

**Keynote address by High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini at the Conference "The EU's Contribution to Global Rules: Challenges in an Age of Power Shifts."**

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*Check against delivery*

Thank you very much and let me start by thanking you the institute, Bert (Koenders), all of you for being here. It's really a pleasure to be here not only to discuss, as we have just done, the preparation of the Dutch Presidency of the Union, but also to work together, to start to work together on our common strategy. The world has changed so much since our current strategy of 2003. It is an excellent one, but from a completely different world; a world that allowed the European Union to say that it had never lived in such a secure and prosperous environment. Clearly this is not the case today anymore. But the Union has changed because the Treaties give us now instruments that are definitely different and the European Union membership itself is different. So, we are living in a different world, in a different Union and we are seeing every single day, not only in this room but also our friends, our neighbours, our parents, our relatives, I think we realise more and more that we have a dramatic need to match the theory of the comprehensive approach with the coherence of our policies inside and outside the Union and this is really the dramatic push that lies behind our exercise.

Reading the headline of today's conference, I know that some of you may be thinking that the very foundations of what we perceived as our international system are being questioned in reality. Actually, you might even wonder if there is one international system. Borders are redrawn, terror spreads, and international norms are bent or broken. So, can we discuss about common global rules? That is the first question to ask ourselves. And, let me answer very directly - and I am glad we have the same answer - not only we can but we must. This is not just an academic discussion, I believe; it is about our own future, our values and our interests, our place and our strength in the world.

The whole international community faces the same challenges everywhere. From Paris' Bataclan to a market on Lake Chad, from the streets of Beirut to the skies of

Egypt, terrorist attacks in recent weeks have spared no ethnicity, no nationality, and no religion.

And today we clearly see that we cannot run and hide from what is happening around us. Everything that is important to our citizens is influenced by our international environment. And there is actually no distinction, no borders, no line between what happens far away, what happens at our borders, in our region, and what happens inside our European Union. Even these categories are now losing sense. When it comes to the terrorist threats, when it comes to migration, what is far, what is close, what is inside, is getting confused.

Foreign policy concerns today everyone. Those that are in this room might have been convinced of that for a long time, but outside, I think this is an argument that starts to get sense also to our fellow citizens. The only way we can pursue our interests and our values is to be active and engaged in the world.

But there is one mistake we cannot afford. We cannot be led by fear. We cannot act impulsively. Of course, we must react to crises, and sometimes – and I am sure Bert feels the same – we have the feeling of not doing anything else, but running from crisis to crisis. Of course, we have to react to crises, manage, in the best case scenario prevent, and manage the post-conflict. We have to be ready collectively for action here and now. But we must always be always driven by a vision of what we want to achieve, in the medium- and long-term, and how we want to get there. Emotional reactions can be very powerful but can only lead us so far. Un-strategic engagement can easily backfire. We need a strategy, a common one, to orientate our external action beyond the latest crisis, or the current one, and to prevent the next one.

For this reason we have decided to work on a new EU Global Strategy on Foreign and Security Policy, and for this reason I am here today. A new strategy is not just for the institutions, not just for the Member States, not just for the Commission or the Parliament. The new strategy is for the citizens; it is for the Europeans. So, it could not be drawn up behind closed doors. It is not only because it would be a recipe for disaster, but it is also because this is what we need today in today's Europe, which is a difficult moment. It is to shape common European perception, a common European

sense of being together in very difficult times. And this is possible only through public opinion debate. The process is probably as relevant as the outcome.

Today's conference forms part of a wide consultation process. In the beginning we were referring to this process as an outreach, and actually, I believe this is not an outreach. An outreach is something you do when we have already something and then you ask opinions about that. No, this time we are asking for input and trying to shape things together. This is a process we are doing inside Europe, institutions and non-institutions, but also broad. I believe it is important to involve our partners, and also those countries and those public opinions that are not perceived as partners, to get a sense of what kind of global role the European Union can have not only seen from the inside but also seen from our region and from the outside.

In a way, the process of writing the new strategy is as important as the final outcome. I am really convinced about that, especially in these difficult times for Europe. We need a truly European debate on our Union's priorities and objectives. We always say, we always hear politicians say, we have to make sure that European Union gets closer to its citizens. It is a sentence that in itself does not make much sense, because the Union is the citizens themselves. The problem is to make it emerge that the Union is there to serve the citizens' interests first and foremost: the European citizens. So, we need to forge a new European public space, on foreign and security issues as well as obviously on others, but I will try to limit myself to this tiny, modest, easy job.

