

Frankrigs præsident Emmanuel Macrons officielle besøg til Kina: Tale i Xi'an

Den franske præsident Emmanuel Macron valgte at indlede sit tredags officielle besøg til Kina i byen Xi'an, en af Kinas ældste byer og udgangspunktet for oldtidens Silkevej; han holdt her en fem kvarter lang tale med titlen: Kinas Nye Silkeveje, en ny betydning og en ny grammatik hen imod en fornyet verdensorden og en drøm for menneskeheden.

Her følger en ikke-officiel, uredigeret engelsk oversættelse, vi har fået fra vores søsterorganisation i Paris:

(Foto: Emmanuel Macron (midt) og hustru Brigitte Macron besøger byen Xi'an i det nordlige Kina, 8. jan., 2018.)

Macron DOCUMENTATION:

Macron Speech in Xian: The New Silk Roads of China, a New Meaning and a New Grammar towards a Renewed World Order and Dream for Humanity.

PARIS, Jan. 9 – Macron started his presentation at Daminggong Palace by describing beautifully the special quality reached by relations between France and China at some points in history. (The translations are not official-ed.) “For a long time, the French nation has contemplated itself in the mirror of China, a China which brought together thought, poetry, art, reflections on war, on power, on human life, as well as a world of imagination around adventures and trips of extraordinary merchandises and singular discoveries.” The China of merchants discovering with Marco Polo the treasures of a mysterious and poorly understood civilization, travelling on those Silk Roads, to which you give today a new meaning and a new grammar. Imagine those caravans arriving at the oasis of Dunhuang, treasure of your civilization, in the midst of sand dunes echoing. Among the merchandise exchanged also came certain thoughts, words, customs which rapidly would take over the globe, faster than marching legions. They brought objects and products which France and other countries loved. Not the ephemeral time of a fad, but with the intensity of a discovery that integrated our own historical

patrimony. There is not a royal chateau today that doesn't have a Chinese salon, no artists, artisans or engineers who have not been fascinated by the styles and techniques from China ... to this day because China is a country of inventors and engineers which is always inventing the future."

He then attacked the theory that China would be a "inscrutable continent." "We need humility, and a long but respectful and reciprocal dialogue, and friendly curiosity. We find beautiful what you find beautiful and have a common attachment to historical sites." We share a common sense of the history of the world and of the people. General de Gaulle in reestablishing relations with China in 1964 made "a choice of reason," but also a "choice of evidence." France and China are not only two nations, he said, but two civilizations, because both share a certain conception of man.

Humanity is today at a crossroads, and its future is at stake, and in this context, China and France "have a common destiny."

The key notions around which this relationship must be built are three: intelligence, justice, and balance.

INTELLIGENCE: We need shared intelligence, he said, to create a better world and to fight all forms of obscurantism: Islamic terrorism, blind nationalism which lead to war, isolationism, a vain attempt to protect oneself from the world. Intelligence to overcome fears "which exist in Europe against China. In one generation you had the energy to become one of the main world powers and now you have the ambition to go beyond. The rapidity of that change can provoke fears.... The only way to overcome is to work to understand what the word 'power' means for each of us."

By intelligence, he means more education for all the citizens, but also a joint partnership on digital technologies and artificial intelligence. China has 37 million university students, the Confucius Institutes, artists, massive investment in new, digital technologies and artificial intelligence. France is also moving in that direction. "Even though we are known here for our art of living, gastronomy, and romanticism, we are also a digital power, energy transition, artificial intelligence, innovation, research, industry, a financial industry," stressed Macron.

We will be stronger if we lead this fight for "intelligence" together, he stressed, proposing first to multiply cultural

projects such as the permanent exhibit on the Han Dynasty at the Paris Asian museum, Musée Guimet. Macron proposed also to create “a great European Sinology institute,” and to found new partnerships on innovation, digital, and technologies. For this we need creative individuals, numerous, and free innovation. The strength of your country, is that you have millions of people who are creative individuals. Also partnerships on energy transition, medical innovation, innovation in agriculture and food industries, to ensure our food sovereignty. Encourage also the teachings of languages, in particular French.

