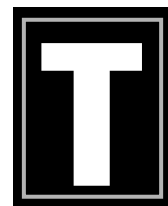




WILL MODI'S
ADDRESS TO
CONGRESS
TRANSFORM THE
US-INDIA
RELATIONSHIP AS
RAJIV GANDHI'S
1985 SPEECH
DID, ASKS
AZIZ HANIFFA.

Eagerly awaited:



The major highlight of Prime Minister Narendra Modi's fourth visit to the United States within two years of his tenure will undeniably be his address June 8 to a joint meeting of Congress, only the sixth Indian premier to do so since India became independent in 1947.

Modi is once again in DC at President Obama's invitation, which followed their interaction during the Nuclear Security Summit in March in Washington. Their working summit on June 7 at the White House, according to White House Press Secretary Josh Earnest, 'will highlight the deepening US-India relationship in key areas since the President's visit to New Delhi in January 2015.'

This time around, it will be Modi's remarks on the state of the US-India relationship — akin to a President's State of the Union address to Congress — that will take pride of place during his visit.

Administration and diplomatic sources acknowledged in conversations with *India Abroad* that a couple of formal announcements are likely following the President and prime minister's summit — in probability, the Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement and Westinghouse Electric's decision to go forward with the construction of six nuclear reactors in Andhra Pradesh as a manifestation of the commercialization of US-India nuclear deal that



The President referred the day before yesterday, in language of significance, to my visit as a voyage of discovery of America. The United States of America is not an unknown

country even in far-off India and many of us have grown up in admiration of the ideals and objectives which have made this country great. Yet, though we may know the history and something of the culture of our respective countries, what is required is a true understanding and appreciation of each other even where we differ. Out of that understanding grows fruitful co-operation in the pursuit of common ideals. What the world today lacks most is, perhaps, understanding and appreciation of one another among nations and people. I have come here, therefore, on a voyage of discovery of the mind and heart of America and to place before you our own mind and heart.

The United States of America has struggled to freedom and unparalleled prosperity during the past century and a half, and today it is a great and powerful nation. It has an amazing record of growth in material well-being and scientific and technological advance. It could not have accomplished this unless America had been anchored in the great principles laid down in the early days of her history, for material progress cannot go far or last long unless it has its foundations in moral principles and high ideals.

Those principles and ideals are enshrined in your Declaration of Independence, which lays down as a self-evident truth that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It may interest you to know that, in drafting the Constitution of the Republic of India, we have been greatly influenced by your own Constitution. The preamble of our Constitution states:

We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens:

Justice, social, economic and political;

Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

October 13, 1949



A rare photograph of India's first prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru addressing the US House of Representatives.

USEMBASSYNEWDELHI



Modi's *magnum opus*

has been in limbo for nearly eight years.

These negotiations have been going on for years and the formal announcements are not expected to be anything dramatic, but simply a formalization during the summit in addition to both leaders reinforcing their rapport and camaraderie.

This may be the last time during Obama's Presidency that these leaders will meet and hence these sources agree that Modi's address to the more than 530 members of the US Senate and House of Representatives is the much looked forward to event.

Speaker Paul Ryan and Republican Congressman Ed

Royce, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the driving force behind making event this a reality — helped by the co-chairs of the Congressional Caucus on India and Indian Americans, George Holding, North Carolina Republican, and Dr Amerish 'Ami' Bera, California Democrat — are pulling out all the stops to welcome Prime Minister Modi to the Capitol.

Before his address to Congress, Modi will be welcomed by the Congressional leadership comprising Speaker Ryan, House Minority and Democratic leader Nancy Pelosi, Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell and Senate Minority Leader Harry Reid.

Immediately after the prime minister's address to the joint meeting, Ryan will host a rare luncheon with an expanded Congressional leadership, including chairpersons of influential House and Senate Committees. Royce will then host a VIP reception as chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee along with Senator Bob Corker, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the co-chairs of the House India Caucus and the Senate India Caucus, co-chaired by Senators John Cornyn, Texas Republican, and Mark Warner, Virginia Democrat.

