

The gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY);

The gentleman from Missouri (Mr. BLUNT);

The gentleman from Arizona (Mr. SHADEGG);

The gentleman from California (Mr. DOOLITTLE);

The gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN);

The gentleman from Virginia (Mr. TOM DAVIS);

The gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. JINDAL);

The gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI);

The gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER);

The gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. MENENDEZ);

The gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS);

The gentleman from American Samoa (Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA);

The gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE); and

The gentleman from New York (Mr. CROWLEY).

The VICE PRESIDENT. The President of the Senate, at the direction of that body, appoints the following Senators as members of the committee on the part of the Senate to escort His Excellency Manmohan Singh, the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, into the House Chamber:

The Senator from Tennessee (Mr. FRIST);

The Senator from Kentucky (Mr. McCONNELL);

The Senator from Alaska (Mr. STEVENS);

The Senator from Wyoming (Mr. THOMAS);

The Senator from Florida (Mr. MARTINEZ);

The Senator from Nevada (Mr. REID);

The Senator from Illinois (Mr. DURBIN);

The Senator from Michigan (Ms. STABENOW); and

The Senator from Maryland (Mr. SARBANES).

The Deputy Sergeant at Arms announced the Acting Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, His Excellency Jesse Bibiano Marehalau, Ambassador of the Federated States of Micronesia.

The Acting Dean of the Diplomatic Corps entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and took the seat reserved for him.

The Deputy Sergeant at Arms announced the Cabinet of the President of the United States.

The Members of the Cabinet of the President of the United States entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and took the seats reserved for them in front of the Speaker's rostrum.

At 10 o'clock and 3 minutes a.m., the Deputy Sergeant at Arms announced the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, His Excellency Manmohan Singh.

The Prime Minister of the Republic of India, escorted by the committee of

Senators and Representatives, entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and stood at the Clerk's desk.

[Applause, the Members rising.]

The SPEAKER. Members of the Congress, it is my great privilege and I deem it a high honor and a personal pleasure to present to you His Excellency Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister of the Republic of India.

[Applause, the Members rising.]

ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY  
MANMOHAN SINGH, PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA

Prime Minister SINGH. Mr. Speaker, sir; Mr. Vice President; distinguished Members of the U.S. Congress; ladies and gentlemen, I deem it a great privilege to be invited to address this joint session of the U.S. Congress. I thank you from the core of my heart for this invitation.

I bring you the greetings and good wishes of our Parliament members and, indeed, of the entire Indian people.

India and the United States have much in common that is very important to both our countries. You are the world's oldest democracy; we are its largest. Our shared commitment to democratic values and processes has been a bond that has helped us transcend our differences, if any. We admire the creativity, the spirit of adventure and enterprise of the American people, the excellence of your institutions of learning, the openness of your economy, and of your ready embrace of diversity. These have attracted the brightest young minds from India, creating a bridge of understanding that transcends both distance and differences between us.

In addition to the values we share as democracies, there is also a convergence in our perceptions of a rapidly transforming global environment, bringing us much closer together now than at any time in the past. Globalization, ladies and gentlemen, has made the world so interdependent that none of us can ignore what happens elsewhere in any part of the world. Peace and prosperity are more indivisible than ever before in human history.

As democracies, we must work together to create a world in which democracies can flourish. This is particularly important because we are today faced with new threats such as global terrorism to which democracies are particularly vulnerable.

Indian democracy has been fashioned around India's civilizational ethos which celebrates diversity. Our society today is the culmination of centuries of assimilation of diverse peoples and ethnic groups. All the major religions of the world are represented in India. We have a tremendous diversity of languages, customs, and traditions. The Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, called for universal adult franchise as early as 1931, long before India be-

came independent. Our political leadership remained true to this commitment and the Constitution we adopted after independence enshrined democracy based on free elections and the associated principles of tolerance of dissent, freedom for political activity, protection of human rights, and commitment to the rule of law.

Our first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, acknowledged our debt to America on this score. He said that you could hear in our Constitution the echo of the great voices of the Founding Fathers of your own Republic.

Ladies and gentlemen, the real test of a democracy is not in what is said in the Constitution, but in how it functions on the ground. All Indians can be proud of what we have achieved in this area, and I suggest that our experience in this regard is also relevant beyond our own boundaries. Free and fair elections are the foundations of a democracy. Over the past six decades, governments in India, at both the national and state level, have regularly sought the mandate of the people through elections.