JUSTICE in the crisis of global capitalism.

The 2nd pillar, is the fight for justice, and first of all, social justice, said Macron recognizing that China has succeeded in pulling some 700 million out of poverty in the last decades. This is a challenge for France, confronted to mass unemployment but also to the whole world is undergoing a crisis of globalized capitalism which has led to an explosion inequalities and to the concentration of wealth, over the last ten years.

JOINT DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA, overcoming the “unilateral imperialism France once experienced.”

Macron argued for France and China to work together in Africa, where China has invested a lot in recent years in infrastructure, on raw materials with a strong financial strike force that European nations don't have. But France has a historical and cultural knowledge of Africa which are important for the future. He called on launching projects together there which are really useful to the growth of the continent, sustainable financially and not to reproduce the errors of the past, i.e., creating financial and political dependency under the pretext of development. Tomorrow the Agence Française de Développement, and the China Development Bank will sign a contract on this basis. “France has experienced a unilateral imperialism which sometimes lead to the worst” and today as these New Silk Roads are being launched, the partnership between France and China can avoid those errors.

Macron invited China to join the conference on partnership in education France is organizing next February in Dakar, Senegal so to give another face to those Silk Roads where immense work has been done in infrastructures and economic development.

BALANCE: a new world equilibrium from which China will not be excluded.

Finally, the last pillar Macron called for is one of

reaching a balance, a kind of new world order from which China will no longer be excluded.

The histories of both countries have been sometimes made of "tensions," of "periods of hegemony," and of "imperial wills, each in its own manner, maritime or continental," he recognized, stating, however that what unites France and China is their connection to the world, their claim to universality.

"We live in a world where the equilibrium was thought more than 60 years ago, at the end of one of the world conflicts we have undergone, where barbarianism struck at the heart of Europe. We structured globalization with a notion of international law, and international structures of which China is at the heart of, like we, as a permanent members of the Security Council, but where, I know, China sometimes has the feeling of having been left outside," a feeling that "this postwar order is a Western order not really made for us. And sometimes the Western powers have contributed to develop that sentiment."

"We are living today through a crisis of this contemporary world order which has been weakened by the emergence of authoritarian powers, because nuclear proliferation has reemerged and grasping its outlines, and that contemporary capitalism is being overwhelmed by its own excess and is producing the social inequalities, I alluded earlier, or the climate inequalities we're experiencing."

In this context, Macron raised the geopolitical problems in the world, North Korea, international terrorism, the Middle East. On the Korean crisis, he praised China's contribution to help solve the problem and that it has more leverage, but committing France to a negotiated solution to the crisis. In the fight against terrorism, he said that he expects terrorism to rebound in Asia, after having been eliminated in the Middle East. On these questions, Macron made a {mea culpa} for France and the West's role in the destabilizations Libya and Iraq, and committed himself never to use force against people's sovereignties.

"From Central Asia to Southern Asia, there are numerous threats which can weaken the whole continent. It is therefore our responsibility to fight together against them, building also political solutions to the conflicts and drawing the lessons of past errors. I want to say this very clearly: I think there must be a community of views concerning how to solve those conflicts. In each country where divisions exist, where authoritarian

regimes are deployed, where sometimes the worst is on hand, France will not defend military solutions which will act against people's sovereignty. We will do everything to work with civilian societies and with our friends to bring about pluralist political solutions that will allow all people at the same time to respect one another, to eradicate terrorism, and also to build durable political solutions.