► M4

Equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation;

In our Constituent Assembly do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution.

You will recognize in these words that I have quoted an echo of the great voices of the founders of your Republic. You will see that though India may speak to you in a voice that you may not immediately recognize or that may perhaps appear somewhat alien to you, yet that voice somewhat strongly resembles what you have often heard before.

Yet, it is true that India's voice is somewhat different; it is not the voice of the old world of Europe but of the older world of Asia. It is the voice of an ancient civilization, distinctive, vital, which, at the same time, has renewed itself and learned much from you and the other countries of the West. It is, therefore, both old and new... But however the voices of India and the United States may appear to differ, there is much in common between them.

The objectives of our foreign policy are the preservation of world peace and enlargement of human freedom. Two tragic wars have demonstrated the futility of warfare. Victory without the will to peace achieves no lasting result and victor and vanquished alike suffer from deep and grievous wounds and a common fear of the future. May I venture to say that this is not an incorrect description of the world of today?

It is not flattering either to man's reason or to our common humanity. Must this unhappy state persist and the power of science and wealth continue to be harnessed to the service of destruction? Every nation, great or small, has to answer this question and the greater a nation, the greater is its responsibility

to find and to work for the right answer.

India may be new to world politics and her military strength insignificant in comparison with that of the giants of our epoch. But India is old in thought and experience and has travelled through trackless centuries in the adventure of life.

Throughout her long history she has stood for peace and every prayer that an Indian raises, ends with an invocation to peace. It was out of this ancient and yet young India that Mahatma Gandhi arose and he taught us a technique of action that was peaceful; yet it was effective and yielded results that led us not only to freedom but to friendship with those with whom we were, till yesterday, in conflict. How far can that principle be applied to wider spheres of action? I do not know, for circumstances differ and the means to prevent evil have to be shaped and set to the nature of the evil. Yet I have no doubt that the basic approach which lay behind that technique of action was the right approach in human affairs and the only approach that ultimately solves a problem satisfactorily... This is the basis and the goal of our foreign policy. We are neither blind to reality nor do we propose to acquiesce in any challenge to man's freedom from whatever quarter it may come. Where freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral. What we plead for and endeavor to practice in our own imperfect way is a binding faith in peace and an unflinching endeavor of thought and action to ensure it. The great democracy of the United States of America will, I feel sure, understand and appreciate our approach to life's problems because it could not have any other aim or a different ideal.

Friendship and co-operation between our two countries are, therefore, natural. I stand here to offer both in the pursuit of justice, liberty and peace.

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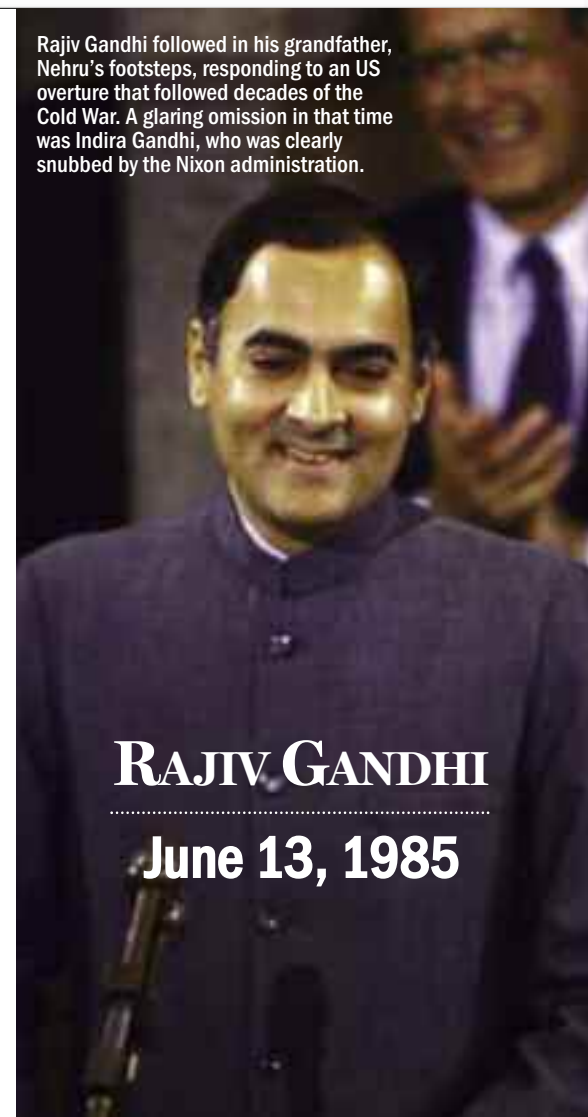
Ninety percent of the investment of our economy is financed from our own resources. But the economic and technological help received

