFP delivered food assistance to over 90 million people who in a world of abundance still do not have enough food to eat.

Why? Because in the places where we work, as President Higgins stated, food is available in the market but poor families simply lack sufficient purchasing power to afford it. This is despite the fact that most of these families spend more than 70 percent of their income on food. And for some families, food is not available at any price, either because of conflicts that disrupt markets or weather-related disasters that are the result of the changing climate affecting so many of the communities; particularly those in sub Saharan Africa that depend on rainfall for their harvest, and that rainfall does not come. And when rain does finally arrive, it destroys farmland and limits road access and makes markets unavailable.

During these sessions we will have the opportunity to review and discuss many forward leading and practical solutions to address the combined challenges of hunger, nutrition and climate change. These stories have an essential role in highlighting where we are getting things right. It is our responsibility to not only hear the stories, but we must also take the lessons to the next level, scaling up the best and most effective ideas until we have reached everyone and reached the goal of a just, equitable and hunger-free world.

One year ago, when I took up the role as head of WFP, each daily briefing brought fresh and more disturbing details of the tragedy unfolding across Africa's Sahel region. So, in my first month I traveled to Niger to witness firsthand the consequences of that complex crisis.

Another failed harvest—the third in less than ten years because of failed rains—had brought food shortages and high prices. These stresses were compounded by the loss of jobs in Libya, which meant no remittances for women and children left at home alone.

But the people I met in the local community inspired me with their determination in the face of imminent hunger. Working together were humanitarian aid workers, community leaders, government leaders, children, men and women:

- Children staying in school because of increased school feeding programs;
- Women succeeding against odds because cash for work and food for work programs allowed them to feed their families;
- Communities working together as a part of food for assets programs, giving their all to assemble water conserving dams from rocks and sand so that they could build vegetable gardens between last year's harvest and this year's planting season that would mean, this year, they didn't need to deplete their assets;
- Humanitarian workers working with community leaders and community organizers to distribute nutritious foods to pregnant and lactating mothers and children under two.

All orchestrated by a national government with a plan.

Turning commitment into action requires this type of strong national leadership and political will to put in place policies for the benefit of the most vulnerable citizens. But as Niger's example illustrates, success also requires the engagement of people at the community level to drive bottom-up processes and raise local actions toward fulfilling a national plan for empowerment and hunger eradication.

People must be part of their own destiny.

So, in addition to the power of local community level action—as we heard at the conference recently concluded in Madrid on Hunger, Food Security and Nutrition in the Post-2015 Framework, and we were reminded again by Mary Robinson today—women are the secret weapon against hunger, the ultimate force multiplier in the fight against malnutrition.

When women have food, children eat. When women are helped to grow food, communities eat. And when women are decision-makers, nations have food and nutrition security.

And I fully agree with this position and I know you do too. But I'm also sure that that's not enough. Because agreeing amongst each other that communities must be empowered, that their voices must be heard, that women must be empowered, is not enough.

Let the outcome of this conference be clearly heard, not just here, but around the world.

Let our voices help the world to recognize that a post-2015 agenda must prioritize food and nutrition security. Let our voices help the world embrace the empowerment of women and local communities as essential pillars for achieving any post-2015 global agenda.

Let our voices create the public will that leads to justice, equity and opportunity, particularly for those who depend on us most because they suffer the most: the poor, the malnourished children and their hungry mothers.

In this room we have the means and the power to make the difference, and shame on us if we don't.

Thank you.