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*The High Representative of the European Union on Security and  
Foreign Affairs: origins, evolution, and challenges*

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MASTER OF EUROPEAN STUDIES:  
TRANSNATIONAL AND GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES

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## **Introduction**

The High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy constitutes a recently added role to the institutional framework of the European Union. It was first introduced in the Amsterdam Treaty(1997) and its first holder was Javier Solana, Secretary General of the Council of the European Union. Twelve years later the Lisbon Treaty(2009) upgraded the post by giving it presidency over the Foreign Affairs Council and one of the Vice-presidencies in the Commission. The first holder under the new Treaty was Catherine Ashton. The High Representative conducts the Common Foreign and Security Policy, the Common Security Defence Policy and he/she is merely responsible for the consistency of EU's external action. High Representative's mission is supported by the European External Action Service which cooperates with the Member States and assists in essential diplomatic procedures. The appointment of this position is made by the European Council acting by a qualified majority with the agreement of the Commission's President, for a mandate of five years (European Union, n.d.).

Some common yet important duties that are lied under the post of the High representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy are that: the High Representative is responsible of shaping and maintaining the Common Foreign and Security Policy containing all the common and defense security included in it and it is one of the presidents of High Commission. The High representative is responsible for

the stability of all the external actions of the European Union. The recruitment of High Representative is upon European Council from a list of qualified candidates and this decision must be done by the President of the Commission and this appointment is for upto 5 years approximately. Now the current High Representative of Foreign Affairs and Security Policy is Josep Borrell Fontelles who was appointed as the High representative for his 5 years tenure in 2019 after succeeding or competing with Federica Mogherini who was elected as the High Representative for the tenure of 2014 to 2019 (Access to European Union law, 2018, p. 291).

There are some challenges that are currently being faced by the foreign policy of the European Union. A situation has arrived now in which different international issues are being faced by the European foreign policy. As most of the undeveloped and troubled areas and regions are situated near the boundaries of Europe and this situation required the development of new and effective situations. There are some challenges faced by foreign policy in East as at the eastern border of the European Union, a conflict was arose a year ago that disturbed the relationships with Russia. The European Union made a relation with Ukraine after its dedication of being an independent state in 1991. In 2007, there were certain debates done between Ukraine and the European Union and these were about Association Agreement, political changes and some free trading treaty. The president of Ukraine rejected the ratify that was provided by European Union and instead of it accept the ratify of Russia (The Search for Europe: Contrasting Approaches, 2019, p. 81). However some of the reservations that played as a barrier for the European Union to share their best role in the global issues as per the style and level of the European Union objectives and aims. All the strategic capacity of the European Union is required

in all the crisis consultation and crisis management especially in the neighboring countries of the European Union that include its South and East side. These sides of the European Union include Libya, Ukraine, Syria, Mediterranean and Belarus. All the discussion that is made around the common foreign security policy changes is all around two poles of the side. On the one side of the pole, it is a plan that aims to separate the European foreign and security policy from the structure of the European Union and thus provide more space to the members of the government. While on the other side of the pole, it has been tried very hard to bring the Common foreign and security policy to the supranational side of the European Union. This may include all the decisions regarding policy made by the European Commission and select from the qualified candidates of the majority (Steinach, 2019, p. 192).

### **Review of the literature**

This literature review examines the reasons behind the creation and adoption of this new institutional role by the Amsterdam Treaty. In particular, what were the global, systemic conditions that demanded the “birth” of High Representative of the Union and how did the Member States agree to concede a part of their power-foreign policy- under the supranational agenda? The content of deliberations and arguments inside national parliaments of Member States prior between the Intergovernmental Conference in Turin(1996) and the Amsterdam Treaty will also be examined as long as speeches and interviews made by the main actors of this period.

To begin with, the European Union started as an economic integrational project that soon expanded to additional policy areas. The field of foreign policy relied on classical - nationally base- diplomacy. However, this feature created a set of impediments in EU's external structure as there was not a "single voice" towards third states and usually Union's representation in the international arena was conducted by different officials for different matters each time (T.Sultanova, 2019). Consequently, European Foreign Policy was rendered inefficient and sometimes even impossible. This lack of continuity was further generated by the system of rotation Council Presidency, which was responsible for CFSP matters and Union's representation abroad before the Amsterdam Treaty and which was subject to change every six months. Nevertheless, European Union has functioned this way since its creation, thus the true question is why was there this specific need this specific period and how this need was fulfilled and structured in the Amsterdam Treaty? This research aims to fill in these gaps.

Additionally, the Lisbon Treaty gave the High Representative the shape it has today with new enhanced competences, that of the Vice president of the Commission and the president of the Foreign Affairs Council of the Union. along came the creation of one assistive service known as the European External Action Service which is accountable to this position. It will also be set under examination the duality of High Representative's role as to the interests he/she represents. To be more specific, on the one hand it constitutes an intergovernmental player whose mandate, goals and procedures are set by

the Member States but at the same time acts under the Commission's as the "single voice" representing the interests of the EU abroad. This paper aims to unveil the negotiations and compromises made by the Member States in order to reach to this dualism and whether this characteristic renders the position efficient enough.