from our friends was extremely important. US economic assistance was of great help to us, especially in the 60s. American scientific and technological assistance played a crucial role in helping to bring about the Green Revolution. To your scientists and technologies and to the American people, I should like to say that the people of India will always be grateful.

The peoples of India and the United States are not allies in security strategies, but they are friends in larger human causes — freedom, justice, and peace. Members of Congress, the American revolution asserted the rights of man. Liberty and equality were inscribed on the banner of history. These powerful concepts were to change the direction mankind was to take. But peace, which brings happiness, eludes us. Is it because we have frozen the world in the mold of the 18th century? Tagore, our great poet, spoke of the 'idolatry of geography.' Nationalism, untempered by the vision of human brotherhood, is an inadequate framework for peace. Should we not strive, each in one's imperfect manner, for a new Commonwealth based on the revolutionary developments that have not ceased since your Republic was founded? Even though we are not economically or militarily powerful and you are, this is a task that beckons us all. This noble enterprise will in a profound sense be the fulfillment of your Revolution.

I have been elected prime minister of India at a time when our nation stands poised for a new surge of growth. Our leaders in the past 30 years have established firm foundations on which we have now to build. India is an old country, but a young nation; and like the young everywhere, we are impatient. I am young, and I have a dream. I dream of an India — strong, self-reliant, and in the front rank of the nations of the world in the service of mankind. I am committed to realizing that dream through dedication, hard work, and the collective determination of our people.

Rajiv Gandhi followed in his grandfather, Nehru's footsteps, responding to an US overture that followed decades of the Cold War. A glaring omission in that time was Indira Gandhi, who was clearly snubbed by the Nixon administration.



RAJIV GANDHI

June 13, 1985

TERRY ASHE/THE LIFE IMAGES COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES

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► M3

Administration and Congressional sources acknowledged the possibility of Modi's address being attended by Vice President Joe Biden and Cabinet officials including Secretary of State John F Kerry, Defense Secretary Dr Ashton Carter, Commerce Secretary Penny Pritzler and Energy Secretary Dr Ernest Moniz, senior administration officials and senior military leaders.

The Indian-American community — which has been lobbying their lawmakers to invite Modi to deliver such a joint address, including during his first visit to Washington as prime minister in September 2014; that didn't pan out because Congress wasn't in session — are excited over what is expected to be a historic speech and the passes to attend and be part of history has become a hot ticket.

Consequently, lawmakers, the majority of whom are allowed to grant only a single pass, have been hard pressed to acquiesce to the overwhelming demand by their influential constituents, many of whom have been regular and large contributors to their campaign coffers.

Expectations from lawmakers, considering that there was a unanimous bipartisan consensus — notwithstanding their stark divisions on party lines, despite it being an election year and the ferocious primary on both sides — to cast aside their differences and come together since India is now considered almost a foreign policy ally, to invite the charismatic Modi were also high.

Lawmakers would like to hear what the Indian leader has to say vis-à-vis the bilateral relationship, from trade and investment to foreign policy coordination on security, defense, counter-terrorism, intelligence sharing, to regional and international affairs and how America's rebalance to Asia and India's Look East policy could acquire congruency, particularly where China looms large.

In an exclusive interview with *India Abroad* last month, Royce predicted that Modi's address to this joint meeting would afford him an unprecedented forum, the likes of which were absent during his previous visits to the US.