"We must draw the lessons of past errors. Every time we tried to impose the truth or the law against the people themselves, we were wrong and sometimes even produced worse situations. Such was Iraq, or Libya today. We need to work together to develop the respect of sovereignty of the peoples...." He expressed the wish in this respect that both can work together toward "inclusive" political situations in Libya or in Syria in the coming months, and called to jointly fight against the sources of terrorist financing. This is the aim of a conference which will occur in Paris in April which is open to China as well.

Macron called for China and France to define themselves as powers "for multilateralism," a notion defied today by a "more and more straightforward demands for a unilateralism which puts into question the intangibility of borders, such as in the annexation of Crimea, or the principle of international law as was the case in the question of Jerusalem," i.e., Russia and the U.S.

"Multilateralism must thus be profoundly reinvented on the basis of this notion of equilibrium that we have. Some say in China that the rules presiding over international relations have been written thus far by the West. To that I respond very soberly that history sets a frame but does not necessarily impose it upon us. Our two millenary nations have survived because they were always able to reinvent themselves, suffer history sometimes, invent often, accept difficult periods but seize the opportunities to grow and radiate."

Against Geopolitics, Harmony

"With the more important place a country occupies, comes also greater responsibilities. The multilateralism which must be redefined implies finding balanced cooperation to be invented for this new opening century. There should be neither a disguised supremacy, nor a conflict between competing supremacies. All our

art, if I can use that word, will not be an art of war but an art of balanced cooperation in order to ensure in the geostrategic, political and economic, level the harmony our world needs.

“If the multilateralism that we have is challenged and if China wants to engage in this battle, the conclusion is for me very clear. It is up to Europe and Asia, up to France and China, to define and propose together the rules of a game in which we will all win, or we will all lose. I have come thus to tell China my determination to have the Euro-Chinese partnership enter into the 21st century with this new grammar we must all define together. Europe will engage resolutely in this strategy because it is conscious of its role in the century to come.”

Europe and the Silk Roads

“Europe is back,” claimed Macron, and saying that it is so “because some of us want to give it a perspective of medium term, 10 to 15 years to rebuild a sovereign, united, democratic Europe which will be an economic, social environmental, and scientific power able to dialogue with China and the U.S.” He continued, “We are working with the German Chancellor, and number of other European leaders for a project aimed at providing the heart of Europe with the elements of sovereignty and the year 2018 will be a turning point in this respect. ...

“I want you to understand something today: France is here, becoming transformed in depth and wants to be that country of dialogue and construction of a new partnership for the 21st century with China. With it, Europe is back and wants, through the building of its own power, to build a balanced cooperation with China in the coming century.

“It is through honest, loyal and readable dialogue that we will be able to progress. ... It is a trust build by trial and error methods. It is to decide to make a step, then another and that we decide together, and that there is no lasting friendship if it doesn't follow this road. ... It is in this same spirit that I wish for us to advance on those Silk Roads. Indeed, One Belt, One Road is the perspective that China gave itself and that it has proposed to the world. And when a proposal is on the table, it is not my habit not to discuss it. I understand the opportunities for China, on the economic level for finding new markets internationally; on the political level in order to open up regions hit by underdevelopment; on the diplomatic level, to

stabilize trade in fragile regions where there are states in difficulty...; on the cultural level since it's a matter of exerting a leadership with the force of new ideas."

The Silk Roads Must Be Shared Roads

"I think that the initiative of the New Silk Roads can meet our interests, those of France and of Europe, if we give ourselves the means to really work together. After all, the Silk Roads, were never purely Chinese, If I'm honest. When we talk about the Maritime Silk Roads they were first Portuguese. On land, they went through Central Asia, Iran, Iraq, Tyr, and Antioch and in so doing they were Sino-European. The genius of the first Silk Roads was to have reinvented often the European routes to make the Chinese. ... I'm trying to say that those roads are simply consubstantial, those roads are always shared. And if they are routes, they cannot be only one sided. They must go back and forth."

