# Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (MEDAC)

### The Mediterranean and the Global Strategy

H.E. Federica Mogherini

High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy / Vice-President of the European Commission



Med Agenda — New Series

**MEDAC Publications in Mediterranean IR and Diplomacy** 

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Malta, December 2016

#### Med Agenda — New Series

#### Introduction

On 2nd November 2016, MEDAC was honoured with another high profile visit, this time of H.E. *Federica Mogherini*, EU High Representative for European Foreign and Security Policy and Vice-President of the Commission.

H.E. Ms. Mogherini delivered a keynote address at the Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (MEDAC), University of Malta, on the theme of "The Mediterranean in the EU Global Strategy". The event was opened by the Pro-Rector for Students & Staff Affairs Outreach Dr. Carmen Sammut. The Hon. Dr. George Vella, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Malta, delivered the Introductory Speech.

During the lecture, which we present in this publication, H.E. Ms. Mogherini highlighted numerous security challenges in the Mediterranean that the EU is currently seeking to manage in a more effective manner including the issue of human trafficking, the instability in Libya, the conflict in Syria and ongoing diplomatic initiatives related to the situation in Cyprus and the Middle East.

The lecture was followed by a Q&A session with the students of the University of Malta, moderated by Prof. Stephen Calleya, Director of MEDAC. Approximately 150 students and academics attended this memorable occasion which was also broadcast live on: https://twitter.com/ecrepmalta/status/793824330270466048

## "The Mediterranean and the Global Strategy"

#### by **H.E. Federica Mogherini**

High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy / Vice-President of the European Commission

Address delivered at the Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies MEDAC University of Malta, 2<sup>nd</sup> November, 2016

Toommence my address by saying that last time I was in Malta was for the Summit on Migration we had with the African countries one year ago. Today I come here straight from Tunis, actually closer to Malta than Brussels. This is of particular interest as sometimes people tend to think of Malta as the edge of Europe; sometimes the periphery of Europe. Actually in the world of today Malta is rather the gate of Europe, which means also the heart of Europe because in the world we live in, gates and doors are the centre of our systems. It is more about connections than about separate systems. It's a world with multiple centres: centres for growth, centres for progress, for exchanges among cultures; and there is no doubt that the Mediterranean is one of the key centres of our World.

Seen from far away, seen from Latin America or Japan, when we are asked about the European Union's (EU) foreign policy, when we are asked about Europe, we are often asked about the Mediterranean. This is because if you look at the world, the Mediterranean is the place with the highest intensity of crises

and conflicts and this is where we live. So, and I promise I will also come to the positive and opportunities in due course, it is clear that this is a region that is at the centre of the world's attention, and thus the Mediterranean is at the centre of the EU's global strategy. But it is not just conflicts that are to be found in our neighbourhood, this is also a region of immense opportunities. Half of the population of the southern shore of the Mediterranean is under the age of 30. In Europe it is rather the contrary. So we might be complementary to each other also in demographic terms, but there is also an immense thirst for progress and innovation. We sit at the connection of three different continents: Africa, Asia and Europe and many more cultures within each society of the societies that are sitting around the Mediterranean. Inside each of them you find a mix of different cultures.

Now I believe strongly that Europe is a global power and shapes our world, our past and our future only when we engage decisively in the Mediterranean. Maybe this can be obvious for an Italian, a Maltese, for many of us in this room, but this is also true for all Europeans and not only as an Italian or Maltese. I think this is clear to all of us, not just the coastal countries. We are engaged, we are convinced that the Mediterranean is at the centre of our entire Union. From the Atlantic, from Portugal to Ireland, to the Baltics. This sounds very obvious to you, very obvious to me, to the Hon. Dr. George Vella, to all of us in this room. But let me tell you that just a couple of years ago, I started in this role as High Representative actually exactly two years ago, part of our societies, part of our leaderships did not necessary realize how important this region is for the entire continent. I remember very well a time of our common work where we had to struggle a bit to put the Mediterranean on the agenda. Today sometimes I have to remind our European friends that we also have to continue focusing on the East, and what is happening in Europe, but this is to say how much things have changed in terms of priorities and focus in the last two years. Indeed, this is not only because

of crises and conflicts in the region but also due to a ton of opportunities that have brought the Mediterranean very high on the world's agenda. It is also because we have invested politically in our role in the Mediterranean. Somehow this is a test: if we live at the centre of the most complex region in the world, it is our responsibility to take care of our region, to take care of our relations with our region, and this is also laying the ground for a credible global role of the EU. The first test is close to home. So the Mediterranean today, I would say, is not only a preoccupation or top priority only for the countries of the south of Europe. I think we can confidently say today that the Mediterranean is a top priority for the entire EU. The Mediterranean is central to our global strategy. The Mediterranean is somehow the place where the entire EU is testing itself both on opportunities and on crises.

