

MONDAY, 6 OCTOBER 2014
BRUSSELS

THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

HEARING OF FEDERICA MOGHERINI
VICE-PRESIDENT-DESIGNATE OF THE COMMISSION, HIGH
REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNION FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND SECURITY
POLICY

1-002

VORSITZ: ELMAR BROK

(Die Sitzung wird um 18.35 Uhr eröffnet.)

1-003

Der Präsident. – Ich möchte die Anhörung eröffnen mit der Kandidatin für das Amt der Hohen Beauftragten / Vizepräsidentin der Kommission. Frau Mogherini, ich bedanke mich sehr herzlich, dass Sie heute hier sind, und freue mich auf die Diskussion, die wir ja schon einmal in anderer Art hatten, als Sie kürzlich als Vertreterin der italienischen Ratspräsidentschaft zu uns gesprochen haben.

1-004

I would like to remind you that in line with the guidelines for the approval of the Commission set out in the European Parliament's Rules of Procedure, Parliament evaluates Commissioners-designate on the basis of their general competence, European commitment and personal independence. It also assesses their knowledge of their prospective portfolio and their communication skills. You have received by mail and have in front of you today the replies from the Vice-President-designate to the preparatory questionnaire, partially prepared by the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

I would like to remind you of the structure of the hearing today, which is similar to the one with Commissioner-designate Hahn. The Vice-President-designate is invited to make an opening oral statement of no longer than 15 minutes. She will also have five to 10 minutes at the end of the meeting for a closing statement. After the introduction there will be time for around 45 questions from MEPs. The first round of questions will be asked by the representatives of political groups and non-attached Members, followed by the Chairs of the Subcommittee on Security and Defence, the Committee on International Trade and the Committee on Development. These 11 Members will have one-minute questions and one-and-a-half minute answers, half a minute follow-up question and one-minute answer. Other Members are invited to ask questions insofar as they are on the list here, that is one question for one minute and two minutes for one answer.

This speaking time was organised by the political groups and I would like to say that everyone should respect his speaking time, otherwise we will run into difficulties. I think we did it quite well in the hearing with Commissioner Hahn, but you see that I have problems today with my voice and I will be unable to interrupt people if they speak too long so I will just cut off the microphone! Be aware of that and please be understanding about my voice and do not try to say 'I am coming to my last sentence'. I think then we can do it properly.

After the debate the Commissioner-designate will have five to 10 minutes for her conclusions and then I will wrap up the meeting.

1-005

Frau Mogherini! Wir gehen mit großen Erwartungen an Ihre Amtszeit heran. In den letzten fünf Jahren hat sich die Entwicklung eines Auswärtigen Diensts vollzogen, die Entwicklung der Politik der „drei Hüte“, die ich als Probezeit bezeichnen möchte. Wir wollten mehr Synergieeffekte erreichen, indem der Hohe Beauftragte gleichzeitig Vizepräsident der Kommission ist, mit all den Möglichkeiten dort – voller Kommissar, Führung des Clusters der Außenbeziehungskommissare, Möglichkeiten der Stellvertretung, die dort angesprochen sind –, und indem die Möglichkeit genutzt wird, dass der Auswärtige Dienst, der jetzt doch schon in erheblichem Umfang aufgebaut ist, mit den Kommissionsmöglichkeiten zusammengefasst wird, und mit den 140 Vertretungen in den verschiedenen Ländern in der Lage ist, soviel *Output* zu produzieren, dass man daraus Inhalte entwickeln kann, mit denen auch Führung im Außenministerrat wahrgenommen wird.

Was wir brauchen – gerade in den Bereichen, die immer noch Einstimmigkeit erfordern –, ist intellektuelle Führung, um auf dieser Grundlage zur einheitlichen Stimme Europas zu kommen, um in dieser immer gefährlicher werdenden Welt die Interessen unserer Bürger wahrzunehmen und zum Frieden und zur Freiheit in unserer Nachbarschaft und darüber hinaus beizutragen. Sie bekommen hier in einer ausgesprochen spannenden Zeit die Gelegenheit, ein solches Amt wahrzunehmen.

Wir möchten Sie dabei auch daran erinnern, dass wir noch eine Reihe von Fragen haben, die implementiert werden müssen im Hinblick auf das, was vereinbart worden ist, was die parlamentarischen Rechte in diesem Spiel der Außenpolitik ausmacht. Wir haben immer gesagt, dass Außenpolitik die Zuständigkeit der Exekutive ist. Aber ein Parlament spricht über parlamentarische Demokratie, über Kontrolle, über Information und über frühzeitige Konsultation mit, und natürlich auch dadurch, dass wir abgeschlossene Verträge zu ratifizieren haben und dass wir über das Budget entscheiden, sodass daraus ein Zusammenspiel entstehen könnte. Ich bin optimistisch, auch nach den Gesprächen, die wir gehabt haben, dass wir hier vielleicht zu einem sinnvollen Ergebnis kommen, und freue mich deshalb auf diese Debatte.

Sie müssen außerdem wissen, dass wir auch Wert darauf legen, dass wir hinsichtlich der Besetzung des Auswärtigen Dienstes, für die wir die Ein Drittel-Ein Drittel-Ein Drittel-Regelung getroffen haben, der Auffassung sind, dass nicht die Häuptlinge bei den Mitgliedsländern sind und die einfachen Soldaten bei den Gemeinschaftsinstitutionen. Ich möchte Sie auch daran erinnern, dass wir eine Vereinbarung hatten, dass in das Spitzengremium des Kollegiums des Auswärtigen Dienstes ein Vertreter entsandt worden ist, der seine beruflichen Geschicke auch aus dem Europäischen Parlament heraus entwickelt hat.

Ich glaube, dass wir hier eine Basis haben, auf der wir unsere Arbeit entsprechend sinnvoll gestalten können. Wir sind jedenfalls bereit, dies konstruktiv zu tun.

Federica Mogherini, Sie haben das Wort.

1-006

Federica Mogherini, *Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy*. – I will speak English and will apologise to my French-speaking friends as French takes too much time. English makes my challenge a little easier, as having 15 minutes to draw on plans for five years all over the world is particularly complicated and, for an Italian, basically impossible. So I am counting on very good questions to go into the details on many different aspects.

I will start from us. As you said, Chair, we are living in very difficult times. All around us, if you look at Kobane, at the 3 600 victims in Ukraine, at approximately the same number of people that have died so far from Ebola, if you look south-east, if you look at Lampedusa – where I was just a couple of days ago – and if you look at global issues that seem far away but still affect our citizens' lives and our own future very much, I think the question we need to answer is the questions that our citizens ask us. In this difficult world, in these difficult times, what does the European Union do? Where do we stand? How do we make sure that we play our role in these difficult times?

We have our tools. I would say that, after the Lisbon Treaty, we do have these. We do have an External Action Service in place. We need to spend the next five years shaping our common policy, our common vision and our common strategy. That is my first task for the next five years – to shape a real common policy. I know that sounds naive for some of us – maybe you too, I do not know. People say that Member States will obviously always have a foreign and security policy and some people say we do not need a 29th one, and I completely share that view. But, at the same time, all of us and all of the people out there know very well that there is no way of dealing with these difficult times and this difficult world if we do not exercise together our duties and our responsibilities. We need to think big

and to do it together. We need a long-term vision to prevent crises and to manage post-crises. We need to think big, with a far-reaching look at the global landscape, and we have to realise that this is in our own interest.

There is not one single internal priority of the European Union that is not linked to an external dimension. There are things that today cannot be done by any of our Member States alone. So that is why I think it is in our own interests to do what President Juncker mentioned in his speech in July in the Parliament – to make use to the full of the EU's potential externally.

Now what do we need, in my view, to achieve this goal? Three things.

First, I think we need ownership by all of us, in all Member States. We need to build our common vision together from the very beginning. It is too late when we get to a table to agree a text. It is too late when we get to react to a crisis that is already in place. We need to share a vision from the very beginning. That is why I will start my mandate in the first months by paying a visit to the 28 capital cities, starting with the next Presidency, Latvia, meeting not only the government and not only the Foreign Ministers in the government, but also the parliament, and Members of the European Parliament, if you are available, but also NGOs, civil society organisations, think-tanks, academies and the foreign affairs community in each and every Member State to build a common vision and priorities for the European Union foreign and security policy – to start building it. The positive point is that we have five years to work together.

Second, we need to work together. I will be happy if, five years from now, there is no 'us' and 'them' when the European institutions refer to each other, and there is just 'us, the European Union' – that being the Commission, the EEAS, the Council and the European Parliament. I would like to work on connecting institutions, and I know I will have special responsibility in that as I have different hats – we can discuss how many there are. I know that a lot will depend on how I manage to give the highest political input for structures to work together because, and I am very clear on this, I cannot ask structures to work together if I do not work with all of them myself. That is why I have decided – and I have announced – that from the very first day of my appointment I will move, together with my Cabinet, to the Berlaymont Building. That does not mean that I will leave the EEAS. It means that I will work to make the EEAS the centre for all the external action of all European institutions, which is how it is supposed to be. This will also mean that I will go to College meetings. My Head of Cabinet will go to the 'Hebdo' to prepare the work. We will need to share our work.

Third, we need to coordinate all actions and all policies that have an external impact – with the external relations Commissioners but also with others because there is no single portfolio that potentially has no impact on our external policies and actions. I would mention here in particular energy, trade, migration, climate, the environment and all the others. We have agreed with President Juncker that I am going to coordinate and chair a group that is going to meet every month in different formats, depending on the agenda. The first meeting of this group will take place in the first week we are in office at the beginning of November, also because we need to coordinate internal and external policies more, and more efficiently.

If we look at the major challenges to security, it is very clear that we need that coordination: think of terrorism, think of migration flows, think of security and defence. We need to work in different formats according to the agenda, content-wise. As I mentioned security and defence, let me also say that I count on my little – but still fair – experience as a Member of Parliament in the Committee on Defence in the Italian Parliament and also with the NATO Parliamentary Assembly. I count on developing security and defence cooperation as it is settled as one of the four priorities of the strategic agenda that the European Council adopted in June, referring to Article 21 of the Treaties: 'preserve peace, prevent conflict, strengthen international security'. This would be the light for me.

In talking about security and defence, I know very well that this is also one of my hats, as Head of the European Defence Agency, and that I am going to do this in full, working with the European Union Institute for Security Studies, chairing the defence councils – not only the formal ones but also the informal ones – and visiting our missions and operations, both military and civilian.

I know that I can count on the European Parliament, and on this committee in particular, to build on its experience and its visions to do this, which is a challenge. I know that it is not easy, but I think I can count on building a special relationship with you, not just because I need to fulfil an obligation and not just formally, but because it is my political interest – and I think it is also your political interest – to start a partnership and work together for the next five years.

If we manage to do all of this, I think we will also manage to exercise our responsibilities, as I mentioned before. That means, for me, that what I suggest to you first of all is taking care of our part of the world, which is the most complicated one at the moment: not only the neighbourhood but also the extended neighbourhood – the neighbours of our neighbours. Starting from the Balkans and Turkey, I believe that the enlargement policy is the best, if not only, guarantee for long-term transformation in terms of democracy, stability and economic development.

The east. I think we will need greater EU attention in different forms to the east, starting with full support to Ukraine in terms of security, institutional reforms, political processes, economic challenges and energy challenges. We will need to support Moldova and Georgia, especially in the coming months. We will need to work with Armenia, Azerbaijan and Belarus on our way forward. We will need to face our Eastern neighbour – Russia – by, in the immediate term, trying to have full implementation of the Minsk Agreement – on all points – and supporting Poroshenko's efforts to have peace in the east of his country. Russia, as I said in this very room one month ago, might not be a partner at the moment, which is a picture of the situation today, but it is still a strategic country in the world and it is firstly a neighbour to Ukraine, so I guess we will need to deeply reassess together our relations with Russia in the next five years.

I said we would need greater attention to the east. I say at the same time we need greater attention to the south. In the Middle East, in particular, the EU has been an effective payer and needs to become an effective player. At the same time, we need to develop more and more a common framework for common action to stop ISIL, which is not a state and not Islam but a major global threat and a threat to all of us.

We will need to pay major attention to Libya, which risks being the next in line, and there I see a big EU role to be played together with the UN and the neighbouring countries. But we need also to pay attention to the success stories and not make them become unsuccessful stories. Tunisia comes to mind, but also Morocco. We will need to work a lot with regard to the south, and to the southern neighbours of our southern neighbours, in Africa, which is not only a receiver of aid but a partner politically. Being an Italian, let me also mention the fact that we will have to pay attention to the far north, to the Arctic, because now it can be quite quiet, but it is not to be taken for granted that it stays quiet in the years to come.

I said that we need to pay more attention to the east and to the south. This is not a contradiction from me. Crises do not wait in turn; they do not queue up and wait for us. We need to do all at the same time and we will need to do all at the same time altogether, otherwise it will not be effective.

I know it is challenging, it is getting more and more challenging, but I am getting to the end. In this difficult situation in this difficult world in these difficult times we are facing, I think we can count on key partners that are for us not only friends but people we can work with in a very reliable way. I am

thinking of the transatlantic partnership which is now, more than ever, strategic. Security-wise – and I am ready to work with the new Secretary-General of NATO, Jens Stoltenberg, who is also a very good friend of mine – as closely as possible. Economics-wise, I know that you have been discussing TTIP with Cecilia – and I guess it might be the case we come back to that during the questions, but let me say that trade is not only an economic instrument but also a strategic instrument – as well as global challenges.

Let me also mention Latin America amongst the key partners. Not only the two strategic partners we have there, but Latin America and the Caribbean as a whole, as potential strategic partners to the European Union. I see the EU-CELAC summit meeting in June as an opportunity to relaunch our partnership. There is huge potential there in political terms and in economic terms that is not to be taken for granted, and we need to have political investment there as a European Union.

Talking about regionalism, which is clearly of value in Latin America, I come to Asia where we definitely need to work with our partners – China, India, Japan, the Republic of Korea – but we need to work on the regional groupings, working together also with countries that we do not see as key partners, but on which a little bit of our political investment could pay a lot.

Apart from that, I think we will need to work together with other organisations – regional and global – starting with the UN for sure. I mentioned NATO. Let me mention the regional ones that will be, and are, more close to us: the OSCE, the Council of Europe, the League of Arab States, UfM, the African Union. We have common work, just as we have a common agenda. This will be on climate change, which is part of our foreign policy, and has to be even more part of our foreign policy. It will be on human rights, where I think as Europeans we have a particular responsibility in developing a coherent agenda, including our internal policies, and let me mention three main domains and I know we can come back to these: media freedom, women and the freedom of religion.

Last but not least, and I shall close on this, there is the UN Post-2015 Development Agenda. I am ready and happy to work with Mr Mimica on that. As the European Union, we can play a major role in shaping an agenda that is valid not only on typical development issues, but also on the environment and on sustainability, and an agenda that is valid at the same time for external action and for internal action. Thank you very much. I am looking forward to your questions.

1-007

Cristian Dan Preda (PPE). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Vice-présidente désignée, le Parlement européen a beaucoup travaillé à la mise en place du service européen pour l'action extérieure. Nos conseils n'ont pas toujours été pris en compte – parfois oui, parfois non – et les résultats, quant à eux, sont mitigés.

Comment comptez-vous poursuivre le travail de consolidation institutionnelle du service? Comptez-vous y travailler avec le Parlement? En particulier, envisagez-vous de respecter l'engagement pris par M^{me} Ashton, il y a cinq ans, d'avoir, aux côtés de la haute représentante, une personne qui connaisse très bien la sensibilité du Parlement? En relation avec cela, quand pensez-vous être en mesure de nous présenter, pour discussion, la nouvelle stratégie européenne de sécurité, que vous évoquez dans la réponse au questionnaire qui vous a été envoyé?

1-008

Federica Mogherini, vice-présidente désignée de la Commission - haute représentante de l'Union pour les affaires étrangères et la politique de sécurité. – Premièrement, je vais commencer à travailler à l'évaluation du service. Il y a des éléments qui sont déjà mis en œuvre par des mesures dont j'ai commencé à parler. Il y a d'autres éléments, en revanche, pour lesquels je devrai, je pense, prendre un peu de temps pour vérifier, de l'intérieur de la structure, ce qui marche et ce qui ne marche pas, parce que j'ai vu ce qui marche et ce qui ne marche pas en tant que ministre, j'ai étudié beaucoup de dossiers, mais à présent, je pense que la pratique va être utile pour déterminer exactement quels sont

les instruments, les mécanismes à changer, les éléments qui, dans la structure, sont à modifier complètement, ceux qui font l'objet de l'évaluation et qui sont mis en œuvre – j'ai quelques notes sur les éléments qui, à mon avis, seront positifs –, mais je veux vérifier tous ces points personnellement.

