

Address on State Affairs

Marking the Second Anniversary of His Inauguration

Fellow Koreans, Mr. Speaker, and members of the National Assembly,

To me, the past two years were indeed a time of many turbulent occurrences.

During the election campaign, there were suspicions about North Korea's uranium enrichment program, and consequently, the United States suspended the supply of heavy oil. North Korea, in return, lifted the seals and expelled the nuclear inspectors, while the media carried a series of stories suggesting the possibility of military sanctions. At such a time, I won the presidential election. At a time when Korea-U.S. relations were considered to have deteriorated, I was placed in a situation that compelled me to express ideas that differed from those prevalent among American officials and private citizens.

Amid concerns that, as a President who had never visited the United States, I might rupture the Korea-U.S. alliance, every word from my mouth sparked speculation and a ripple effect. It was indeed an unfortunate start.

The North Korean nuclear issue, the troop dispatch to Iraq and the investigation by a special prosecutor of remittances to North Korea invariably sparked conflict between the pros and cons, and I was sandwiched in between. Under such a situation, I acted resolutely and weathered some unprecedented events, including conflict with the media, the launching of the Uri Party, the investigation of the presidential election campaign fund and impeachment. It was a rough and tumble two years involving the question of a site for a nuclear waste treatment plant and the ruling that the new administrative capital relocation plan was unconstitutional.

I felt and learned so much, and in the process, I tried to deepen and broaden my understanding. I hope that the past hard experiences will underpin the competency to run state affairs in a more mature manner during the remaining three years.

I have prepared to evaluate the past two years and talk about the plans for the remaining three years, but through press reports, I have already seen various evaluations by citizens. I have a somewhat different point of view, but I think it behooves me to accept their evaluations without objection. So I will not discuss this any further.

Fellow citizens,

How hard a time did you have in the past two years?

The Participatory Government started with the crisis in household debt. The rising number of credit delinquents incurred deeper stagnation in consumption. Unemployment rose and household income kept shrinking, while real estate prices rose, thus adding to the woes plaguing needy citizens.

In addition, anxiety arising from the North Korean nuclear issue, the Iraqi War and high oil prices coupled with the potential financial crisis arising from the credit card problem caused a perilous mood. The people endured two years of such instability.

The pain of the rising number of irregular workers, stagnant business, and the widening gap in income is still persisting. I am truly sorry. The Government has been doing its utmost, but the result is not appreciable as yet, and I regret this.

Some people say that the economy will turn around, while others see it differently, and the debate is continuing. The Government will not draw rash conclusions. What is obvious, however, is that change is now taking place. Though the pace is slow, change will be coming in the not so distant future.

Even those who took issue with populism during the early stage of the Participatory Government and who painted an economic outlook of crisis or disarray, citing the case of South America or the long-running business recession in Japan, now appear to concur that the economy will survive. This is the result of the hard work of all citizens.

Fellow citizens,

I urge you not to lose courage. Things will get better in the not-too-distant future. The Government, too, has been doing its utmost. (Applause)

Even though the economy will get better, we have many things to worry about and prepare for. The first thing is the competitiveness of the economy. We should nurture competitiveness to tide over the high oil prices and low foreign exchange rate. The strategy the Government has adopted is innovation in technology, the nurturing of experts, a transparent and fair market and a business-friendly environment, and we have been making all-out efforts. The initiatives have in large measure been progressing smoothly. Once the economy recovers its resilience, it will grow vibrantly and steadily.

The gap of competitiveness between large and small companies, between high-tech industries and traditional industries, between exporters and importers, between large-size discount stores and traditional markets and between high income and low-income families have been widening day by day. The problem of bipolarization must be resolved.

Now, the meaning of an economic turnaround should be different than in the past. We cannot say that the economy has turned around unless we resolve the hardships still plaguing many people.

First of all, we should revive small and medium-size companies. The Government has completely overhauled its policy toward small and medium-size businesses as result of a large-scale fact-finding survey. Henceforth, things will be different. Measures have been implemented to help buttress the self-sufficient capabilities of traditional markets and the self-employed, such as small restaurant owners and cargo truckers.

We should also address the problem of economic growth without increased employment. The creation of jobs accompanying economic growth has been steadily dwindling. We will support the service industry as much as manufacturing businesses. Knowledge-based industries should be nurtured to help ease the unemployment of youths. We will work out employment measures based on the conviction that jobs are the best possible welfare?as well as growth?strategy. Jobs are the most effective way of bridging the wide gap in wealth and income.

