Weekly Commentary 13 – April 2023

Europe and China 2...

Emmanuel Macron, President of France, has left China after a successful state visit during which he was treated royally by his Chinese hosts, especially Xi Jinping.

Ursula von der Leyen also left China, quietly, after being treated coldly. At least she got to see Xi, when other American officials spouting her same hawkish lines, are not even invited to visit, such as Blinken or Yellen.

There was obviously a big difference. Chinese policy is making a difference between its friends and its foes. There is even emerging a diplomatic order in the way Beijing treats foreign leaders and I observe it is as follows:

Brother: Putin of Russia

Partners: MBS/Saudi Arabia and the leaders of the countries of BRICS

Friends: Macron of France, Scholtz of Germany and those who want to do business

Irrelevant and Invisible: Ursula von der Leyen, Josef Borrell of EU, east European countries like Lithuania who are spokespersons for the US neo-cons.

Liars and Irritants: Biden, Blinken, Pompeo and other American leaders who make up stories about China and are evidently confrontational who don't get invited to visit

If foreign leaders get it wrong, they will get the wrong diplomatic treatment. If they approach it correctly, there is likely to be a meaningful relationship. And there will be great results for those who have a relationship. In the last week, Macron got it right, and von der Leyen got it wrong.

Here is how Politico recounts the different treatment of the two visitors to Beijing:

The warm embrace and the cold shoulder: China mines Europe's fractures during joint visit

BEIJING — It was a tale of two visits.

French President Emmanuel Macron was given the full red-carpet treatment this week in Beijing, fêted at a state banquet, and greeted by military parades and firing cannons on Tiananmen Square. When Macron's plane touched down, China's foreign minister personally welcomed him.

When European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen arrived, she got the ecology minister — at the regular passenger exit.

It was a pattern on display again and again on Wednesday and Thursday, as China tried to play divide and conquer with the two leaders, who had teamed up on the visit to try and present a united European front.

While Macron's schedule was overflowing, von der Leyen's was bare-bones. While Macron was attending a lavish state banquet Thursday night with Chinese President Xi Jinping, von der Leyen was giving a sober press conference at the EU delegation's own headquarters. While state media trumpeted the Sino-French relationship, Chinese social media demonized von der Leyen as an American puppet.

The distinction illustrates the difficulties Europe is having in dealing with China. The EU's 27 members have an array of opinions about how to approach China — and Beijing knows this. And in the case of Macron and von der Leyen, Beijing sees a greater chance to make headway with the French leader, rendering the EU executive to a somewhat subordinate position.

The strategy was on full display Thursday, as Xi descended the outsized steps of the Great Hall of the People to greet the French president with smiles and a handshake. Below a line of flapping red flags, the two leaders exchanged greetings with a gathering that included some of Macron's advisers.

Not present: von der Leyen. She would join later for the meetings, walking up the Great Hall stairs in solitude.

Joint approach, disjointed landing

Macron's decision to invite von der Leyen on the trip was intended as a display of European unity. The result was anything but.

While Commission officials ahead of the trip had stressed that von der Leyen would follow a different schedule from the French president — and not partake in his state visit — the result was an at times disjointed split screen.

Chinese state media seized on the competing programs.

On the homepage of news agency Xinhua, much of the focus on Wednesday centered entirely around Macron and China's ties with France, leaving the EU an almost invisible subject.

Ursula von der Leyen's schedule on her visit to China was bare-bones.

In other media outlets, von der Leyen was outright vilified — a theme that has <u>accelerated</u> since the EU chief delivered a relatively hawkish speech on China last week.

"Macron's China trip comes with the expectation that China will give France a boost ... but by bringing von der Leyen with him, it seems Macron's lacking a bit of sincerity," an article published by a social media platform affiliated with the Ministry of Defense read.

It went on: "Von der Leyen, a well-known pro-U.S. personality, selling out Europe to profit the U.S., who spares no effort in pushing Europe into confronting Russia. She made it to China only by sticking with Macron."

Several commentators with huge followings on Chinese social media platforms say von der Leyen's visit was undertaken "with bad faith."