Modi, Royce said, would have the extraordinary opportunity to speak to all of America about the new and emerging India and how the US could further partner with India.

"This address," Royce told me, "will serve as a sign of the deep and extremely important and strategic relationship between the US and India — a relationship that has to be further strengthened and the bonds of friendship between our peoples further enhanced."

"It is also an opportunity to remind our countrymen here in the US, remind all Americans that our partnership in defense, in nuclear power, and in renewable energy and space exploration, as well as growing counter-terrorism and intelligence sharing cooperation to counter the continuing threat in the region that impacts both of our countries, is very strong thanks to our shared values," Royce added.

"I know these are themes the prime minister will probably address," he said.

For his Congressional colleagues, Royce predicted, "This is going to be an opportunity to hear from the prime minister of the new India and the progress made in the last two years during his tenure and the growing cooperation and collaboration between the US and India in several areas, including areas that would have seemed implausible a few years ago."

Senate India co-chairs Cornyn and Warner also joined the chorus in welcoming Ryan's

enthusiastic invite to Modi, saying, 'Speaker Ryan's decision to invite Prime Minister Modi to address Congress demonstrates the growing commitment to strengthening the strategic partnership between US and India.'

'As a key security partner with a flourishing economy, a thriving relationship with India presents tremendous opportunities to reach our joint economic and strategic goals... Modi's visit presents an opportunity to ener-

gize efforts to improve bilateral ties between our two countries,' the Senators noted.

In April, both Senators introduced bills directing the Obama administration to develop a strategy to obtain membership status for India in the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, and to advance US-India defense, requiring the President to take steps to codify India's status as a major defense partner of the US and provide them special privileges in defense trade under the

Eagerly awaited:

P V NARASIMHA RAO

May 18, 1994

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We had the unique opportunity of shaping the history of the post-war world, a history which could have offered the peace dividend to all, east or west, north or south, by enabling countries to attain their full potential by giving their peoples the better lives they deserved but which they had been deprived of for ages.

Then came the Cold War. That great opportunity seemed to be slipping through our fingers even as we tried to hold it in our hands. Today we have to worry about the fingers...

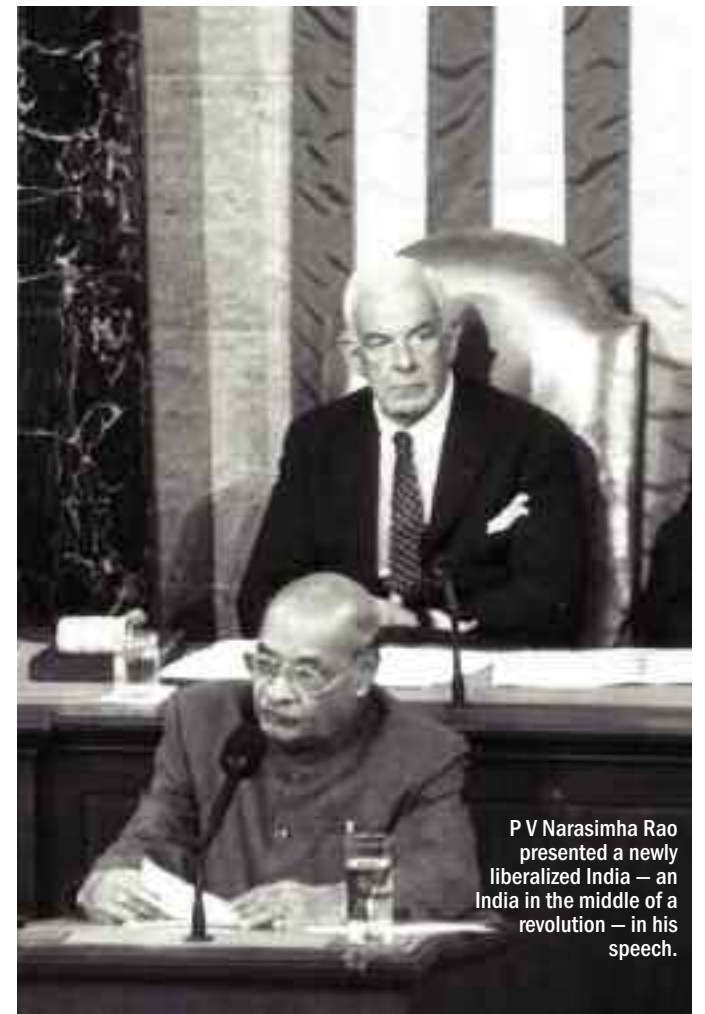
Being transient, term-bound representatives of our peoples, you and I have neither the time nor the need to review what we do not wish to repeat. It is the future we have to think about — in fact, worry about. And, of course, the fingers. The fingers are simply democracy and development. From my own personal experience, I have no doubt that this is an extremely difficult combination and equally essential, in India's view.