We will expand the social safety net so that those who have no money won 't have to worry about how to eat or whether to go to the hospital. As I mentioned during my New Year Press Conference, I will continue to see to it that the prices of homes, the cost of private tutoring, and credit delinquencies will not weigh the people down.

We will make an overall review of the rental housing policy in a bid to help stabilize the availability of homes for needy citizens. Fundamental measures will be formulated and made public in the first half of the year.

We will stabilize real estate prices without fail even going so far as waging war on real estate speculation. Already, a tax system designed to forestall speculation is being completed, and within this year, all sorts of transactions will be 100 percent transparent. All possible means will be employed to stem any early signs of speculation. (Applause)

Many people are concerned about the construction industry. We will see to it that the construction business recovers. Speculation on real estate and the construction business are two separate matters. Speculation on real estate will be reined in at all costs, and the construction business will be resuscitated without fail.

Fellow citizens,

Early this year, I talked about an advanced economy. I believe that the time has come for us to talk with self-confidence about an advanced economy and that now is time to map out such a strategy.

When measured only by exports, the scope of the economy and the manufacturing base, we have already crossed over the threshold to an advanced country. Semiconductors and the IT industry are unrivaled in the world. Steel, shipbuilding, automobile and petrochemicals are also on a par with the world 's best or close to it.

From now on, if the next-generation growth industry project is implemented as planned, the competitiveness of high-tech industries will be further elevated.

Consumption patterns among citizens are close to the level of advanced countries. One evaluation indicates that the per capita national income, calculated on the basis of purchasing power, is close to US\$20,000. What is obvious is that the economy is poised to join the advanced countries. Our thinking and behavior should also be altered accordingly.

On the other hand, there are sectors, which we should pay attention to without fail in order to pursue an advanced economy. They are business-support services, the high-end service industries, and the leisure and culture industries. We should develop such business-support service industries as financing, legal services, accounting, R&D, consulting and design. I know that the money flowing out of the country for these services amounts to US\$2.8 billion.

Only after these industries are developed will we be able to foster a business-friendly environment. This sector also represents the knowledge-based industries that provide high-quality jobs for well-educated young people.

Of importance is the development of the financial industry in particular. Business standards will be elevated only when standards in the financial sector have been raised. The capabilities of credit rating companies should be enhanced so that funds can be allocated according to technological expertise and credit ratings rather than collateral. In that way, an atmosphere will be fostered within which competent businesses can succeed.

The logistics industry cannot be excluded from business-support service industries. Last year, our shipping industry earned US\$18.2 billion. Logistics costs have a serious influence on our competitive edge.

Since last year, exclusive teams have been organized in each business sector to work out measures to bolster competitiveness. Within a short period of time, we will build a profitable industrial structure.

Another task for an advanced economy is to strengthen the competitiveness of those service industries which meet the demands of high-end consumers. A total of US\$7 billion flowed out to finance overseas study last year, and the outflow for medical expenses is said to have surpassed US\$1 billion. We should stem this trend by bolstering the competitiveness of education and medical care. Rather than lamenting the fact that talented young people are being attracted by medical colleges abroad, we should nurture the medical industry as a strategic one so as to attract money and create jobs.

The same is true with education. What should be opened up should be opened, and regulations that should be eased should be drastically deregulated. We will make sure that the public nature of education and medical care will be preserved and expand what deserves expansion. The campaign pledge related to increasing public medical care by 30 percent will be honored without fail. We should elevate the standards of public medical care. (Applause)

We will see to it that the value system of public education will not collapse. However, the industrial and economic characteristics of education and medical services should be developed at the same time.

Such multifaceted consumption industries as culture, tourism and leisure have a significant effect in stimulating domestic consumption and creating jobs. Culture equals quality of life. It is an industry as well. Already, it is emerging as new national growth engine.

During the first half of the year, a comprehensive blueprint for the development of culture, tourism and leisure services will be made public. In order to absorb the sharply rising demand in this sector, large-scale infrastructure will be expanded on the west and southern coast at an early date. We will also further develop movies, music and drama and other cultural contents.

The last step toward an advanced economy is to aim for an advanced trading country. During the 1990s, entry into the WTO was a choice we had to make whether we wanted to or not. Now WTO membership and FTAs are recognized as a positive strategy leading to steady growth of the economy.