To some extent, today I am here to listen, and I would really very much appreciate if, apart from questions and the debate, we might also receive some suggestions. Obviously there is a full two days' opportunity for that and we will all take notes, but also to get inputs already. But let me open our conversation by stating clearly where I stand and say a few things on that. I believe that in an age of power shifts as we are living, Europe can be a global power and a force for good. I believe that faced with increasing disorder, Europe must be the driving force pushing for a new global order: a global order based on rules, on cooperation, and on multilateral diplomacy.

I know many think this is naïve. Some of our notes are identical, I think, in our speech which shows how much unity is there, apart from the narrative of a Union

that is not united. But I know, many think that this is naïve: multilateral cooperation, rules and cooperation. Europe's commitment to a rules-based multilateral order stems from our beliefs and from our principles, it stems from our identity. This is what we are and this is who we are. But it is also based on experience and realism. Our values and our interests converge upon the same goal. In a cooperative world order, Europe is safer and is stronger.

I also know that "new world order" might sound quite out-dated as a concept nowadays. Indeed, it dates back to some twenty-five years ago. During the Cold War era, the global order was guaranteed by two competing forces. With the end of the Cold War, some hoped - and my generation in particular - that we could leave the balance of terror behind and finally build a truly cooperative system for global governance. We all know that things followed quite a different path.

A mind-set based on confrontation has proved hard to defeat. At first, unilateralism seemed to prevail, but it soon became clear that a lonely global policeman could not calm down the growing instability – quite the contrary. More recently, the temptation of a new Cold War has resurfaced as if the world was still the same - but it is not. I believe it is first of all our responsibility as Europeans and our interest to pass this message; to explain that now the world is not anymore like that. And we have the responsibility and the interest to pass this message to all our friends, all our partners, all our interlocutors in the world. I believe no one in Europe can regret the end of an era of iron curtains and armed peace. But there is more than that. A new confrontation between world powers will not bring stability to the world, it would only let our common enemies prevail. It would soon give way to global chaos.

For this is the alternative for our generation: a cooperative world order, or chaos. Terrorist groups like Da'esh are a threat to all nations, with no exceptions. Their goals are, in a way, very traditional: money, natural resources, power. At the same time, chaos is their breeding ground and their political goal; this is new. Against agents of chaos, we need cooperation among all nations: a global alliance against global disorder.

Multilateralism is not the forgotten dream of the Nineties – it is the clarion call of our age. Still, we cannot forget that the map of world power has changed and is still

changing very quickly and in a very confused way. Preserving our global rules is not enough: we need to reform and reinvigorate them and I share many of the ideas that Bert was mentioning. New powers and new issues shall be part of our global agenda.

2015 has been an exceptional year for multilateralism. It has also been an exceptional year for crisis but also have to see the positive trends. Cooperation among world powers – the EU, the US, Russia and China – has led to a historic deal on Iran's nuclear programme. The UN General Assembly and the Security Council in New York saw a growing consensus on the fight against Da'esh and other terrorist groups, and we had a global agreement on the Sustainable Development Goals.

We have a duty to bring such cooperation now to the next level. We have a duty, responsibility to push forward our work for a political transition in Syria. With the same mind-set of global powers and regional powers, cooperating, even having very different and very difficult agendas. And we have a duty to reach another global deal in Paris, on how to mitigate climate change and let me underline the European Union, putting together a Climate Diplomacy Action Plan, managed and still manages in these difficult days of negotiations to play a critical role because we have managed to put together common goals, common ambitions and the strength of the European Union system plus 28 diplomacies all over the world. And this had made a difference. We have this responsibility.

Today, as much as ever, the United Nations remains the lynchpin of our global engagement. A strong, effective United Nations is what we need. For decades we have joined forces to advance peace and security; development and human rights. We work with the UN on peacekeeping and partners from around the globe have joined our missions in the context of the EU's Common Foreign and Defence Policy. On counter-terrorism, the EU and the UN act together on foreign fighters, terrorist financing and countering violent extremism.

We also need to develop global rules in fields where we do not yet have strong global institutions, such as Cyber, Energy or Space. To do so we should be innovative, involving new partners, as well as deepening tested relationships such as our transatlantic bond.

But it might also be time, inside our European Union, to start thinking how the UN mechanism might be improved. Here I will not start to put ideas on the ground but I welcome ideas in this respect, because let me say, traditionally we say the work in the UN is not for the European Union because it is not the European Union having a seat there and it is one of the fields where Member States feel most strongly about their own national seat, their own national positions and interests. But let me say that, even in this first year I was in office, I have tested how well the coordination of the Member States in the UN system can work. It worked very well on the SDGs, it worked very well on the financing for development, it worked very well on the UN reflection on the Iranian deal, it worked very well on the UN Security Council resolution endorsing the Naval operation we have in the Mediterranean against the traffickers and the smuggling networks. So, there are fields of growing importance where the EU dimension of coordination and common goals within the UN system can work. I will not go further than that for the moment, but I think this is a field for reflection.