India has undertaken the first steps to shaping of our history for the next generation. After decades of centralized economic policies, India recently embarked on a reform program designed to modernize our economy, liberalize trade and realize our economic potential. We welcome private investment and competition and encourage free-market growth. As a result, India is becoming globally competitive, and the standard of living of her citizens is gradually on the rise. The momentum of these reforms will carry India into the next century as the single largest free market in the world...

The impact of the changes in India has had a profound effect on Indo-US economic relations and has benefited both countries. American firms have been in the forefront of forging a new economic relationship. India's vast domestic market, huge educated, skilled and semiskilled workforce, sound financial institutions and time-tested and democratic system offer tremendous investment opportunities for forward-looking companies. In shaping our history for the next century, we must look ahead to greater trade between nations.

Indo-US relations are on the threshold of a bold, new era. We have seen unprecedented cooperation in a number of areas. Most recently, Indian forces patrolled alongside US and UN forces in Somalia. We share common interests in addressing global environmental crises, combating international terrorism, and stemming the tide of international narcotics trafficking. In these areas, the United States and India have worked closely together.

Yet there remain areas where further cooperation is warranted. Export controls and technology, while once a useful means for controlling weapons technology, now hinder developing countries in their efforts to improve the lives of their people. Much of what is termed as dual technology in fact has vital applications in a modern civilian society. Many special materials and complicated computer processes found in missile control systems are also found in hospital intensive care units and global telecommunications systems... As India stands poised to contribute to global prosperity and peace in the next century,



P V Narasimha Rao presented a newly liberalized India — an India in the middle of a revolution — in his speech.

INDIA ABROAD ARCHIVES

we look forward to continuing our partnership with America and with the American people.

We are now in the closing years of a century ravaged by war, made heroic by the scientific intellectual and creative attainments of man, and feeble by want and deprivation, and yet made strong by our collective capacity to identify solutions that had eluded us in the past... Lala Lajpat Rai, one of the great fighters for India's freedom, had written of the 'numberless American men and women who stand for the freedom of the world, who know no distinction of color, race or creed, and who prefer the religion of love, humanity and justice.'

The people of India count upon those numberless women and men of this great country to work together with them and with their representatives to realize the vision that our shared experience and practice of democracy have made possible and the responsibilities of our times have rendered necessary.

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Modi's *magnum opus*

Arms Export Control Act similar to NATO allies and Israel.

Last month clones of these bills, introduced in the House by Congressman Matt Salmon, Arizona Republican, and Holding, passed unanimously on the House floor.

Besides being the first joint meeting address by a world leader under Ryan's Speakership, it is likely to be the only address by a foreign leader this year, Congressional sources acknowledged.

But if the euphoria of Royce and his House colleagues, buoyed by the House India Caucus and the Senate India Caucus — the largest country-specific caucuses in Congress — was strongly manifest, last month's hearing by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and its scathing indictment of India on human rights, including that India had the highest number of 'slaves' in the world (*India Abroad*, June 3) led by Committee chairman

Corker, surely must be cause for more than heartburn in Delhi, because this is not the kind of issue India would want to become contagious in Congress.