Our economy seems to be sufficiently resilient to withstand the shock of market opening. Although much objection and concerns were raised about the conclusion of the FTA with Chile, the concerns have not come true now after one year. It turns out that there are many more positive effects.

We should now adopt a strategy to become an advanced trading country to back up business in its bid to vigorously venture onto the world stage.

Meanwhile, the Government will actively implement measures to help the farming and fishing communities, which are undergoing hardships due to opening of the market. The comprehensive measure for rural communities, which were established last year, will be implemented to nurture competitive state-of-the art agriculture. In parallel, we should develop the rural communities as future-oriented nature and culture spaces in a bid to link them to cities in a mutually beneficial manner. We should also work out welfare measures for farmers in preparation for an aging society. (Applause)

My fellow citizens,

If we are to pursue an advanced economy, we should pursue an advanced society?that is a transparent and fair society.

The reason we adopted a market economy is for the efficiency resulting from competition. Competition helps boost productivity. But competition must be fair. Illegal practices and violations of the rules must not be tolerated. Privilege and favoritism must be discarded. Competition should be based on competence and fair rules alone. That is the core of the market economy.

If the market is to be fair, society should be fair. Nevertheless, our society in the past was characterized by collusion among those privileged with power, illegalities, violations of rules, and irregularities and corruption. There was collusion and symbiosis between politicians and business people, between the regime and powerful organizations, and between politicians and the press. If we are to pursue an advanced society, we should relinquish such collusion and symbiotic relations.

In this area, our society has made marked progress. The answer is democracy.

In the past, dictatorial powers and power organizations secured their vested interests improperly by abusing power; they controlled and manufactured information and used torture and threats. The people fought against this and finally won. They called consistently for democratic government, the breaking up of Government-business collusion and the political neutrality of the Government's intelligence agency, the Prosecutors' Office, the National Police and the National Tax Service.

Now the power culture is changing rapidly. There will be no Government-business collusion any more. This will be accomplished for sure. The power organizations do not seem to be overzealous in serving the power center of the Government nor overly conscious about what the Government thinks about them.

The Prosecutors' Office seems to go about its business with strict independence to the extent that ruling party members complain that they are treated unfairly. In the past, some media played the mouthpiece of the dictatorial authorities and in return obtained privileges and special benefits. Government-press collusion continued even after democratic Government was installed. However, at this moment, I can say that kind of Government-press collusion does not exist.

Fellow citizens, don't you think the press has changed a lot? Members of this chamber, don't you feel a lot more comfortable dealing with the media? (Applause)

At least, I do not know of any high Government official who pleads with the press not to run a particular unfavorable article. Now, the press and Government are going about their own business, maintaining a healthy relation of tension and cooperation.

Compared to two years ago, the accuracy of news stories about Government policy has improved. The level of news analyses and critiques was enhanced substantially. Instances of extreme and emotional criticism can still be found, but the readers appear to judge them well.

The Government accommodates well-grounded criticisms against it and sends responses of appreciation to the media. However, if press reports are distorted and irrational, the Government requests a correction and even seeks legal recourse. It is not an easy task for the Government. Nonetheless, we will continue our efforts as a means of promoting a just and advanced culture in the practices of the press. (Applause)

To achieve an advanced press, the nation's media should change more despite the considerable change that has taken place already. However, it is not desirable for the President to be directly involved in this matter.

Irregular monetary links as well as favoritism based on special relations should be eliminated, too. This is not an easy task, but I will strive to the best of my abilities to eradicate, during my term at least, the irregularities and corruption involving illicit money. (Applause)

There may be occasions when individuals feel that they are being treated unfairly or too harshly. That is because the times have changed and because they now will be subject to punishment for doing certain unlawful things that were customarily ignored in the past.

Some years ago in Daejeon, there was an incident in which a lawyer's illegal accounting book was disclosed. The lawyers who were investigated in the case professed that they found it extremely difficult to be subject to probes conducted by their peers. Furthermore, they questioned why they should be picked on for business practices that had been going on all these years. A similar case involving the military establishment took place some time ago. It is understandable in some sense.

Even though certain illegal practices were carried out without question in the past, they will have to be dealt with strictly from now on. We have no choice but to conform to the law.