I mention two or three issues that are obvious to all of us, why and where we need to focus our attention as Europeans in these days and months and hopefully not decades ahead? One is Syria, one of the greatest tragedies of our times that unfolds at the gates of Europe. It is clear that we do not have a magic wand to end the war in Syria and it is quite clear that no one has. The solution will require a different combination of factors, all global powers, all regional actors and all parties on the ground playing a role. Although Syria is so close to us, we know very well we cannot solve this crisis alone. This is not a justification for doing nothing but on the contrary. And this is why I was in Iran and Saudi Arabia in the last few days engaging with all actors, regional and local to start working on the future of Syria. This is also the reason why we keep working very hard together with the United Nations and humanitarian agencies on easing the humanitarian situation in Aleppo. And I just notice that the Russian authorities extended cessation of hostilities of the entire coast for some more days. It might sound too early or too optimistic in the current situation with ongoing fighting in Syria intensifying to plan and to work with the regional powers on the post-conflict in Syria. This is what we start to do with regional powers. We have decided together with the foreign ministries of the European Union just a few weeks ago to start this work first because we believe we cannot repeat the mistake of being unprepared for the day after the conflict. So many conflicts of today are the result of non-managed post-conflict moments. So it is wise to start preparing for the day after when the day after still seems very far away because we know that stabilization, reconstruction, reconciliation, is part of making the peace a victory. Once you manage to end the conflict moment sometimes you still have to win the peace and that is the most delicate moment in a conflict cycle. That is what the EU Global Strategy calls an integrated approach to conflicts and crises, engaging at all stages of the conflict with all players and with all of our tools. This will assist in preventing problems further down the road.

But we believe, and have decided to do so, that it is important to start working on the post-conflict of Syria today, also for another reason, because starting the work on post conflict, reconciliation and reconstruction can open the way for some common ground that can lead to some positive dynamics also in the immediate term. If we manage to bring some degree of consensus on some elements and keep expectations low especially in the immediate term. The positive leverage that the European Union can play is about offering a scenario for the future, giving hope that at a certain moment conflict can end and the country can be rebuilt. With the Syrians taking their responsibility and with the potential cooperation of regional powers including the EU accompanying a moment of transition, reconciliation and reconstruction. I know it sounds too optimistic, sounds too visionary but as we were all reminded recently with the commemoration of a great Mediterranean politician and statesman Shimon Peres that left us one month ago. Dreaming about a great future is what makes you work for achieving it and you are never be too optimistic when you do our kind of job. So this is what we are trying to establish, a pattern for regional powers to come together and share some positive views on what the Syria of tomorrow can look like. With the unity the country will need to keep and with the differences of the society that need to be protected. This is also something we are trying to do in Libya and we will have more time to discuss this during the Q&A session. But on Libya, let me just say one reference to the Maltese Presidency in the first six months of 2017. I believe this presents an excellent opportunity for all of us to focus even more than we are doing now to try to solve the situation in Libya, given Europe's proximity to the Mediterranean. Sometimes when you refer to Europe, you think of Brussels, Paris, Berlin or London or even further north than that, but actually it is just half an hour flight from Malta to Libya. So this closeness, this being part of the region, this being part of the culture, and eating the same food, this tells us everything as we speak similar languages. We understand each other, we can work with each other. I believe the Maltese Presidency can help Libya to find its own way and Europe to find its way to accompany Libyans in finding their own way, and the international community and the regional players to accompany this process in a constructive and active manner.