Aides to Corker and senior Democrats on the Committee, including the ranking Ben Cardin and Tim Kaine, said they would be closely following Modi's remarks to see if he addresses these human rights issues and also reassure their concerns over India's recent signing of a dozen agreements with Tehran,

including developing Iran's strategic Chabahar port.

The Senators, the aides said, would likely bring up their concerns with Modi when they meet him at the reception hosted for the prime minister on Capitol Hill after his address to the joint session.

Longtime US-India watchers, from a historical perspective, emphasized the importance of Modi's address to Congress and said they expected it to be as transformative of where the US-India relationship is headed in today's world with the unraveling of partnerships in various areas global-

► M6



To more than a million and half from my country, America is now home. In turn, their industry, enterprise and skills are contributing to the advancement of American society. I see in the outstanding success of the Indian community in America, a metaphor of the vast potential that exists in Indo-US relations, and what we can achieve together.

Just as American experience has been a lesson in what people can achieve in a democratic framework, India has been the laboratory of a democratic process rising to meet the strongest challenges that can be flung at it.

In the half century of our independent existence, we have woven an exquisite tapestry. Out of diversity we have brought unity. The several languages of India speak with one voice under the roof of our Parliament.

In your remarkable experiment as a nation state, you have proven the same truth. Out of the huddled masses that you welcomed to your shores you have created a great nation.

For me, the most gratifying of the many achievements of Indian democracy has been the change it has brought to the lives of the weak and the vulnerable. To give just one figure, in recent years it has enabled more than a million women in small towns and distant villages to enter local elected councils and to decide on issues that touch upon their lives.

Two years ago, while much of Asia was convulsed by economic crisis, India held its course.

In the last 10 years, we have grown at 6.5 percent per year: that puts India among the 10 fastest growing economies of the world... We are determined to sustain the momentum of our economy: our aim is to double our per capita income in ten years — and that means we must grow at 9 percent a year.

There are forces outside our country that believe that they can use terror to unravel the territorial integrity of India. They wish to show that a multi-religious society cannot exist. They pursue a task in which they are doomed to fail.

No country has faced as ferocious an attack of terrorist violence as India has over the past two decades: 21,000 were killed by foreign-sponsored terrorists in Punjab alone, 16,000 have been killed in Jammu and Kashmir.

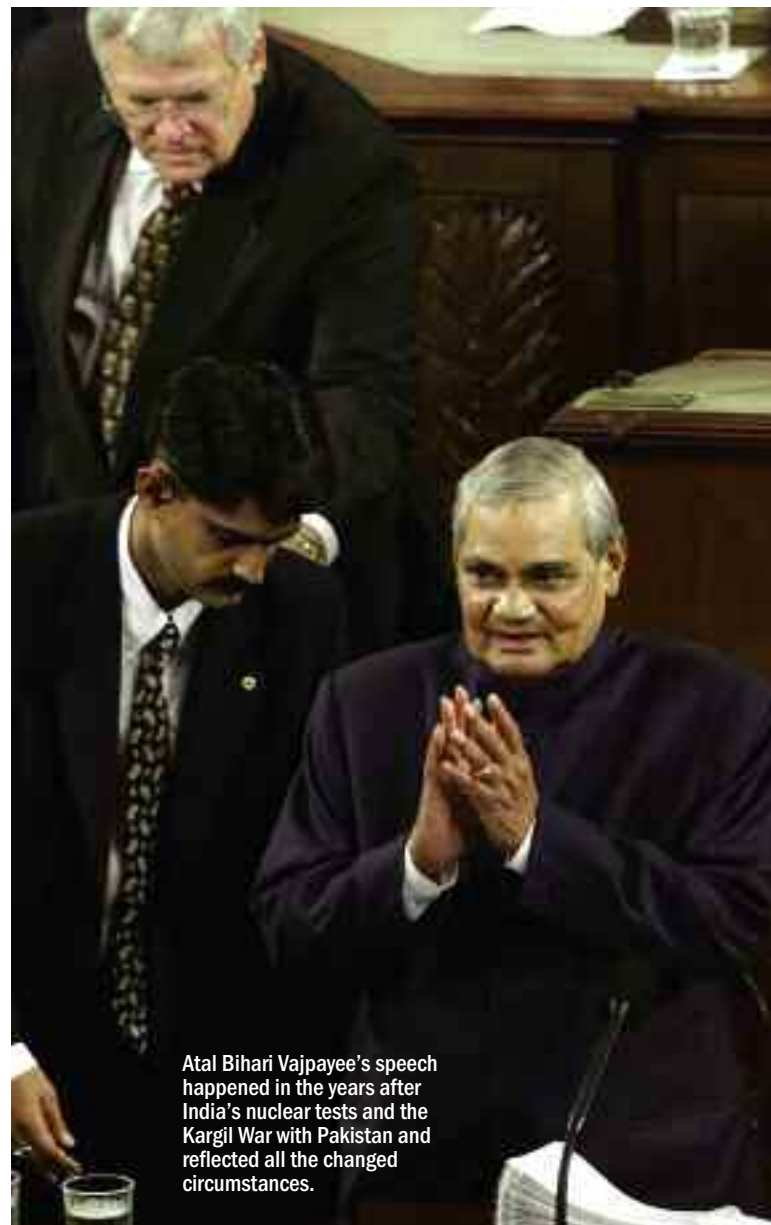
As many of you here in the Congress have in recent hearings recognized a stark fact: no region is a greater source of terrorism than our neighborhood.