Quelques petits points: je pense que j'aurai à travailler sur l'amélioration du mélange au sein de la structure, en termes de nationalités, sur le plan des niveaux auxquels les différentes nationalités sont représentées, en termes d'équilibre entre les hommes et les femmes aussi, sur le plan de la répartition des personnes, entre les diplomates nationaux et les hauts fonctionnaires de l'Union, peut-être même en termes d'âges. Il faut simplifier la chaîne de décision. Il faut travailler sur le rôle des représentants spéciaux. Je pourrai peut-être revenir sur ce point.

En ce qui concerne la stratégie de sécurité, je pense – et j'ai évoqué ce point dans le questionnaire écrit – qu'il serait utile de profiter de la réunion du Conseil européen qui se tiendra en juin prochain pour lui soumettre des réflexions sur les recommandations qu'il avait formulées en décembre 2013, et éventuellement, à partir de là, lancer une grande discussion, une grande réflexion publique, pas seulement institutionnelle, sur une stratégie ou un livre blanc, par exemple, qui nous permette d'étudier les scénarios des menaces auxquelles nous sommes exposés en ce moment.

1-009

Cristian Dan Preda (PPE). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Vice-présidente désignée, j'aurais voulu savoir si cette nouvelle stratégie vient en complément d'une réévaluation de nos partenariats stratégiques.

Vous avez dit un mot à l'égard de la Russie, je vois que vous voulez trouver la bonne expression pour décrire nos rapports avec ce pays, mais que pouvez-vous dire des autres partenariats stratégiques, de leur contenu, de leur liste? Qu'envisagez-vous en principe?

1-010

Federica Mogherini, vice-présidente désignée de la Commission - haute représentante de l'Union pour les affaires étrangères et la politique de sécurité. – L'essentiel n'est pas de trouver la bonne expression, mais bien d'avoir de bons partenaires et de bonnes stratégies, je pense.

Quant au calendrier, je pense qu'il ne serait pas honnête de ma part de le donner maintenant, mais je vois clairement que nous devons réviser notre stratégie. Le monde d'aujourd'hui est complètement différent de ce qu'il était quand nous avons mis au point notre stratégie. Je pense qu'ensemble – Commission et Parlement – nous devons y travailler et aussi nous occuper de nos autres partenaires stratégiques, pas seulement de la Russie.

1-011

Richard Howitt (S&D). – Ms Mogherini, some people say that EU Member States do not want a strong EU foreign policy, yet you have set a goal – and I quote from your questionnaire – for 'Europe to play a central role in global politics.' As Italian Foreign Minister, you have been a member of the Foreign Affairs Council, so what lessons do you bring with you on how you can give leadership to ensure that the EU foreign ministers are more united in pursuing this goal. Secondly, I do welcome the work of your predecessor as High Representative, but could you tell this hearing one thing that you plan to do differently from Baroness Ashton? Finally, wildlife experts say that if you are confronted by a bear you can choose between standing close to others in your group, making as much noise as possible to present a more intimidating front or, alternatively, speaking softly and reassuringly, gently retreating backwards. If you confront a Russian bear, Ms Mogherini, which tactic would you use?

1-012

Federica Mogherini, Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – I like this committee! That is the reason why I committed myself to come often. That is probably the best part of my job.

And that probably answers question number two – I will be present much more often. I have said that I count on having a special partnership with the European Parliament. As a Member of Parliament myself, I enjoy Parliament. So it is not my duty, it is my pleasure and my interest, to be here as much as possible in different formats – formal, informal, in committee, in the special committee – and I think we can work very well together. That is the answer to the second question.

As regards the Foreign Affairs Council (FAC), as a Minister I found it frustrating when it came to spending hours discussing whether paragraph 2 had to be postponed or put before paragraph 1 or after paragraph 6, and we spent hours and hours on such matters. That is normal and natural as we know that conclusions are important because they constitute our position. But we can probably make better use of our time and the time of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs if we plan for strategic thinking in that format too.

We have an excellent network to use. We have huge potential politically. If we manage to plan our working methods so that we are not only catching up with what is already on the agenda but also spending time thinking of what could come onto the agenda in a year's time, that is what I would try to achieve for the FAC.

On the bear – I don't have that much experience with bears – maybe someone from the Nordic area here might be more experienced than me! But I would say that we need a mix of assertiveness and diplomacy. The balance would also depend on the reaction of the bear.

1-013

Richard Howitt (S&D). – On your point about strategic thinking, foreign ministers will always put national interests first – no one should blame them for doing so – but how can you urge them and push them and prompt them to think strategically so that we get a better EU foreign policy?

1-014

Federica Mogherini, Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – I think that we have to get out of this 'national interest versus European interest'. We have common interests, otherwise we would not be together. The European Union has started like this. It is a matter of the ideas, but it is also a matter of interests, and if we get to share, in defined ways and together, the points on which we have to work together, because it is in our interest to work together and it is the only way to achieve things that are interesting for us, I think then the work would be a little bit easier. I do not say easy, but a little bit easier. There will fields where this might not be possible, but there are a lot of things we can achieve only by working together, and that is a national interest – working on a European interest together.

1-015

Charles Tannock (ECR). – Madam High Representative-designate, you mentioned the rise of ISIS and an assertive Russia under President Putin as two of the main current threats to European security.

What role do you envisage in forcing GCC countries, particularly Qatar and Saudi Arabia, to desist from funding extremist Salafist/Wahhabi groups which are at the ideological root of some of this problem, and in ensuring that Turkey makes genuine efforts to prevent jihadis from crossing over from its territory?

Furthermore, whilst there is EU consensus on the threat of ISIS, sadly the same cannot be said of the response to Russia, where we see continuing splits amongst the Member States. In the event of Russian escalation by attempting to create a land corridor to Crimea by military means, what further EU punitive sanctions would you consider proposing to the Council, for instance the suspension of Russian access to SWIFT, and perhaps even a call on the Member States to supply Ukraine with the necessary means to defend itself?

1-016

Federica Mogherini, *Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy*. – First, I think that the fact that we have built a large coalition (or a large partnership, rather) to face and fight ISIS is a positive thing.

We have to remember that it started, actually, here in Brussels. I was one of the Foreign Ministers signing a letter to Catherine Ashton asking for a Foreign Affairs Council on 15 August – which is not a normal day, especially in Italy or in other countries – for having and sharing a vision and a framework for a common reaction to the threat of ISIS, at that time only mainly in one part of Iraq and, obviously, in Syria. The fact that this has developed into something that we have tackled during the UN General Assembly with a format that is extremely large and bold, I think, is part of the answer to your question.

Having different aspects on the table, not only the military ones but also tackling finance to the movement, but also the cultural message, the religious message, the humanitarian aspect all makes part of a strategy, and the fact that the main countries involved in the strikes were Arab countries and that picture of the woman from the Emirates leading one of the planes on the first day was such a powerful message, I think, culturally. That could develop a different framework for the Gulf countries to relate to the region. It is a huge crisis, but it is also a huge opportunity for the different regional actors and powers to start working together as they share a common threat and maybe also common interests.

The same goes for Turkey. I do not have time now to elaborate on that, but what we have seen in the last weeks is quite incredible. The amount of refugees that Turkey was receiving already was huge. The amount of Kurdish refugees that in the last weeks Turkey has received is also something quite relevant, and we all know very well that in the end, the role that we can have there is to try to facilitate a dialogue between and among the regional powers in the region.

1-017

Charles Tannock (ECR). – My group had deep reservations about the creation of the European External Action Service but it now recognises that a functioning service has been created. Baroness Ashton, to her credit, oversaw its establishment and has left a legacy in terms of the Geneva talks, aimed at preventing the acquisition of nuclear weapons by Iran, and also the Belgrade-Pristina talks on Kosovo. How will you build on this legacy, ensuring cost neutrality from the European Union budget and providing a service that gives value-added to the individual Member States rather than duplicating the efforts of their national diplomatic corps?

1-018

Federica Mogherini, *Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy*. – It is not possible to reply in twenty seconds, so I will take the previous question and I hope some part of this one.

If Russia attempts to take the corridor, I think that first of all we will need to stay united. It is true. Member States have had different sensibilities, let us say, on how to manage this crisis but we managed to stay together, among Member States, and with the other partners in the rest of the world.

This is the most valuable added value that we have, staying united, and I think we will need to prevent this situation from happening, rather than thinking of how we react if it does.

1-019

Annemie Neyts-Uyttebroeck (ALDE). – Madam High Representative-designate, in your answers to the questionnaire you underwrite a need for unity of purpose and unity of action to strengthen the EU's comprehensive approach to external conflicts and crises, and to enable the EU to become a truly global actor.

That is all very well, but what we see is that the EU struggles to juggle more than one severe crisis at a time, and that it is not only we who are struggling to meet several crises at a time but that most major players at the moment face the same difficulties.

How do you intend to improve and to coordinate better the analysis and response capabilities of the Commission, the EEAS, the Council and the Presidency of the European Council so as to really develop and strengthen the EU's response capabilities, not only as a reaction but if possible also as a prevention?

1-020

Federica Mogherini, *Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy*. – I think, as I said in the beginning of my opening speech, I think we have the tools and we have the political potential. What we have to work on is, for sure, the political will – sometimes we get late because we spend a lot of time discussing, sometimes we get late because we spend a lot of time deciding; we have difficult deciding lines, decision-making processes – some of this is probably difficult or impossible to change, but much of this is possible to change. ‘Streamline’ is the European English word, I understand, for doing that.

But this is key. Sometimes we have even too many instruments and tools, and we have to rationalise and put them together. I think of the response to the crisis. We have different tools that we can rationalise and put together, as well as major integration and complementarity between the different tools we have. If you think of the humanitarian aid; if you think of the development cooperation; if you think of even some parts of other policies that do not have anything in principle to do with crises but can prevent crises from happening, I think of the support that we have for democracy or even trade in some parts of it.

That is why we need that coordination at Commissioner level, so that we are aware that all our instruments and policies fit into one unique flow of policy that we should create altogether. That can sound quite ‘up in the air’, but I think that if we limit ourselves to discussing how we use one single instrument and we lack the vision, we are constantly running after our own limits, while we need first of all to get the clear vision of what we need to do and then find the right appropriate instruments and the way of putting them together to develop that and implement that.

1-021

Sabine Lösing (GUE/NGL). – Frau Mogherini! Sie haben es ja eben selbst schon erwähnt: Sie hatten in der letzten Sitzung, als Sie hier im Ausschuss sprachen, gesagt, dass Russland kein strategischer EU-Partner mehr sei. Das wird ja von vielen hier sehr begrüßt.

Für mich und für meine Fraktion ergeben sich daraus einige recht praktische Fragen: Wie soll Russland als einer der *Key Player*, als ein wichtiger Akteur auf der internationalen Ebene in Bezug auf globale Abrüstung inklusive nuklearer Abrüstung und der Implementierung des *Arms Trade Treaty* eingebunden werden?

Wie genau denken Sie sich die Einbindung Russlands bei der Reform des UN-Sicherheitsrats und der UN insgesamt hin zu einer demokratischen Struktur?

Wie kann eine neue, Frieden bringende internationale Sicherheitsstruktur, welche aus unserer Sicht Russland einbezieht, angegangen bzw. errichtet werden, was nicht nur die Abwesenheit von Konfrontation zwischen Russland und der NATO bedeutet, sondern auch, dass es sich aus unserer Sicht um eine einbeziehende Architektur handeln muss?

1-022

Federica Mogherini, *Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy*. – Disarmament, non-proliferation, arms control, this is even

personally a key issue for me. I have been working on this quite a lot as a Member of Parliament. I was the first signatory of the ATT Ratification Law in the Italian Parliament and Italy was the first country to ratify, so I have some background there.

I can also tell you that I intend to work very much on disarmament, non-proliferation and arms control, as a whole, because the three issues are very closely related politically, and I also intend to go to the NPT Review Conference next spring in New York.

As a political sign, I think we have to invest a lot there, invest politically, because this is a matter of security. It is not an ideological issue. It is a matter of our security because if we work seriously on disarmament and non-proliferation then the world is definitely going to become a better and safer place.

Coming to Russia: Russia has not signed the ATT and after the New START Treaty things are getting complicated on the nuclear side. I think we need to engage Russia again and President Obama mentioned that during his speech at the UN General Assembly a couple of weeks ago. I think this is going to be one of the terrains on which it will be crucial that we engage Russia for our own security.

On the UN Security Council: as you know, the EU does not have a common position. Let me say that it would be great if in five years we managed to have one and I would be very happy to work on that, difficult as it seems. But I think that this is one of those things where our citizens sometimes ask: 'Would you not be able to move forward on this too?'

1-023

Sabine Lösing (GUE/NGL). – Ich habe eben überzogen, deswegen verzichte ich jetzt.

1-024

Barbara Lochbihler (Verts/ALE). – Frau Mogherini! In Europas Nachbarschaft sind aufgrund bewaffneter Konflikte Millionen Menschen allein aus dem Irak, Syrien, Gaza und Libyen auf der Flucht. Tausende von Flüchtlingen haben bei dem Versuch, nach Europa zu kommen, ihr Leben verloren. Die EU beabsichtigt, die Verstärkung von Grenzkontrollmaßnahmen in Nachbarstaaten zu unterstützen. Wie wollen Sie sicherstellen, dass die EU-Grenzmissionen einschließlich derjenigen in Libyen nicht Menschen daran hindern, ihr Recht wahrzunehmen, ein Land zu verlassen, um Asyl zu erhalten?

Internationale Reaktionen auf die bewaffneten Konflikte und der Kampf gegen terroristische Organisationen umfassen in zunehmendem Maße militärische Interventionen. Das Europäische Parlament hat eine EntschlieÙung zum Einsatz von bewaffneten Drohnen hinsichtlich der Wahrung von Völkerrecht und internationalen Menschenrechten verabschiedet. Werden Sie sich dafür einsetzen, einen rechtlichen Rahmen für die Nutzung von Drohnen zu erarbeiten, der sich eindeutig gegen die gezielte außergerichtliche Tötung durch den Einsatz von bewaffneten Drohnen durch Mitgliedstaaten positioniert?

1-025

Federica Mogherini, Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – On asylum seekers and migrants, I mentioned at the beginning that I was in Lampedusa on 3 October 2014 – one year after the tragedy that took place there. To me it is very clear that we have a humanitarian duty, a moral duty – even before the political and institutional one – to protect people's lives. That is Europe; that is our values. Now, there are different ways of doing that; there are more efficient and effective ways of doing that than waiting until they cross the sea.

We have to work with the countries of origin – and that is a long term strategy – to stabilise, to prevent crises and to manage crises and prevent dictatorships. We need to work with the countries of

transit, as we can protect and assist people fleeing in different countries of transit with, I think, the assistance of the United Nations system, with the UNHCR. That could be a very effective tool; together we could work on that.

And we need to solve the problems at the roots. Think of Libya – we might come to that later if there is a question on it – and it is quite clear that dealing with that kind of corridor is basically impossible if we do not have a stable country and a stable government there.

On drones, I am aware. I have read the European Parliament's resolution. I think that, like all other instruments or means or vehicles, it is the use that you make of them that makes the difference. There is not something good or bad in itself, it is the policy that is behind it that makes the difference.

1-026

Barbara Lochbihler (Verts/ALE). – In vielen Kriegen und Krisen werden Kriegsverbrechen und Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit begangen, auch in unserer Nachbarregion. Jegliche Lösungsansätze müssen sich mit diesen Verbrechen befassen und Täter zur Rechenschaft ziehen. Wie können Sie Ihre Rolle nutzen, damit die Verantwortlichen für diese Verbrechen auch zur Rechenschaft gezogen werden?

1-027

Federica Mogherini, Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – I would refer here to the historical – and, to me, completely cerebral – role that the European Union has always played in the reference of the International Criminal Court. I think we need to use the international institutions we have, especially when they are effective, and I think that is the case.