But beyond the crisis, we also see that there is a huge potential around our Sea and again I see our Sea, I say our Sea, not as an Italian or Maltese but I say this as being European because this is our region, this is our Mediterranean Sea. There is a lot of potential. I was in Tunisia just yesterday and what you see there is a country that has invested in democracy. There is the youth half of the population that has hopes, dreams and frustration and looks towards Europe in terms of values and projection and you see the EU in Tunisia (taking Tunisia as an example as I was there), you see that the EU supports the economy accompanied in transition, works with the young people especially in creating jobs and opportunities for those that just obtained a degree. Trying to invest in the potential, we do not need to invent the

potential, we just need to let it express and find its own way of flourishing. Obviously Tunisia is also a country that sees radicalization as a major problem, as we see in Europe. We sometimes tend to see relations on a scale or through a paradigm that are not properly those of our times. As if Europe has found all the answers to all the questions or the solutions and still South of the Mediterranean they are trying to catch up. My impression is that we share in our societies, many of the same problems from youth unemployment, to radicalization and we need each other to find respective solutions that might be different from one society to the other but it is not anymore that one side tells the other how to proceed. My impression is that we need to help each other to find new answers to questions we share and develop all the potential we have there, potential in the field of human capital, potential in the field of youths and exchanges and potential in terms of energy or trade.

When we talk about energy we often refer to the need to diversify our energy sources. Well the Mediterranean, mainly the east Mediterranean, or Algeria or Africa is a perfect opportunity for Europe to diversify its energy policies. So there is a lot of positive agenda on our table as well. But in order to manage the crisis and the post-war conflict situations or working on the diplomatic track to find a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, or exploring the potential of our trade relations or economic ties or energy ties, we have to work together. All of this works only if we work as a Union. If you look at North Africa or if you look at Africa as such, there are millions of young people looking for jobs and for better opportunities. Look at the demographics and economy and you will see giants, continent sized powers. Look at our common security in Europe, in a world where no super power alone holds the key to global peace and finally everybody realizes that, or almost everybody that none of our Member States, none of them, has the power, resources, the size to go it alone. And I do not say this because I am in Malta. I always say there are only two

types of Member States in our EU, those that are small ones and the Member States that do not yet realize they are small. But we have something that others in the world do not have, actually no one else in the world has, which is our Union.

So we should not be scared about the large size of issues we have in front of us. We should be aware of our potential and our strength. I sometimes say, and people look at me a little bit in a strange way especially in the last few months, that the EU is a superpower and I think we should be aware of this and also proud to be Europeans because sometimes we do not realize the power we have. If you do not know about your power and you do not use it, you loose it. So what are we? Together we are a Union of half a billion citizens, the largest world economy even after 8 years of economic and financial crisis, the first trade partner everywhere in the world, the first humanitarian donor in the world, the first provider of development assistance in the world, and I could continue by including the fact that we are in most partnerships in the world, with the UN, NATO, allies and friends, a global security provider because our soft power does not mean we do not have power. It means that we use our hard power in a way that is complementary to our soft power. We use it the European way, which is different from others. We have a special way even when we use our soft power.

Seen from the outside sometimes the power of the EU is seen more clearly than seen from the inside. What I hear in Washington, Buenos Aires or in Seoul is that the EU is great. American Secretary of State John Kerry visiting Brussels just a few weeks ago, gave a wonderful speech on Trans-Atlantic relations, finishing by saying 'I wish you could believe in yourselves as much as we believe in you'. I would read this and put it in the old school of the EU because sometimes we tend to forget how much we have and should be proud of. It does not mean everything is perfect, far from that, but it's like the EU was in a sort of existential crisis.

We are not teenagers and we are not turning 16 next year. Thus we should be confident and self-confident about what we have. Despite the mainstream narrative that we are divided, that we are not united, we are already acting as a Union, a true Union.

On foreign policy, Dr. George Vella, can confirm that on most of issues, if not all issues in foreign policy, you would not find one issue easily where we are divided. We might have different views, but this is a plus. This is our strength, we live in different geographic locations. Living in Malta gives you a different perspective than if you live in Tallinn or Dublin, and we have different histories. But this is the richness of Europe. So I will say look at both the ways in which we bring different views and even advantages inside our European debate. It is important that these different views that we bring in together emerge in our common decisions. If our common decisions are united that is what counts and not the fact we come into a common rule. Most important is that we decide together, what we act together for our common interests and values. And most issues of foreign policy, if not all, we do decide to work together in the same direction and for the same purposes. People refer to this normally as speaking with one voice. This is an expression I hate because I think that our strength, our richness is not speaking with one voice and it is not democracy and in every single country sometimes, in every single political party in Europe you have different voices. Yet the most important thing for me is that our different voices, the pluralism of our voices, inside the EU sing the same song. We represent the same vision and all of us work on a daily basis putting together all our different instruments, different European institutions, different Member States, towards the same objective and coherent policy. A Union that decides together and a Union that manages to deliver together to its citizens. I give you one example, two parallel examples, then I stop, both related to the Mediterranean in fact.