"Her purpose is far from simple," according to a commentator with an account with a quarter of a million followers. "The Americans may have tasked her to keep a watchful eye on Macron."

But it wasn't just Chinese commentators that seized on the discord projected by the mismatched communications of the trip.

Macron and von der Leyen's policy differences when it comes to China — Macron, a leader eager to work with Beijing; von der Leyen, holding a more hawkish perspective — surfaced during the visit.

Hours after touching down in China on Wednesday, the French president was already distancing himself from von der Leyen's keynote speech last week. Asked about it during a meeting with the press, Macron refused to comment on the address and instead said the EU "has a strategy that has been defined at the European Council; this strategy is clear and defined, and that's the one that is our reference."

While French officials stressed that Macron was not interested in raising the issue of Taiwan with his hosts, von der Leyen discussed the status of the island with Xi. "Nobody should unilaterally change the status quo by force in this region," she said. "The use of force to change the status quo is unacceptable and it is important that the tensions that might occur should be resolved through dialogue."

The Chinese readout of Xi's talks with von der Leyen — their first-ever bilateral meeting — also showed it had been less than amicable.

"China and the EU need to step up communication to establish the correct mutual understanding, and to avoid misinterpretation or misjudgment," Xi said, echoing <u>language</u> <u>used by his ambassador to the EU</u> while commenting on her tough China speech last week. "We hope the European Commission will play a constructive role ... based on the fundamental and long-term interests of the EU."

Macron took a more gently, gently approach with Xi. The French president has staked his reputation as an international statesman on trying to coax China to use its leverage with Russia to end the conflict in Ukraine — a strategy he tried unsuccessfully with Russian leader Vladimir Putin last year.

Though Macron pressed Xi to use his sway with Russia during his 90-minute meeting, he had little to show for his efforts. Xi agreed to call Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy—but only at an unspecified time.

Instead, Macron made more concrete progress on economic matters, presiding over the signing of several deals, including the sale of 160 Airbus planes, though even the

characterization of these deals as "new" was questionable. According to the Elysée, the Chinese government approved the purchase of 150 A320 Neo planes and 10 A350s — a delivery that was part of a \in 36 billion deal Airbus announced last year.

As Macron prepares for the final day of his visit, it was clear that the French president was enjoying the attention — altogether Xi and Macron are expected to spend six to seven hours together, according to an Elysée official.

The "personal time Xi is devoting to the visit shows that France is not considered to be a country like any other," a clearly-flattered Macron told reporters.

It remains to be seen if Macron's powers of persuasion can go beyond business deals with French companies and can actually persuade China to step up to its international responsibilities and urge Russia to end its invasion of Ukraine.

Suzanne Lynch and Stuart Lau reported from Brussels.

If you ask me, von der Leyen was being presumptuous. She is not the elected leader of an independent country, and is basically a bureaucrat or an appointee. Her treatment by the Chinese should be different from that accorded Macron. This is one major difference.

Secondly, before she went to Beijing, she already started to act like the Chinese have to listen to her. The Chinese call this behaviour, 沒大,沒小 ie, she doesn't know her place. As a non-elected bureaucrat, she is ranked diplomatically below her Chinese hosts, and after making her antagonistic comments before her trip, she should not have expected a warmer treatment, least of all that the Chinese should respond at all to what she wants to say. She should have just shut her mouth. Whatever she wanted to achieve on her trip, she messed it up herself by making herself persona non-grata.

On the other hand, Macron set the stage brilliantly. He is a head of state, and did not try to tell Xi what to do with regard to various bilateral issues before he met Xi. That was therefore respectful.

And so what did he get? The warmest welcome that can be afforded to a western leader in a world divided between east and west. Here is the report of the success of his trip by the South China Morning Post.

France's Macron ends trip to China with pact to bolster business, military ties

- But the joint statement with Xi Jinping does not include a commitment from Beijing to use its influence to end Russia's war on Ukraine, a key Macron request
- Document reflects Macron's desire to secure more of the giant market for French firms at a time when others in the West want to reduce their dependence on China

France will work with China on thorny issues ranging from 5G technology to military engagement after President Emmanuel Macron signed a sweeping 51-point joint declaration on his last day in the country.