### **Conclusion**

All in all, this paper's purpose is to enrich in depth the institutional role of the High Representative, the reasons behind its existence, the systemic circumstances, needs and states' interests that resulted in its creation and preservation. It will also examine potential gaps in the existing literature concerning High Representative's impact in further integration of the European project. Lastly, it will try to prove that the gradual "supranationalisation" of the EU's external action will rendered it a more present, influential, and dynamic player in the international arena.

### **Problem statement, research question and hypotheses**

The post of the High Representative of the EU was first appeared in the workings of the Intergovernmental Conference 1996. It was primarily introduced by the Council of Europe and the Commission and it aimed to enforce the CFSP aspect of the European project. It was though officially established in the Amsterdam Treaty (1997) but under the name of Secretary General of the Council of the European Union. The main duties were the conduction of the Common Foreign and Security Policy, the contribution by proposals to the development of this policy and the representation of the Union in various international organizations and conferences as far as CFSP is concerned. After the Lisbon



Treaty (2009) the post acquired two additional responsibilities, as a president of the Foreign Affairs Council and the high authority of the European External Action Service Agency.

European officials have been trying for a long time to find a way to end the inconsistency of the Union's foreign relations network. To be more specific, the rotating presidency system of the European Council along with the national elections in each member state produced a sense of instability towards external relations, which deprived the EU several times from having the leading role in salient international issues. Since then, the role of the High Representative has evolved into the European "Chief Diplomat" and the main figure representing, coordinating and securing EU's interests abroad. However, this position bears dual responsibilities because on the one hand it acts based on the Union interests, as Vice-President of the Commission and on the other hand its mandate is set but a purely intergovernmental body, the Council. Consequently, a need for further research on the Workings of the Amsterdam Treaty and the Lisbon Treaty is in order, in view of a better understanding of the role, its evolution and its place in the European context.

The aim of this study is to determine why there was this specific need this specific period, what was the political background in the negotiations of the Amsterdam Treaty and the Intergovernmental Conference in Turin that preceded it. I would also explore the how did the Lisbon Treaty further extended High Representative's importance in the CFSP environment. discourse analysis methods will be used to identify various speeches and

debates made in the European negotiations, national parliamentary proceedings, news reporting and interviews of the time I will also use qualitative process-tracing analysis focusing on the causal mechanisms resulting in the creation of this position, using text and visual analysis. I will finally strengthen my arguments by indicating a case study demonstrating two important High Representative figures the one of Javier Solana and Catherine Ashton as representatives of two different phases of the same post.

### **Case Study**

Taking all the above into consideration, it is of utmost importance to introduce two case studies which will further display and explain the problem. The examination of the negotiations that took place before the Amsterdam and the Lisbon Treaty along with the intergovernmental conferences such as this of Turin 1996, will provide a more holistic approach as to how this post has been embodied and functioned and what was its advocacy of this role. In his article *Dijkstra H*<sup>1</sup> debates whether the High Representative is more of a bureaucratic nature as the main responsible of a merely bureaucratic service

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<sup>1</sup> Dijkstra, H. (2011). Solana and his Civil Servants: An Overview of Political-Administrative Relations. In G. Mueller-Brandeck-Bocquet, & C. Rueger (Eds.), *The High Representative for the EU Foreign and Security Policy: Review and Prospects* (pp. 65-85). Nomos.

(EEAS) or of a political one as he/she is elected by the European Council and therefore is a politician. “

The aforementioned elements would be helpful concerning how each High Representative under two different Treaty regimes, influences and shapes firstly the very perception of this role and secondly the European Foreign Policy in general. As (Holsti) mentioned in his article “The HR is seen as an actor that defines his/her role partly as an enactment of his/her own role conception”.

### **Research Question**

Why the Amsterdam Treaty introduced the High Representative in the Union’s CFSP framework and how has been finally shaped in the Lisbon treaty ?

In other words the main research questions aims to explore the needs of the Union’s foreign policy that demanded the creation of this new institutional role, the global, systemic and institutional conditions of the period before the Amsterdam Treaty, the deliberations made in national and European levels so as to reach this decision and the shortcomings that led to the amelioration of High Representative’s post in the Lisbon era. The challenges that were faced by the High Representative in order to achieve the desired objective of the European Union and the purpose of creation of the High Representative is also aimed in this writing and thus this required a concise and excessive research that will be qualitative and analyzed that will help to answer the research question

of this writing. Different amendements that were made in all the treaties like the Amsterdam treaty and the Lisbon treaty will be analyzed in this study that will provide assistance to the complete the aim of the research question of this writing as to understand the purpose of the development of the High Representative for the foreign affairs and the Security policy of the European Union (Marks,2019,p. 94).

### **Theoretical, conceptual and/or analytical frameworks**

The origins and the state of this paper for the High Representative will be based on a european integration theory,that of Neofunctionalism . In particular, Neofunctionalism perceives the international relations as “the interplay of societal actors” (Marks, 2019, p. 1114) and supranational institutions as a better mean for states to achieve their interests, that would be impossible to be accomplished on a national level. In other words, conferral of powers to a supranational authority leads to a regional cooperation and then to a regional integration. Through the “spillover” effect this integration spreads to a wider range and affects gradually more and more regions.