One is Operation Sophia, our military operation under the EU flag, in the Mediterranean. We decided to set up this Mediterranean operation to disrupt the networks of human trafficking in the Mediterranean but also to save lives because to me, as an Italian but most of all as a human being, and as a mother, it was a shame to see that the EU was not acting when hundreds of people were dying in the Mediterranean Sea. It is true, we are still facing too many people dying at sea or we are still seeing too many people dying in the desert. We should not focus only on those that we see. When we established this Operation two and a half years ago I was told by our excellent teams in Brussels, that it will take many months, 6, 7, 8 months to become operational and it will be winter. You know this is an emergency. This is urgent, people are dying at sea and they are dying in the hands of criminal organizations that are making money from people's desperation. That money is probably financing other kinds of crime so it is urgent we act. We established the Operation in one month. That was a rapid time which means that yes we can, when we have a clear objective, when we know it is important and, when we are together united and determined things move fast even in Brussels

But it is true that there are a lot of decision making procedures, there is a lot of bureaucracies and we do not like this. I have to tell you that I see in Brussels that civil servants work very diligently. So I think it is fair to recognize the professionalism and dedication of all those people. It is true decision making is complex because we are 28 countries but we managed to establish a military operation in one month, and commence operation a couple of months later, being endorsed by three consecutive security council resolutions adopted by unanimity. This investment is a great expression that the EU can be operational, united and a believer because it saved in one year and a half tens of thousands of people with assets from 25 Member States, being endorsed by the UN security council resolutions. Operation Sophia has started

to arrest several smugglers and freezing their assets. Again this is not a magic wand. It will not solve this issue in one day or one year or in a two year programme. This is the Union that works, takes decisions, making it operational, achieving international consensus and achieving results. This is the Union that I like. This is the Union that makes it possible to capacity build and we are also working on another step of Operation Sophia. I would like to mention here because I believe that Malta, first of all, is contributing in a wonderful manner in this Operation but also because Malta can help us in the next steps. The next step we just started a few days ago, mainly training the Libyan coastguard. This might sound like a small step but the training of the Libyan coastguard is actually a major development and I tell you why with one anecdote.

Some of you might have heard about a movie called 'Fuocoamare'. The cast are all brave residents from Lampedusa, including the doctor of the Island who has over the years seen a number of people in desperate conditions. Every time I met the residents on the Island, or in Brussels or elsewhere they were passing only one message. Do something for the Libyan territorial waters because most of the people are dying there. Well as you know, as you are studying these issues, EU operations can operate in international waters. Thus we do not enter Libyan waters but what we can do is to work with the Libyan authorities. Well while there are plenty of questions marks about what the Libyan authorities can do, the key here is to work in partnership and empower the Libyan coastguard so that they can do the dismantling of networks of traffickers effectively in the Libyan waters. Actually before they start and save lives inside Libyan waters Operation Sophia is going to be an element that is going to be more effective both in terms of dismantling traffickers and also in terms of saving lives. This is one example of what we have achieved in terms of working well together, in a joint approach and in partnership with our neighbours. There is another policy action that is also linked

to migration. Having said that the Mediterranean was not too prominent on the agenda two years ago of the foreign policy of the EU. Migration was not a priority topic on our foreign policy agenda which was, I believe, quite severe because it is quite clear that the migration phenomenon is not something new in the EU and has to be dealt with urgently.

Let me tell you one last example of the EU at work which is related to the work we have done one year ago at the Valletta Summit. I think this is exactly the turning point of our approach on migration. For the first time probably, we started to realize that cooperation and partnership with our partners was linked to migration, to manage migration, and I won't say stop migration because I am one of those convinced that for demographic and economic reasons Europe needs migration. The point is to manage migration. Imagine the EU territory from which all the migrants will disappear tomorrow. You would have a major economic and social crisis: entire sectors will collapse. So the point is not stopping migration but to make it sustainable and make it work in full respect to the people.