1-028

Fabio Massimo Castaldo (EFDD). – Signora Alto rappresentante, in un'intervista del 23 marzo riportata sul suo blog, poco dopo l'occupazione della Crimea, lei ha in un certo senso ammesso una responsabilità europea, evidenziando come l'Unione fatichi ad avere una linea politica comune, e la cito: "anche sull'Ucraina siamo arrivati tardi a ragionare insieme sulla portata vera della crisi, a partire dall'accordo di associazione. Se l'avessimo fatto nei mesi scorsi, cercando di renderlo compatibile con il patto doganale Ucraina-Russia, forse alcune cose sarebbero andate diversamente."

Trovo condivisibili queste sue posizioni, ma mi è parso di notare con rammarico – spero di sbagliarmi – un suo irrigidimento negli ultimi mesi, culminato con le recenti affermazioni su come la Russia non sia più un partner strategico per l'UE. Saranno d'accordo gli agricoltori europei, viste le perdite stimate dal ministro Guidi per il solo export agroalimentare italiano pari ad almeno 100 milioni di euro? Lei ha espresso anche oggi la speranza – da me condivisa – che la Russia possa tornare ad essere un nostro partner. Quali sono le condizioni necessarie affinché questo avvenga secondo lei?

1-029

Federica Mogherini, Vicepresidente designato della Commissione – Alto rappresentante dell'Unione per gli affari esteri e la politica di sicurezza. – L'intervista era di marzo, se ho capito bene. Da marzo ad oggi sono cambiate diverse cose, e non per il meglio. La Russia ha avuto diverse occasioni per andare sulla strada della soluzione politica o diplomatica. Abbiamo avuto diversi *round* di incontri in diversi formati. Io spero che l'ultimo, con la firma del Protocollo a Minsk, sia quello giusto e che sia pienamente implementato e rispettato in tutte le sue parti, a partire dal ritiro completo di tutto il personale militare russo che si trova sul territorio ucraino e a partire dal controllo delle frontiere.

Sull'accordo di associazione ho detto in realtà una banalità – e me ne scuso – allora, come potrei dirla adesso, ovvero il fatto che il dialogo trilaterale che sta avendo luogo adesso, che serve ad allentare delle tensioni e a fare in modo che l'accordo sia favorevole innanzitutto per l'Ucraina, oltre che per l'Europa, forse avrebbe potuto utilmente iniziare prima. Adesso lo stiamo facendo e credo che sia utile farlo. Molti hanno condiviso questa mia valutazione e credo appunto che non ci sia molto di

rivelazione, credo che sia piuttosto banale come osservazione. Parlarne prima forse avrebbe potuto aiutare o forse no, perché ci siamo parlati su tante altre cose e non è servito, ma forse avrebbe potuto aiutare. Sicuramente parlare adesso è utile.

1-030

Fabio Massimo Castaldo (EFDD). – Secondo lei, il ritorno all'integrità territoriale dell'Ucraina è una condizione imprescindibile per riprendere il dialogo con Mosca ed eventualmente annullare le sanzioni? Quanto vede questa ipotesi praticabile considerando che difficilmente la Russia sarà disposta a rinunciare al controllo della Crimea? Riprendendo sempre le sue parole dell'intervista del 23 marzo, come intende agire per impedire che in futuro gli Stati membri arrivino di nuovo troppo tardi a ragionare insieme?

1-031

Federica Mogherini, Vicepresidente designato della Commissione – Alto rappresentante dell'Unione per gli affari esteri e la politica di sicurezza. – Credo che i principi della legalità internazionale vadano rispettati sempre e che questo sia un punto di partenza dal quale l'Unione europea non possa assolutamente indietreggiare. È anche vero che tutto quello che dovremo fare sull'Ucraina, in questo momento così come prima e così come nel futuro, dovrà essere deciso soprattutto dagli ucraini. Credo che questo senso di *ownership*, soprattutto del presidente Poroshenko, che è stato eletto presidente non troppi mesi fa e con una buona partecipazione e un buon risultato, sia centrale e sia fondamentale.

1-032

Mario Borghesio (NI). – Gentile Commissario designato, lei nelle sue risposte ha detto che si impegna a garantire coerenza fra la dimensione interna ed esterna delle politiche dell'Unione europea sulla sicurezza. Molto bene!

A tale proposito le sottopongo due aspetti: il primo è quello evocato in questa sede dal responsabile europeo dell'antiterrorismo, che ci ha detto con chiarezza che c'è un gravissimo pericolo rappresentato dai 3 000 guerrieri di Allah che sono pronti a rientrare nei paesi di origine, in gran parte paesi europei. E il rientro di questi combattenti è un problema che le polizie di tutta Europa temono, anche perché non esiste un *file* europeo dei dati. Qui si pongono alcuni problemi anche riguardo all'utilizzo dei dati PNR. Bisognerà affrontarli con realismo, anche a fronte dei pericoli gravissimi rappresentati da questa sfida.

Voglio anche ricordare al ministro – che è stato ministro italiano – la situazione di colabrodo di Fiumicino e la situazione degli sbarchi sulle coste italiane, che vedono metà degli sbarcati non controllati dalla polizia italiana. Questo è un problema europeo oltre che di dignità nazionale per il nostro paese.

1-033

Federica Mogherini, Vicepresidente designato della Commissione – Alto rappresentante dell'Unione per gli affari esteri e la politica di sicurezza. – Io sono ancora ministro degli Esteri italiano e ho deciso, in segno di rispetto soprattutto per il voto che il Parlamento europeo dovrà fare, di restarlo fino a dopo il voto del Parlamento europeo. Ma sono ministro degli Esteri e non sono ministro degli Interni.

E questo mi porta a rispondere: credo che il tema dei combattenti stranieri sia soprattutto una questione di prevenzione, perché noi ci poniamo il problema di cosa fare per fermare il loro rientro, ma se sono altrove non è meno grave. Abbiamo un problema globale da gestire, e soprattutto un problema da gestire non con categorie fisse. Credo che sarebbe utile avere formati flessibili e più aperti: per esempio, avere ministri degli Esteri che lavorano insieme ai ministri degli Interni e della Giustizia per prevenire e per gestire questo problema. Credo che possa essere una cosa che a livello europeo possiamo promuovere.

1-034

Anna Elżbieta Fotyga (ECR). – Instead of a secure neighbourhood, as provided for within the European Security Strategy, we have burning borders. This situation requires special and timely addressing of threats. How are you going to address this situation in terms of EU policies within the CSDP's possibilities, and also in terms of institutions and capabilities?

1-035

Federica Mogherini, Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – I think we have a lot of instruments and a lot of potential after the Lisbon Treaty is in place. We have not necessarily used that so far. But it is also true that so far we have not had the crisis, or the burning borders you refer to. It is quite clear to me that I will have to work with different stakeholders to work on that. But for sure, working on developing our defence and security policy is going to be a priority – I cannot say priority number one because I have quite some priority number ones, I guess, but in the first circle of priorities.

First, we need to work on the cooperation on defence; we need to use the Defence Agency. That is going to be one of the things we will discuss with the Defence Ministers already in November. The FAC in the format of the Defence Ministers is going to be the first one I am going to chair. We need to work together on that side, because I think it is time – not only for budget reasons but also for strategic reasons – to work much more together also on the defence sector.

1-036

Anna Elżbieta Fotyga (ECR). – How do you envision the role of NATO and, within this, that of the United States, in enhancing our common security?

1-037

Federica Mogherini, Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – As I said, then we were colleagues at the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, so you might know that from that time. I think that cooperation on security with NATO is strategic, and I have planned already, informally – because the decision is yours in a couple of weeks' time, but with Secretary-General Jens Stoltenberg – to meet in the first week of my mandate to work together on this.

Obviously we have different formats, different capabilities, different budgets for defence, different approaches from time to time. But I think it is extremely relevant to work together.

When we mention the comprehensive approach among ourselves, I think we also need a comprehensive approach with our partners, including NATO.

1-038

Linda McAvan (S&D). – I am going to speak about coherence with development policy and humanitarian aid. You mentioned your role in coordinating within the Commission. How do you see that working in practice and how will you work with the Commissioners for development aid and for humanitarian aid?

How will you make sure that you prioritise the needs-based approach, while ensuring that we have proper consideration for human rights issues? You mentioned, for example, the Sustainable Development Goals in 2015 and the importance of those. How will we speak with one voice in a coherent way in the EU?

1-039

Federica Mogherini, Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – This is one of the questions which I will probably manage to answer after a couple of months, rather than any sooner. How will we manage to do that?

The intention is there, and the positive thing I see is that all the other Commissioners-designate share this sense, not of duty – not of ‘we need to do that because somebody has decided it’ – but a sense of urgency from the things that are happening around us. Think of the emergencies that we are facing. Either we work together with the different instruments we have, or we just fail – and we still fail, even with each and every one of our single policies and actions functioning, which is the big paradox of our instruments and our policies.

Think of Ebola. We have quite a large amount of money there. We know what is needed and we have different actors doing different things. We just need a coordinating centre to make sure that things are done where they are needed, when they are needed and in the way in which they are needed. Sometimes you just need the centre of the net to make things happen properly.

1-040

Linda McAvan (S&D). – You mentioned Ebola, and that is causing a huge strain on Africa at the moment. How do you see the relationship between the EU and Africa developing in the next few years? Do you have any particular views about it yourself or any priorities?

1-041

Federica Mogherini, Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – First of all I would really like us to consider Africa not just as problematic, not only as part of the problem list. Africa has also a huge potential, in terms of democracy, in terms of population, in terms of economy, energy, environment, development, human development.

I would see Africa as a partner, not as a recipient (sometimes) of our ‘donor fatigue’, or of our enthusiasm, depending on who we are and where we stand. I really believe that we will need to work with Africa more than working in Africa.

1-042

Bernd Lange (S&D). – Herr Vorsitzender! Frau Mogherini, Sie sind in Ihrem neuen Job auch verantwortlich für die Kohärenz mit anderen Politikbereichen, zum Beispiel mit dem Bereich Handel. Dazu meine dreigeteilte Frage:

Wie wollen Sie die Kohärenz insbesondere hinsichtlich des Artikels 21 des Vertrags mit der Handelspolitik herstellen?

Zweitens: Sind Sie auch bereit, Handelspräferenzen zurückzuziehen, wenn grundsätzliche Angriffe auf Menschenrechte, auf Arbeitnehmerrechte oder auf Umweltstandards passieren?

Drittens: Wie wollen Sie sicherstellen, dass der Europäische Auswärtige Dienst auch die Umsetzung von Handelsverträgen stärker begleitet und überwacht?

1-043

Federica Mogherini, Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – This is one of the areas where we will need to work more, not only with Commissioner-designate Cecilia Malmström but also with your committee. All the trade agreements, and in particular the ones that are more strategic to us, have various aspects, concerning not only trade and not only foreign policy but also many other, different issues.

We will need to share many decisions in the College and to share responsibilities for many of the things you have mentioned. There is clearly a human rights dimension there. For me, human rights, workers’ rights, and especially working with relevant UN agencies competent for these matters, should clearly be put at the centre of our work, in a coordinated approach with the rest of the Commission.

With regard to the way the European External Action Service (EEAS) works, I will, as I said, take some weeks – let us say 100 days, that is fair – to assess from the inside, in terms of structure and the way the structure relates to different issues, what can be revised in the medium term and in the future. I could give some more concrete answers now, but I will be completely frank with you: in some cases, especially relating to the functioning of the EEAS, that would be either the result of my experience as a minister – which would not be fair – or the result of the briefing I have read – which is very good, but not enough.

1-044

Arnaud Danjean (PPE). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la haute représentante désignée, vous avez eu des mots bienvenus sur la politique de défense, qui a été, lors des cinq dernières années, un peu absente, ou qui, en tout cas, ne faisait pas partie des priorités évidentes, et ce en dépit d'un contexte stratégique brûlant et de coupes budgétaires dans tous les budgets nationaux. Il est vrai que cette responsabilité incombe avant tout aux États membres, mais le rôle que vous pouvez jouer pour prendre des initiatives ou orienter des débats est important.

À cet égard, pensez-vous, comme un peu trop le pensent parfois par idéologie facile, que l'Union européenne doit se cantonner systématiquement à des missions civiles, abdiquant tout rôle et toute ambition militaire en faveur d'autres coalitions, comme l'OTAN ou d'autres formats, et confinant finalement l'Union européenne à une espèce de super-ONG, sans ambition militaire, ou pensez-vous que l'Union européenne a vraiment un rôle à jouer en la matière?

1-045

Federica Mogherini, vice-présidente désignée de la Commission - haute représentante de l'Union pour les affaires étrangères et la politique de sécurité. – Merci pour cette question. Je pense que oui, l'Union européenne – d'ailleurs, c'est dans le traité – a un rôle à jouer dans ce domaine. Elle ne l'a pas joué jusqu'ici. Je pense que ce serait bien de travailler sur ce point. Cela fait partie en tout cas des indications que nous avons reçues du dernier Conseil européen et j'ai conscience qu'il va m'incomber spécifiquement de donner suite à cette décision, du Conseil de 2013 notamment, et en juin, nous aurons l'occasion, à mon avis, de réfléchir, d'évaluer et, surtout, de formuler des propositions concrètes.

Je crois que nous devons travailler en particulier sur une meilleure articulation entre les activités de défense et les autres activités de la Commission, et ce sur le plan civil et militaire, mais je pense aussi que nous avons déjà des missions militaires. D'après mon expérience, les missions militaires dont nous disposons fonctionnent très bien, certes de façon limitée, mais cela va dépendre aussi de la volonté politique, c'est-à-dire, bien sûr – vous le savez mieux que moi –, des États membres. Mais je suis d'avis qu'il faudra beaucoup travailler sur ce point.

Comme je l'ai dit, je vais jouer mon rôle de chef de l'Agence européenne de défense, je vais visiter les missions, je vais beaucoup travailler avec les ministres de la défense, parce que dans ce cadre, il est important, bien entendu, de travailler avec nos autres partenaires, notamment l'OTAN mais pas seulement. Cependant, il y a un potentiel dans le traité de Lisbonne qui n'est pas forcément exploité, et je vais voir dans les cinq prochaines années si les conditions politiques pour l'utiliser enfin sont réunies.

1-046

Jacek Saryusz-Wolski (PPE). – The question is: how do you intend to stop Russia's invasion of Ukraine, if not by increased sanctions and by selling arms to Ukraine? Are you in favour of both?

Diplomacy does not work. We do not want a military confrontation. Ceasefire is non-existent. Aggression continues. With regard to the Minsk agreement, Ukrainians who are listening to you now have commented that it was naive diplomacy to believe it might be implemented. So how do you intend to prepare us for the worst-case scenario. You said earlier that you counted on problems

somehow working out, but the wisdom of strategists – and you should be a strategist – is to prepare us for the worst-case scenario.

Lastly, how will you turn your perceived Achilles heel of Eastern policy into your strong arm, as you have declared you will do?

1-047

Federica Mogherini, *Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy*. – You know, I think the military people have a saying, which is: prepare for the worst and work for the best. Is that only an Italian saying? And that is exactly what I am going to do.

I think that we have to work day by day by day, with the Ukrainian authorities, with President Poroshenko, to try and make his own efforts of dialogue and diplomacy work – his own efforts. The efforts of the President of Ukraine – the efforts of the new parliament in Ukraine, once they have the elections in a couple of weeks. That is going to be our role, I think.

Prepare for the worst? Sure, that is possible. And we have to do it on different levels. I do not believe that would be the case on the military side. Even in the Wales NATO Summit that was completely shared – no military way to solve the crisis in Ukraine.

Starting with the Ukrainians – we have to listen. We have to listen to their words, because they have the ownership of their country (or they should have the ownership of the country), and we have to allow them to have the ownership and lead the country out of the crisis.

But we need to prepare in energy terms, for sure. We need to work maybe even on increasing the sanctions – as we can increase the sanctions if things get worse, we could lift the sanctions if things get better. That is the flexibility of the instrument. But we will need to increase more and more the support to the political efforts that the Ukraine leadership is trying to achieve.

Difficult, almost impossible as it is, but if we do not stand at their side and help them in trying to achieve this – with the difficult and complicated political situations they have, dealing with an electoral campaign, with a winter that is going to be probably a nightmare from the economic point of view and from the energy point of view, with elections coming up, with a war on their territory, when they say ‘we need to try and find a political solution’ – who else will be?