The creation of the High Representative is exactly a result of a “spillover” on a different level or at least this essay is an attempt to prove it. European Foreign Policy has always been a matter of national authorities thus rendering in inconsistent and chaotic. A first integrational step, the creation of a position responsible for external affairs, was thought appropriate so as to strengthen the coherence of the Common Foreign Security Policy (CFSP). Neofunctionalism underlines that the existence of a common policy sector results

in a further harmonisation of rules around this sector. Consequently, Member States through the Council realized that there was a need for such a supranational authority as it would better cope with Union's interests.

However, High Representative's creation hinders intergovernmental traits. First and foremost, any action aiming to augment the power of a supranational institution has to be directly decided from intergovernmental bodies( national governments). Additionally, intergovernmentalism prevails in the European foreign policy decision making procedures with Member States holding the last word. this new institutional post is based on a combination of these two theories and that is evident from its very dual nature. To put it differently, the post of the High Representative is essentially a neofunctionalist idea which follows an integrationist agenda as the Vice President of the Commission but its main driving force is fueled by intergovernmental interests as its appointment is set by the Council. It goes without saying that in the role of the High Representative the researcher can experience the "clash" between intergovernmentalism and neofunctionalism of the Union's integration process.

### **Methodology**

This research will be conducted using qualitative methods and more specifically process tracing and discourse analysis. Particularly, I will attempt to examine the profound causes that resulted in the creation of the High Representative's post, searching the links between the causal mechanisms and the outcome that will allow me to justify my findings. Process

tracing analysis constitutes an assistive tool in terms of examining political and institutional developments similar to the issue under research as it emphasizes on the question “why” allowing to reach substantial conclusions. However, due to its high specialisation and focus on one case at a time it could be difficult and even unsustainable to extract general truths or norms.

On the other hand discourse analysis will be used in order to analyze the negotiations and deliberations made by the main national actors during the signing of the Amsterdam Treaty but also during the Intergovernmental Conference in Turin that preceded it. It would be extremely helpful to place under examination the discussions and briefings made in the national parliaments after the adoption of the Amsterdam Treaty concerning the new Union’s foreign affairs post. The utilization of discourse analysis could be enlightening as it deciphers the meanings, ideologies and beliefs behind words. To put it differently, it contextualizes the oral speech and attempts to extract conclusions from it concerning the matter under examination. Nevertheless, it could also be restrictive as it can not interpret actor’s intentions behind actions taken and it can provide the researcher with multiple explanations and interpretations. All in all, for this paper I intent to use both those types of analysis as combined they create an effective methodological tool. In this way I will create a valid and reliable text with justified arguments (Marks,2019, p. 212).

## List of of potential primary and secondary sources

### *Primary sources*

- The Amsterdam Treaty text law
- The Lisbon Treaty text law ( TEU +TFEU)
- Speeches made by the negotiating parties during the workings of the Amsterdam Treaty
- Newspaper reports of the periods 1996-1997 and 2007-2009
- Records of the meetings ( Intergovernmental Conference, Amsterdam Treaty, Lisbon Treaty)
- Deliberations made by the French foreign minister in Assemblée Nationale
- Deliberations made by the British foreign minister in the House of Commons

### *Secondary Sources*

- Books on the post of the High Representative and on the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union
- Academic articles on this institutional development

- Peer reviewed articles
- Edited volumes
- Documentaries

**Preliminary table of contents (of the future master thesis)**

Introduction

The Intergovernmental Conference in Turin 1996

The Amsterdam Treaty

- i. The origins and creation of the High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy
- ii. Institutional form
- iii. European Integration theory and the High Representative

Lisbon treaty

- i. The evolution of the High Representative's role
- ii. New institutional competences
- iii. What does this mean for Union's CFSP?

Review of the literature

**The intergovernmental conference in Turin 1996:**

The main purpose of conduction of this commission was to revise the treaty of Maastricht, but still there was always a room left for the decisions and additions as per the advice of Member States and this was mentioned in different writings and legal resource already (Piris et al, 2012,p. 85). The general revision of the treaty of the European Union was done which include general principles of the revision especially Article A and B of the treaty and in the article B of the treaty, it was about the pillar based foundation of the European Union. The Article N2 covered the various subjects of the treaty that were revised in this commission. The revision on the decision about the



structure or development of the Parliament and Council was done in this commission. The revision of the provinces that include the common foreign and security policy also required in the previous treaty that was done in this commission ( O’Sullivan , 2019, p. 192). The amendments and the view on the protection of civil and human rights and the protection of energy and tourism were made that was added in the declaration 1 of the previous treaty. In the declaration 16 of the previous treaty, the revision was done for the people owned by community act. There were different institutional consequences of the fourth enlargement which include Brussels European Council of 10 and 11 December 1993, the European Council of 1994, the Cannes European Council of June 1995, the Madrid European Council in 1995 and the Turin European ( O’Sullivan , 2019, p. 19). The government was unable to follow the suggestion given by Tindemans Report’s. The suggestion was about a new treaty. According to that new treaty an increase in the likelihood that any potential future changes would take the form of amendments to the Rome treaty. On the same time, the European Council emerges as a directing tool for both economic and political aspects. Both those aspects work as a linking tool for two levels. The report of the Three Wise Men, the Solemn Declaration on European Union and the Dooge Report together with various proposals from Member States, e.g. the London Report 1981, called for a greater degree of harmony between the two spheres of the Community and that of EPC (the European Parliament, 1996,p. 102). The constrains for the amendment got rise in the mid of 1980. Only minor amendments were made before the Treaty was signed in Amsterdam on 2 October by the Foreign Ministers of the 15 EU Member States. After being ratified by all Member States, the Treaty of Amsterdam entered into force on 1 May 1999 (Sultanova, 2019,p.84). A number of