Most of the people in Europe refer to the last event of the refugee crisis as a European crisis. We have to focus on the refugee crisis as a migration crisis. It is first and foremost a crisis for the refugees and migrants, and not for us. I see some of you nodding. Speak out because this is a cultural fight inside our EU. We have to win because it is human beings. It is people not numbers, and if you look in the eyes of the refugees and hear their stories and you think of the European past, when our fathers, grandfathers, mothers and grandmothers, were crossing the Atlantic or North and South, or across other oceans to find a proper life we should be a little more sensible. Nevertheless, we need to manage migration better.

So what we did in Valletta last year was to decide together with the African countries partnerships to manage migration together better. We had babies out of that Summit, (not physical babies, of course) but we started to work on migration compacts starting with five priority countries in Africa, countries of origin and countries of transit. We also started to put in place something that I believe will be revolutionary, which is a European External Investment Plan, to attract private investors to Africa, and accompany them to face the risks in going into fragile States. We are also prepared to accompany them in policy dialogues, security measures and priorities in terms of sustainable development objectives. Thus not for the sake of making profit but also for the sake of the sustainable development of these countries. This is a process that started to achieve results by sitting at the same table with our partners in Africa and not with the approach 'we have a problem, we need you to solve this but we have an issue that is affecting our societies, your societies and millions of people in the world. We have the instruments together to make it sustainable from a humanitarian perspective, an economic and social perspective, and try to make it work and then I believe this shift in mentality will slowly achieve more results.

I am glad that this approach was accepted by the UN General Assembly last September. This is the key that is in the Global Strategy that describes that all the work we are doing in the Mediterranean Sea, that we share with our neighbours, is the word 'resilience'. As Dr. George Vella highlighted in his address, building resilience of states and societies is essential. The time for the illusion of strong men is past. Today strong societies make strong institutions of their countries. So during the last few years, we have focused a lot on crisis management. Tackling emergencies is obviously a must but it is not enough. Now I believe we are together concentrating more on preventing the next crisis, the next emergency by building resilient States, resilient societies and including every single step of crisis and conflict cycles so that we avoid crises and conflicts to return after their acute peak is over. Of course our work on resilience does not start tomorrow or

today, its already ongoing but we need to focus and streamline all our tools in a much more effective way. I think we have good examples from all around Europe that we obviously can use in a more visible manner. A good example here in Malta is the Institute of Criminal Justice and the Rule of Law that is doing an excellent job in the training of judges and security forces from Africa on terrorism cases and it is a good tool for counterterrorism that we must integrate with other policies of conflict resolution that are ongoing. Another instrument, they were here in Malta just last week, is the Anna Lindh Foundation, which is doing an excellent job with especially young people and this idea of bringing young leaders from across the Mediterranean together. Thinking of the future common Mediterranean region is exactly the key and I would like to thank Malta and Dr. George Vella for the hospitality and the great leadership shown in having this young leaders summit of the Mediterranean. We are going to follow this up in Brussels for sure.

I stop here by saying that I believe that really engaging with the young generations across the Mediterranean and across Europe is the way to build a peaceful future. It is our Sea, full of history, sometimes heavy history and sometimes it is bringing problems more than dreams but I think, I am convinced, it is a common Sea, full of a positive future provided that we build this common future together. This requires your work together with ours and this is why, if you allow me today, I would like very much to listen to comments, suggestions, and indications of what you believe would be a good way for the EU to contribute to this future. If we manage to get the Mediterranean right on track, that would not only be beneficial for the EU, or for the Mediterranean, but would be the best contribution we can give to global security and global stability.



### About the author

H.E. Federica Mogherini
High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and
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European Commission



☐ H.E. Federica Mogherini

#### Federica Mogherini

Italian nationality. Married with two children.

High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy / Vice-President of the European Commission 2014-present