The statement, published as Macron was touring sites in Guangdong province with Chinese leader Xi Jinping, capped off a trip on which he sought to expand economic ties with China, even as geopolitical eddies continued to swirl.

It did not contain a concrete commitment from Beijing to use its influence over Russia to end its 14-month war against Ukraine – a key Macron request – even as it pledged to "support all efforts to restore peace in Ukraine".

Europe is 'counting on China' to end Russia's war in Ukraine, leaders tell Xi Jinping in Beijing

- European Commission chief Ursula von der Leyen and French President Emmanuel Macron deliver united message to Chinese president during visit
- But as French leader signed over 20 business deals on China trip, EU chief took sterner line with Xi on economic grievances, human rights and Taiwan

Europe is "counting on China" to help end Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

That was the message delivered personally to Chinese President Xi Jinping in Beijing on Thursday by both European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen and French President Emmanuel Macron.

Von der Leyen said China, as a permanent member of the United Nations' Security Council, "has a big responsibility to use its influence in a friendship that is built on decades with Russia".

In Beijing trip, European leaders' unity on China will be put to the test

- French President Emmanuel Macron and European Commission chief Ursula von der Leyen will arrive in Beijing on Wednesday
- They will meet with Chinese President Xi Jinping, but Macron, hoping to firm economic ties, is less hawkish than von der Leyen

It has been billed as a display of European unity.

But when French President Emmanuel Macron and European Commission chief Ursula von der Leyen touch down in Beijing on Wednesday, many will be looking for signs of just how far apart they are on China policy.

Macron invited von der Leyen to show that they come "not as disunited states, but as bearers of a European position", according to a senior French government official.

In the run-up to the visit, however, the commission president took her place among the continent's toughest talkers on China. Her speech in Brussels last week was seen as an attempt to bolster the European Union's approach both politically and economically.

By contrast, Macron has enjoyed warm ties with Chinese President Xi Jinping through the years. On his last state visit to Beijing in 2018, he gave Xi an eight-year-old gelding named Vesuvius, one of the very top picks from the presidential cavalry corps.

The Frenchman bristles at the idea of taking a hardline approach akin to the United States' policy. The strongest proponent of a sovereign European Union, Macron sees a three-day state visit as a chance to reestablish France and Europe as a "third way" somewhere between the US and China.

Élysée sources do not expect Macron to give Xi a tough grilling during six to seven hours of talks in various locations.

"It is necessary to reconnect with China ... to give a horizon and emerge from this period of volatility that has been the three years of zero-Covid policy in China," one official said.

Macron will press Chinese leaders to help end Russia's 13-month invasion of Ukraine – but not too hard.

"China is one of the few countries in the world – if not the only one – to have a game-changing effect on the conflict, in either direction," the official added.

"So the president will go to China not to question Chinese red lines, in particular the refusal to condemn Russia, but to find a space to be able to carry initiatives that will benefit the Ukrainian population, then create a way to identify a solution to this war in the medium term."

Macron also plans to sign business and cultural deals to bring France and China closer together. Despite years of slow progress, he is determined to crack open the Chinese market for French firms.

Joining him on the trip will be up to 60 French executives, including Airbus, L'Oreal, EDF and Veolia representatives. Figures from the arts will also travel with Macron, including the electronic music innovator Jean-Michel Jarre and the film director Jean-Jacques Annaud, whose Notre-Dame on Fire will open in Chinese cinemas in the coming days.

The delegation even includes the head of the ZooParc de Beauval, home to the only giant pandas in France.

While sensitive issues like human rights and Taiwan will be discussed, they are not expected to form the main thrust of Macron's multiple meetings with Xi – one of which will be taken alongside von der Leyen.

"Our position on Taiwan has not changed. It will be up to the Chinese authorities to see if they wish to raise this subject," the official said.

Instead, Macron values the opportunity to reconnect with Xi, whom he last met with briefly at the G20 summit in Indonesia in November. With this in mind, he will have at least one meeting with Xi in Guangdong province – in part because of its importance as an export powerhouse, but also due to Xi's family connections there.

China has now turned the page on the era of 'reform and opening' and is moving into a new era of security and control.