problems have been addressed in that meeting in the composition of the heads of the States. These problems included, interaction between citizens and governmental incentives, the creation of an area of freedom, security and justice; strengthening the common and foreign security policy (CFSP); reforming the institutions and the functioning of the Union in order to make it more democratic and efficient in preparation for the enlargement to include the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEECs), Malta and Cyprus ( O'Sullivan , 2019, p. 192). The negotiations were also characterized by intense questioning from some countries on the appropriateness of providing for a possible two-speed Europe. The European Commission took part in all IGC negotiations, while the European Parliament was only consulted at periodic meetings (Marks,2019,p. 281).

The Treaty of Amsterdam, building on the existing Treaties, amended certain provisions of the Maastricht Treaty and the Treaties establishing the European Communities and of other related Acts. Most notably, it permitted the strengthening of the position of human rights within the Union, the incorporation of the Schengen *acquis* into the European Union, the repeal of the United Kingdom's derogation on social policy, and the establishing of an area of freedom, security and justice, which strengthened the means for taking action in matters of foreign policy (Piris et al, 2012,p. 261). However, the progress made by the Treaty of Amsterdam with regard to the institutions was, overall, rather limited. The Member States therefore agreed to hold further negotiations, prior to any new enlargement, on those matters which were not resolved by the end of the IGC.

The principle of enhanced cooperation was also laid down in the Treaty in order to allow those Member States that wished to do so to cooperate more closely to do so through the Union's institutions and means for taking action, without harming the process of European integration as a whole ( O'Sullivan , 2019,p. 71). In the final conclusion of the commission as per the decision of the government and the head of the state that the commission proposed should highlight in the light of the reflection group and without any kind of prejudice, it should be followed as per the following objectives which may include: A union made for the citizens in which the main aim of the Union was to provide assistance and protection the citizens of the state by enabling them secured and safe environment. The core objective of the European Union should be regarding the safety and prosperity of the citizens that provide the position to the European Union. The fight for unemployment in the states should have priority from Member of the State and Union and thus require a region with high labour ratio and low unemployment ratio (Piris et al, 2012,p. 261). Second objective should about the Institutions in a more democratic manner and should have effective Union ( O'Sullivan , 2019,p. 72). The effective democratic means the more concise and clear legislation procedures should be provided and this should be more clear and up to the mark. The role played by the Parliament should be with the legislative powers and with all the relevant members. The Intergovernmental commission should know about the extent of the role of the parliament that can pay contribution collectively to do the works and to complete the responsibilities of the Union and the last objective was about the reinforcement of the capacity of the Union for external actions. All the international situation is now enhancing the responsibility of the Union and so needed to make a strong identity for performing with

peace and harmony in the Union (Sultanova, 2019,p. 172). The capacities that were required to achieve this objective were include: explaining and analysing the role and future of the common External policy, making accurate arrangements of the budget, explaining the actions and the steps that will be required to put forwards the step in order to gain the interest and aim of the Union according to the defined principles in the appropriate field and developing the procedure and the more accurate solutions for making concise decision making because of loyalty and being a strong supporter of the Union ( O’Sullivan , 2019,p. 12). To gain all these objectives of the Union, it should also be required by the Commission to know about the particular steps and the procedures that will be necessary for the Union in order to being more versatile and effective and having all the rights and efficiencies in the respective field. The intergovernmental commission hence should know about the methods of how to make a strong policy regarding defence mission and for the foreign Affairs and the security that eventually will provide a strong hand to the European Union and make it even stronger and the more versatile and active among all (the European Parliament, 1996,p.182).

**The Amsterdam Treaty:**

The Amsterdam treaty was came into being in 1999. The aim of Amsterdam treaty was to create a relationship between European Union and its citizens. The clear idea of this Amsterdam treaty was to provide a straight path for people, pay heed towards the human rights and the rules for freedom, creating rules of freedom and developing a principle for

law. In this treaty, the acceptance of Union was become necessary for which a abidance condition was made and in case of any negligence or failure to fulfill this condition can implement a sanction made by the Union council (Piris et al, 2012, p. 182). This cause to give importance to all the environmental, protection and health related community policies as to provide a response in context to all the responses of citizens (Marks,2019, p. 291). This treaty also leads towards the recognition of “services of general economic interests”. To retain the authority and jurisdiction of European Union in the field, some new chapters regarding employment and a ground for unemployed persons and introduction of the new concept of incentives was added in the treaty of Amsterdam. The new labour government of the United Kingdom welcomed the addition of social protocols that was introduced by Eleven and followed by Maastricht Treaty in the Amsterdam treaty. The protocol that was added into the the treaty was strictly adhered towards the principles regarding promotion of employments, developing social protection for citizens, enhancing the living and working conditions for labour of the country and to remove or fight against the expenses and exclusions from the labour market ( O’Sullivan , 2019 p .182). All these principles were analyzed by Member States by taking the points of diversity in country and in the regions under consideration (Piris et al, 2012, p .212). These all principles were taken under observations as to improve the living conditions as the environment of the country was diversified and thus require consideration for the living of people belonging to different backgrounds and cultures. Uniformity remained in the relationships between employee and employer and all other social securities (*The Provisions of the Treaty of Amsterdam - Historical Events in the European Integration Process (1945–2014) - CVCE Website, 2020*).