1-048

Mariya Gabriel (PPE). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la vice-présidente désignée, l'euphorie du printemps arabe qui avait résonné au sud de la Méditerranée a finalement laissé la place à des évolutions contrastées, voire antagonistes. Dans le cadre de notre politique de voisinage, cet état de fait nous pousse à avoir une approche différenciée pays par pays. Une approche différenciée, oui, mais il me semble que nous ne devons pas négliger la dimension régionale, notamment dans une perspective à long terme, car nous ne souhaitons pas voir les évolutions positives dans certains pays sans cesse menacées par l'instabilité chez leurs voisins.

Sur ce point, mes questions sont les suivantes: proposerez-vous un plan d'action pour la stabilisation de la région? Quelles initiatives pourriez-vous prendre dans le cadre existant de l'Union pour la Méditerranée dans le but d'affronter les défis communs?

Une question supplémentaire sur l'Afrique, notamment sur la radicalisation religieuse: quelles propositions ferez-vous afin de collaborer avec nos partenaires africains pour lutter véritablement contre les foyers de radicalisation qui émergent sur ce continent et que nous ne devons surtout pas négliger?

1-049

Federica Mogherini, *vice-présidente désignée de la Commission - haute représentante de l'Union pour les affaires étrangères et la politique de sécurité*. – Oui, je pense que nous devons surtout soutenir les pays de la région qui ont connu des succès, et ce n'était pas forcément le cas de la Tunisie ou du Maroc, par exemple. Je pense qu'il est fondamental de ne pas seulement utiliser l'Union pour la Méditerranée, qui peut être un instrument très utile pour l'Union européenne, mais aussi d'autres configurations. Je pense au dialogue "5 + 5" qui a très bien travaillé ces derniers mois sur la crise en Libye: une telle configuration nous permet de réunir autour d'une même table les pays voisins de l'Union européenne – parce que nous avons aussi des voisins de ce côté-là, avec qui nous partageons la mer – les pays arabes et les pays africains, qui ont chacun une vision différente.

Je pense qu'en effet, dans le monde arabe – en Méditerranée plus généralement –, nous avons une pluralité de configurations, toujours plus ou moins les mêmes acteurs, mais des crises très différentes. Il n'y a pas une configuration qui soit valable pour tout le monde.

Si l'on se rapproche du Moyen-Orient, il y a d'autres acteurs avec lesquels nous devons travailler, ou pas, mais dont nous devons quand même tenir compte. Lorsque nous travaillons sur la Libye, le Maroc ou la Tunisie, nous devons plutôt regarder au sud de ces pays-là. Je pense que ce serait utile que l'Union européenne comprenne que nous sommes un acteur de cette région, pas seulement les pays de la région, mais que l'Union européenne dans son ensemble est un acteur de la Méditerranée et du Moyen-Orient aussi. Je m'arrête ici sur l'Afrique, mais j'espère que je vais avoir d'autres occasions d'y revenir.

1-050

Sandra Kalniete (PPE). – Madam Commissioner-designate, I have two questions to ask you. Together, Europeans now spend only 18% on the world's military appropriations, against the 30% we spent 10 years ago. This has certainly contributed to exposing European border areas to hybrid war – I mean little green men – to frozen conflicts that are mushrooming on our doorstep. What initiatives and policies are you going to propose to strengthen the common European defence policy? My second question is very much related to that: how do you intend to further the transformation of Eastern Partnership countries into more democratic societies based on the rule of law, in view of Russian attempts to establish a Soviet sphere of influence there?

1-051

Federica Mogherini, *Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy*. – On the budget for defence, that is a long-lasting debate in all our Member States, I think, in different formats. What I think is that we need to work – and that is particularly for us, the European Union – on the output, as working on the input (meaning the amount of money) is not completely in our hands. That is why I was insisting on the necessity to work more on defence cooperation. That is strategic to the pooling and sharing, just to make the title. If we have a chance of being more effective on the military side, it is putting together the capabilities we have. I think that working with defence ministers, working with the EDA, I think we will have to develop this pooling and sharing approach in concrete.

On the attempt of having a Russian influence completely affirmed on certain of our eastern neighbours, I think we have probably the biggest challenge there in terms of cultural identity of the European Union. The attempt that the Russians are trying to have is that of showing that the European choice is bad for the people in those countries. That is why I insist so much on supporting those countries' transition in delivering to their citizens. If we show – and if we manage to show together – that the European choice is good for the citizens in these countries (I think of Moldova, with elections coming up now – difficult ones; I think of Georgia; I think, obviously, of Ukraine), and if the European choice is delivering concrete good results for the people, that would be an attractive pull factor also for areas or parts of their societies that are probably thinking a different way today.

1-052

Lorenzo Cesa (PPE). – Ministro Mogherini, voglio esprimere la mia soddisfazione e il mio apprezzamento al governo italiano per aver scelto lei quale rappresentante del nostro paese nella Commissione europea. Sono sicuro, avendola vista al lavoro come collega, sia nel parlamento nazionale sia nel Consiglio dell'Unione europea, che ce la metterà tutta e che le sue doti – che sono appunto tenacia, passione politica e forte competenza nella materia – caratterizzeranno sicuramente il suo nuovo impegno nell'Unione europea.

Detto questo, le volevo chiedere: come lei sa la violenza contro le minoranze religiose nel Medio Oriente e nel mondo in generale è cresciuta negli ultimi anni in modo seriamente preoccupante. Sono 200 milioni i cristiani perseguitati nel mondo, 200 000 quelli interessati nell'area compresa tra Siria e Iraq, perseguitati che hanno dovuto abbandonare la loro terra e le loro case. Chi è restato subisce atrocità disumane: chiuse scuole e ospedali, marchiate le loro case con l'effigie della cristianità. Le volevo chiedere: considerata la gravità della situazione, quale azione intende intraprendere come alto rappresentante dell'Unione europea?

1-053

Federica Mogherini, Vicepresidente designato della Commissione – Alto rappresentante dell'Unione per gli affari esteri e la politica di sicurezza. – Grazie per il sostegno, per l'amicizia e anche per la domanda. E, anche attraverso a lei, grazie per il lavoro che il Parlamento europeo ha fatto su questo tema e che credo continuerà a fare.

È un impegno importante, perché si inserisce in un impegno più ampio sui diritti umani, su cui il Parlamento europeo ha una credibilità e una forza fondamentale sulla quale conto di poter costruire un lavoro comune, all'interno della quale inserire il tema della libertà di religione, del diritto di culto e il tema più specifico della condizione dei cristiani nel mondo e in alcune parti del mondo.

Credo che, da un lato, sia fondamentale ribadire, come viene fatto da diverse parti – più autorevoli di quanto possa essere la mia – che la libertà di religione e il diritto alla libertà di culto sono valori universali che devono valere per tutti, e che quello che sta succedendo in Medio Oriente non è uno scontro né di religione né di civiltà.

Dall'altro lato credo che sia utile lavorare nello specifico – nel Medio Oriente, in alcuni paesi del Nord Africa e in alcuni paesi africani – sia con il rappresentante speciale per i diritti umani dell'Unione europea sia con l'inviato speciale per i diritti umani delle Nazioni Unite, che oltretutto è di nazionalità giordana, come sapete, e ha un profilo particolarmente utile per lavorare insieme, al fine di prevenire questo tipo di fenomeni in modo molto concreto.

L'altro punto fondamentale, soprattutto quando si pensa all'Iraq ma anche ad altre parti del mondo, è il fatto che gli aiuti umanitari devono arrivare a tutte le comunità. Questo è uno dei punti su cui possiamo lavorare insieme al Commissario designato per coordinare il lavoro. C'è una politica da fare tra autorità, e anche il messaggio che si passa alle autorità dei diversi paesi è molto importante; c'è poi una politica di realizzazione degli aiuti che può concretizzare questo nostro impegno.

1-054

Pier Antonio Panzeri (S&D). – Signora Mogherini, nel preambolo alla Carta dei diritti fondamentali si afferma che l'Unione europea pone la persona al centro della sua azione. Con quella parola si intendeva dare rilievo alla vita materiale, alle condizioni concrete dell'esistere, ad un costituzionalismo dei bisogni fondato sull'inviolabile dignità di tutti e ciascuno. Ciò che succede nel mondo, a partire dal Mediterraneo, non sembra sollecitare l'adempimento della promessa scritta nella Carta dei diritti, della quale Juncker ha parlato come punto di riferimento obbligato per l'attività dell'Unione europea.

Lei ha detto che ha bisogno di un po' di tempo per definire un approccio strutturato, ma le chiedo se può indicare una scadenza per il confronto con il Parlamento europeo, nel quadro della ridefinizione del piano strategico sui diritti, particolarmente su due temi: il rafforzamento del ruolo del rappresentante speciale dell'Unione europea e la promozione di un coordinamento strutturato con tutti i Commissari visto il carattere orizzontale di questi temi. Le chiedo un suo commento, grazie.

1-055

Federica Mogherini, *Vicepresidente designato della Commissione – Alto rappresentante dell'Unione per gli affari esteri e la politica di sicurezza.* – Non più di qualche mese. Su alcune questioni vorrei però entrare già adesso, posto che avrò anche piacere di approfondirle con voi e con il rappresentante speciale.

Innanzitutto, penso che il lavoro del rappresentante speciale sia stato in questi anni – per come l'ho visto io, ma appunto anche qua possiamo condividere una valutazione – molto positivo e quindi un rafforzamento del suo ruolo mi trova particolarmente favorevole. Credo che il tema del lavoro sui diritti umani non sia un accessorio nella nostra politica estera, ma sia il *core business*, sia l'*hardware* della nostra politica estera e sia il nostro interesse principale.

Spesso c'è una narrazione di dover scegliere tra stabilità e diritti umani. Invece io credo che lavorare sui diritti umani sia funzionale alla stabilità nel lungo periodo. Questo significa che deve esserci un'orizzontalità completa del lavoro, non soltanto per i Commissari che hanno portafogli esterni, ma anche e forse soprattutto per i Commissari che hanno portafogli interni, perché la nostra credibilità deriva dal rispetto dei diritti umani dentro le nostre frontiere. Allora, essere sicuri che le politiche interne che noi abbiamo rispondano agli standard che noi chiediamo quando ci impegniamo con gli altri paesi in un dialogo sui diritti umani penso che sia fondamentale per l'efficacia del nostro lavoro.

L'altro punto che vorrei toccare è che il lavoro che vorrei fare sui diritti umani è non soltanto istituzionale. Io credo che sia fondamentale in questo avere un dialogo strutturato con le ONG e con la società civile, in Europa e nei paesi terzi, a partire dalle categorie che più duramente lavorano in condizioni complicate sui diritti umani. Ho citato in apertura il tema della libertà di stampa, che è uno dei temi su cui politiche esterne e politiche interne devono impegnarsi molto. Ho citato la questione delle donne, perché c'è un caso particolarmente acuto sulla condizione delle donne nel mondo, ma anche all'interno dei nostri confini. Credo che costruire un'alleanza tra le istituzioni e la società civile, un sistema di lavoro sui diritti umani, sia al nostro interno sia rispetto ai paesi terzi, sia il cuore della credibilità e dell'efficacia della nostra politica estera.

1-056

Ioan Mircea Pașcu (S&D). – Many times the EU has been criticised for a lack of political will, especially when it comes to security and defence matters. In fact this is in part due to the differing threat perceptions of the Member States and a lack of mutual sensitivity to their respective concerns. In your opinion, can a European security strategy, revised in the light of the latest developments, contribute to alleviating this problem?

1-057

Federica Mogherini, *Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.* – I hope so! That is the easiest question to answer.

I think – and I touched on this a little bit before – we would be wrong if we believed that the threats perceived by some of the Member States are not also affecting other Member States. We are one, we are one community, and if there is a threat perceived somewhere, it is and has to be a threat perceived everywhere, in my opinion.

That is also why I said we need to pay more attention to the east and to the south, at the same time, and stop this paradoxical image of 'either one or the other'. We simply cannot afford to choose,

because we have problems from the east and from the south and we have to do things together. That is why I say I will try to start with the building blocks. If we start a reflection on the security strategy and the vision we will need to secure our people – and also the other people in the world, because Europe is or should be more and more a security provider – then I think there is a lot we that we can share in terms also of perception of threats.

1-058

Goffredo Maria Bettini (S&D). – Gentile alto rappresentante designato, lei come italiana si troverà nei prossimi mesi di fronte al problema, così doloroso per la Repubblica italiana, dei fucilieri di marina La Torre e Girone bloccati in India. Tale problema non riguarda solo l'Italia, ma investe principi fondamentali nel sistema delle relazioni internazionali, come quello dell'immunità funzionale, di cui giustamente l'India si avvale per difendere i suoi agenti all'estero.

C'è stato un cambio di passo dall'aprile 2014 e, conoscendo la sua determinazione e la sua competenza, sono sicuro che farà di tutto per sbloccare la situazione. La questione non è solo bilaterale. Che impatto prevede dunque nelle relazioni euroindiane? Questo caso avrà insomma implicazioni più ampie? Che ruolo potrà e dovrà avere l'UE?

1-059

Federica Mogherini, Vicepresidente designato della Commissione – Alto rappresentante dell'Unione per gli affari esteri e la politica di sicurezza. – Come ho detto, ho deciso che resterò ministro degli Esteri italiano fino a dopo il voto del Parlamento e uso questa domanda anche per una piccola premessa: finché sarò ministro ogni singolo giorno sarà dedicato a continuare a cercare una soluzione per questa questione.

Nel momento in cui avrò un altro ruolo, se il Parlamento deciderà in questo senso, intendo innanzitutto valorizzare il lavoro che è già stato fatto. L'Unione europea ha già rappresentato diverse volte, e a tutti i livelli, ai più alti, questa esigenza: dal Presidente Barroso a Catherine Ashton, al Presidente Schulz, al Presidente Brok, se non ricordo male, poche settimane fa. Questa controversia, come altre potenziali controversie tra Stati membri e paesi terzi, rientra chiaramente tra le questioni che interessano il lavoro dell'alto rappresentante.

Conto di fare tre cose: sottolineare con le autorità indiane la necessità di promuovere il rispetto del diritto internazionale, nel loro stesso interesse. Come lei ha detto si tratta di principi giuridici fondamentali a salvaguardia del ruolo globale dell'Italia, dell'Europa, della stessa India, che come lei ha ricordato è impegnata in relazioni internazionali con i propri militari, per i quali questo principio è altrettanto fondamentale.

Terzo punto: quello che posso fare è facilitare il dialogo su questa vicenda tra l'Italia, in quanto parte dell'Unione europea, e l'India. Anche perché so bene – e sappiamo tutti molto bene – che questo è in linea con quanto sia il Presidente Barroso, che il Presidente Schulz, che Catherine Ashton hanno detto in passato, ossia che una soluzione positiva del caso rafforzerebbe anche il partenariato Unione europea-India.

1-060

Francisco Assis (S&D). – Senhora Mogherini, na sua intervenção inicial, teve o cuidado de referir a importância do relacionamento entre a União Europeia e a América Latina no seu todo. Quero colocar-lhe, nessa perspectiva, uma pergunta muito específica: que iniciativas políticas está disposta a promover, no sentido de contribuir para a superação do impasse em que se encontra o processo negocial conducente à celebração de um Acordo de Associação entre a União Europeia e o Mercosul, processo esse que está a decorrer e a arrastar-se já desde os anos 90. Esse Acordo tem, como é evidente, uma importância que vai muito para além das suas dimensões puramente económica e comercial. Numa altura em que atribuímos, e bem, tanta importância ao Tratado de Livre Comércio que estamos a negociar com os Estados Unidos, não deveremos perder de vista a necessidade de

reforçar as ligações a todos os níveis - culturais, políticas, económicas e comerciais - com os países do Mercosul. A minha pergunta é muito simples: que grau de prioridade atribui a este objetivo?

1-061

Federica Mogherini, *Vicepresidente designato della Commissione – Alto rappresentante dell'Unione per gli affari esteri e la politica di sicurezza.* – Posso rispondere in italiano, tra le lingue latine o mediterranee scelgo l'italiano. Ero esattamente due mesi fa a Santiago del Cile con il Segretario generale della CELAC a discutere proprio di questo. E ho detto in quell'occasione (credo che ci sia un *record* dell'intervento che ho fatto) che la *partnership* tra l'Unione europea e l'America latina e i Caraibi è fondamentale e può diventarlo ancora di più.

