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**Speech by HR/VP Mogherini at the EUISS Annual
Conference, Towards an EU Global Strategy – The
Final Stage**

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I. A BEGINNING NOT AN END

Merci Jean-Marc, Antonio, merci beaucoup chers amis. Surtout permettez-moi de remercier Jean-Marc personnellement et la France, non seulement pour leur hospitalité dans cette salle magnifique, mais aussi, surtout, pour la coopération que nous avons établi pendant les premiers mois de ton mandat ainsi que pour la vision que tu as partagée avec nous de ce que l'on peut, ce que l'on doit faire ensemble.

Je te remercie aussi pour avoir prononcé des mots qui sont presque révolutionnaires à ce moment de l'Histoire européenne, sur ce que, ensemble, les Etats Membres peuvent et doivent faire davantage pour l'Europe, pour notre Union.

Je pense qu'il est assez courageux et visionnaire de le dire, mais aussi très réaliste. Parce que, finalement, comme tu l'as dit très bien, il n'y a pas de défis qui ne puissent trouver une solution sinon européenne.

Let me switch to English.

With this Strategy we don't aim to argue that the time for Member States' National Foreign Policy is over. On the contrary: **I believe that national diplomatic traditions and networks are one of the most powerful assets for the European Union. The strength of a Member State can be the strength of the entire Union. And the strength of our Union is a point of strength for each Member State - an asset that cannot be replaced.**

I would like to read you some words that someone from outside Europe wrote today in a British newspaper. I will read you the words and then tell you who wrote them:

(Beginning of Quote)

You should be proud that the European Union has helped to spread British values and practises - democracy, the rule of law, open markets - across the continent and to its periphery. The European Union does not moderate British influence - it magnifies it. A strong Europe is not a threat to Britain's global leadership; it enhances Britain's global leadership.

In this complicated, connected world, the challenges facing the European Union – migration, economic inequality, threats of terrorism and climate change - are the same challenges facing the United States and other nations. And in today's world, even as we all cherish our sovereignty, the nations who wield their influence most effectively are the nations that do it through the collective action that today's challenges demand.

When we negotiated the historic deal to verifiably prevent Iran from developing a nuclear weapon, it was collective action, working together with the permanent members of the UN Security Council and Germany that got the job done. And the European Union's seat at the table magnified the United Kingdom's voice.

When the climate agreement in Paris needed a push, it was the European Union, fortified by the United Kingdom, that ultimately helped to make that agreement possible and today we have the signatory of that in New York. (End of Quote)

This is Barack Obama in the Telegraph today.

It shows that it is very clear from outside the European Union - and I believe more and more from inside the Union as well - that **national power and European power, national assets and European assets go hand in hand.**

As a Union of Twenty-eight, we can mobilise public and private investments, soldiers and observers, an unparalleled diplomatic network.

We hold in our hands a unique mix of hard and soft power. Our different histories, geographies and diplomatic services complement each other – provided that they do not compete with each other. It is our collective political responsibility, to make sure we have synergies rather than competition that would only benefit non-Europeans.

And this is part of the (EU Global) Strategy's goal. It will help us focus on our common values and interests. It will be a reminder

that the only way to advance these values and interests is through European cooperation.

This is why the last ten months have been so important and intense. Let me thank the European Union Institute for Security Studies, its Director and all the people who are working on this Strategy. We have invested a lot of time and energy in this process; and a lot of thought. The EUISS, the External Action Service and the Commission have organised a huge number of events. There has been a lot of work by the institutions, to make sure that the Strategy does not belong only to the institutions.

This is the way we should work: institutions, including the EU institutions, are not at the centre, but at the service of our societies.

This is a Strategy for the whole of our Union – our common EU policies, national governments, institutions, local authorities, the European foreign policy and security community **and for all our citizens.**

This is why all of you here today have been involved from the beginning. We needed to hear the views of experts, of academia and of policy makers. But we also needed to hear the view of the broader foreign policy community and of all who have a stake in it – that is, all Europeans.

Later today we will award the three winners of the Jean Monnet essay competition. They are smart young people with impressive CVs. Above all I truly appreciated one thing: they all show how much our common foreign policy matters to their everyday lives –

their life prospects, the security of their cities, their ability to move freely across borders.

And this is the crucial point: **our foreign policy has a direct impact on peoples' lives, inside and outside our Union.** We received valuable contributions from outside the European Union, which highlight our strength, or potential points of strength, for our common action as Europeans, that do not necessarily come to mind. This was very interesting to read because part of our role in the world is to know how we are perceived in the rest of the world. It demonstrates the scope of our potential, which we sometimes underestimate.

Before the ink on the Strategy is dry, it has already helped us shape a network of people. This network will have to be expanded and it will stay with us in the years ahead. **Our conversation doesn't end today. In many ways this is only the beginning.**

An innovative and effective European foreign policy is not something you can sketch out on a piece of paper and that's it. It's a living thing. And it will need all of us to make and keep it strong. So, we will keep you busy for quite some time...

We will have to constantly confront the priorities we have set with the reality that surrounds us. And from day one, we will have to work on the implementation of the Strategy – for instance with sectorial papers and action plans.

As you all know, at the very beginning of this process we decided to go for something different from the previous security strategy. This is not to downgrade security and defence issues, on the

contrary: We will look at a much broader set of issues, and we will look at each issue from a security angle, too.