The Government will take measures so that law-abiding citizens will not lose out in competition. Some business people think that they are losing a competitive edge against their neighbors who evade various taxes. They are the people who are almost forced to violate tax laws to get out of their difficult environment.

In light of this, the Government will make laws that are well conceived and make sure they are faithfully followed. (Applause) The tax authorities have already begun the work. They are making the tax laws so that they will benefit those citizens who report their taxes transparently and keep other laws.

Now, the Government intends to help our society develop so that every citizen will have a completely clear conscience and no citizen will be worried about being stopped and asked legitimate questions. (Applause)

This is what I will call an advanced Korea.

To make an advanced Korea, politics too has to advance. We have to achieve mature democracy. Democratic politics in a nutshell is politics of dialogue and compromise. It does not mean trying to avoid political rivalry totally; rather, it means competing according to the rules, recognizing the other party, engaging in dialogue and compromise, and yielding to the results. This is the politics of accommodation and mutual coexistence in which both the winners and

Dictatorial regimes do not recognize the other party. They do not believe in rules and destroy the opposition forces through violence and manipulation, or remove them completely. They choose war over competition.

Regrettably, we still retain considerable legacies of this kind of dictatorial politics. Regionalism is one of them.

Regional confrontation is an emotional fight. Emotional fights do not offer any solution. Regionalism runs counter to rational rivalries and compromise. It only entails endless fights that leave us divided. Politicians seem to have invented the most effective device for getting electoral votes—that is that they arouse distrust and animosity among different groups of people, divide them and cause them to confront each other with intense anger and hatred. And it should be noted that historically no country has ever avoided national misfortune after engaging in such divisive fights.

I have fought this regionalism without stopping. I have always been against divisive activities. In the process, I was defeated in many elections, and I was even impeached for supporting the creation of the Uri Party. In the last presidential and 17th National Assembly elections, I was able to get considerable support, but the election results were not sufficient enough to break the undesirable regional voting pattern. It is regrettable, indeed.

In the National Assembly election, the number of popular votes cast in a particular region was not fully translated into or reflected in the number of parliamentary seats. In other words, popular votes cast for a party with a definite disadvantage in the region failed to increase the party's seats in the National Assembly at all. On the contrary, the electoral system in effect reinforced the impact of regionalism. The current system should be rectified. (Applause) Even if rectification of the present electoral system requires increasing the number of overall parliamentary seats, it should be done without fail. I believe the people will understand it.

Fellow Koreans,

The culture of dialogue and compromise should settle in civic society as well as in politics.

Historically, democracy was born through struggle. When the dictatorial powers became more cruel and oppressive, uncompromising struggle was emphasized and lauded. However, uncompromising struggle is not always justifiable. Such struggles can only be justified when the people fight in defiance of illegitimate dictatorial powers that trample on democracy.

I repeat that the core of democracy is dialogue and compromise. And this corresponds with the principle of self-governance as well as the principle that sovereign power resides in the people. The uncompromising pursuit of self-interest represents undemocratic self-righteousness. The Participatory Government is a legitimate Government the people chose. It leaves the door of dialogue wide-open.

The Government is in the process of setting up a conflict-management system through which social conflicts can be addressed and resolved. For its part, the civilian sector should do away with confrontational participation and focus, instead, on presenting alternatives through constructive participation.

Many people say that the general elections held last year took place in an exemplary manner not seen in the past. I would like to take the opportunity to offer my appreciation and praise to all those who have been working hard to reform the nation's electoral culture, especially those from the Election Management Commission, National Police and the Supreme Prosecutor's office.

The fact of the matter, however, is that a fair electoral culture has not taken firm root in this country yet, as we continue to hear about illicit and anomalous election activities. Particularly, election practices within political parties have not improved as much as those outside them. All undesirable things connected with elections must be corrected.

What's most important is that we should all avoid ballot buying and other dishonest deals. Fair elections are the very basic ingredient of a democratic country, forming the basis of trust and legitimacy among the people. For this reason, the Government will continually strive to help settle a healthy electoral culture in our society. I'd like to emphasize again that any illicit activities in elections must be eradicated. This will be done at all costs. (Applause)

At the same time, the Participatory Government will also work hard to enhance its competitiveness. Right now, the competitive strength of the Korean Government is ranked in the 30s globally. A few days ago, I mentioned that we were ranked in the 40s, but today I am readjusting it to the 30s because I have since found some materials placing us in the 30s. (Laughter). Thank you. (Applause)

Obviously, this level is way below that being enjoyed by some of the better Korean corporations internationally. The Participatory Government will do all it can to upgrade its standing to the 20th or even 10th best category before its tenure expires.

