

Speech delivered by Mr. Nicolas Sarkozy  
President of French Republic  
to ISRO (Indian Space Research Organization)  
Bangalore – Saturday, December 4, 2010

Honorable Ministers,  
Chairman of the Indian Space Agency,  
Chairpersons,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

One of the most critical tasks of our time is to convince peoples and nations, which are intermingled as never before through globalization, of the unity of the human family.

The resurgence of the countries of the South following their independence, the increase in global commerce by virtue of free trade, the victory of democracy over totalitarianism, and the extraordinary expansion of knowledge have brought the promise of freedom and universal prosperity to Humanity. But who can be blind to the risks engendered by the proliferation of political crises, the environmental deadlock, the spread of ideologies of hatred and war, the temptations of egoism and hegemony, and the excesses of unbridled speculative capitalism!

We, the States of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, have a twofold responsibility. Each State has the foremost responsibility to ensure the peace and well-being of its people. Each State has a responsibility toward the past and toward future generations to build a global structure for peace and development adapted to our times.

On January, 26, 2008, when I was invited to celebrate with India its Unity in Diversity and its friendship with France, and then on July 14, 2009, in Paris, when I witnessed the Indian army parading along the Champs-Élysées for the first time since the end of World War I, I recalled the words of André Malraux, who described the mission that General De Gaulle had entrusted him with when he sent him to India to meet Pandit Nehru in 1958: “The close of the century will either end in nuclear war, or the first global civilization will develop in peace. . . . It is undoubtedly high time for ancient civilizations to realize that they are destined to create—together—this new civilization.” Visionary words, if ever there were any, which give the greatest meaning to what France and India want to achieve together.

India is both the oldest and the youngest nation in the world. It can trace its roots to the oldest of human experiences, and its sacred verses are the very ones now that were chanted thousands of years ago. It offers the world a unique lesson on the coexistence of languages and people, of cultures and religions. Tomorrow in Agra, I will pay tribute to this extraordinary civilization embodied by the Taj Mahal—an unforgettable monument to eternity—and Fatehpur Sikri—the wonderful expression of this multiseccular syncretism. And at the same time, with its hundreds of millions of children and young people, it maintains the vigor and vitality of the promise of a new dawn.

Thanks to the genius of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru, to the attachment of an entire people to its founding fathers, it remains stubbornly faithful to the ideals of peace, tolerance,

freedom and diversity that prevailed when the country reestablished itself. It has not been spared from war and terrorism, but it knows how to deal with them, guided by its Constitution and the rule of law. Poverty has never filled it with despair; poverty has caused its leaders to be obsessed with speeding up its development. And its people vote independently and freely, election after election, demonstrating to the world that the dignity of the citizen is universal and is not in any way a privilege of the rich.

One sixth of humanity lives in India and it is critical for the world that India remain a country of freedom, peace and progress, that it participate in all the major global political and economic institutions and that it bring its experience and wisdom to international debates. That's why France insists so emphatically that India should join the Security Council as a permanent member so that it can assume its full role within the G20.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I wanted to start this second visit to India here in Bangalore, at the headquarters of the Indian Space Agency, since the ties that France and India are building here in this field serve to further the ideals which form the basis of our friendship: science, youth and the future.

I have come to pay tribute to the exceptional success of Bangalore, its inhabitants and its companies, which have transformed this metropolis into a world-class city, one of the major focal points for modern trade.

I have come to extend my hand to the youth of India, to tell them that France wants to know them better and invite more of them to come to its universities, its *grandes écoles*, and join its companies.

I have come to pay tribute to India's scientists, bound in so many ways to France, and show them the path that our two countries can tread together.

It's no accident that science and technology play such a key role in our relations. Our two countries have for centuries ascribed the greatest importance to knowledge. The image of the scholar is as revered in France as in India, and the contribution of French and Indian scientists and engineers to modern-day discoveries is well-known.

The 21<sup>st</sup> century will undoubtedly be marked by greater upheavals subsequent to new discoveries, than in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Only those who play an active role in global research and innovation will lead the way in the community of nations.