I Am Ready To Work with the New Silk Road

"I am thus ready to work to the announced objectives. The programs of road, railway, airports, maritime, technological along the Silk Roads can bring elements of response to the deficit in infrastructure, especially in Asia, and to create perspectives in sectors such as transport, water management, wastes, durable cities, green economy. The bringing in common of our financial resources, public and private, for trans-border projects can reinforce the connectivity between Europe and Asia and beyond the Middle East and Africa, contribute to better integrate, structure, open up by trade and growth.

"They will do even better and the city of Xian is the living example. Those first Silk Roads brought here Buddhism, Islam and Christianity. Those roads will lead to cultural, educational exchanges and to profound transformations in the countries they are crossing. It is a matter of giving ourselves a perspective at a moment when then shared epical stories, are so cruelly absent in the world. I must say, it is one of the great merits of those Silk Roads proposed by Xi Jinping. Those Silk Roads reactivate the imagination of a new civilization, of fruitful exchanges of shared wealth and they show to all those who thought that we were in a tired, post-modern world, where the great epics were

forbidden, that those who decide to live great epics can make the others dream as well. I believe profoundly on great epical stories. It is up to France, and with it, to Europe to contribute its own part of imagination to this proposal and to work at it in the months and years to come. ...

To create balanced cooperation, "I believe that to progress towards those objectives that we share, we must give ourselves also the good rules. ... They must respond to objectives, that assign ourselves as common goods. ... They cannot be the routes of a new hegemonism, which would make vassals of the countries they cross. They must contribute to the intelligence of the 21st century." Among the new rules: those of "transparency, interoperability, opening of public markets, respect of competition, intellectual property, sharing of risks, that we deal with already together in the framework of the G20. The respect for those principles is obviously essential, simply because they allow for a mutually beneficial partnership, and an increased financial sustainability and therefore success of the projects engaged. ...

"This will be the object of my exchanges with President Xi Jinping to define the trust agenda that I want that we put together.

"I know some will say that this trust agenda must be one to create an equilibrium between a developed country and a developing one. But China is no longer a developing country; it is a country, which is bypassing that largely. And therefore, we must reinvent here also the terms of a new relationship, and the Silk Roads are the expression of that new relationship of China to the world.

"I propose to identify very concretely the political framework in which we can build that partnership, that cooperation and common strategy ... I am convinced profoundly that if Europe and China know how to establish that goal together, ... this initiative could be the occasion of relaunching very pragmatically the multilateralism which is today lacking in concrete realizations.

"I am ready to play a key role in this direction making sure that the European countries progress in unity, because China needs to have a solid interlocutor to exchange and build its own initiative. I want the Silk Roads to not limit themselves to economic questions but be enlightened in Europe by a deep comprehension of China. All the resources must be used to this

end, from the editing world to the world of theater and cinema; from the French Sinology school, pioneer and recognized, to the world of arts. You have understood it, my will is indeed, in that framework, that France and Europe take full responsibility and meet the proposal offered by China.”

Macron continued that a few days ago he visited the panda offered by China to Mrs. Macron and other than pleasure he and his family got from this, he looked closer to see if something there could inspire his trip to China and he didn't have to look for a long time, he says: “His very name enlightened me. The little panda's name is indeed *Yuang Meng*, ‘the realization of a dream.’ We live in a world where France and China can allow themselves to dream together.”

Macron: I Will Come to China at Least Once a Year

“Trust is built progressively. I know that also the word for wisdom in Chinese is ‘to listen.’ Therefore I have decided to adopt a method: To say things as I said them to you today, to try define an objective as we will try to do with President Xi Jinping, and in trust, with method, to listen, to propose, to progress and build trust.

“At the heart of our two nations, the *élan* grows, which will make the world of tomorrow a world at the level of the challenges of humanity. It is this *élan* that I want to share with you, tie with you, build with you. Our grand past gives us an insatiable taste for the future and this future awaits us. It needs France, Europe, it needs a China respected and listened to. We are the memory of the world, it is up to us to decide to be the future.”