"There is a direct link with President Xi because his father was the head of the province in the 1980s and launched the opening reforms," the official explained.

"Even Xi Jinping's wife has sung several times in the Cantonese operas, which are very well known in China. These are the reasons we're going to Guangdong."

Some believe that Macron's itinerary clashes with the vision of EU-China relations von der Leyen laid out in her speech last week at the European Policy Centre in Brussels, in which she seemed to dismiss suggestions that China would continue to open its economy to European firms.

"China has now turned the page on the era of 'reform and opening' and is moving into a new era of security and control," she said. Von der Leyen will hold private meetings with Xi as well as with Premier Li Qiang in Beijing.

She also played down hopes that China would help broker peace in Ukraine, saying that Beijing was trying to redraw the global order with itself at the centre.

"Far from being put off by the atrocious and illegal invasion of Ukraine, President Xi is maintaining his 'no-limits friendship' with [Russian president Vladimir] Putin," she said.

The speech landed well in Brussels, where it was viewed as an effort to put some meat on the bones of the 2019 strategy of viewing China simultaneously as a partner, competitor and rival.

Von der Leyen's cabinet consulted closely with officials from Australia, India and Japan in writing the speech. The US was not thought to have been directly involved.

After a year in which Europe's reliance on Russian energy was badly exposed, von der Leyen wanted to ensure that history did not repeat itself with China.

Several senior officials viewed the speech as a bid to ask EU member states for a lot, in the hope that they would move a little in her direction.

But some have also speculated that it puts von der Leyen on a collision course with both France and Germany, which are less interested in shaking ties with the world's second-largest economy.

At a lunch meeting in Paris on Monday, however, von der Leyen and Macron were said to be on the same page concerning EU-China policy, even if the French leader prefers not to use the same "derisking" language.

But it remains to be seen if France and Germany – the EU's two most influential members – will be fully on board with a new economic security strategy, which the commission plans to deliver by June, that is expected to look to stop European companies from investing in sensitive sectors in China.

One senior official, speaking on condition of anonymity, described the commission's new outlook as "more China-last than Europe-first".

Philippe le Corre, a senior fellow at the Asia Society Policy Institute, said that Macron and German Chancellor Olaf Scholz agree that "economic decoupling with China is a dangerous and self-harming proposition for the EU, [that] Europeans should not emulate the United States' hawkish approach".

The speech also provoked criticism from the Chinese government. Beijing's ambassador to the EU, Fu Cong, said it exposed "deep-seated ambivalence" in the commission.

"On the one side she realises that it is important for Europe ... to engage with China, and at the same time, she is fearful of criticism ... from hardliners in Europe and maybe even from the US," he told Chinese broadcaster CGTN.

All eyes, then, will be on where exactly the pair land during their trilateral meeting with Xi on Thursday.

"It is important to ensure that this is a long-term display of unity," said Antoine Bondaz, a China specialist at La Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique, a French think tank.

"To play good cop-bad cop with von der Leyen in China would be self-defeating, because it would run counter that display of unity."

My assessment of this latest engagement between the EU and China is that if one were respectful and not arrogant in telling the Chinese what to do, there would be friendly dialogue that would result in outcomes that everyone can be happy with. But if the approach were like von der Leyen's, demanding that China does things in a certain way that Europe wants, it would fall on deaf ears. Why bother to have an exchange of views then? It would be a waste of time, as can be seen in the difference between Beijing's treatment of Macron and von der Leyen.

Now that the visits are behind us, what should the world expect the next steps between the EU and China to be? Here are my thoughts:

- 1) There is never going to be a united front among the European countries on a China policy. There will always be two groups, those countries that would be dependent on economic relations with the US, and these are the smaller Eastern European countries, and there would be the other group, which are the big countries of Europe, including France, Germany, Italy, Spain and the UK. These countries cannot decouple from China, because they need the Chinese markets. So these larger countries will never be able to toe the American line and decouple from China. As a matter of fact, even the Americans cannot decouple from China the latest chip war is yet another example of the American need for large markets. There is so much inventory from falling global demand of chips that American chip manufacturers may have to sell chips to China in spite of the ban by the Biden administration for US companies to deal with Chinese chip companies. That would be a lot of face loss in the event.
- 2) Within the big European economies, there may be some competition to become the bridge between China and the EU. Germany would clearly like to be the one and should would France, but both leaders (Scholz and Macron) are weak domestically with Macron being a bit better off. As such, I think Macron will soon emerge, especially after this trip, as the one who will try to lead the EU to strengthen European ties with China.
- 3) The EU Administration, under non-elected officials like von der Leyen or Borrell, based in Brussels, has nothing to show for having their representative fall flat on her face in Beijing last week. There is no point trying to force the pace of getting China to weigh in on the Ukraine conflict, because by the ranking I have observed in the early part of this blog, China has brotherly love with Russia, and the EU bureaucrats are just irritants and light weights. And once these bureaucrats know that they have no standing to speak to China, they should just leave it to their big member states,

France and Germany, who have a lot of vested interest to play the economic card with China, to do the talking among equals. With that said, the bureaucrats in Brussels cannot depend on the elected leaders of the EU to back up their hawkish stance that panders to the Americans.

At the end of the day, what the EU thinks of its relationship with China is really less important than what the Chinese think of its position relative to the Europeans. Therefore, it is important to see what these thoughts are. Two articles on the matter are found, one in China Daily and the other in CGTN, and these are as follows:

Poll: French optimistic on relations with China

By XING YI in London | China Daily | Updated: 2023-04-06 07:54

Majority of people recognize Beijing's strong development in several fields

A majority of French think China will become the strongest country in the world by 2050 and the relations between China and France will be characterized as both partners and competitors, a survey of French public opinion finds.

The survey "China and the World in the Eyes of French" was conducted by researchers from the Institute of National Communication Strategy at Huazhong University of Science and Technology and published ahead of the three-day state visit of France's President Emmanuel Macron to China starting from Wednesday.

It collected 1,087 valid online questionnaires from French participants to examine the basic features of the French public's "perception of the world" from four aspects - perceptions of major international powers, China, Europe, and Asia.

In today's multipolar world, the United States is still in the leading position in several aspects of development. While 74.6 percent of the participants of the survey see the US as the No 1 power in the world, about 40 percent of the respondents predict China to be the strongest country in the world in 2050, followed by the US, France, and Japan.

More than 30 percent of respondents believe that China's technology will be better than that of the US, and more than two-fifths of respondents believe that China's economic development is expected to surpass that of the US. In addition, more than one-fifth of respondents believe that China's political, military, and cultural development will surpass that of the US.

"French respondents generally recognized China's strong development in the political, economic, scientific and technological, military and cultural fields," the study said. "With the upcoming 60th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, ... the French public's perception of the relationship will help us to navigate the future direction of Sino-French relations."

Cultural symbols

About 20 percent of the respondents think China and France are partners, 18 percent think the two countries are in competition, and 35 percent people think both cooperation and competition exist.

More than 50 percent of the respondents regard China as an economic giant and 39.8 percent think China is a major military power.

In terms of Chinese culture, the Great Wall, the giant panda, the Chinese Spring Festival, Chinese food, and Chinese tea are among the top five cultural symbols that French participants associate with China, and about 6.8 percent of the surveyees have been to China.

Lu Shaye, Chinese ambassador to France, noted in a recent interview with Nouvelles d'Europe newspaper that China and France are both countries with long civilizations, representing the East and West, and people-to-people direct communication will promote mutual understanding.

"Next year will be the China-France year of culture and tourism and Paris will be holding the Olympics, related departments in both countries are making plans for a series of cultural and sports events to create a good environment for the further development of bilateral relations," he said.

Nearly 80 percent of the survey's participants expressed their willingness to travel to China for tourism while around 14.3 percent and 10.7 percent wanted to come to China for business and education.

As more Chinese companies are going global, Chinese brands and products also contribute to China's image in French eyes. In recent years, China's internet and e-commerce companies are becoming more and more influential around the world and the survey finds that the top Chinese brands recognized by the French are Huawei, TikTok, Lenovo, Xiaomi, and Shein.

The quality of diligence shown by the Chinese, probably through the more than 400,000 ethnic Chinese living and working in France, has left a deep impression on the French - 56.6 percent of respondents agreeing with the description "Chinese people are very dedicated to work".