Minister of Foreign Affairs and international Cooperation of Italy 2014

Head of the Italian delegation to the NATO parliamentary assembly 2013-2014

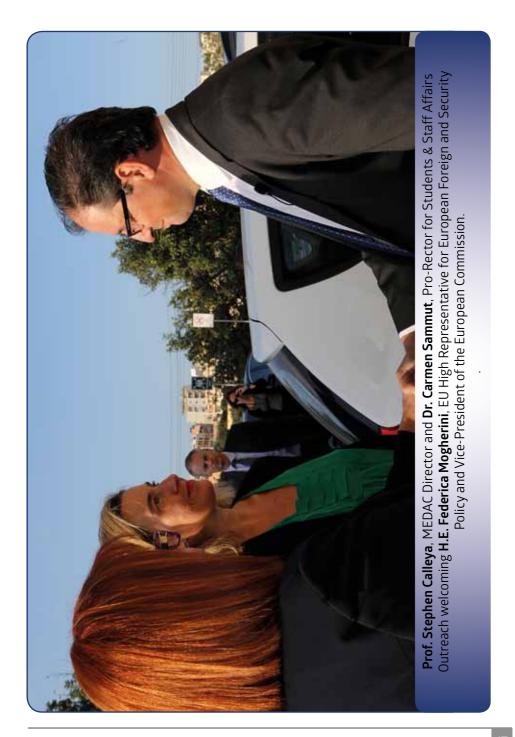
Member of the Italian Parliament 2008-2014

Member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe 2008-2013

Member of the Italian Institute for Foreign Affairs (IAI) 2008-present

Fellow of the German Marshall Fund of the United States 2007

Degree in Political Science from the University of Rome 1994



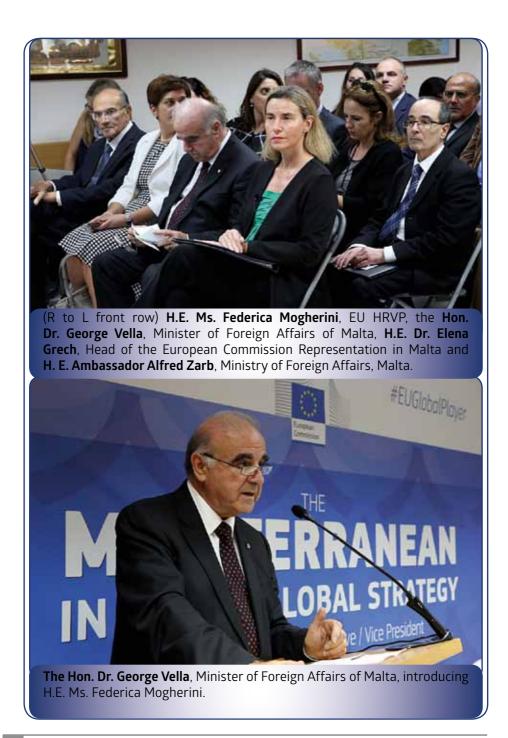


**Prof. Stephen Calleya**, MEDAC Director with **H.E. Ms. Federica Mogherini**, EU High Representative.



H.E. Ms. Federica Mogherini signing the MEDAC guest book.







H.E. Ms. Federica Mogherini, MEDAC and University lecturers and students in attendance during the introductory address by Maltese Foreign Minister the Hon. Dr. George Vella.



**H.E. Federica Mogherini**, High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy / Vice-President of the European Commission



H.E. Ms. Federica Mogherini commencing her keynote address at MEDAC.



**H.E. Ms. Federica Mogherini** highlighting the importance of the Mediterranean during her address.











session.



The lecture by H.E. Ms. Federica Mogherini attracted great interest among students of MEDAC and other students at the University of Malta.



Approximately 150 students and academics attended this memorable occasion at MEDAC which was broadcast live on the Internet.

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The Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (MEDAC) is an institution of higher learning at the University of Malta offering advanced degrees in diplomacy and conflict resolution with a focus on Mediterranean issues.

MEDAC was established in 1990 pursuant to an agreement between the governments of Malta and Switzerland. The Academy is currently co-funded by the Swiss Agency for Development and Co-operation (SDC) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Malta. The Geneva Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (HEID) was among MEDAC's foreign partners. More recently in 2009, MEDAC concluded an agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany, represented by the Foreign Office, in turn represented by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and established a German Chair in Peace Studies and Conflict Prevention.

In 2015 MEDAC celebrated its 25th anniversary. Since its inception, MEDAC has acquired a solid reputation both as an academic institution and as a practical training platform. We are fortunate to count over 700 alumni from 59 different countries who have completed successfully the post-graduate courses offered by the Academy. The EU's enlargement towards the Mediterranean, that included Malta in 2004, and the recent transformation of the political landscape throughout the Arab World have resulted in an ever increasing demand for MEDAC's programme of studies.

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- Master of Arts in Diplomatic Studies (M.A.)
- Master of Diplomacy (M.Dip.)
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- Diploma in Diplomacy (DDS)

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