This Amsterdam treaty was more oriented towards the rights of labour and enhancing the living that it ignored the other fields of Union. The second pillar of European Union was the common and foreign security policy and because of the living and social security oriented Amsterdam treaty, this pillar remained intergovernmental ( O’Sullivan , 2019, p .81). When the Amsterdam treaty was made, it was greatly hoped that there would be some massive amendments regarding the role of the Union towards the international relationships and towards the international changes, but there was a very minor amendment done regarding international scenes so that the action of the treaty remained active. The little amendment that was made was: the High Representatives of the European Union on Security and Foreign Affairs. This amendment was done to provide help to six presidents that were all responsible for the implementation and action of this amendment and these presidencies were held every six month. Thus the main change done by the Amsterdam Treaty was to split the pillar of European Union into two parts. First part was to give importance to the civil matters which include social security, freedom and justice while the second part was about development of policies on the basis of intergovernmental cooperation (*What Is the Amsterdam Treaty?*, 2020).

**Institutional changes:**

The Amsterdam treaty brought a lot of changes and amendments in the European Union and this leads towards the changes in the institutions of Europe too. The main institutions like European parliament, national parliament and councils experienced many changes in them because of the Amsterdam treaty. There were different reforms made in European parliament which include that parliament gained the power of setting the rules for its members by itself and this power reduced the misconception that still MEP is

considering different national rules in the country, parliament gain the right of saying on the appointment of new commission that was previously only allowed to talk about the president nominated by governments, the power for budgeting control become increase of European parliament and many more reforms was done in European parliament (Sultanova, 2019,p. 83). Although there were some little amendments done in the council, the main reform that was done by the Amsterdam treaty is the provision of new rules to the foreign policy and security procedure. The Secretary General of the council was then considered as the High representative of the foreign and security policy and he/she became responsible for all the proceedings and providing assistance in the operations of the Council (Commission, 1999).

#### **The Lisbon Treaty:**

The intergovernmental commission (IGC) was responsible for developing and creating a European changes treaty that was opened in Lisbon on 23 July 2007. All the important changes and the writing process of this treaty were approved in Lisbon in October 2007 in the presence of the meeting held between the Head of States and the Government in Lisbon. The signing ceremony of this Treaty of Lisbon was held in the presence of the president of European Parliament Hans-Gert Pöttering in 2007 December (Piris et al, 2012, p .91). In 2008, the treaty of Lisbon was gained by the European Parliament. As per this treaty in Lisbon, the parliament is properly allowed to appoint the president of the commission and this allocation will be held on the basis of a proposal provided by the European Council and this will announce the results of European parliament elections (*Treaty of Lisbon*, 2020).

The post Lisbon treaty amendments were done in the European Union in which the High representative was only aimed at being a bridge for intergovernmental and mystical faces of the European Union foreign policy. But the leadership skills and the hard work of Catherine Ashton and Federica Mogherini proved that institutional limitations are still exist and a common and equal foreign policy can be achieved by hard work and dedication. The Lisbon treaty was held in 2009 and it was celebrated as decisive in the context of the European Union foreign policy institutionalization. This Lisbon treaty made such reforms that allowed the structure and pillars of the European Union to show their power and become effective, coherent and powerful in the international market and on the stage of international forums. In this Lisbon treaty, the reshaping and amendments in the High representative of the Union of foreign Affairs and security policy was seemed difficult and thus it became critical for being a bridge for supranational and intergovernmental policy sectors. At that time, the Lisbon treaty made changes in the High representative and elaborated it into three areas of interest and directions. These directions included settlement of particular agenda of the High Representatives, development of higher international profile, and being a unitary or common representative. As even after all these amendments, the Member States did not completely give the control to the High Representative and did not rely on the final orders and plans.

The first amendment that the Lisbon treaty made in the High Representative was: it enhances the power and authorities of the High Representatives by providing it a chance to become an agenda setter and by allowing it to take initiatives as per its own choice.



The power that was provided to High Representative improved the position of him in the Council and also provided him a chance to play his role and drama in leading the common foreign affairs and security policy (CFSP). Even after it, the common foreign affair and security policy (CFSP), the common security and on the Common defense policy only Counsel was allowed to pay being a leader and give orders to them. Under the title V of the treaty of the European Union, it was declared that agreements in the Council will still remain an important part of the process. However, the second pillar of the European Union was removed in the Lisbon Treaty but still it remained its aftereffects that provide some new tools to the High Representative in order to fight against the situations. The second amendment was that the High Representative was awarded by a new and higher role in this treaty as it never gained before in any treaties and this role was about gaining the higher international profile of the High Representative. From 2009, the High Representative was allowed to represent the European Union on the land of third parties or in any international organizations and countries. To assist this role with the High Representative, a new service was created named as the European External Action Service. This assistant action service was developed by the approval of all those who were in favour of the High representative for representing the European Union on abroad level. These include Commission Bureaucrats, professional diplomats and Council civil servants. The only issue that was faced by this service as most of the members of it was allocated by Member States and these members were their own country oriented and hence this affected the value of High Representative operations (*Making EU Foreign Policy a Reality: The Role of the High Representative*, 2020).