France and India are justly proud of their independence, their capacity to make autonomous decisions. This legitimate ambition can be achieved in the future only if we continue to work at the highest scientific and technological levels. That's why upgrading France's research and innovation apparatus was one of the first major reforms that I carried out during my mandate. And that's why I pay tribute to the scientific efforts made by India since its independence.

It would be outdated and a mistake to consider science as a national or isolated activity. It flourishes in freedom. Cooperation is integral to the scientific spirit, which thrives on the blending of languages and cultures. Sharing is vital if we want to make progress.

We are fortunate that France and India are united by ties that go back to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century when the laws of nuclear and quantum physics were being developed. We are fortunate that

pioneers like Dr. Sarabhai in the space industry and Dr. Homi Bhabha in the nuclear energy maintained a privileged relationship with their French counterparts. As a result, they built ties between our nuclear and space industry communities that are still full of vitality.

Twenty years ago, our two governments decided to establish a joint research institution, IFCPAR, a model for sharing knowledge. I would like us to find new funding for this institution. I would also like it to develop a division devoted to technological and industrial innovation.

Our space cooperation responds to this vision. Why should we work together? Because we refuse to allow the space adventure to ever become the monopoly of just one or two States and we want, on the contrary, that all States that have the means, remain in the race. Because the conquest of space in support of human development helps us meet the critical challenges of our time.

I would like to pay tribute to the success of ISRO, with which we will build and launch the Megha-Tropiques and Saral—groundbreaking satellites for climate and ocean observation—next year. We will launch Indian satellites from Kourou, and European satellites from India. CNES and ISRO will develop a new research program together.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I hope this proves to be an objective that is consistent with the exceptional ties that unite our countries.

What the French and the Indians can build together is not limited to the space industry. We have established joint laboratories for biotechnology, nanotechnology, water, medicine, environmental protection, food security and the improvement of agricultural yield. Our relations with the Indian Institute of Sciences in Bangalore, which has an international reputation, are being strengthened.

In the unprecedented technological experiment that India is conducting in order to gain a better understanding of its population, two of the three partners selected following a very rigorous competition are French, working together with Indians.

An increasing number of French companies are becoming established in Bangalore, the global information technology services capital. They employ thousands of people. Capgemini, Altran, Dexia and many other companies have decided to bank on India in order to establish their presence.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Nuclear energy will now be the focus of our cooperation. We all know how critical it is for India to ensure its energy security. India and France share the belief that nuclear energy can provide an unparalleled response to this challenge.

France currently produces some 62,000 megawatts of nuclear energy annually. Eighty percent of its electricity comes from this source of energy. It has decided to build two new EPR power plants—the very ones that Finland, China and, now, India favor.

The decision to rely on nuclear energy—upheld through thick and thin—has turned out to be visionary. It ensures our energy independence. It provides us with energy that does not emit greenhouse gases, which is a considerable environmental benefit.

India has decided to expand its nuclear industry tenfold. It will expand production from 4,000 to 62,000 megawatts in 20 years. This is more than a change of scale, it's a change of attitude, and I am proud that France is supporting India in this historic process.

France first said in 1998 that it was time to put an end to India's nuclear isolation. That it was absurd to prevent India from developing its civilian nuclear sector as much as it needed to. It was imperative to find a specific status. After 10 years of efforts we reached an agreement in 2008. France played a key pioneering role in drafting this agreement, which marked the beginning of a new chapter.

France, the United States, Russia and the United Kingdom have already signed agreements with India. Others will also soon join them. That's why it makes sense for India to now participate fully in the work of the multilateral bodies responsible for drafting and ensuring compliance with the non-proliferation regime, starting with the Nuclear Suppliers Group. France supports India's candidacy to join these groups.

The agreement that we signed in Paris on September 30, 2008, is becoming a reality. We are starting research, training and plant safety programs. By participating in the construction of the Jaitapur plant, Areva is becoming a key partner in India's nuclear energy sector. When this phase of our cooperation is completed, the six Indo-French EPR plants will provide 10,000 megawatts of non-polluting energy to the Indian economy, to the maximum benefit of manufacturing facilities and French and Indian workers.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

If we want this relationship between France and India to endure, it is vital to significantly enhance people-to-people exchanges. French companies in India employ nearly 200,000 people and this number is expected to continue to rise. But how many of them were trained in France and do they speak French? Meanwhile, Indian companies are beginning to invest in France. But how many of them have Indian executives who are familiar with France, or French executives who know India?