Abbiamo una base comune in termini di relazioni culturali, di relazioni storiche e di comprensione reciproca anche politica. Abbiamo strutture di vita interne ai nostri paesi con differenze all'interno dell'America latina e tra di noi evidenti, ma comunque ci capiamo piuttosto facilmente. Quello che manca a volte è quel poco in più di investimento politico – da nostra parte e a volte anche da parte di alcuni paesi dell'America latina o del continente in quanto tale – per far sì che questa *partnership* sviluppi pienamente tutto il suo potenziale. Questo è valido, io credo, per il Mercosur e per le altre organizzazioni regionali che sono presenti in America latina, ognuna con i suoi diversi formati e con le sue diverse sfumature politiche, di cui sono ben consapevole.

Ma credo che sia fondamentale lavorare con più energia politica a questo obiettivo, non soltanto con l'America latina, ma anche con i Caraibi. Abbiamo un'occasione molto importante per farlo, perché il vertice Unione europea-CELAC di giugno può essere, per una volta, non un *business as usual* in negativo ma un non *business as usual* in positivo, cioè può diventare il momento in cui veramente rilanciamo la volontà di lavorare insieme in modo rafforzato, non soltanto con i paesi che sono per noi partner strategici ma con tutto il continente.

1-062

Bas Belder (ECR). – Ik spreek Nederlands, mevrouw Mogherini. Hoge vertegenwoordiger, de opkomst en de destabiliserende activiteiten, zowel regionaal als mondiaal, van moslimfundamentalistische terreurorganisaties zoals ISIS, Hamas, Hezbollah, al-Qaeda, Jawad al-Nusra en andere in het Midden-Oosten hebben aangetoond dat Israël en de EU parallelle veiligheidsbelangen hebben. Bent u het hiermee eens? Zo neen, waarom niet? En zo ja, hoe denkt u deze parallelie in het gemeenschappelijk buitenlands en veiligheidsbeleid concreet tot uitdrukking te brengen? Ik dank u.

1-063

Federica Mogherini, *Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.* – Yes, I do agree that there is a major threat coming from all around us, but that is a threat first of all to the people living in the region. I do not know if you share this vision with me. The first victims of ISIL are Muslims. There are also Christians, there are also other communities, but the first victims are Muslims. That is a vision we need to bring. The cultural message we give today, I think, is part of the strategy to face the threats. Because the narrative that ISIL is using is a narrative aimed at proclaiming itself a state while actually destroying the concept, the borders, the authority of the state – and on the other hand saying ‘we use religion against the others and against the other religions’, and that has no base either in Islam or in any of the world’s religions. I think that the cultural message that comes especially from Europe is a very powerful tool to face the threat.

We have other tools. We have the military one, which at the moment is for the Member States to exercise: some have chosen to use it, others have not, others again in different forms. I think what is important, and what I would do in the future again, is to build a common framework for the European Union to act in the same direction. There are and will be capacities which stay in the hands of the Member States, but if these capacities and these decisions are included in a framework that indicates

the direction and indicates the strategy and puts together the efforts, the efforts get a better result and we avoid going in different directions and speaking with different voices.

Then we have the humanitarian aspect of this. It is huge and it might be fuelling other ... I am sorry, I have run out of time.

1-064

Charles Tannock (ECR). – I am speaking on behalf of my ECR colleague, Geoffrey Van Orden, who sadly cannot be with us this evening. He has asked me to pose these specific questions to you on his behalf.

Which CSDP military activities do you believe have to be carried out by the EU because they cannot be performed by NATO or by a coalition of willing nations? Secondly, do you believe that the main purpose of CSDP is political, with the aim of promoting European integration and helping the EU become a global political actor?

1-065

Federica Mogherini, Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – I think the missions or operations that we have are not there because nobody else can do it. They are there because it is good that we do it. I do not know if that answers the questions, but I would not take the approach of, you know, we do things only if they are left apart from others, be they Member States or NATO.

And on the other side, we do have missions and operations that are working in very close relation with Member States' operations and missions and with NATO operations and missions. So an integrated approach, I think, is wise and useful politically.

What was the second part of the question? I am sorry, I missed it. Oh the political. Yes it is, but again, I would not spend so much time questioning why, rather than doing the right thing and doing it properly. It might be an exercise that builds a common sense of ownership, for sure. But the main reason for doing that is not that we need something to keep us together; the main point is doing something useful for our security and for the security of the other people.

1-066

Mark Demesmaeker (ECR). – Mevrouw Mogherini, ik spreek Nederlands. Ik kom graag nog even terug op de ambitie om mensenrechten centraal te stellen in het externe optreden. Er zijn twee bekommernissen waar ik een vraag over heb. UNCAT, het VN-Verdrag tegen foltering, bestaat dit jaar 30 jaar. De realiteit helaas is dat we overall rondom ons een verslechtering van de situatie zien en wat mij betreft te weinig engagement en concrete actie van de EU om van folterpraktijken en mishandeling echt een *issue* te maken. Krijgen wij met u een hoge vertegenwoordiger die schendingen telkens opnieuw bovenaan op de agenda wil plaatsen?

In de tweede plaats, het Europees Parlement keurde een resolutie goed over de orgaanogst bij Falun Gong-aanhangers in China. Wat gaat u doen om de vragen in die resolutie aan te kaarten? De vraag dat China onmiddellijk zou stoppen met die praktijk, de vraag naar een volledig en transparant onderzoek, de vraag ook om onmiddellijk alle gewetensgevangenen, zoals Falun Gong-beoefenaars, vrij te laten. Dank u.

1-067

Federica Mogherini, Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – Yes, I am more than willing to bring up the issue of torture. As I mentioned, all other issues related to human rights are not only high on the agenda but at the core of our policy.

First of all, I think we have a lot of expertise, not only internally but also in civil society organisations, to refer to and to work together with. I mentioned the need to build an alliance and I think that is very valuable. We have to empower civil society organisations and human rights activists in the countries where they are more challenged and I think that is going to be part of my task, to raise it wherever I can, but normally to raise the issue, mainly and mostly to make a difference, and that will also relate to China.

I think that is going, for sure, to form part of the topics in the discussions with the Chinese authorities. What I will try to do is to engage different countries, not only pointing out to them what they should change but trying to work with them to make them change some of their policies and some of their practices which is, I believe, the most effective way of dealing with human rights.

You mentioned Hong Kong in the last part of your question, if I am not mistaken. But I am sorry, I did not catch the translation completely (not the fault of the interpreters, who are wonderful, just me). I take the opportunity of mentioning the issue of Hong Kong here in these 20 seconds I have remaining.

I am quite satisfied by the fact that today we have fairly good news rather than terrible news coming from there and I think that it is mainly in the interests not only of the people of Hong Kong and the authorities of Hong Kong but also of the Chinese authorities to solve the issue of the next elections in 2017 in a satisfactory way for all through dialogue.

1-068

Marietje Schaake (ALDE). – Madam High Representative-designate, you said ‘think big’, but I hope the EU will act decisively. You have mentioned recently that Iran can be a constructive partner. My question is, how? And how would you see your role in the P5+1 negotiations as High Representative?

Related to that, how will you make sure that the EU still pushes for the human rights of the Iranian people and raises other important issues effectively, and that not all efforts are put into the nuclear negotiations, which I gather you are optimistic about, but which may end soon or could drag on for a very long time if there is no comprehensive deal?

1-069

Federica Mogherini, Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – I said – and I still believe – Iran could play a constructive role and could play a destructive role in the region, in different conflicts we had in the region. That is why I think it is right to engage Iran and try to see if it can, instead of being a spoiler in some conflicts around the area, be part of the solution. That is also to be seen, but I think it would be quite realistic to think that we need at least to try – as we did for Iraq, basically – try to talk to people that can have an influence inside countries at the moment.

On the P5+1 negotiations, you know very well the negotiations are going on until 24 November. The decision in July was taken – during not the last round but the previous rounds of talks – that Catherine Ashton would continue her role until 24 November, and I think that is extremely wise. You obviously do not change negotiator in the last weeks of a very difficult negotiation. I have talked not only to Cathy and the other ministers involved but also to Zarif, the Iranian Foreign Minister, during the UN General Assembly in New York a couple of weeks ago. I believe that either we get to an agreement before 24 November, because it would be extremely complicated to get one afterwards. I really hope that it will be possible to reach that agreement by that time.

That has nothing to do, I would say, with human rights. The two things have to stay completely separate. Human rights are so important – too important to get inside any other kind of negotiation. As we say that they discuss the nuclear file regardless of the regional role of Iran, the same should go for human rights. I would always raise the issue of human rights with the Iranian authorities.

1-070

Fernando Maura Barandiarán (ALDE). – Alta Representante propuesta, le pregunto sobre el «tratado» bilateral entre la Unión Europea y Cuba, un «tratado» que debería vincular la apertura económica con el desarrollo de la libertades en la isla. Pero debo constatar que, lamentablemente, las negociaciones no están discutiendo sobre los derechos fundamentales de la población cubana.

Por ello, le pregunto, en primer lugar, si está de acuerdo con que las reformas económicas del régimen castrista no son sino superficiales. En segundo lugar, ¿es su intención iniciar un diálogo constructivo con las autoridades cubanas sobre la situación de los derechos humanos en ese país? En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo supervisará usted el correcto desarrollo de las cláusulas sobre dichos derechos y qué papel tendrá el Parlamento Europeo en dicha supervisión?

Para terminar, señora Mogherini, si finalmente sale elegida, le pido que durante su mandato, los valores de la Carta de los Derechos Fundamentales de la Unión Europea primen sobre los intereses económicos en todas sus decisiones.

1-071

Federica Mogherini, Vicepresidente designato della Commissione – Alto rappresentante dell'Unione per gli affari esteri e la politica di sicurezza. – Tornerò sicuramente, se me lo consentirete, se deciderete in questo senso, una prossima volta, non tra molti mesi, tra pochi, ma sta a voi la decisione, sui passi successivi da fare. Quello che però posso dire subito è che sono convinta che serva sostenere la piccola apertura di riforma economica che c'è da parte dell'autorità. Può esserci di più, certamente, ma sia sul piano economico e soprattutto, direi, sul piano politico, credo che il nostro ruolo sia quello di incoraggiare e di spingere perché il processo di riforme sia più pieno, più convinto e vada avanti con più determinazione. Sicuramente sono pronta ad avviare un dialogo costruttivo, come ha detto, sui diritti umani con le autorità cubane. Credo di poterlo utilmente fare con il nostro rappresentante speciale per i diritti umani e sicuramente avrò piacere di condividere questo lavoro insieme a voi, insieme al Parlamento europeo, nelle forme che valuteremo più opportune.

1-072

Paavo Väyrynen (ALDE). – I welcome the emphasis you gave to the policy coherence between our internal and external policies. I also like the way in which you covered all directions and dimensions in our external relations and policies.

As the northernmost Member of the Parliament, I appreciate the attention you paid to the northern dimension and the Arctic. I have a question concerning the global role of the Union. We are the leading power in the world in three policy areas: trade, development and the environment. We should be able to strengthen our global role by coordinating our global action and by making it more coherent. Do you believe that you can make this happen, together with the other Commissioners responsible for the external policies, and how are you going to make it happen?

1-073

Federica Mogherini, Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – I will try, I will try and do my very best and put my energy into it. Setting high ambitions: I think we need to do that.

As you said, we are probably the most credible and also powerful actor when it comes to trade, development and to the environment, but also in other sectors. These three are clear.

It is difficult to say now how we are going to coordinate. I think coordination starts with – this might be a very Mediterranean approach and I am sorry for that even if the Arctic is in my heart; I believe it is a beautiful and strategic region – I believe that coordination starts with sharing ideas, concerns, priorities and tools. That is why we will see if these monthly meetings we will organise with the other Commissioners, not only the external ones but also some of the internal ones that have external impact

as we know that we need that, especially for environment sites where we need that a lot but also for trade and development.

Once we start sharing visions, priorities and instruments, we will see if we can manage to make the machine work together. That is the challenge, I think. To share politically and to give political input to the different structures we have, which are powerful and big and rich in resources and talents. To work together; that is the number one challenge.

On global issues, I really think that when I look at what we do in Haiti or in the Horn of Africa, it is huge. It is just piece, by piece, by piece, by piece, and if we can manage to get everything together and shape it politically it would probably become much more relevant and it would become much more visible. We know that political visibility is also part of the policy because something that becomes visible also becomes more powerful and more attractive to others.

On environment and on global change: we will need to work this year in particular, coming to Lima in December and then Paris next year, to make it a success. If it is not a success it is difficult to imagine further success in the future.

1-074

Ivo Vajgl (ALDE). – Spoštovana gospa ministrica, tisti dan, ko ste vi bili na Lampedusi, sem jaz bil v Adis Abebi in se prepričal, da bo, na žalost, ta naval beguncev iz Afrike v prihodnosti najbrž še večji, če ne bomo znali oblikovati neko resno in strukturirano politiko do Afrike. Mislim, da vam je treba dati priznanje za to, da ste se za takšno politiko že opredelili.

Druga stvar, ki mi je imponirala pri vas, je bilo poudarjanje mednarodnega prava. Mislim, da bi, če bi vztrajala Evropska unija pri principih mednarodnega prava, bi lahko bila bolj učinkovit igravec pri reševanju kriznih vprašanj, posebej pri takšnih, kot je vprašanje Gornjega Karabaha, izraelsko-palestinski spor in pa maroška okupacija Zahodne Sahare. Ali bomo uporabili instrumente, ki jih imamo na razpolago, kadar nekdo krši mednarodno pravo?

1-075

Federica Mogherini, Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – It is very symbolic that you were in Addis Ababa and I was in Lampedusa, because that is exactly the route, and to me what was more impressive, meeting the relatives and families of the victims in Lampedusa and the survivors, was not so much the number and stories of the people that died but the story of the people who survived. Because we see the tragedy at sea, but often we do not see the tragedy before they get to the sea, and that is exactly what I think we should work on as a priority.

It is a story of torture, it is a story of abuse of human rights, against women, against children, against men, who in most cases – I think for Lampedusa, for the flows through Libya to Italy it is about 70% – are asylum seekers, not economic migrants. It is people coming out of crisis conflicts, extreme poverty. So yes, we definitely need a structured policy for the sake of Africa, and for our own sake I would say.

On international law: are we ready to use the instruments? I think yes, for sure, we might be ready to use the instruments, but first of all we should create the conditions so that reference to the international law instruments becomes unnecessary! Preventive policy is what we really need, because if you look around us, all the crises we have, all of them – some you mentioned: the Palestinian and Israeli conflict have been there for ages and decades actually, I have been growing up with these; others we could see coming but we just did not act on time to prevent them. And I think that is what we need to do in particular as the European Union: rather than thinking of how we sanction afterwards, we should think how to ensure that crises do not blow up.

1-076

Javier Couso Permuy (GUE/NGL). – Señora Mogherini, la situación de Irak y Siria es consecuencia de las políticas occidentales de los últimos veinte años.

Usted me entenderá mejor si hago un pequeño homenaje a Bernardo Bertolucci, el cual, si hoy dirigiera «Novecento», seguramente nos mostraría que el integrismo islámico, como el fascismo, no es como los hongos —que nacen por la noche—, sino que han sido las potencias occidentales las que lo han plantado, las que lo han querido, las que le han pagado; que con los integristas, las potencias occidentales han ganado cada vez más, hasta no saber qué hacer con el petróleo.

Así, nos llevaron a la guerra —donde siempre pagan los mismos: nuestros jóvenes y los pueblos que solo quieren tener una vida digna y en paz—.

El Estado mal llamado «Islámico», es una consecuencia de la invasión de Irak y de la intromisión en Siria. A nadie puede sorprender su surgimiento tras años de guerras y gobiernos sectarios apoyados por Occidente.

¿Cree usted que hay que seguir por esa línea alimentando las facciones sectarias con más armas? ¿Está usted comprometida con la unidad y la integridad territorial de Irak y de Siria?

1-077

Federica Mogherini, Vicepresidente designato della Commissione – Alto rappresentante dell'Unione per gli affari esteri e la politica di sicurezza. – Credo che l'unità territoriale e l'integrità sia dell'Iraq che della Siria siano fondamentali, ma credo anche – e qui non credo che siamo d'accordo – che sia indispensabile, che sia un dovere aiutare, anche attraverso per esempio forniture di armi – ma questo non è competenza specifica dell'Unione europea, quindi stiamo scambiando delle opinioni –, delle persone che stanno resistendo ad un'organizzazione terroristica che minaccia da vicino la vita di tantissimi civili. Credo che ci sia un dovere umanitario nel farlo.