Our elections are conducted under the supervision of a statutory independent election commission, which has earned respect for its fairness and transparency, both at home and abroad. The independent judiciary has been a zealous defender of our Constitution and a credible guarantor of the rule of law. The press is a key institution in any democracy, and our media has a well-earned reputation for being both free and fearless. Our minority, and we have many, participates actively in all walks of our national life, political, commercial, and cultural. Civil society organizations are thriving and are vigilant in protecting fundamental human rights. They are also watchful of threats to our environment. Our army has remained a professional force, subject throughout to civilian control.

Recently, the Constitution was amended to ensure constitutionally mandated elections to village and municipal councils. This process has produced no less than 3 million elected representatives in our country, with 1 million positions reserved for women. This has brought democracy closer to the people and also empowered our women and promoted gender balance.

Ladies and gentlemen, our commitment to democratic values and practices means that there are many concerns and perceptions that we share with the people of this great country. The most important concern is the threat of global terrorism. Democracy can only thrive in open and free societies. But open societies like ours are today threatened more than ever before by the rise of global terrorism. The very openness of our societies makes us more vulnerable, and yet we must deal effectively with the threat without losing the openness we so value and cherish. India and the United States have both suffered grievously

from terrorism, and we must make common cause against it. We know that those who resort to terror often clothe it in the garb of real or imaginary grievances. We must categorically affirm that no grievance can justify resort and recourse to terror.

Ladies and gentlemen, democracies provide legitimate means for expressing dissent. They provide the right to engage in political activity, and must continue to do so. However, for this very reason, they cannot afford to be soft on terror. Terrorism exploits the freedom our open societies provide to destroy these very freedoms we cherish. The United States and India must, therefore, work together in all possible forums to counter all forms of terrorism. We cannot be selective in this area. We must fight terrorism wherever it exists, because terrorism anywhere threatens democracy everywhere.

We know from experience that democratic societies which guarantee individual freedom and tolerance of dissent provide an environment most conducive to creative endeavor and the establishment of socially just societies. We, therefore, have an obligation to help other countries that aspire for the fruits of democracy. Just as developed industrial countries assist those that are less developed to accelerate the pace of their social and economic development, democratic societies with established institutions must help those that want to strengthen democratic values and institutions. In this spirit, President Bush and I agreed yesterday on a joint global initiative to help build democratic capacities in all societies that seek such assistance.

Ladies and gentlemen, the capacities we have in mind are those related to the electoral, parliamentary, judicial, and human rights processes of emerging democracies. Respect for cultural diversity, minority rights, and gender equality is an important goal of this initiative.

Democracy is one part of our national endeavor. Development is the other. Openness will not gain popular support if an open society is not a prosperous society. This is especially so in developing countries, where a large number of people have legitimate material expectations which ought to be and which must be met. That is why we must transform India's economy, to raise the standard of living of all of our people and in the process eliminate poverty, ignorance, and disease.

India's aspirations in this respect are not different from those of other developing countries. But I submit to you, ladies and gentlemen, that we are unique in one respect. There is no other country of a billion people with our tremendous cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity that has tried to modernize its society and transform its economy within the framework of a functioning democracy. To attempt this at our modest levels of per capita incomes is a major challenge. We are determined to succeed in this effort. We shall prevail.

To achieve our developmental goals, our policies and strategies must be in step with changed circumstances, and especially the opportunities now available in the evolving global economy. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, standing at this very podium two decades ago, spoke of the challenge of building anew on old foundations. He started a process of reorienting India's economic policies, which has been continued by successive governments.

The economic policy changes that have been made in India have far-reaching implications. They have liberated Indian enterprise from government control and made our economy much more open to global flows of trade, capital, and technology. Our entrepreneurial talent has been unleashed and is encouraged to compete with the best in the world. We will continue this process so that Indian talent and enterprise can realize its full potential, enabling India to participate in the global economy as an equal partner.

We are often criticized for being too slow in making changes in policy, but democracy means having to build a consensus in favor of change. As elected representatives, ladies and gentlemen, you are all familiar with this problem in democratic societies. We have to assuage the doubts and calm the fears that often arise when people face the impact of change. There is such a thing as the fear of the unknown. Many of the fears we have to address are probably exaggerated, but they must be addressed nevertheless. This is necessary to ensure sustainability. India's economic reforms, therefore, must be seen in this light: they may appear slow, but I assure you they are durable and irreversible.