India's youth are eager to seek higher education, and tens of thousands of young Indians are studying abroad in countries around the world. Most of them, of course, are drawn to English-speaking countries. I would like to reiterate France's wish to expand ties with Indian universities; we are providing special support to the Indian Institute of Technology, Rajasthan, in Jodhpur. France also wants to host more Indian students. It can educate and train young Indians in cutting-edge research. The Fields Medals awarded in Hyderabad a few weeks ago testify to the excellence of French scientists. University reform and the research I have commissioned are bearing fruit; I invite India's youth to learn more about it. We have also established a specific system to accommodate foreign students in France. I hope that by 2012 we will have tripled the number of Indian students in France, compared with 2007.

At the same time, I would like to see young French people expand their numbers at India's universities and institutes of higher education. Experiencing India as a young person will be an incomparable asset in understanding today's world and preparing for a cosmopolitan life.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Building the future together means rising to contemporary challenges in a spirit of collective responsibility that is crucial to our time. No nation and no region can live in isolation, protected

from major national developments or capable of facing them alone. Whether it be war and peace, economic and financial phenomena, or the proper management of natural resources, we must all be involved; we must consolidate our collective decision-making bodies and transcend the traditional concept of national sovereignty in order to enter the era of a shared sovereignty with regard to the world and its resources.

The Indian Prime Minister has always told me that he is obsessed with guaranteeing peace, development and the elimination of poverty to India. In New York last September, we had a chance to take stock of how much remains to be done to reach the Millennium Development Goals in 2015. Clearly, if India succeeds, its success will have a major impact on the entire world, and it is on the right path. Clearly, if we succeed in defeating terrorism and the insurgency in Afghanistan and Pakistan, we will have eliminated a major source of global instability.

I will have the opportunity to expand on these themes during my talks with the Prime Minister in Delhi and my meetings with the economic community in Mumbai. But I would like to tell you here how the Indo-French relationship can promote these objectives.

France and India, Europe and India are united by shared values; they are democratic, peaceful and committed to multilateralism. These are not just words but societal choices that have fundamental consequences for our international actions. Our human development is rooted in the conviction that social justice and economic progress go hand in hand, that States have a crucial role to play in defining and enforcing the rules of the game in order to ensure the equitable distribution of the fruits of growth. We are determined to make sure that international relations are no longer founded on the brutality of power relations of, but on dialogue, negotiations and the law.

Together, France and India are engaged together in the quest for peace in South Asia. Four thousand French soldiers are fighting in Afghanistan alongside the Afghan government and its people within a UN-mandated coalition to halt terrorist actions by the Taliban and the Al-Qaeda. To give the Afghan government the means to ensure its own security, to undertake its development, and to rally all Afghans around a national project. In Lisbon, during the NATO summit, Afghanistan and the coalition outlined the path of peace we want to embark on together so that the international forces can leave a reconciled country in 2014.

India's contribution is precious. I welcome the remarkable social and economic development programs that are benefitting Afghans, thanks to India. The opening up of Afghanistan's economy, the fight against drug trafficking and the establishment of a secure regional environment demand the cooperation of all its neighbors, and India must assume its full role in this process.

I want to strongly emphasize that no one has anything to gain from the prospect of a resumption of civil war in Afghanistan. And first and foremost, we need a stable, democratic and prosperous Pakistan that is fully engaged in the fight against terrorism and determined to prevent its territory from serving as a base for terrorist acts, regardless of the country targeted. We want to help Pakistan achieve this objective, which calls for the mobilization of all its State authorities.

India is stabilizing factor in Asia and in the world. It was recently elected to the Security Council for two years. This will give us an opportunity to consult with India on a daily basis on all international crises. It must serve as the prelude to a permanent Indian presence within the UN Security Council.