Our European Union cannot afford to be a conservative player on the global stage and also inside, but I come to that later. We can and should be a driver of change. This is our potential and I believe this is our responsibility because there are not many actors in the world that can have that size, that power and that common vision.

Global architectures and global alliances will be crucial, but they will not be sufficient. In living memory, power has never been so diffuse. New regional powers seek for recognition on the global stage. Non-State actors can be crucial to put end to a war, or to stabilise a country or to prevent a conflict.

We need cooperation on a global scale. But we also need to strengthen regional and sub-regional architectures. Our European Union has provided our continent with unprecedented peace. We were reminded of that very wisely. We had peace, stability and economic prosperity, even sometimes we tend to forget, how fortunate and lucky we are today. This is the result of courageous, wise choices that our founding fathers did many decades ago. And of the end of the day it was the choice of cooperation rather than confrontation after the most terrible war that the world had experienced. The same can happen with other regional organisations. If you look at it, the less we have regional integration, the more we have conflicts and crisis. Look at the different

areas of the world. The less you have regional architectures, regional cooperation schemes, the more you have instability because you do not have the regional instruments to cope with that. Our cooperation with our friends and partners around the world is based mainly on this. We are trying to support and encourage regional integration and partnerships. That is true in the Arab world and the Middle East. That is true for Africa with the African Union but also with the G5 Sahel. That is true in Asia with ASEAN or in Latin America with CELAC. The European Union can pivot a global network of regional alliances. A new global order can benefit immensely from improved regional cooperation, in terms of security and in terms of narrative on building this multilateral new global order.

And on a smaller scale, addressing or preventing a crisis might require that we engage with regional and local players. We need to enlist all who have a concrete impact on the ground, with local authorities, with the communities, with the civil society and with religious leaders. We need to pioneer a new form of engagement in conflicts, by sharing responsibilities with other powers, with other forms of power.

We have to think mega-regional and mini-lateral at the same time. Work global, broker regional and act local. And of the end of the day, these three dimensions are familiar to the European Union; all the three of them. And probably we are the only ones in the world that have a solid, strong experience on these three different levels. Three dimensions are closely linked more than ever before. And on all levels, our guiding light should be the same. We cannot split the world in new spheres of influence: in an age of fast power shifts, it would only lead to perennial conflict. Think of the Middle East: drawing borders on sectarian lines would only produce more instability, more sectarianism and more hatred. In this world, walls are made to be torn down: they can only hide reality, but they do not make it better. We do not need new fences; we need to build up new spaces of coexistence and of cooperation. This is true in the Middle East as much as inside Europe. It is somehow the idea, the very same idea of the European integration, taking to a different level.

Such fragmentation and complexity might scare everybody and also us, but it shouldn't, because if there is one global power that has the tools to face such complexity – that is our European Union for good and for bad because we are complex ourselves. This is at the heart of the Global Strategy: the strategy will be

truly global only if it takes into account all our foreign policy potential – from development to defence, from trade to innovation and research, from energy to health. We have a complexity of tools. Sometimes this complexity makes us slow but in most of the cases, this complexity can make us a unique power in the world.

So, let me conclude by saying that while we argue and work for win-win solutions for the world, for our region, we can also argue and work for win-win solutions for the European Union. This reflection on our strategy comes in a difficult time for the European Union, and the Dutch Presidency will have to cope with a difficult six months ahead of us. The basic concept of win-win diplomacy, which is I believe the core essence of the European work, is that the strength of the other can be, sometimes - and in most cases is - my own strength. And, in difficult times, we need strong partners and not weak partners. There is nothing to be afraid of.

Now this is true also inside the European Union. I believe we are seeing, sometimes taking part in the wrong debate as if integration, further integration on the European side is opposed somehow to sovereignty and national sovereignty, as if the European project and the coming together as a Union is a way of renouncing sovereignty. I believe the contrary is true. The European Union is the only way to regain sovereignty in this complicated world. So, the strategy is also about us: about trying to make it emerge clearly that national interests, the interests of our people, of our citizens can be better served through European common policies and that it is indeed a national interest of Member States, and it is an individual interest of our citizens, to invest in this unity of purpose and in this common direction to make our common European Union interests emerge and define in a very pragmatic and concrete way best ways to make this work and to do this together. Let me say, I count very much on these two days of reflection and the work of the Institute and the Dutch Presidency that will accompany us during this process - because we will present the strategy in June so, it will be fully under the Dutch Presidency's responsibility. So, we share this. I count very much on our common work to make this work because, again, it is very much about the world, it is very much about the future but it is also very about the present and ourselves because defining who we are and what we want for our role in the world is a key part of our internal debate and again, the internal and the external reflection have never been linked so much as it is now and I would say, existentially vital.

Thank you very much.