È chiaro che non c'è risposta militare, e qui siamo d'accordo, che tenga se non c'è una risposta politica e se non c'è un lavoro sulle condizioni che possono portare ad aumentare l'*appeal* degli estremisti. Ci sono condizioni di instabilità, ci sono condizioni di povertà, ci sono condizioni di insicurezza sociale e di insicurezza economica estremamente profonde, ci sono divisioni ed esclusioni dal potere che determinano un ambiente che può essere più favorevole al reclutamento di organizzazioni terroristiche.

Credo che sia un dovere principale dell'Unione europea, ma anche di tutti quanti noi singolarmente, provare a invertire questa tendenza, perché certamente migliori condizioni di vita dal punto di vista politico, dal punto di vista dei diritti umani, dal punto di vista democratico, dal punto di vista economico, dal punto di vista sociale, nei paesi intorno a noi, sicuramente toglierebbe risorse ad organizzazioni terroristiche che minacciano quelle stesse popolazioni dalla cui disperazione traggono linfa.

1-078

Pablo Iglesias (GUE/NGL). – Mis intervenciones en esta comisión suelen ser duras y críticas, pero hoy haré una excepción. Aunque tenemos enormes diferencias, entiendo que todo el mundo debe tener una oportunidad para demostrar que puede hacer las cosas mejor.

Le confieso también que algunas de las críticas que ha recibido usted han hecho que usted me resulte muy simpática. La han llamado a usted «prorrusa», lo que sería equivalente a decir que yo padezco una alopecia avanzada. Han dicho que es usted inexperta y que tiene un perfil bajo. No lo creo, a pesar del cariño que tiene usted por la OTAN, creo que es usted una persona muy formada y con un enorme sentido común.

El sentido común es una cosa que a veces escasea en esta comisión, a la que usted dice que va a venir mucho por placer: ¡extraños placeres los suyos!

Señora Mogherini, decía Woody Allen que no podía escuchar a Wagner porque le entraban ganas de invadir Polonia, y en esta comisión algunos escuchan tanto, tanto a Wagner que les entran ganas de invadir Rusia.

Más que una pregunta le plantearé una curiosidad.

En su respuesta al señor Castaldo, decía usted que los principios de la legalidad internacional deben seguirse siempre. Le pregunto si la actitud europea tan beligerante hacia Rusia no le parece que contrasta con la tolerancia y la benevolencia europea respecto a Israel, que incumple sistemáticamente los derechos humanos y la legalidad internacional.

1-079

Federica Mogherini, Vicepresidente designato della Commissione – Alto rappresentante dell'Unione per gli affari esteri e la politica di sicurezza. – Non prenderò la domanda sugli strani piaceri – ognuno ha i suoi – ma ammetto che trovo il confronto politico com'è in questa Aula parlamentare estremamente utile non soltanto per il lavoro, che poi dobbiamo fare insieme, ognuno di noi separatamente, nel rispetto dei ruoli diversi, ma anche estremamente prezioso dal punto di vista intellettuale. Vi confesso che per me questo esame, così come lo hanno presentato, è molto interessante ed è molto importante per le domande che ricevo, perché in ogni domanda c'è tanta storia e ci sono tante idee. Sono andata un po' fuori tema, scusate, ma credo che fosse bello condividere questa cosa, credo che sia un confronto e per questo lo trovo piacevole ed interessante.

Credo che il rispetto del diritto internazionale e dei principi della legalità internazionale valga dappertutto. Sono stupita dal fatto che questa è sostanzialmente la prima domanda che solleva il tema del Medio Oriente inteso in senso stretto. Mi sarei aspettata più attenzione da parte di questa commissione su questo. Io credo che sia il cuore del nostro impegno nel Mediterraneo e nel Medio Oriente. Non è soltanto un tema che riguarda Israele e la Palestina, è un tema che riguarda i paesi arabi e Israele. Ci sono almeno due conflitti lì da risolvere ed è per questo che credo che l'approccio migliore sia quello regionale.

Noi dobbiamo garantire che il cessate il fuoco, a cui si è arrivati faticosamente al Cairo a fine agosto, diventi un nuovo processo politico. Domenica prossima al Cairo ci sarà una conferenza dei donatori, con la presenza anche del Presidente Abbas, e spero che possa essere l'occasione per avviare un percorso non soltanto per ricostruire materialmente Gaza, ma anche per ricostruire politicamente il percorso di pace. Dobbiamo al tempo stesso risolvere il conflitto israelo-arabo. Per questo io credo che il riferimento all'iniziativa araba di pace del 2002 sarebbe estremamente utile, perché abbiamo bisogno di un contesto regionale diverso.

1-080

Jean-Luc Mélenchon (GUE/NGL). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la Vice-présidente désignée, je voudrais vous interroger sur les événements qui sont de nature à perturber l'ordre global de l'humanité.

Pour ma part, je suis étonné que vous n'ayez pas évoqué la question du changement climatique comme première source de perturbation des relations entre les nations qui en sont affectées et, en particulier, comme première source des futures vagues d'immigration. Quelle sera votre place, votre rôle, dans le débat qui va avoir lieu à Paris à l'occasion de la conférence climat?

Le deuxième point concerne le facteur de perturbation géant qu'est à mes yeux la situation extrêmement volatile du dollar comme monnaie internationale, qui perturbe toutes les relations du système international. J'ai noté qu'il s'est produit cet été un très grand événement, à savoir l'accord entre le Brésil, la Russie, la Chine, l'Inde et l'Afrique du Sud, qui ont décidé de constituer l'équivalent

du FMI et de la Banque mondiale entre eux, et notamment que la Russie et la Chine ont décidé d'échanger entre elles dans leurs monnaies nationales, ce qui met à l'ordre du jour une fragilisation du dollar et une exacerbation de la violence des États-Unis d'Amérique.

1-081

Federica Mogherini, *vice-présidente désignée de la Commission - haute représentante de l'Union pour les affaires étrangères et la politique de sécurité*. – Monsieur Mélenchon, j'ai bel et bien cité les changements climatiques. Il s'agissait en fait du premier défi planétaire que j'ai mentionné à la fin de mon intervention. Je l'ai peut-être fait en anglais et je m'en excuse, mais j'en ai parlé.

Je peux vous dire que j'ai participé, il y a quelques semaines, à l'Assemblée générale des Nations unies, un événement où la Commission européenne était représentée par l'actuel commissaire, aux côtés des ministres des affaires étrangères d'un certain nombre de pays. Et je pense que la forme de collaboration, pour ce qui touchera à mon travail, à ma fonction – si vous le décidez ainsi –, avec le commissaire compétent, et même avec le vice-président compétent de la Commission, avec les ministres des affaires étrangères, les ministres de l'environnement et le réseau d'ONG et des organisations de la société civile, qui sont des sources non seulement d'information et de formation, mais aussi d'action sur ce thème, dans le cadre des Nations unies, sera très utile.

Comme je l'ai dit auparavant, nous ne devons pas être en retard l'année prochaine, à Paris. Cela veut dire que nous devons essayer de faire tout le travail que nous pourrions déjà faire à Lima au mois de décembre. Si nous ne faisons pas en sorte de préparer et de faire une partie du travail à Lima, la conférence de Paris pourra difficilement être couronnée de succès. Or, nous ne pouvons pas nous permettre d'échouer dans cette tâche. Je pense que c'est une question de sécurité internationale, comme vous l'avez dit, pas seulement une question environnementale.

1-082

Tamás Meszerics (Verts/ALE). – I am glad to hear that you advocated differentiated policy in our neighbourhood, both east and south. I, for one, believe that the eastern neighbourhood policy is at best a half success, and that is a deliberate understatement on my part. It clearly needs serious rethinking.

Other Commissioners-designate almost uniformly claim that strategic level rethinking is actually your responsibility and that they are willing to follow your lead, so who should be doing that rethinking? Whom should we ask, five to six months from now, for a report in this committee about that strategic rethinking?

Additionally, a practical question. I am sure that you have heard that our Co-Chair, Rebecca Harms, was declared persona non grata in Russia a few days ago. The Russian authorities referred to a whole list of such personages. Do you have official information on that and what do you plan to do about it?

1-083

Federica Mogherini, *Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy*. – Who should you ask for the strategic rethinking? I guess me, yes. I can confirm that. But that does not mean that I am going to do that all alone, closed away in my office, isolated from the rest of the world. I take as a positive sign the fact that we all want to work in a team. I think that teamwork is going to be the crucial word, but we will need leadership and responsibility in this teamwork. I guess that, if you agree on the indication, it is my responsibility to do that.

On the case of Rebecca Harms, I am no more informed than you – probably less than you, not being in the position or in that capacity at the moment. What I know is that I completely agree with what President Schulz said – that it is completely unacceptable, not only that there is this list, but that the list was not made public and not justified. If and when I am in the position, I will certainly deal with

the Russian authorities to make sure that this does not happen and if it does will see it is openly explained and justified, so that we can engage in a confrontation on that.

By the way, let me mention one thing. I think that parliamentary diplomacy is a key. Wherever I am able – me personally or the service – to facilitate access or missions by MEPs to countries to visit, count on me. On the other hand, I would ask you in return to coordinate before going, and after coming back, for planning, for understanding well who is better to visit – without any kind of interference, obviously, but for all of us to know everything so that we coordinate and also for getting feedback, because the fruit of parliamentary diplomacy is also going to be extremely important for my work. It is going to be very important for me that we establish a way of working together on parliamentary diplomacy, in a structured way.

1-084

Ulrike Lunacek (Verts/ALE). – Ms Mogherini, in your written answers you have said you intend to use human rights as a compass in your work. So two questions on human rights. You mentioned women, media, freedom of religion. I would like to know from you how will you want to strengthen the rights of ethnic minorities and of sexual minorities in your work?

The second one: in our eastern neighbourhood there is gas-rich Azerbaijan as a country where repression – especially against media, against civil society – has increased over the recent months. So how will you want to respond to improve the protection of basic rights and fundamental freedoms?

And I have one last question that refers to your positioning as an Italian Foreign Minister promoting South Stream. You probably know that this Parliament has pronounced itself against this project, because it is not a European one. How will you act as High-Representative and Vice-President? Because I do hope you would like, in the future, to be remembered as Lady CFSP and not as Lady South Stream.

1-085

Federica Mogherini, Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – For sure, even the ‘Lady’ creates some problems for me, I have to admit, so if we can find another way I would be remembered ... But we have a couple of weeks to work on that, assuming you vote to accept this composition of the Commission. But by all means.

I will take this first because it is very important for me to clarify. I think that the political conditions for South Stream in any case are not there at the moment, and that relates to the situation in Ukraine and to our relations with Russia. Having said that, all infrastructure projects have to have a solid and full legal basis, so if and when the political conditions return to or become normal – and that is a big ‘if’ – then I think the technical talks might restart and see if they manage to fulfil completely the legal basis that has to be fulfilled. I hope this clarifies completely my thinking.

What I said last time when I was here was misinterpreted by some, I think it was journalists, I do not think it was Members of Parliament. I said that the Southern Corridor should be our priority, and some people connected Southern Corridor with South Stream, although they are actually two completely different projects. As you know, Southern Corridor refers to gas, which brings us to the Azerbaijan issue – not an easy issue either. I think that precisely because we are investing a lot on energy with Azerbaijan, and they know very well that it is going to be crucial also for our diversification of sources and routes, I think we need to stress even more the need to respect human rights, especially in the fields of media and political activists.

On the ethnic minorities and sexual orientation issue I will do my best everywhere to promote this. That is part of my DNA. I do it because I believe in it, not because it is a clause or a must. And in

particular on sexual orientation I believe that in certain countries – but also in certain countries in Europe – we would need to do quite a lot of work.

1-086

Reinhard Bütikofer (Verts/ALE). – Ms Mogherini, as Vice-President you are going to be responsible for the instrument for stability and peace (ISP). This instrument now lacks EUR 70 million for this year and EUR 60 million in payments for next year. Urgent measures of peace-building and conflict prevention had to be given up or postponed due to a lack of credits. How will you make sure that the ISP is properly funded? And the second question: which relevance do you give to EU relations with ASEAN and ASEAN member states?

1-087

Federica Mogherini, Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – On the budget, I will, if I become High Representative, work very closely with Kristalina, and we have actually started already to informally discuss on the ways in which we could face this. And let me say that, knowing her background and her dedication in the field, this gives me reasonable hopes that we can understand very well together what is needed to be tackled immediately and what can be tackled afterwards.

In general we have a problem with the budget, as you know much better than I do. That does not only refer to that instrument but on this year's commitments. In particular let me stress that the commitments we have on that instrument and on all external actions is particularly crucial for our credibility, and I think the Commission as such will be very much aware of this. I count on also your work to try and find a reasonable solution for this year, and then we have the review in 2016 where we will be able – maybe – to reflect together, if needed, some sort of review on the budget as a whole. Then we will have also another part of the budget discussion to deal with, referring to the 5% cuts to the structures. But that is another story, and we will face it probably in a different format.

On the relation with ASEAN, as you know there was a head of delegation appointed a couple of weeks ago. There I think it is a very positive development, and I think that is going to be one of the strategic work that we will have to do in the coming years. Regionalism in Asia, as in Latin America, I think is crucial, and the lack of regional means that are efficient or appropriate to the needs in Asia has sometimes been of a problematic nature. I think that investing in the relationship with ASEAN is going to be extremely important.

1-088

Fabio Massimo Castaldo (EFDD). – Signora Mogherini, il quadro strategico dell'UE e il piano d'azione dell'Unione hanno sancito la promozione dei diritti umani in tutti i settori delle relazioni esterne senza eccezioni. È un impegno notevole. Tuttavia, sappiamo bene come queste nobilissime e condivisibili affermazioni di principio vengano non di rado sacrificate per non compromettere le relazioni commerciali, il che rende l'atteggiamento dell'Unione selettivo e incoerente rispetto ai suoi valori. Fortunatamente, in qualità di futuro Alto rappresentante, lei avrà la responsabilità di coordinare l'intero gruppo dei Commissari per l'azione esterna e quindi la possibilità di assicurarne la complessiva coerenza. Un sincero in bocca al lupo!

Visto che tutti gli Stati membri hanno firmato il Protocollo n. 13 della Cedu inerente l'abolizione della pena di morte e che la Carta di Nizza dispone, all'articolo 2, che nessuno può essere condannato alla pena di morte né giustiziato, trova compatibile la negoziazione di un accordo come il TTIP con una federazione di Stati tra i quali diversi ancora l'applicano? Come intende sostenere i diritti umani nelle negoziazioni di questo e di altri accordi?

1-089

Federica Mogherini, Vicepresidente designato della Commissione – Alto rappresentante dell'Unione per gli affari esteri e la politica di sicurezza. – Intanto crepi il lupo! Scusate, questo è intraducibile, è

un modo di dire italiano: si risponde agli auguri in questo modo. Non vorrei essere nei panni degli interpreti, che ringrazio e con i quali mi scuso.

Credo che il lavoro sulla pena di morte sia uno di quei biglietti da visita per l'Unione europea di cui difficilmente potremmo fare a meno. La sua connessione con i negoziati sull'accordo commerciale meriterebbe una riflessione, ma quello che invece nelle mie capacità sicuramente farò è portare avanti questa battaglia: innanzitutto per la moratoria universale della pena di morte. Credo che sia fondamentale fare questo lavoro insieme a tanti partner internazionali, a cominciare da quei paesi non abolizionisti che hanno però applicato la moratoria. Questo può dare un senso di *step by step* ad altri paesi che possono voler andare nella stessa direzione.

Credo che l'Unione europea possa essere ancora più in prima fila in questa battaglia nell'ambito delle Nazioni Unite, certamente. E qui, scusatemi se torno su questo punto, abbiamo davvero bisogno di costruire un'alleanza con le organizzazioni della società civile che possono aiutarci a farlo. Scusate se prendo un esempio italiano, ma visto che l'interrogante è italiano ne approfitto. Per esempio in Italia abbiamo costituito, su mia iniziativa come ministro degli Esteri, una *task force* sulla pena di morte in vista del futuro voto all'Assemblea generale delle Nazioni Unite sulla nuova risoluzione sulla moratoria della pena di morte con tre grandi organizzazioni non governative internazionali (non le citerò qui per non fare pubblicità, ma gli italiani lo sanno).

