

# MIGUEL ANGEL MORATINOS

Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Spain

**Dominique MOÏSI, Special Advisor, Ifri**

Now, let's move into Europe, Miguel.

**Miguel Ángel Moratinos, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Spain**

Since we are in a centre where French is allowed, I am going to speak French.

I am going to talk about my conclusions. But first, thanks for coming, because, after a Sunday meal, if you are not having a lie-down and you are here listening to us, you deserve our applause and encouragement.

As you said, Dominique, it is difficult to draw conclusions. I would be tempted just to talk about the Middle East, my passion, my life, but I think that today my capacity as a European obliges me to talk about Europe and the role of this think tank, the World Policy Conference. When I spoke with Thierry de Montbrial and he told me we would be coming to Montreux, I thought it was a great idea. I think he must be congratulated. Europe needs this kind of meeting, where all the partners from around the world are invited. We have talked about and with Asia, America, the United States and Africa. Perhaps more should be done for Latin America, Thierry. We have our Brazilian friend, which is very good, but Latin America deserves to be present with other countries as well. We are listening to and taking note of what people think of Europe, and we Europeans, who make up the majority of participants, must identify the messages and the issues involving our immediate, medium- and long-term future. I think Europe has something to say in the global governance that is taking shape. We have got a responsibility, and the best way to make our voices heard in this new world is by listening, identifying problems and addressing all the complexity you have mentioned several times in various talks.

Thank you, Thierry. I hope Europe, perhaps Montreux, will be able to keep hosting us and that we will be able to continue identifying the major European issues.

We experienced the *gravitas*, as you said, Thierry, of the Paris attacks as a tectonic shock. In my opinion, if you take note of what we have been told during this two-and-a-half-day conference, Europeans should have been and must be required to revise their entire existence, the entire way we have built the wonderful entity called the European Union. First, we listened to our planners, the people responsible for policy planning. The view they gave us is as dark and confused as the one now prevailing in Europe. The German representative spoke to us about the European Union's weaknesses. Whenever there is a crisis, we do not know where we are going. I left that talk feeling a bit worried because the planners who were supposed to plan a prosperous future have sent us back to the past, to a pessimistic situation. On the other hand, some non-European speakers have given us a glimmer of hope. You mentioned the Prime Minister of Benin, Lionel Zinsou, who lectured us. "You Europeans," he said, "you know how much you are appreciated. You are aware of your credibility and abilities." He gave the planners a positive response: they are sitting in their offices with little understanding about what is happening outside the European Union.

This morning, Jean-David Levitte, with his customary clarity, reminded us that, despite everything, Europe has accomplished some good things; not just in the areas of policy and security, but also in the fight against climate change. We have led the way. We are ready to find new energy policies. We have taken decisions. The Greek crisis was extremely dramatic, even tragic, but the euro eventually survived.

There is a sense of permanent pessimism and general confusion in European public opinion, which means that we Europeans should take our future into our hands, but we cannot manage to. Even the leaders of the Middle East, even our American friends, even our Palestinian friends and even the Israelis tell us that if, for strategic reasons, the United States does not play the same role as before, Europe must assume its responsibilities. Given the terrorist attacks in



Paris, new security strategies affect our vital interests. We must tackle a whole set of issues and challenges more decisively.

What surprised me about the Paris attacks is that so far, unfortunately, Europe's response, as the European Union, has been weak. All of us are aware that what just happened has consequences we cannot even begin to fathom. Everything we are going through is nothing compared to what might happen. When the Berlin Wall fell and the international financial crisis rocked financial and economic markets across Europe, obviously a European summit was convened. We even held 30 European councils to address the economic and financial situation. If European councils are necessary to save the currency, aren't they even more necessary to save and protect European citizens?

What are we witnessing today? Politics as usual. It was a great idea for President Hollande to visit Moscow and Washington; all very well and good. But, with all due respect for my French friends — you know I speak French, in Spain they even call me *el afrancesado* — in my view, it would have been even better to convene an emergency European council, an extraordinary council, because Belgium has problems, Germany has problems, Greece has problems. We have seen it with the refugees. All of us have problems. And if we want to solve them, France cannot do it alone. What are we going to do? As Hubert Védrine and Kemal Dervis asked, what are we going to do about borders? What are we going to do about Schengen? What are we going to do about Frontex? Europe must take its project back into its hands. It must review all of its domestic and foreign policies.

Within Europe, essential existences and values must be re-assessed. Outside Europe, a big question must be asked. What do we want to do with our neighbours? Do we want to live with them, next to them or in opposition to them? My answer is that we want to live with them, and if we want to live with them, the building blocks of a space of cooperation, stability and prosperity must be shared with them. The 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Barcelona conference is next Friday. Obviously, that's the past, but this occasion could have been used to take a look at the future and say, with Israel, Palestine, the Mediterranean countries, the Middle East, let us draw inspiration from the Europe that signed the Helsinki Accords. Let us hold a conference on stability and security in the region, with principles, and let us invite all the countries, not just Iran but also Israel, to sit around the same table and try to make peace.

Europeans, we must act together.