Other characteristics of the Chinese in French eyes are a strong sense of patriotism, the fear of losing face, as well as their friendliness and honesty.

FROM CGTN:

What kind of relationship does China and France need to establish? Wang Shuo

Chinese President Xi Jinping and French President Emmanuel Macron jointly meet the Chinese and foreign press after their talks at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing, capital of China, April 6, 2023. /Xinhua

Editor's note: Wang Shuo is a professor at the School of International Relations, Beijing Foreign Studies University. The article reflects the author's opinions and not necessarily the views of CGTN.

On April 5, French President Macron paid a three-day state visit to China, marking his first visit since the outbreak of COVID-19. According to a joint statement issued by the two countries on April 7, China and France vowed to strengthen political dialogue and promote mutual political trust. It seems that China-France relations are ushering in a warm spring. In the post-pandemic era, both

China and France are trying to think about what kind of relationship to establish in order to better serve each other's interests.

China-France relations should be based on history and look forward to the future. France was the first Western power to establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. This relationship was of great significance to both China and France at that time. There are similarities in the diplomatic concepts between China and France. As an advocate of European strategic autonomy, President Macron hopes to choose relations with the external world based on their own interests, and actively advocate and promote multilateralism.

On the other hand, both Chinese and French leaders attach great importance to bilateral relations. Macron has stated that he hopes to visit China every year if possible, and with the resumption of cultural exchanges between the two sides after the epidemic, he also chooses to visit as soon as possible.

China-France relations should go beyond bilateral level. France is not only a core member of the European Union (EU), but also has influence in the world beyond its own strength. China is also the largest developing country in the world, and the two countries are permanent members of the UN Security Council. Therefore, China-France relations inevitably go beyond bilateral level, involving Europe and many more countries of the world. In particular, President Macron is always committed to reviving France, actively promoting European integration, and striving to revive France's status as a major power through Europe.

President Macron's visit to China, together with the President of the European Commission Ursula von der Leyen, undoubtedly adds European colors to China-France relations. Especially with the complicated Ukraine crisis, Macron values China's ability in international affairs and urgently needs China to play a positive role in promoting ceasefire and peace rebuilding. This is also one of the most important topics of his visit and adds a global relevance to China-France relations. As Macron said, "I firmly believe that China plays a crucial role in building peace."

China-France relations should be based on practical cooperation. Currently, globalization is facing challenges. Free trade is hindered, and protectionism and populism are on the rise. France and Europe as a whole are deeply affected by the crisis, while China also needs to improve the quality of development. Both China and France, and China and the EU have practical needs to strengthen practical cooperation. Macron stated on his Twitter that "I am convinced that China has a major role to play in building peace. This is what I have come to discuss, to move forward on."

Meanwhile, China and France already have good political relations, which provides a guarantee for practical cooperation. There is great potential for cooperation in traditional large-scale projects such as aerospace and civil nuclear energy, as well as in the field of new energy. This in turn further enhances political mutual trust, forms a virtuous cycle, and establishes a more stable and sustainable China-French relationship.

China-France relations should properly handle differences. China and France are at different stages of development, with different historical and cultural backgrounds and values, therefore it is natural for them to have differences. The key is not how many differences we have, but how to handle them well. Europe defines China as a cooperative partner, technological competitor, and "systemic rival." Although this three-level definition has some limitations, it is undeniable that Europe still defines China firstly as a partner. Cooperation between China and France outweighs differences, so we must prioritize cooperation and properly handle frictions between the two sides.

In 2024, China and France will celebrate the 60th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations. This is a summary of cooperation and a new starting point for the future. And the joint statement will add a new chapter for cooperation between China and France. As long as China and France can truly start from their practical interests and strive to build a stable and lasting framework of mutual trust, their cooperation is worth looking forward to, and will inevitably become the cornerstone of China-EU relations.

On the whole, these two articles in official Chinese media indicate a level of confidence that will drive relations with Europe. It is sign of a rising China which Europe, from all the indications in the last week, will not help the Americans to suppress or contain.

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Un-Influencer in a World full of Hubris