Indeed, in our neighborhood — in this, the 21st century — religious war has not just been fashioned into, it has been proclaimed to be, an instrument of State policy.

Distance offers no insulation. It should not cause complacency. You know, and I know: such evil cannot succeed. But even in foiling it could inflict untold suffering. That is why the United States and India have begun to deepen their cooperation for combating terrorism. We must redouble these efforts.

ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE

September 14, 2000



Atal Bihari Vajpayee's speech happened in the years after India's nuclear tests and the Kargil War with Pakistan and reflected all the changed circumstances.

There was a time when we were on the other side of each other's globes. Today, on the digital map, India and the United States are neighbors and partners. India and the United States have taken the lead in shaping the information age. Over the last decade, this new technology has sustained American prosperity in a way that has challenged conventional wisdom on economic growth.

We are two nations blessed with extraordinary resources and talent. Measured in terms of the industries of tomorrow, we are together defining the partnerships of the future.

But our two countries have the potential to do more to shape the character of the global economy in this century.

We should turn the example of our own cooperation into a partnership that uses the possibilities of the new technologies for defining new ways of fighting poverty, illiteracy, hunger, disease and pollution. We believe that India and America can — and should — march hand-in-hand towards a world in which economic conditions improve for all.

In this Congress, you have often expressed concern about the future contours of Asia. Will it be an Asia that will be at peace with itself? Or will it be a continent, where countries seek to redraw boundaries and settle claims — historical or imaginary — through force?

We seek an Asia where power does not threaten stability and security. We do not want the domination of some to crowd out the space for others. We must create an Asia where cooperative rather than aggressive assertion of national self-interests defines behavior among nations.

If we want an Asia fashioned on such ideals — a democratic, prosperous, tolerant, pluralistic, stable Asia — if we want an Asia where our vital interests are secure, then it is necessary for us to re-examine old assumptions. It is imperative for India and the United States to work together more closely in pursuit of those goals. In the years ahead, a strong, democratic and economically prosperous India, standing at the crossroads of all the major cultural and economic zones of Asia, will be an indispensable factor of stability in the region...

Security issues have cast a shadow on our relationship. I believe this is unnecessary. We have much in common and no clash of interests. We both share a commitment to ultimately eliminating nuclear weapons. We have both declared voluntary moratoriums on testing.

India understands your concerns. We do not wish to unravel your non-proliferation efforts. We wish you to understand our security concerns.

We are at a historic moment in our ties. As we embark on our common endeavor to build a new relationship, we must give practical shape to our shared belief that democracies can be friends, partners and allies.



REUTERS



Eagerly awaited: Modi's *magnum opus*

► M5

ly, as was then prime minister Rajiv Gandhi's address to Congress on July 13, 1985.