Credo che un lavoro sinergico tra istituzioni europee, Stati membri, organizzazioni non governative, associazioni e movimenti di diversa natura in giro per il mondo possa aiutarci a costruire una strategia per promuovere la moratoria e l'abolizione della pena di morte. Credo che questo sia un obiettivo assolutamente alla nostra portata sul quale sono pronta a impegnarmi.

1-090

James Carver (EFDD). – The Member States have committed themselves to establishing a common foreign and security policy, including the progressive framing of a common defence policy. Do you plan to have achieved that by the end of your term of office, and do you accept that, at that moment, there will be no such thing as any Member State having independent control over its own foreign policy? Furthermore, would you accept that means there can no longer be any place for neutrality, such as that practised by the Republic of Ireland?

Secondly, how you can claim to seek an effective EU foreign policy during ongoing internal disputes – not least that between my own country and Spain over Gibraltar? On 19 September, two Spanish Eurofighters illegally invaded Gibraltar airspace, flying across the bow of a passenger airline during its landing on one of the world's trickiest runways, thus endangering civilian lives. Do you join me in condemnation of such action by Spain and what will you do to support British sovereignty in Gibraltar?

1-091

Federica Mogherini, Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – I will take the first part of the question. I do not believe that shaping a common policy – a common foreign and security policy, a common defence policy – means that Member States have to give up their own. Because they would not, anyway.

But this does not mean that we have to just limit ourselves to taking the rest. What I am trying to share is the need for us to create a common sense of our European interests, which we can better defend and promote with a European common strategy where the different national policies might fit in.

Does that mean that we will not have initiatives on foreign policy by Member States? I am not that naive. And maybe it would not be good because we would need some initiative also to fit in the European foreign policy framework.

What we need is a common direction, a common vision, some common action on some shared interests and values, and to work on shaping that together.

What I meant by ownership is this: if we get to the last second, facing a crisis, and we need to agree on a text, then we have not got a common foreign policy. Then we have 28 foreign policies and a common minimum denominator, which is already something. But we can do much better than that. We need to do better than that because this is needed by our own citizens and by the citizens around us.

So, I know – that is why I said it is going to be my first task – it is going to be difficult. It is going to be the most difficult task that I am going to have in the next five years but I really believe that we can be proud Europeans and useful Europeans to our European citizens and the citizens around us in the world if we manage to play to the full our global role.

1-092

Amjad Bashir (EFDD). – Commissioner-designate, I would like to bring to your attention that worldwide more than 15 million people consume illicit opioids – that is opium, morphine and heroin. A large majority use heroin, which is the most lethal. Most users die each year from problems related to heroin use, and greater numbers are forced to seek treatment for this addiction than for any other illicit drug. In addition, heroin is the drug most associated with the use of injections, which bring about a host of acute and chronic health problems, including the transmission of blood-borne diseases such as HIV/AIDS and Hepatitis C. Between 10 000 and 20 000 people die in Europe every year due to that infection. Beyond health impacts, the illicit opioid industry also has a detrimental effect on stability and security in a number of places, including through the funding it provides for insurgents in production areas, particularly in Afghanistan. My question is this: how do you propose to protect the citizens of Europe from this dangerous drug problem which blights so many lives and damages society?

1-093

Federica Mogherini, Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – This is one of the issues on which it will be useful to work as a team in the Commission, because obviously it has aspects related to different policies and different actions we might take internally and externally. I would take one specific point on Afghanistan. It is another issue that I was surprised that nobody has raised so far, so I will take the chance, saying that that is going to be one of the aspects on which we will need to work together with the new Afghan Government. That was for sure not tackled in an effective way during the last 13 years, and this is going to be crucial, as you said, because it is a source of financement, because it is a source of destabilisation, and because it has an effect all over the world. But starting from there, I think we will need to work on this for sure – and not only in Afghanistan, obviously in other parts of the world. So yes, I think this is going to be part of my job in the next five years if you will decide so.

1-094

Aymeric Chauprade (NI). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la vice-présidente désignée, il y a quelques jours, le vice-président américain, M. Joe Biden, a déclaré à l'université de Harvard que les États-Unis avaient imposé – je dis bien imposé, c'est le terme qu'il a utilisé – aux Européens des sanctions contre la Russie.

J'ai le souvenir, Madame, de vos propos équilibrés et sages sur la Russie, mais j'ai entendu parler aujourd'hui de priorités que seraient le partenariat transatlantique et l'OTAN, ou de logique d'élargissement vers la Turquie, l'Azerbaïdjan, la Géorgie et la Moldavie.

Aussi, Madame la haute représentante désignée, je pense que beaucoup de collègues ici seraient rassurés si vous pouviez leur garantir que vous serez bien la représentante de la politique extérieure

d'une Europe comme puissance indépendante et non celle d'un bloc transatlantique dominé par les États-Unis.

1-095

Federica Mogherini, *vice-présidente désignée de la Commission - haute représentante de l'Union pour les affaires étrangères et la politique de sécurité*. – Bien sûr que je serai cette représentante de l'Europe.

Premièrement, petite précision, je n'ai jamais parlé d'un élargissement aux pays que vous citez. J'ai dit que la politique d'élargissement pour les pays des Balkans occidentaux et la Turquie avait été un succès jusqu'ici et je pense qu'elle le sera aussi à l'avenir, mais, pour le reste, nous avons de bonnes relations de partenariat et de voisinage. Je pense que nous devons travailler avec chaque pays d'une façon différente afin de rentabiliser tout cela.

J'ai lu les mots du vice-président Biden et ils m'ont plutôt étonnée, parce que nous avons travaillé ensemble, avec les Européens premièrement, mais aussi dans un dialogue avec non seulement les États-Unis mais également les autres pays qui ont pris eux aussi des sanctions contre la Russie. Je pense au Japon, au Canada et aux autres pays qui ont adopté la même décision afin de coordonner un effort international.

Je peux vous dire, par expérience directe, en tant que ministre italienne pendant ces mois-là, que les décisions prises au Conseil européen n'ont jamais été faciles mais ont toujours été prises de façon autonome, indépendante, et ont été basées sur la discussion européenne. Il est étonnant pour moi de devoir souligner cela, parce que je trouve que c'est une situation normale entre nous, c'est ainsi que les choses doivent se passer et pas autrement. Cela a été une décision difficile à prendre pour beaucoup de pays, de gouvernements, mais elle a toujours été le fruit d'une réflexion commune. Je l'ai déjà dit: la valeur de l'unité européenne dans cette phase a été cruciale.

1-096

Neena Gill (S&D). – In your opening remarks you made a reference to Asia. Would you agree that strong relations with Asia are crucial for the EU – not least because Asia accounts for roughly 60% of the world's population and 30% of the world's GDP, and a number that would increase, given the economies in the region maintain their current growth-rate? At the same time, Asia is a home to a number of hot-spots that have the potential to spark conflicts that could easily draw in the rest of the world. Yet Asia is hardly ever on our radar. So I would like to raise three points. Firstly, we have a new government in India, led by Prime Minister Modi, and it is of concern that the EU is nowhere to be found on his agenda, while meetings with Presidents of China, the US, Japan have all been on top of his priorities. And then when we look at the EU response, a decade has passed since we launched the EU-India strategic partnership, which has failed to produce results.

1-097

Federica Mogherini, *Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy*. – Yes, I think relations with Asia are going to be strategic for the European Union. I think the challenge there is to show Asia that for them, their relationship with us is going to be strategic. We have so much competition there that I think we will need to put a lot of effort and attention jointly, and again, Asia is such a continent that parliamentary diplomacy can be extremely important there. We need to make us relevant for them as much as they can be relevant for us.

Coming to India, I believe that having a new government in India – apparently very much concentrated on reaching out and establishing links to the rest of the world – is an opportunity, in particular when we have a new leadership in Europe, and I think we should work on this opportunity to strengthen the links.

1-098

Gilles Pargneaux (S&D). – Monsieur le Président, Madame la haute représentante désignée, la frontière entre l'Algérie et le Maroc est fermée depuis 1994. Les tensions entre ces deux acteurs majeurs du Maghreb ne montrent pas de signes d'amélioration. Face à ce blocage, aucune coopération régionale maghrébine ne voit le jour, coopération qui profiterait tant aux populations du sud de la Méditerranée qu'à l'Europe, grâce à de nouvelles perspectives de partenariat.

Le résultat est amer, le Maghreb est le bloc régional le moins intégré du monde. Chaque année, près de deux points de PIB sont ainsi perdus pour ces pays. C'est un comble lorsque l'on constate la réussite de la coopération européenne. Le conflit du Sahara occidental est le point d'achoppement de ce non-Maghreb. Plusieurs questions en découlent.

Premièrement, Madame la haute représentante, comment l'Union européenne peut-elle accompagner la résolution de ce conflit et ainsi permettre une réconciliation durable entre l'Algérie et le Maroc?

Quel rôle l'Europe peut-elle jouer pour la construction de l'Union du Maghreb arabe, qui est – comme le fut la CECA à son époque – l'horizon de la paix en Afrique du Nord?

Dernière question: quelles actions envisagez-vous pour souligner le rôle majeur de l'Europe au Maghreb au moment où une ...

(Le Président retire la parole à l'orateur)

1-099

Federica Mogherini, vice-présidente désignée de la Commission - haute représentante de l'Union pour les affaires étrangères et la politique de sécurité. – Je pense qu'il est un peu paradoxal que la région la moins intégrée du monde soit la région du Maghreb, alors que c'est la région, en effet, où l'intégration régionale est la plus nécessaire. Et quand on voit, par exemple, le travail que nous arrivons à faire en Libye avec les pays voisins, même si c'est difficile, mais nécessaire, ou avec le dialogue "5 + 5" – j'y ai fait référence tout à l'heure –, nous pouvons mesurer la valeur ajoutée que cela apporte.

Bien sûr, il existe des problèmes bilatéraux. À cet égard, ce que l'Europe peut faire à mon avis est, tout d'abord, de soutenir les efforts des Nations unies en vue d'une solution politique compréhensible, globale et viable au conflit du Sahara occidental, ensuite, d'utiliser les formats régionaux que nous avons en commun pour travailler ensemble – parce que la coopération facilite beaucoup les choses – et, enfin, de travailler sur les relations bilatérales que nous avons établies tant avec l'Algérie qu'avec le Maroc, afin de montrer que la coopération apporte une valeur ajoutée.

Par ailleurs, je pense que, sans un vrai travail régional, il sera très difficile d'arriver à une véritable résolution de la crise en Libye. Nous devons vraiment prendre davantage de temps pour y travailler et partager des idées à ce sujet. Je suis réellement convaincue qu'il s'agira du dossier numéro un dans les mois ou dans les années qui viennent, également sur le plan de notre sécurité et de notre stabilité.

1-100

Michael Gahler (PPE). – Sie haben erwähnt, dass wir bei GASP und GSVP den Lissabon-Vertrag noch nicht in vollem Umfang nutzen.

Meine Fragen:

Wie wollen Sie erreichen, dass die Mitgliedstaaten Ihrem Wunsch entsprechen, – Zitat : „ein besseres Verständnis für den möglichen Nutzen der ständigen strukturierten Zusammenarbeit zu entwickeln?“

Wie werden Sie sich engagieren, um die im Lissabon-Vertrag vorgesehenen europäischen Fähigkeiten und Rüstungspolitik zu starten?

Welche Schritte werden Sie unternehmen, um die europäische technologische und industrielle Rüstungsbasis zu erhalten und zu festigen?

Sie haben die Verteidigungs-Agentur angesprochen. Wie werden Sie sicherstellen, dass die laufenden Projekte der Agentur endlich die Fähigkeitslücken der Mitgliedstaaten ausmerzen und die Mitgliedstaaten das volle Potenzial dieser Agentur nutzen?

Sie haben Afrika angesprochen. Wie wollen Sie angesichts der Konflikte in Afrika künftig mit der *African Peace Facility* verfahren? So wie bisher?

Und beabsichtigen Sie, die Weiterentwicklung der europäischen Sicherheitsstrategie in einen Prozess für die Erstellung eines europäischen Weißbuchs für Sicherheit und Verteidigung zu überführen?

1-101

Federica Mogherini, *Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy*. – I will start from structural cooperation. As you might have noticed, that is in my written answers, and I intend to use this five years to see if there are the political conditions to use that tool that is there in the Treaty and that I think might be useful to utilise. I know it is a very sensitive issue for Member States, but I believe that if the conditions would be there, that would be my task to explore that.

The Defence Agency: I completely share your point – also there, there is a huge potential, and my point would be to work together with the Ministers of Defence that are on the board that I will chair as head of the Defence Agency – how to move forward concretely and in a shared approach, and this is coming up in the very first months of my mandate. As I said, there is a Defence Council in November, there are some changes in the Defence Agency coming up in the beginning of the year, so that is going to be one of the things on which I might not come with concrete elements today (also because two minutes would make it quite challenging), but definitely very high on the agenda.

Another thing that I probably would do different from the past is playing this defence role at full, because I think it is time that we develop also that part of the work. There was a last question that was on the security strategy. You mentioned that as a paper. I said first – well, previously – I do not come to you at the moment with a clear idea if that has to be a paper on security strategy, if that has to be a process like a White Paper or Livre Blanc that we open up and we take some more time for developing with a broad discussion, if that is just a strategic reflection that we understand how to flexibly adopt. I do not have the format, but I see the need to develop a strategic thinking together.

1-102

Victor Boştinaru (S&D). – Dear Madam High-Representative, Vice-President-designate, cara Federica, the European Parliament welcome very much your commitment for strategic re-thinking, strategies and coordination of our EU global policies, and I am convinced that Parliament will fully back you in your efforts. Now, looking to the Middle East and the crisis rising everywhere: it seems that the crisis reached a very high level which poses serious problems for our European security and energy supply; and, after the last summer, a most severe crisis in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. You will next week join probably the Conference of Donors in Cairo. I welcome very much your sentence: Europe should be a player and not a payer in this region. What is your strategy for the peace negotiations, and what strategy for finally going for peace in the Middle East?

1-103

Federica Mogherini, *Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy*. – First, we have to be there because, for the first time ever,

there is a need and a request for the European Union to be there from all sides – within the different sides, within the Palestinian side, within the Israeli side – and with the regional actors, the Egyptians have asked us to be there and the others have asked us to be there – so I see that for once we might have a crucial role in facilitating.

I think that the peace process has been going on so long that, if we get the political will to find a solution to the conflict, the technical solution is there. The point is political will and political leadership in the two fields and within the two fields. That is why I believe that our role can be that of exerting political pressure. We are big payers so we might have some leverage in terms of incentives and disincentives.

We need to use them to push the political will of the leaderships and we need to strengthen the political leadership internally, first by allowing the Palestinian authority to rule Gaza. I take as a very positive sign the news – I do not know whether it has been confirmed that it is going to happen – that next Thursday the coalition government of the Palestinian authority is meeting in Gaza for the first time. We should support things like that and make them possible. There are a lot of competences that the European Union can put at the disposal of the Palestinian authority to rule Gaza, to reform and to check that the reconstruction does not go in a different direction, because we have to take into consideration the Israeli concerns about the fact that the reconstruction has to be a reconstruction and not re-arming.

All the instruments that we can put at the disposal of supporting the practical agreements are there, but first of all we need the political will. I believe that the crisis that we have had this summer could have said to the different public opinions that it is not possible to return to the status quo and that they have to move forward.

¹⁻¹⁰⁴

Francisco José Millán Mon (PPE). – Señora Mogherini, las relaciones estratégicas más importantes de la Unión Europea son las que tiene con los Estados Unidos, especialmente ahora, como usted dijo antes, en un contexto internacional tan difícil.

Esta relación con los Estados Unidos será aún más sólida si prosperan finalmente las actuales negociaciones del TTP. ¿Cómo ve usted el presente y el futuro de esas relaciones? Por otra parte, ¿qué hará usted para conseguir que Washington considere que la Unión Europea no es solo un actor económico y comercial relevante, sino también un actor político?

Y un segundo punto: yo celebro mucho la importancia que usted nos ha dicho que otorgará a las relaciones con América Latina. Se trata de una región con creciente proyección internacional, relevancia económica y ambiciosos procesos de integración. Además, con la mayoría de países compartimos valores y principios democráticos. Por otra parte, aumenta allí la presencia china. Le preguntaría: ¿qué hará para conseguir que la próxima Cumbre UE-CELAC de junio, en Bruselas, signifique el relanzamiento de las relaciones?