The answer for improved government competitiveness lies in reforms. The eventual goal of

its citizens, has transparent systems, works in harmony with the citizens, is decentralized and, finally, is autonomous.

In 2003, the Participatory Government made roadmaps. Then some people rebuked the Government, saying that it has all the maps but no implementation. In 2004, the Government adopted management principles suitable for the ever-changing environment. We began to check every step of Government affairs. Dozens of exemplary innovation cases have been revealed, and these have been used actively for benchmarking other projects. This year we are going to institutionalize the results we reaped. This innovative system will be expanded to all the local governments and other public organizations.

While recognizing immediate effects and achievements, we are now focusing on completing an effective basic administrative infrastructure. There have been complaints about a lack of Government documentation efforts for public records. Deficiencies were pointed out in the area of Government statistics and databases among other things.

In light of this, the Government is endeavoring to streamline systems involving documentation, public records and statistics. The goal is to put into place a viable infrastructure conducive to protection of personal information and disclosure of public information as well as tightening information security.

I am not committing myself to a small government. Rather, my goal is to make the most efficient government and let it adequately provide the services citizens need. Sooner or later, citizens will be able to tangibly feel that the Government and civil servants have changed remarkably. (Applause)

My fellow citizens and distinguished representatives,

I would like to share some thoughts and feelings I have had about Government administration in the past two years. What I felt most strongly is that the Government must speak more truthfully and act more responsibly.

Over decades, the Government has expounded on the need to foster small and medium-size businesses. As a result, we could say that smaller businesses have achieved what they have. However, we cannot honestly say that this level of achievement is what we have been aiming at all along. In this sense, we have not been successful. On reflection, we have not been truthful nor responsible enough.

Over the past 30 years, successive Administrations pursued policies targeting balanced development among different regions and prevention of overcrowding in the capital region. In spite of this, however, situations have only been exacerbated.

These days, we are talking about such issues as an aging society, low birth rates, and future energy needs. And I am afraid that in the next 10 or 20 years down the road, we might wind up in a similar pitiful situation.

Today I pledge that I will engage in Government administration with truthfulness and a renewed sense of responsibility and determination. I will take a fundamental approach to solving various problems.

Currently, our society in general takes it for granted that restructuring is part of efforts to strengthen our competitive edge and that labor flexibility is an important part of this process. I tend to think the same way because the trend seems to be unavoidable. But, thrust upon us as a result of this phenomenon is a major task: How should we go about solving the problems of those who were forced to leave work in their late forties or early fifties? There is still debate about whether the companies letting experienced workers go will be able to maintain their competitiveness. We need an answer to this question. The Government will work diligently to come up with an answer.

There are many problems that the Government cannot resolve for itself. I have to pose these problems to the National Assembly, the media, civic organizations and the general public to think about. I would like to see many truthful and responsible propositions set forward in this regard.

It is said that the National Pension Program will run out of funds in 40 years unless something is done. So, we have enacted a law featuring a new fiscal measure. No matter what we try, however, there can be no real solution unless pension payments are lowered or insurance premiums increased. There is an urgent need to bring in every won to make the program viable. But we still do not have a system allowing investment of the pension funds. It seems as though nobody trusts anyone, and we have been in this situation doing nothing for the past two years.

Many people also say that the nation's educational system along with the authority of educators has crashed to the ground. Angry voices are crying out that the entire public education system has collapsed. For the sake of fairness, though, the Government is not the only party that is to blame for all the ills. Good medicine is of no use unless the teachers, who are directly involved, strive to earn public trust.

If there is no public trust in the way schools grade their students what Government measures could possibly be effective? We all have a stake in this issue, and we must make a joint effort to find a solution. Confrontation against the Government will not solve the dire public education problems.

The non-regular jobs issue is no exception. We will never find a feasible solution if regular workers are not willing to make any concessions for the sake of non-regular workers on the excessive benefits they are enjoying. How can we narrow the wage gaps between them without job sharing or a new type of wage system? We have to accept what we should and settle the issue.

The plan to build radioactive waste disposal facilities has been drifting about for the past 19 years. In some towns, people blocked the entrance to the hospitals in order to keep SARS patients from being admitted. If every town or group of people oppose every facility and development project they think undesirable, what can the Government do? In this situation, there will be no grounds for a community to take root.