For each objective, we will identify the defence-related instruments we need. But in the implementation phase we will have to focus on each issue and each instrument.

II. A STRATEGY TO PROMOTE EU INTERESTS

At this point, the Strategy is taking shape.

We started with a very basic question: what do we want as Europeans from our foreign policy? Of course it should provide our citizens with the security and prosperity they want and promote our values – democracy, human rights and the rule of law, and an international order based on the respect of agreed rules and on cooperation.

The two parts of the equation can only go hand in hand: security and prosperity, democracy and a rules-based international system. The best way of achieving results on our interests, is promoting our values.

3. PRINCIPLES GUIDING OUR EXTERNAL ACTION

The point is: how do we get there? **You've heard me say this quite a few times: we live very un-strategic times.** A picture or a video goes viral, and the pressure on policy-makers skyrockets. It is precisely in these moments – **when the pressure is huge, when all voices tell us "attack!" or "withdraw!" – it is in these moments that we truly need to stay rational and think**

strategically. In other words, **we need to follow our principles, while we react to a changing reality.**

Engagement: The first principle (for the EU's external action) is that we need to **engage** in international affairs. **Turning inwards is simply not an option. It will make us more, not less vulnerable.** Closing our eyes until it goes away – that's not a policy that can defeat Daesh, stabilise Libya or Ukraine, stop climate change, or manage migratory flows of refugees.

Responsibility: **Engagement alone, even with the best of intentions, can have painful, controversial effects if it's not guided by a sense of responsibility.** We know the dangers of military adventurism all too well. **Intervening abroad can backfire without a clear idea of what happens next, of how to engage with key players and how to build partnerships.**

Partnership: So the third principle we can never forget is partnership. **The days when the weakness of my neighbour was my strength are long gone.** Instability in our region can only bring instability here in Europe. **We need strong neighbours and strong cooperation with them. No country alone, and not even a united Europe, can carry the whole world on its shoulders.**

We have a number of strong partners, with historic ties, close to home and far away: investing in our friendship means investing in our future, but also in the present. In a contested world, however, we also need to build consensus among those with different views, and find common pathways towards peace and stability.

SO these are our three principles: Engagement, responsibility, partnership. **Our engagement needs to be responsible, and it needs to be cooperative.**

4. PRIORITIES OF THE EU GLOBAL STRATEGY

We then need to translate these principles into concrete action. The EU Global Strategy looks at the coming five or ten years: listing today's crises wouldn't make much sense. So we decided to identify five broad priorities, the immediate test for our foreign policy.

A stronger Union: First, the European Union must strengthen itself, working on defence, security and solidarity. This includes building up our defence and doing so in a cooperative manner, making our intelligence services work together. It includes working against radicalisation in our societies, monitoring hybrid threats, investing in cyber security and strategic communications, strengthening our energy security. But this is also about preserving the Schengen system with new asylum rules. In a nutshell, **we need a 21st century approach to security.**

Resilience: Second, we need to invest in the resilience of States and societies in and around Europe, to the east and the south. We need to support effective and democratic institutions, protect the space of civil society, address migration in the countries of transit and origin, promote socio-economic development, fight climate change and promote energy transitions. This will need to be fleshed out country by country. **If we put**

together all our assets and resources, as a real Union, we can truly help our partners resist all kinds of shocks.

An integrated approach to crises: Third, while we do all we can to put an end to the current crises – from Syria, to Libya, from Somalia to South Sudan – **we must also prevent the next crisis. We must address problems before they boil up and get out of control. This may not get us in the headlines, but it is the most effective way to save human lives and protect our interests.**

Regional orders: Fourth, we must strengthen regional orders – **because the causes of conflicts have an increasingly trans-national nature.** Our cooperation with the US and NATO can only grow stronger, as much as that with the African Union, CELAC, and ASEAN. In some parts of the world, like Africa, we need to strengthen existing organisations. In other cases, we need new and creative formats, building for example on the inclusive process we have started in Vienna on Syria. **In the long run, a network of bilateral, trilateral, sub-regional and regional organisations can be the best base for a more cooperative global order.**

Global governance: So our final priority must be better global governance, one truly fit for our age. This was a year of important achievements for the international community, from Iran deal to the Sustainable Development Goals, to COP21. We need to stick to this path and work on a system based on rules.

We must also be imaginative. The nature of threats changes by the day. We call it the “predictable unpredictability” of our future. If we keep this in mind, we understand the

international system doesn't simply need conservation, but change.

Unity: Think of these five priorities, and it is crystal clear that **the Strategy will mark the beginning of our work, not the end.** But the point of the work we have done so far was also to test a method. We have tried to include all institutions, all Member States, and people from all walks of life in the definition of our foreign policy. **We have tried to work as a true Union, a Union of countries and a Union of citizens.**

If we listen to our citizens, there is – perhaps for the first time – the feeling that our Union is facing an existential threat. But the threat does not come from the outside. **The only existential threat is a Union with no solidarity, a Union of free-riders and lone warriors.**

Our Union will not work if we are part-time Europeans.

A Union that works with our full time commitment, with a vision, a strategy, that is what will work, that is what we need. Because **we will not have solutions to today's problems, if we will not have Europeans solutions,** and Jean Marc is right – the threats give us already so many instruments that we can/have to use – including on security and defence.

I am convinced we can make it. This strategy, this collective vision, can also help our Union to re-discover its identity, its soul.

Thank you.