I am very happy to say that our efforts at transforming India into an economy more integrated with the world have borne fruit. Our rate of economic growth of GDP has increased steadily, and has averaged around 6 percent per annum over the past two decades. Poverty has declined, although more slowly than we would like. We are determined to improve on this performance. We hope to raise our growth rate to 8 percent or more over the next 2 years, and we will ensure that this growth is inclusive so that its benefits are widely shared.

For this we must act on several fronts. We must do much more in health and education, which are crucial for human development. We must continue to open up our economy. We must impart a new impetus to agricultural development. We must expand investment in economic infrastructure, which is a critical constraint on our growth prospects.

India's growth and prosperity, I sincerely believe, is in America's own interests. American investments in India, especially in the new technology areas, will help American companies to reduce costs and become more competitive globally. Equally, India's earnings

from these investments will lead to increased purchases from the United States. The information technology revolution in India is built primarily on U.S. computer-related technology and hardware. There are many other examples of such two-way benefits, with both sides gaining from this process.

U.S. firms are already leading the foreign investment drive in India. I believe 400 of the Fortune 500 are already in India. They produce for the Indian market and will hopefully also source supplies from India for their global supply chains. We welcome this involvement, and I look forward to further expansion in the years ahead. India needs massive foreign direct investment, especially in modernizing our infrastructure. I hope American companies will actively participate in the opportunities we are creating.

The 21st century will be driven by knowledge-based production and India is well placed in this area. We have a large and relatively young population with a social tradition that values higher education. Our educated young people are also English-speaking. This makes us potentially a highly attractive location for production of high-end services whether in software, engineering design, or research in pharmaceutical and other areas. Our laws on intellectual property rights have been recently amended to comply fully with our international obligations under the WTO. We look forward to attracting business in these areas from the United States.

The presence of a large number of Indian Americans in high-technology industries here makes the United States and India natural partners. It gives you confidence about India's human resource capability. It also gives you an edge over your competitors in the ease with which you can operate in India. We are proud of what the Indian American community has done in this country. I was touched, as were many of my countrymen, by the news that a resolution of this House celebrated the contribution of Indian Americans to research, innovation, and promotion of trade and international cooperation between India and the United States.

Ladies and gentlemen, to fully exploit potential areas for cooperation between our two countries, we need to make special efforts to bring our private sectors closer together. To this end, President Bush and I have constituted an India-United States forum of chief executive officers. I hope this forum will promote greater understanding of each other's perspectives and also a better assessment of prospects for future cooperation. The two governments will draw on their experience and advice on how to realize the full potential of our relationship and of our partnership.

The bulk of our population still depends upon agriculture for a living. The United States was an early partner

in this area, helping to establish agricultural universities and research institutions in India in the 1960s. I acknowledge that help with gratitude.

It was a great American, Nobel Laureate Norman Borlaug, supported by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, who developed high-yielding varieties of wheat in Mexico which were then adapted to Indian conditions in the agricultural universities you helped us establish. This was the start of the Green Revolution in India that lifted countless millions above poverty. I am very happy to say that President Bush and I have decided to launch a second generation of India-United States collaboration in the area of agriculture.

The new initiative will focus on basic and strategic research for sustainable development of agriculture to meet the challenge of raising productivity in conditions of water stress. It seeks to take information and know-how directly to the farming community and promote technologies that minimize post-harvest wastage and improve food storage. It will also help Indian farmers to meet phytosanitary conditions and enable them to participate more fully in global agricultural trade.

Energy security is another area where our two countries have strong common interests. The world's reserves of hydrocarbons are finite and we must, therefore, tap new energy sources. India's reliance on coal and hydropower will increase. We have to invest in new oil and gas exploration and in enhanced recovery of oil and gas from available fields. We must also tap the full potential of nuclear energy. The United States can help in all these areas. I am happy to say, therefore, that we have initiated an energy dialogue with the United States to explore the scope for cooperation in each of these areas in the years that lie ahead.

The field of civil nuclear energy is a vital area for cooperation between our two countries. As a consequence of our collective efforts, our relationship in this sector is being transformed. President Bush and I have arrived at an understanding in finding ways and means to enable such cooperation to proceed.