In this regard, I would like to remind you of France's steadfast position: enlarging the Security Council is urgent. It must be expanded to include new permanent members: India, Brazil, Germany and Japan, and representation from Africa. What is at stake here is the UN's ability to respond to 21<sup>st</sup>-century crises using 21<sup>st</sup>-century instruments. It is a matter of realism and, quite simply, effectiveness.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

On September 30, 2008, as the financial crisis was getting under way—to the point of threatening the global banking system with collapse, no less!—Prime Minister Singh was in Marseille for the India-EU summit. We were convinced that doing nothing was not an option, and that we had to mobilize the major economic powers very swiftly. It was a matter of survival. We called for an emergency summit meeting of the world's major economies. That call was heeded, and we were able to form the G20. From Washington to London, Pittsburgh to Toronto and Seoul, it has proven its ability to organize an effective response to the crisis. This is the kind of thing that France and India, Europe and India can accomplish when they join forces.

But it is only a first step. The recent summit in Seoul showed how much remains to be done to create an international economic environment favorable to growth while averting trade and currency wars. I will discuss this issue with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, a respected economist. Suffice it to say that France and India will work hand-in-hand to achieve these objectives.

Finally, I would like to speak to you about the urgency of the environmental situation. It seems particularly warranted at the very moment when the future of the fight against global warming is being discussed in Cancun.

All of you here today—scientists, businessmen, students—you know that in the current circumstances, it is impossible to guarantee global economic growth and universal well being. If all of humanity produced, consumed and polluted as much as the rich countries, or what the emerging countries seem to be on the verge of doing, we would need two additional planets to satisfy its needs. And the most recent figures have shown that global greenhouse gas emissions are continuing to rise at an alarming rate, despite the decrease in emissions from Europe.

We appear to be faced with an insolvable dilemma.

The developed countries want to maintain and increase their well-being. This is perfectly legitimate. The emerging and developing countries aspire toward a level of prosperity for their people on a par with that of the West. They are right to do so. But if there's a vain and sterile debate, it's the one about whether the development of some nations is necessarily to the detriment of others. The apparent contradiction between the needs of North and South must obviously be overcome.

How can we create solidarity mechanisms, incentives and disciplines that will make it possible to make a qualitative leap in green growth in both North and South?

The developed countries must put an end to their gluttonous consumption of natural resources and slash their greenhouse gas emissions by one-fourth. Thanks to nuclear energy, thanks to what we in France call *le Grenelle de l'environnement*, a major democratic consultation process on sustainable development, France is collectively engaged in this environmental revolution.

The emerging and developing countries too can conceive responsible strategies, as India has just done with its National Action Plan on Climate Change. This means making modern economic and industrial choices that are based on technologies and production methods that minimize the consumption of natural resources and pollution.

A concerted effort involving financing and technology transfers is necessary. That was the spirit of Copenhagen. It must also be the spirit of Cancun. To respect its logic, I have decided to triple French financing for projects in India that will contribute to sustainable development.

One of the prerequisites for the success of this environmental revolution is that our concepts themselves must change. In this regard, I would like to pay tribute to Indian thought. When I convened a scientific committee to deliberate on the notion of national wealth at a time of environmental exigencies, one Indian name rose to the fore: that of Nobel laureate, Professor Amartya Sen. His contribution to our work was remarkable. And I have not forgotten that to the north-east of India there is a sovereign State, Bhutan, which is seeking to solve this equation in its own way. Bhutan is promoting the idea of "gross national happiness," whereby the satisfaction of each person's needs would go hand in hand with respect for the environment and natural balances.

Let us draw inspiration from more of these thinkers and societies in order to refresh the ways in which we think and act; let us learn to combine the extraordinary effectiveness of our industrial and technological society with the remarkable depth of the philosophies that probe the connections between man and the universe. Let us reinvent the Gandhian spirit, not to deprive men of the benefits of progress, but to teach them to measure the satisfaction of their needs in relation to the needs of others as well as those of Nature.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I pledge to you that India will remain an international priority for France, because choosing India is a strategic choice for peace and development. Because the French people feel friendship and respect for the people of India. Because India and France are both imbued with humanism and culture. We are joining forces out of our commitment to our common values, and, most importantly, out of our duty to future generations. This is the message I have come to convey here to my friend, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, to the government, and to the great people of India.

Thank you./.