Y una consideración final: celebro mucho la especial atención que prestará a los países del Mediterráneo, a esos países vecinos tan importantes.

¹⁻¹⁰⁵

Federica Mogherini, Vicepresidente designato della Commissione – Alto rappresentante dell'Unione per gli affari esteri e la politica di sicurezza. – Credo che la relazione con gli Stati Uniti sia strategica, come ho detto, innanzitutto da un punto di vista politico. È la famosa battuta del numero di telefono. Credo che serva questo per vivere in pieno le potenzialità della nostra relazione transatlantica.

Poco tempo fa, forse un anno e mezzo fa, in Europa c'è stata un'ondata di panico per il "*pivot to Asia*". Gli Stati Uniti ci stanno abbandonando e stanno rivolgendosi verso il Pacifico e soltanto dopo un anno

riparliamo della centralità dell'alleanza atlantica, ripariamo della centralità della relazione transatlantica, perché abbiamo un problema sul territorio europeo in termini di sicurezza, ma non soltanto. Allora credo che sia importante arrivare ad una relazione matura nella nostra partnership, capire che così come non era giusto avere del panico se, giustamente, gli Stati Uniti rivolgevano la propria attenzione anche al Pacifico, così non dobbiamo adesso dimenticare che dobbiamo fare delle cose insieme nel mondo.

Io la vedrei così: che l'Unione europea e gli Stati Uniti insieme possono, per esempio, relazionarsi ad altre parti del mondo, possono ad esempio insieme affrontare alcune delle grandi sfide globali – penso per esempio al cambiamento climatico, ai flussi migratori, al lavoro sui diritti umani, a molti altri settori su cui la partnership è fondamentale, penso agli sforzi congiunti che potremmo fare sul contrasto a Ebola. C'è un'identità di vedute e di relazioni che sicuramente può essere molto utile.

Per quanto riguarda le negoziazioni sul TTIP, so che c'è una grande attenzione su questo. Io sono convinta che possa essere uno strumento strategico di politica estera e non soltanto di politica commerciale. So anche che c'è una comprensibile – diciamo così – ansia per il fatto che sia un buon accordo. Io credo che abbiamo tutto il tempo per negoziare il TTIP in modo tale che sia un buon accordo. Io qui citerei, ma ho finito il tempo, le parole pronunciate dal Presidente Juncker di fronte all'Assemblea parlamentare a Strasburgo a luglio sul TTIP, che per me fanno fede: non un accordo qualsiasi ma un buon accordo, con delle condizioni molto precise. Vorrei anche cogliere l'occasione per dire che credo sia utile che il Parlamento sia sempre e pienamente informato di tutti i passaggi che faremo.

¹⁻¹⁰⁶

Michèle Alliot-Marie (PPE). – Monsieur le Président, Madame Mogherini, quatre États du Conseil de coopération du Golfe – les Émirats arabes unis, le Qatar, l'Arabie saoudite et Bahreïn – participent à la coalition militaire contre l'État islamique. C'est important pour des raisons stratégiques et psychologiques que vous avez déjà évoquées.

Au-delà de cette action ponctuelle, je voudrais savoir comment vous évaluez le potentiel de ces partenariats stratégiques dans les domaines de la sécurité et de la défense, à la fois dans la région au sens large (je pense aussi au Moyen-Orient) et dans leurs relations avec nous? Quels axes de développement éventuels envisagez-vous?

Par ailleurs, le Conseil de coopération du Golfe représente pour nous un partenaire commercial important. L'Union européenne a noué des relations bilatérales avec les pays du Golfe grâce à l'accord de coopération de 1988, mais depuis 2008, les négociations sur le traité de libre-échange sont intervenues. Comment comptez-vous relancer ce partenariat et, d'autre part, dans le contexte de la crise énergétique que vit l'Europe, comment évaluez-vous l'évolution de la relation entre l'Union européenne et ces pays?

¹⁻¹⁰⁷

Federica Mogherini, vice-présidente désignée de la Commission - haute représentante de l'Union pour les affaires étrangères et la politique de sécurité. – D'abord, je ne qualifierais pas cette coalition de militaire. Je parlerais simplement de coalition, parce qu'elle n'est pas seulement militaire. Certains pays qui en font partie ne participent pas à des opérations militaires.

J'ai eu l'occasion de parler avec le général Allen – qui se trouve en ce moment en Iraq –, qui a mandat de coordonner les efforts de la coalition et avec qui je partage la nécessité d'entreprendre non seulement des actions militaires efficaces mais aussi et surtout des actions en matière de financements, sur les plans politique et économique et dans le domaine de l'aide humanitaire.

La participation des pays du Golfe est très appréciée et très importante parce que je pense qu'elle est l'occasion de modifier les dynamiques régionales. Ce n'est ni évident ni facile. Nous voyons déjà

maintenant combien c'est compliqué, car chacun a des intérêts différents et travaille d'une façon différente des autres. La participation de ces pays à cette coalition montre clairement que c'est un problème qu'il revient aux pays de la région de régler. Nous devons faire passer le message que nous ne sommes pas dans la troisième phase d'un autre conflit: ce n'est pas Iraq 3, ce n'est pas un choc des civilisations, une confrontation entre culture et religion, mais nous nous inscrivons tous dans la même stratégie visant à contrecarrer une organisation terroriste.

En ce qui concerne les relations de partenariat avec les pays du Golfe, j'ai eu l'occasion de remplacer Catherine Asthon en ma qualité de ministre de la présidence italienne, et nous avons déjà commencé à discuter avec ces pays pour savoir comment relancer le partenariat au niveau tant économique que commercial.

1-108

Tunne Kelam (PPE). – Ms Mogherini, you have impressed me with your sincere will to efficiently run the common foreign policy, but you have yet to convince me how to stop Mr Putin in real time. EU sanctions are lagging behind Putin's moves. It is Moscow that sets the agenda, while we react, but cannot stop or prevent, not to speak of restoring the pre-aggression situation. Do you not think that we need first to address and clearly condemn the very roots of Russian aggression, the scandalous doctrine of defending so-called 'compatriots' abroad by military invasion? Ignoring this fascist doctrine has resulted in the present situation. Second, defending Ukraine, how can we justify refusing arms to a friendly country under attack while allowing a Member State to deliver modern assault warships to the very aggressor? If that is not crossing the red line of European principles and solidarity, then what is?

1-109

Federica Mogherini, Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – I think that it was made quite clear by all of us, not just by me or by some of us, but by all of us, from the very beginning of this crisis, where the responsibility lies and how dangerous it is, not only for our continent but for the rest of the world, to change borders by force. I think that is the basis for all the decisions that we have taken in the last month.

So there is no doubt among us – I think we should be very clear, whatever our political family or our Member States, or our personal views – no doubt that occupying or annexing part of a country, changing the borders by force, and having troops in a different country, is absolutely a violation of international principles that we all agreed on and that are the basis of our common work.

The point is, how do we take effective action to put a stop to it? And on this question I think it would be very fruitful to have a real and in-depth discussion, first of all with our friends from Ukraine. My point of reference there is working with the Ukrainians, because in the end they are the ones that are there. They are the ones that have to deal with the conflict on their territory, and they are the ones for whom we are trying to develop a strategy to stop this.

We have adopted the sanctions. Have the sanctions been effective on the Russian economy? Yes. I think the Russian economy is starting to suffer quite a lot from that. So, if the question is: have the choices that we have made so far been effective on the Russian economy? Yes. Are they effective on Russian political decisions? I think we still have a question mark there. And the Ukrainians themselves have a question mark there as they now continue to say we have to go on working, trying to work on the political solution.

So my point of reference there would be to support President Poroshenko's efforts and agree with the Ukrainians the steps that we take.

1-110

Alojz Peterle (PPE). – As the last speaker, I would wish you are not only a High but a very strong Representative and Vice-President of the European Commission. You mentioned the Western Balkans. Which will be your priorities in cooperation with Commissioner-designate Hahn in order to change quite a symmetric picture of the Balkan countries with regard to their European perspective? Do you agree that you have to be ready when a candidate country is ready? How do you see Turkey in this context? You have already mentioned India. Could you tell us a little bit more what you want to undertake in order to deepen cooperation with India, which I consider more and more strategically important partner of the EU? Of course, I have a similar question concerning Japan as well.

1-111

Federica Mogherini, Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – On the Balkans, thank you for the fact that the last question allows me to talk about that. I think it would not be fair to have one priority in the Balkans, because the added value of the EU path for all the Western Balkan countries is the regional dimension and also the interlinks that are there potentially. It is easier to go from one of the capital cities to Vienna or to Frankfurt than to travel in between them, which does not make any sense because it is a region.

So we risk duplicating the fact that it is not an integrated region in itself if we do not work on that. So I would not put one priority before the others, but I have very clear in my mind that we have very different situations that we have to tackle in very different ways. I would say that priority number one is Bosnia and Herzegovina after the elections, to make sure that the compact for growth is implemented and we manage to find a way forward there. The talks between Serbia and Kosovo we have too; they are going on on the technical level very well. We have to revise that politically as soon as we have a government in Pristina. Albania is a unique chance for implementing reforms. Montenegro is the very first on the list, and on the FYROM name issue, I believe that the political will for solving it should be found. I hope I have not forgotten any of them.

I talked about Turkey before. I mentioned it in my opening remarks as one of the countries where we should go on with on enlargement. Should the EU be ready when they are ready? I think we should be ready together. The real challenge is to make this policy work for reforms there, with no paternalistic attitudes. It is in our interests, even before being in their interests, that this reform process goes on steadily. So I would say that we need to be ready together.

1-112

Chair. – Ms Mogherini, you have the floor for your final statement.

1-113

Federica Mogherini, Vice-President-designate of the Commission, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. – Mr Chair, I apologise: I understand that I was the only one at the hearings not to have provided you and the interpreters with a written text for the opening remarks, so imagine how little written material I have for the closing remarks, which by nature come as a result of the discussion that we have had.

I will be very brief. I thank you very, very much for these three hours and something that you have given me that has been extremely precious for me in terms of getting ready for the job – if your decision is in that direction – in terms of getting more knowledge and understanding of your different views and priorities – and even if it does not. I think that we have huge potential for working together in the future.

I was surprised that no question was raised on the relation that I am going to establish with this committee and with Parliament, and might take the chance of saying a few words on that. A lot is already written in my questionnaire, but let me say that I would love – strange as it might seem – to be present as much as possible in your work.

One of the suggestions, I understand, is that we meet before FAC meetings and after FAC meetings. I would say that it would make a lot of sense for me to meet you before FAC meetings, to discuss together the priorities and shape a common vision. That common vision I was referring to – obviously all the institutions have different legitimacy and roles, but I think it would be very much appreciated from my side to share opinions with you before the FAC meetings, while I think that for the follow-up it might be more appropriate to have, maybe, on a technical level, the Secretary-General reporting the decisions taken.

As well, I would like very much to revise the meetings of the special committee. I know that you have a concern about access to information. I think we can work on that in a very pragmatic and structured way. I would touch also on the point that was not raised but I know that has created some question marks, about the deputising system. Together with President-elect Juncker and with the Commissioners involved, my approach would be to ask not only Commissioner Hahn, but also other Commissioners, to deputise for me when relevant, also in front of this committee. Not calendar-based but content-based.

I think we need to structure our way of working together. I would be, as I said, extremely happy to support initiatives in the sense of parliamentary diplomacy. I have done a lot of that myself and I value it a lot. But on that line I would also ask, if I become High-Representative and not only designate, to share this process together in order to make the most out of it.

As well as this, I understand you have valued as something positive the exchange of views with the heads of delegations, with special representatives, and it would be for me very good to continue to encourage that as I think it would be important to make the links and try to find ways of making political reporting accessible for the committee, and to find ways of having structured, common and joint work.

When I said in the beginning, I believe the EEAS should be and should stay the centre of reference for all the external action of different European institutions, I meant also the European Parliament, and so that is going to be part of my job.

I will finish by saying that this discussion tonight has also shown that the challenges are quite huge. The first thing I said I think after the decision of the European Council at the end of August was that I am aware of the fact that the challenges are going to be huge, enormous, and day by day I realise that this is even more huge and enormous than I expected, but I think that we have five years to work on that. We have to set, I think, high expectations. You can always lower them on the way but you need to start thinking big. With team-building and teamwork with different sides of the European Community and with the good working methods among us and with the strong political will and hopefully some leadership, I believe we can deliver on some of the issues outlined here tonight.

Obviously, I would count very much on working with you and your support. As I said it is not a duty. It is a political interest, because I know that in the Parliament many of the things that I have said tonight are as deeply felt as I deeply feel them.

(Applause)

1-114

Der Präsident. – Frau Mogherini, Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Ich danke Ihnen sehr. Wir hatten eine ziemlich präzise, kurzweilige Sitzung, in der viel Sachverstand auf allen Seiten geäußert wurde. Ich bedanke mich gerade auch noch einmal für Ihre Festlegung im schriftlichen Bereich, also auch gerade in Ihren letzten Meldungen, die zum Ausdruck bringen, in welcher Weise wir die Zusammenarbeit zwischen diesem Haus und Ihnen verbessern können. Dabei geht es sicherlich neben den Kontrollmöglichkeiten, den Möglichkeiten für Ex-ante-Konsultationen bei strategischen Dokumenten

und vielen anderen wichtigen Entscheidungen auch um die Frage des Austauschs von Informationen, die Frage der *classified documents* und vieles andere mehr, wie das auch bereits einmal zwischen uns besprochen worden ist.

Ich glaube, dass auch die Fragen, die mit der Struktur des Auswärtigen Dienstes zu tun haben und hier angesprochen wurden, von großer Bedeutung sind, und dass die getroffenen Vereinbarungen, etwa in der Madrid-Vereinbarung, nach wie vor in manchen Bereichen der Implementierung bedürfen, oder dass auch noch einmal überprüft werden muss, in welcher Weise sie Dingen entsprechen, wie beispielsweise auch die Fragen, die mit der Ein Drittel-Ein Drittel-Ein Drittel-Lösung zu tun haben, die Fragen, die beispielsweise mit dem Zurückschrauben von *seconded national experts* zu tun haben, mit den *special representatives*, wo wir ja schon früher in Gesprächen zu mancher Übereinstimmung gelangt sind, wie auch Fragen, die mit *crisis management structures* und *comprehensive approach* zu tun haben.

Wir können eine ganze Reihe der Dinge, die Sie hier genannt haben, intensiver besprechen, um auf diese Art und Weise die Synergieeffekte zu erreichen, die zwischen Kommission, Auswärtigem Dienst, Rat und Parlament notwendig sind, wobei wir insbesondere auch einen größeren Teamgeist zwischen den Institutionen entwickeln müssen. Ich glaube, dass Ihre Bereitschaft, sich aktiv als Vizepräsidentin der Kommission zu verstehen, ein wichtiger Schritt ist, um zu der Konsequenz zu gelangen, dass dann auch Führung im Rat erfolgen kann. Ich danke Ihnen dafür, dass Sie in all diesen Fragen Festlegungen vorgenommen haben.

Wir müssen uns auch darüber unterhalten, wie wir mit den Haushaltsfragen klarkommen. Dazu gab es einige Fragen, etwa zur Modifikation der *Financial Regulations*. Wir werden eine größere Leistungsfähigkeit haben, auch weil der Einsatz unserer Finanzmittel manchmal noch aufgrund von Regeln, die wir uns selbst gesetzt haben, etwas zu bürokratisch vorgeht.

Ich möchte mich deswegen bei Ihnen sehr herzlich bedanken, dass Sie sich so diesen Befragungen hier gestellt haben und, glaube ich, keine Antwort schuldig geblieben sind. Ich hoffe, dass daraus eine Kooperation entsteht, die bei Annahme der gesamten Kommission – bezüglich derer ich ja hoffe, dass es insgesamt ein kooperatives Verhältnis gibt – zu einer guten Zusammenarbeit führen kann.

Wir werden uns morgen früh um 9.00 Uhr in der Sitzung des Erweiterten Präsidiums dann mit dem Brief beschäftigen, den wir zur Bewertung schreiben müssen.

Ich danke Ihnen sehr herzlich, dass Sie uns so Rede und Antwort gestanden haben.

(Beifall)

1-115

(Die Sitzung wird um 21.50 Uhr geschlossen.)