In this context, I would also like to reiterate that India's track record in nuclear nonproliferation is impeccable. We have adhered scrupulously to every rule and canon in this area. We have done so even though we have witnessed unchecked nuclear proliferation in our own neighborhood which has directly affected our security interests. This is because India, as a responsible nuclear power, is fully conscious of the immense responsibilities that come with the possession of advanced technologies, both civilian and strategic. We have never been, and will never be, a source of proliferation of sensitive technologies.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are conscious that plans to meet our energy requirements will have implications for the environment. This is especially

so since any energy scenario for India will involve heavy dependence on coal. Clean coal technologies that can make an impact need to be developed and should be affordable for poorer countries. We need to find ways whereby sufficient resources can be devoted to ensure the development of these technologies. We must also find ways of allowing greater access for developing countries to these technologies including ways of undertaking cooperative research. We stand ready to explore new partnerships in this vital area with the United States, which will help enable a more efficient use of our hydrocarbon resources as well.

There are other areas, too, where we can collaborate effectively. Our combined effort in providing relief and succor to the millions affected by last December's tsunami is an example of what partnerships can achieve. Building on this experience, President Bush and I have launched a joint initiative to ensure that our capabilities will be readily on call for those in need in similar situations in the future.

The global challenge of HIV-AIDS is another area for India-United States active cooperation. President Bush and I have agreed on the need to provide increased international access to safe and effective anti-retroviral drugs.

Ladies and gentlemen, globalization has woven a web of interconnections all around the world. This makes it all the more necessary that we evolve a system of global governance that carries credibility and commands legitimacy. Such a system must be sufficiently participative to be able to generate a true global consensus. It must also reflect contemporary realities. The Doha Round of world trade negotiations and the reform of the United Nations are two major processes now in the international arena where we need to work together to strengthen the system of global governance and equitable management of the evolving interdependence of all nations.

India is committed to strengthening the multilateral trading system, and we will work with the U.S. and other partners for a successful outcome of the Doha Round. I am sure that we can find a reasonable and balanced outcome that is mutually beneficial. We will make every effort to do so.

On the reform of the United Nations, we believe that it is time to recognize the enormous changes that have occurred since the present structure was established. There must be comprehensive reform of the United Nations to make it more effective and also more representative. The U.N. Security Council must be restructured as part of the reform process. In this context, you would agree with me that the voice of the world's largest democracy surely cannot be left unheard on the Security Council when the United Nations is being restructured.

Mr. Speaker, sir; Mr. Vice President, sir; distinguished Senators and Members of the House of Representatives;

ladies and gentlemen, I would like to conclude by saying that the Indian people look forward to a bright future, full of confidence, based on a growing recognition of our economic capabilities and the readiness of our society to meet the challenges now before us. We have had some success in improving the quality of life of our own people, and we will redouble our efforts to this end. We will also work towards securing a world order in which democracy can flourish and in which developing nations can strive for greater prosperity.

As two great democracies, we are natural partners in many ways. Partnerships can be of two kinds. There are partnerships based on principle, and there are partnerships based on pragmatism. I believe, ladies and gentlemen, we are at a juncture in our history where we can embark on a partnership between India and the United States, a partnership that can draw both on principle as well as on pragmatism. We must build on this unique opportunity.

My objective on this visit to your great country was to lay the basis for transformed ties between our two great democracies. I believe that we have made a good beginning. With the support and understanding of the Congress of the United States, the full benefits of our partnership will be realized in the months and years to come. Ladies and gentlemen, India is today embarked on a journey inspired by many dreams. We welcome America. We welcome having America by our side. There is much we can accomplish together.

Thank you.

[Applause, Members rising.]

At 10 o'clock and 48 minutes a.m., His Excellency Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, accompanied by the committee of escort, retired from the Hall of the House of Representatives.

The Deputy Sergeant at Arms escorted the invited guests from the Chamber in the following order:

The Members of the President's Cabinet;

The Acting Dean of the Diplomatic Corps.

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#### JOINT MEETING DISSOLVED

The SPEAKER. The purpose of the joint meeting having been completed, the Chair declares the joint meeting of the two Houses now dissolved.

Accordingly, at 10 o'clock and 52 minutes a.m., the joint meeting of the two Houses was dissolved.

The Members of the Senate retired to their Chamber.

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#### ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

The SPEAKER. The House will continue in recess until approximately 11:30 a.m.