The final change was the introduction of unitary representation as a controversial topic in the field. Although, at a place, the role of the High Representatives has become very affecting and inspiring for all the international organizations and countries. It was also a fact that all the power that was provided to the High Representative was only adhered towards the Common Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and this position was also sometimes competed by Commissions and Councils (*Making EU Foreign Policy a Reality: The Role of the High Representative*, 2020).

**The European External Action Services:**

In 2009, the European Union Council accepted the guidelines and authorities of the European External Action Service. The High Representative was appointed and allowed to make a proposal for the implementation and action of the European External Action Service as soon as possible after the incumbent of the Lisbon Treaty and this action should be done by Council by the end of April 2010. As per the guidelines added by the European Council in 2009, the European External Action Service become the only service providence under the authority of the High Representative. The European External Action Service was awarded by the authority of being an organizational entity and was responsible for supporting and reflecting the High Representative function in the European Union. The main responsibility of the European External Action Service was to assist the High Representative to make sure about the stability and cooperation of external actions of the Union and also to prepare different proposals and execute this proposal after the approval of it from the Council. The European External Action Service also assists the president of the European Council and the President and all the

Members of the Commission in their respective duties and chaos regarding the external actions and also making sure about the interaction with the Member of the State. As per the duties and responsibilities of European External Action Service, the European External Action Service was allowed to be a unit geographical as to cover all the regions and countries of geography and also required to be single thematic desk and so this action service was allowed to perform the tasks under the authority and legislation of the High Representative.

The High Representative was allowed to appoint the members of European External Action Service and pinched from different sources which may include: some particular and general departments of the Secretariat of the Council, of the national diplomatic services of the Member States and of the Commission. Hence the all recruitment settings of the European External Action Service were based on merit and this was done by the High Representative (CREPIGA, 2009).

[Reasons behind the birth of the new Amsterdam treaty.](#)

1.The role of High Representative of the Union and how the negotiations and the arguments between the two Parliaments, the One of the Intergovernmental Conference in Turin(1996) and the Other, in the Amsterdam Treaty conducted to take advantage of their foreign policy and use it as a tool for controlling the European Union’s disadvantages in system.

2. European foreign policy was inefficient. The structure in what was based European Union system had created many problems with the most important of all, the bad handling of different officials for different occasions that had been managed to be so.

#### Consequences

\_lack of continuity

- a. has been existing at first by the establishment of European Union's policy
- b. it also appeared when European Union was complied with instructions of the system of rotation Council Presidency

The Lisbon Treaty and its advantages.

It helped the High Representative to

- A. a better organized basis with the control of Vice president of the Commission and the president of the Foreign Affairs Council of the Union and
- B. help for the creation of the European External Action Service.

#### High Representatives' role

\_procedures are set by the Member States but

\_represents the interests of the EU abroad as the "single voice"

#### Conclusion:

#### Paper's purpose:

Reasons that resulted in the creation of the High Representative,

\_The benefits It gives, as the Europe Union takes external action\_ its dynamic role in the international world.

**Problem statement, research question and hypotheses**

High Representative’s Post had had its beginning on Intergovernmental Conference 1996, at Council of Europe and the Commission.

\_The issuing of the Amsterdam Treaty (1997) that resulted High Representative to undertake duties in the position of Secretary General in the Council of the European Union and it was executed by the Common Foreign Policy.

The role of the High Representative has evolved into the European “Chief Diplomat”.

\_ The Lisbon Treaty (2009) helped High Representative to act as a president of the Foreign Affairs Council and the high authority of the European External Action Service Agent. The European Council was getting instable in handling salient international issues. A .the role of the High Representative gets its main concerning on the European “Chief Diplomat’ as its interest is about the negotiations with the other states in abroad.

The aim of this study is concerning about

- 1.The way that the Lisbon treaty and that of the Amsterdam helped High Representative to gain playing an important role at CFSP environment.
- 2 .Opposing the two figures as examples, the one of Javier Solana and the other of Catherine Ashton as representatives of two different phases of the same post in order to better understand the High Representative’s role in the European Union

Case study

The High Representative under the Amsterdam Treaty regime- Solana

The High Representative under the Lisbon Treaty regime- Catherine Ashton. A comparative analysis.

Negotiations that took place before the Amsterdam and the Lisbon Treaty along with the intergovernmental conferences such as this of Turin 1996.

The case study that is taking place in that paper is based on two basic examinations

A two negotiations that took place before the Amsterdam and

B the Lisbon Treaty that was came up with the conference of Turin and others conferences.

The High Representative is observed

- a. to have a bureaucratic conception on the one hand and
- b. on the other hand to have an energetic role in politics.