In an advanced society, all members of the community should be able to live together harmoniously. (Applause)

There is some conflict over the effort to find the truth about our past history. The critics are saying the President is causing the conflict when the country is experiencing economic difficulties. This is similar to asking the question, "Why should we study history?"

Granted that studying history is a proper thing to do, it is quite natural that things of the past have to be revealed as they were. We cannot afford to be fed lies. The process requires touching painful scars. Particularly, if the scars are very painful, there is all the more reason to reveal them. That is because truth and reconciliation is a universal process to heal the scars and the hatred.

In dealing with the past, the different attitudes of Germany and Japan teach us a lot. As the attitudes of the two countries are different, the degree of trust each has won from its neighbors is different. There is a need to be honest when it comes to dealing with history. By doing so, we can get rid of the past and march forward into the future.

Fellow citizens,

The world is changing rapidly. So is politics and the power of the President. We should accept changes. A changed world should be read through changed eyes.

People have demanded decentralization and a reduction in the power of the President. Responding to public demands, the President reduced his power. Gone are the days when a word from the President made political parties and the National Assembly move in perfect order. We cannot expect all-powerful Presidents any more like those seen under military regimes in the past.

Differing opinions should be coordinated through dialogue and discussion on an open stage. It is natural that differences of views exist between different ministries as well as between the party and the Government. There are times when the Government fears that certain information, if disclosed, would cause public confusion, but nonetheless has to disclose it.

There were times when the Government decided to keep certain information quiet until reaching a conclusion and then announced it. Many times, the Government was accused for having done so. From now on, I hope the people will be able to read the progress of the Government administration in a different manner. The Government performance should be evaluated in a different light.

Fellow citizens,

I guess you will be quite apprehensive due to the North Korean nuclear issue. There has been a sudden development that was not anticipated; however, the fundamental structure has not changed substantially. The Government will cope calmly with the issue in accordance with a consistent principle. The Government will not lose sight of its principle while exercising flexibility. It needs the help of the members of the National Assembly in this matter. In international relations, it is a common strategy to take advantage of the division and conflict of the other side. Your support is necessary so that we will not be taken advantage of. I will report to you every changing development faithfully. You will be consulted.

Korea-U.S. relations are as close as they have ever been. At times some people have expressed apprehension about the relations between the two countries; however, the current ROK-U.S. relationship is as stable as ever. The Government will continue to manage the relationship well.

It is my policy to let our foreign affairs personnel tell their counterparts what they have to hear and take up issues that have to be dealt with without reservation. Doing so represents our serious and responsible attitude, and this, in turn, increases trust in us. I have a firm belief in the potential of the Korean people. Five or 10 years down the road, ROK-U.S. relations will have developed in a much more balanced way than now.

The Korean Armed Forces are independent forces that will be in control of their own operations, constituting a balancing factor in Northeast Asia; they will continue to safeguard

Fellow Koreans and distinguished legislators,

At this point in time, my hope for the future of the Republic of Korea is reassuring, indeed. Even though we are faced with some difficult problems, the Republic will fare very well. I have complete confidence in the Korean people. I believe in their potential.

When viewed globally, few countries have a brighter future than Korea. The rest of the world admires us. We seem to be the only people who look at our own future pessimistically. This may be due to our high achievement motivation, and there is no doubt that this will serve as a catalyst for further progress. (Applause)

It is not desirable to underestimate our own achievements. Let us continue to march toward an advanced Korea with positive thinking and confidence. I assure you I will do my best.

I hear that the Grand National Party is miffed because I plagiarized the slogan, "For an Advanced Korea," which the GNP claims it came up with first and was planning to adopt as the official party slogan. I regret the confusion because I did not know about the GNP plan. But at the same time, the confusion is something that should be celebrated as it represents a meeting of the minds between the ruling and opposition parties. (Applause) I am considering paying the GNP royalties for use of the slogan when the party sends me documentation showing that the slogan was in fact the party 's invention. (Applause)

Members of the National Assembly, fellow citizens,

I wish every one of you good luck and happiness in the New Year. I also hope that all the political parties and their members will continue to progress toward the future filled with hope. Let us make this New Year into one during which the development and achievements of your parties go hand in hand with the progress of our entire nation.

Thank you. (Applause)