Rajiv Gandhi was visiting at a time when India was perceived as a surrogate of the erstwhile Soviet Union and a State that always voted against the US at the United Nations.

But much of Congress' angst at the time melted away following the rapport that President Reagan and Rajiv Gandhi struck up, with many describing it almost in terms of a 'father-son and best friends' kind of relationship.

At the time the key lobbyist for India was Janki Ganju, who had earlier been a press officer at the Indian embassy in Washington, but stayed on for decades in DC till his death on May 29, 1995. Close to the Nehru family and fondly known as 'Mr India, Ganju was instrumental in organizing Gandhi's address to Congress in addition to delivering a major address at the National Press Club.

Indian ambassadors could not match the rich, high-calorie, carbohydrate-laden Kashmiri cuisine dinners Ganju, a larger than life Kashmiri Pandit, hosted at his home on Linnean Avenue, Northwest in uptown DC, which were attended by a cross-section of senior US lawmakers, diplomats, newspaper editors and publishers, and think tank heads.

Ganju used all of these connections to coordinate one of the finest visits to Washington by any leader, which included a White House banquet hosted by Reagan with Hollywood celebrities thrown in for a good measure.

Rajiv Gandhi didn't disappoint, and the love affair between the US and India, post the Cold War, began.

Although the State visits of Prime Ministers P V Narasimha Rao, Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Dr Manmohan Singh also had all of the pomp and circumstance, their addresses to the joint session of Congress on May 18, 1994, September 14, 2000 and July 19, 2005, had nowhere the oomph of Gandhi's speech.

Rao's speech at the time was derisively described as 'dron-

ing,' and both Vajpayee and Dr Singh's remarks — though substantive and coming at historic turning points in the US-India relationship — were hobbled by poor delivery that had the prime ministers fixated on their speeches, hardly looking up except during the few instances of tepid applause.

Come June 8, it will be interesting to see the reception to Modi's *magnum opus*, not to mention the applause-worthy lines and the number of standing ovations it generates.

One thing is certain — the event is a sell-out — and absolutely no need to fill the empty seating of absentee lawmakers that has occurred with some previous world leaders addressing a joint session, with their staffers, interns and pages.

India Abroad Editor Aziz Haniffa, the dean and doyen of South Asian journalists in America, was present at Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, P V Narasimha Rao, Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Dr Manmohan Singh's addresses to Congress.

MANMOHAN SINGH

July 19, 2005

“ We admire the creativity and enterprise of the American people, the excellence of your institutions of learning, the openness of the economy, and your ready embrace of diversity. These have attracted the brightest young minds from India, creating a bridge of understanding that transcends both distance and difference 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 than at any time in the past. Globalization has made the world so inter-dependent that none of us can ignore what happens elsewhere. 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 terrorism, to which democracies are particularly vulnerable...

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 to

terror.

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 our freedoms.

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 must be met. That is why we must transform India's economy, to raise the standard of living of all our people and in the process eliminate poverty.

India's aspirations in the respect are not different from those of other developing countries. But 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 income is a major challenge. We are determined to succeed in this effort... The economic policy changes that have been made in India have far-reaching implications. They have liberated Indian enterprise from government control and made the



LARRY DOWNING LSD/YH/REUTERS

When Dr Manmohan Singh addressed the joint session of Congress, he spoke for an India that was seeing an unprecedented growth rate — one that made the world sit up and take note.

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. 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.

The presence of a large number of Indian Americans in high technology

industries here makes the US 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 have 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 US.

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 arrived at an understanding in finding ways and means to enable such cooperation. In this context, I would also like to reiterate that India's track record in nuclear non-proliferation 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.

As two democracies, we are natural partners in many respects. Partnerships can be of two kinds. There are partnerships based on principle and there are partnerships based on pragmatism. I believe we are at a juncture where we can embark on a partnership that can draw both on principle as well as pragmatism... My objective on this visit was to lay the basis for transformed ties between our two great countries. I believe that we have made a very good beginning... India is today embarked on a journey inspired by many dreams. We welcome having America by our side. There is much we can accomplish together.