Review of the Literature:

**Javier Solana era (1999 to 2009):**

As the Amsterdam treaty developed the new post of High Representative of the Common Foreign Affairs and Security Policy that helped to represent the European Union world wide and at the international level (Ruger,2014, p.92). Initially it was decided that the first High Representative of the European Union will be the Secretary General of the Council and as per this decision the first High Representative of that era was Jürgen Trump who was the Secretary General of the Council at that time but the era of Jürgen Trump was

limited and remained for just few months only. The next and first permanent High Representative that was elected for the European Union was Javier Solana who was the former Secretary General of North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Javier Solana was appointed to his seat on 4 July 1999 as general Secretary of Council and the High Representative at the Cologne European Council. In October 1999, Javier Solana took his seat just after he stood back from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The post of High Representative was elected with the budget of only 40 million Euros from which a great part was Balkan operations. After the appointment of Javier Solana as the High Representative, many different other functions were combined in the function of the High representative and hence expanded the position of this post. In November 1999, Javier Solana was also appointed as Secretary General of Western European Union and hence all the responsibilities of him were transferred to the Common Foreign and Security Policy (*Experts & Staff- Javier Solana, 2020*). In 2004 the first 5 year tenure of Javier Solana was completed and he was also elected as the president of the European Defense Agency. Javier Solana had observed different treaties of the Association that was held between Latin America Unions and Middle Eastern countries that included Columbia and Bolivia. In the Israel -Palestinian conflict, Solana played an important role by working hard towards this conflict and became an important part in the Road map for Peace with the United Nation, Russia, Latin America and the United States in the Middle East Quartet. With all the conflicts between Israel and Palestine and despite Solana being a true supporter of Israel, Sharon was agreed to meet Solana despite his will or not but still he got a chance to Solana to meet him once a time. Likewise, there were many other amendments made by Javier Solana and so he played his role of being a

High Representative very well (News and Press Release, 2009).

**Catherine Ashton duties as the High Representative:**

Javier Solana was appointed as the first Foreign Minister, the services for this post remained postponed for 10 years and this duration was made to appoint the new candidate for this post. After the various recruitment and candidates appointed for this post, the European Union selected Catherine Ashton among all other candidates as the High Representative for the era of 2009 to 2014. Catherine belonged to European Commissioner for Trade but was totally inexperienced in the field of external or foreign affairs (Ruger,2014, p.55). The nomination of Catherine Ashton for this post was totally unbelievable and her name was forward or nominated by the center left leader. Before Catherine Ashton started her new post, the European parliament confirmed the post and then declared her that she would be suitable for this post or best suited for this High representative post.

As Catherine Ashton was declared as a first High Representative of the Union for foreign affairs and security policy, there were some duties that were offered to her under this rank of High Representative. The High Representative participation in foreign affairs, the managements that are managed by the six monthly rotary presidency, the High Representative for common affairs and security policy and the commissioner for all the international and external affairs. The role for which the High Representative was responsible under the Article 18 and 27 includes some of the chaos that was (CREPIGA, 2009):

She was responsible for conducting all the common foreign affairs and security policy.



She has to take a chair for Foreign Policy Council.

She has to pay a contribution in the development of the policy by using her proposals and she will be responsible for sanctioning the Council and making sure about the proper implementation of these decisions in this field.

The High Representative will be the Vice President of the Commission. She needs to make sure about the stability of external actions of the Union. The duty she will play under the Commission is about the external relations and also for collaborating and operating other agendas of external actions of the Union (Ruger,2014,p.83).

She will exercise legislation on the European External Action Service and for the representation of the Union in third parties and other international countries.

As per her post of the European Union Foreign Affairs chief, there were some major duties that were conducted by Catherine and should be added into her portfolio (*The High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy*, 2014).

She played her role as a traditional diplomacy in the European Union Foreign Affairs as a chief.

She remained coordinated with other different policy tools that were required in the foreign policy that all include developing assistance and help, aid for helping human and people rights, trading and an active response in crises.

Developing the agreements between the 27 different European Union countries and their other precedence by conducting the monthly meetings of European Union foreign ministers that was all managed and authorized by Catherine Ashton.

She attended the meetings regularly that were held by leaders of the European Union countries in their respective European Councils.

She represented the European Union at different international platforms in which the representation of European Union in United Nations was at the top.

She was head of European Defence Agency and also for the institute for Security Studies (Ruger,2014,p. 94).

Catherine played her role in different situations and circumstances and helped other countries and regions for their aid, economical or financial. In the 2010 Earthquake of Haiti, she arranged a meeting between foreign affairs, environmental and developmental DGs and all the other experts from Council and other centers in order to decide for the help of survivals of Haiti Earthquake. There they decide to help the survivals of Haiti Earthquake by providing them the assistance of about 3 million Euros and also to send people and assistance for their help by incorporating with the Member State. After this situation, Catherine Ashton was appointed as a general coordinator and then all the messages sent from the United Nation were by Catherine Ashton. Different critiques were made against Catherine Ashton that she did not attend the defense meeting that was held for the appointing and selecting the prime Minister of Ukraine, she had no power in her words as she had insufficient and bad speaking skills and also she was critiqued because of developing a risk for the conflict between the United Kingdom and France by developing a European Union Military Headquarter. She was defended then by many Commissioners by saying that she was allocated by different projects that were all combined in a single job and she was also busy in developing the EEAS so there will be a need to give her a chance as it was difficult for her to manage all the projects at once. Still there were some conflicts and critiques woke up for her but then she was

unable to become saved by any one (*The High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy*, 2014).

## Research Question

Why was the need of the establishment of the High Representative's position in order to control demands in Europe Union; High Representative's post got advantage of the Europe Union Foreign Policy for deciding about settlements in national issues when at first decisions were made by the Amsterdam Treaty and then by the Lisbon Treaty.

## Theoretical, conceptual and/or analytical frameworks

Together with the composition of High Representative's post there is the meaning of Neofunctionalism that is being introduced-it is a strong characteristic of High Representative's role.

Reasons that certificate that point:

a. The common policy sector that is executed for the handling managements in the European Union is inefficient and chaotic. It demands a better organised system for harmonisation of rules and in general for a better management of High Representative's authority.

b. There was a need for the States to have a supranatural power in order to to have a

regional cooperation with the other Unions' States. European Foreign Policy is a source of national power that is conducted by intergovernmental principles.

The post of the High Representative follows Neofunctionalist ideas as

- a. for integrationist agendas is responsible the Vice President of the Commission but
- b. the most of the Europe Union's task is set by the Council. All in all, Neofunctionalism is a means of obtaining a common policy.

**Methodology**

The purpose of that written work is to examine the reasons behind the creation of the High Representative's post with the help of tools like:

1. Tracing analysis is being used for examining political background in combination with the political conditions in that chronological place that is examined.

2. Discourse analysis, is being used

A. with the purpose of analyzing the negotiations and the decisions that were made by the signing of the Amsterdam Treaty and during the Intergovernmental Conference in Turin.

B. on national parliaments concerning issues that are relevant to the National Union's Foreign Affairs that had taken place after the adoption of the Amsterdam Treaty.

Discourse analysis tries to give a comprehensive analysis of the oral speech that has been

made in the conferences and during the meetings of members of Europe Union and it is considered to be a useful tool for that occasion because by a restrictive way it penetrates to the governance of Europe Union's commission.

Speech made about the Action of Europe's organization system

About the common foreign policy that is set by the National Principles, there was a need of being as efficient as it could be ,because it influences the whole operation of Europe Union's system. As a result ,there had been many meetings for improving the quality of measures for the exercise of power. More specifically, the sub-committee that was having the first say in series demand such as that of the financial and policy management ,became a positive supporter of the Commission's aims expressed in the communication of meetings and decided to examine them in more detail.

The project to be implemented announced and what was said exactly by the communication's contributors rates.

It is pointed out a major lack of running existing in the economic area and in the security affairs' environment of the European States. It is pointed out a major lack of running existing in the economic area and in the security affairs' environment of the European States. Bad handling in the financial field had had as a result to born terrorism, organised crime, conflicts between the Member European States.

The Commission had had the idea of uniting the member States and the European institutions by examining ways to work all States together to develop and implement external and internal policies.

A . For the optimising of the exercising of Foreign Policy ,there came at the forefront of that Policy, the external policy assets that the Union has on its own. That external Policy, includes extension in peace, stability and for sure a democratic way to solve problems arised from European disputes. Especially, the European neighbourhood policy plays an important role to the development of the internal market as it promotes a healthier governance together with peace-keeping.

A. As far as the common foreign and security policy is concerned, it tries to find solutions for demands resulting from the negotiations between European States and it is headed by strategic partners around the world work in the field through the European security \_European security and defence policy—the ESDP. There are many examples that certificate the growth and development of the ESDP.

A.the assistance between the Europe union’s states ,B.civil protection work that has been done in order to protect humanity by the reminder of being everyone in line with civil rights. C.Moreoever, the police missions that were held with Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

A serious problem becoming obvious by the statements of Commission and the implication of Foreign Policy, is that the treaty consists of upper-class legally elected personalities as the one of the Presidency, the High Representative and the

Commissioner”.In that way, it is judged difficult to be adopted the statements and the decisions or the assessments for the Member States of the European Union.

### Conclusions

This overall writing concluded the main role of The High representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy in the development and operations of the European Union, the reason behind is development as what was the need of developing this High Representative post for Foreign Affairs and Security policy and what kind of challenges were faced by every High representative that came forward till yet. Different impacts of this post of High Representative on expanding the other projects of the European Union were also studied. As of European Union external actions being supranationalisation and an extraordinary role played by the High Representatives made the European Union an effective, influential, dynamic and efficient player in the whole international market and arena. However, the current challenges that are faced by the foreign policy of the European Union is also provided in this writing that helped to understand the current situation and more in-depth condition of the foreign affairs of the European Union that are now being faced by whole Europe.

Still the best contribution of the European Union in the country is to stay away from the new conflicts made for Europe and to develop a peace in the world. Like every other role player, European Union played its role well by facing all the current situations and

problems nationally and internationally which in return provide the development of the multilateral institutions and the mechanisms safe from any conflicts. In the world where we used to live is multi polar and thus it require multilateral institution to face all the threats and challenges globally. These threats will not be able to face the nations in every nation started working independently and efficiently. However, the challenges that are faced by countries cannot be defeated by power of force or confrontation but it can be fight by using power of words and presentation and the High Representation for common foreign affairs and security policy of the European Union provided a platform in this regards and provide the talented persons that helped to face the challenge by using their power of world.



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