

Preface

In 1999, Javier Solana was appointed the European Union's first High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy, whose purpose was to lend the Union a tangible presence – a face and voice – on the world stage. Over the decade that followed, he discharged his office with great commitment and achieved noteworthy accomplishments. Today it is a given that the EU's chief diplomat, "Mister CFSP", not only fulfilled the core expectations and demands placed on him and his office but also became a very important player in EU foreign and security policy. 2009 serves as a landmark year inasmuch as it marks both the tenth anniversary of the office's creation as well as Solana's departure from the post. During the same year, on 1 December 2009, the Treaty of Lisbon also took effect, substantially upgrading the office and thereby opening up new prospects for the future of the High Representative.

The editors of this volume have taken this threefold milestone as an opportunity to make the High Representative the focus of a comprehensive research project. There has to date been no systematic examination of the office of High Representative and its leeway of action. Nor has there been a broad survey of Solana's approach to questions of foreign and security affairs or an accounting of his accomplishments in the realm of EU foreign and security policy. Moreover, it is also essential to trace the potential future development for the office of the High Representative. This volume will, we hope, contribute to filling in the gaps in the research that currently exist on this subject. The project was conducted at the University of Würzburg (Germany) as part of the Jean-Monnet-Programme. We wish to express our thankfulness to the European Commission for its generous financial support, which allowed us to host a conference on 21 and 22 January 2010, attended by numerous experts in the field, and for affording us the support needed to conduct a demanding follow-up process which allowed to present this volume.

This book has two overriding objectives: to provide a review of the past ten years and to identify prospects for the future of both the office of the HR itself and for EU foreign and security policy generally. It will present, first of all, a comprehensive and systematic examination of the functions, responsibilities and policy-making style as well as the methods and achievements of the first High Representative. Elfriede Regelsberger provides an introduction to the constitutional underpinnings of the office as set down by treaty and points at Solana's liberal interpretation of that authority in everyday practice. With this as backdrop, what follows addresses the question of how Solana managed to use the es-

tablishment and positioning of his services in order to firmly install his office as an important and well-connected clearinghouse within the CFSP and ESDP policy-making apparatus. In this context, Simon Duke takes a look at the complex “support structures” around Solana, while Hylke Dijkstra devotes his article to Solana’s multilayered “political-administrative relations” within the Council Secretariat. Cornelius Adebahr’s study of the Special Representatives serves to supplement this inward oriented analytical examination of the Solana system. The joint contribution by Rikard Bengtsson and David Allen explores Solana’s working relations with other central players in EU foreign policy: the competitive and sometimes combative relationship between the High Representative and the Commissioner for External Relations as well as the relationship between the High Representative and the Council Presidencies.

In order to assess the High Representative’s impact, we must also gauge the complex, synergistic interaction between the High Representative and the increasing international role that the EU laid claim to at the start of the new millennium. How and to what degree was Solana able to strengthen the EU’s role and presence in world affairs? What was his vision for European foreign and security policy? And what were his political and regional priorities? These questions are the focus of three other reviewing contributions. Franco Algieri highlights Solana’s basic foreign policy approach and his “big picture” of EU foreign and security policy, found in condensed form in the European Security Strategy. Bernard Stahl examines the actions and track record of the EU and its High Representative in the Western Balkans, the undoubtedly focal point of European foreign policy during the Solana decade. A central political concern of the first High Representative lay in the implementation of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). This is the focus of an article by Claudia Major exploring the High Representative’s role, influence and room of manoeuvre in launching military ESDP missions.

The second overriding objective of this volume consists in linking together this retrospective with current and future prospects for European foreign and security policy. Carolin Rüger evaluates the substantive changes made to and the enhanced role given the “High Representative 2.0” through the Treaty of Lisbon and provides a first assessment of the new High Representative’s, Catherine Ashton, first months in office. Fraser Cameron devotes his contribution to the establishment of the European External Action Service (EEAS), the first significant test Solana’s successor had to face. A concluding article produced jointly by Gisela Müller-Brandeck-Bocquet and Carolin Rüger systematically summarizes the informative, multilayered and diversified lines of reasoning presented in the preceding articles while supplementing it with additional observations in order to provide as complete and as accurate a picture as possible of the High Representative’s role, and impact within the structure of European foreign and security pol-

icy. This contribution also takes on the question of whether and to what degree the legacy of the first High Representative and the modifications made to the office by treaty represent a strong foundation for the future of EU foreign and security policy while it still awaits further accentuation and consolidation.

The book is complemented with a foreword by Christina Gallach, Javier Solana's long-time spokesperson. We would like to extend our sincere appreciation to her for her willingness to contribute her personal impressions as one of the first High Representative's closest associates and for the fascinating insights she provided during the course of several background interviews. We also wish to thank the contact persons within the Federal Republic of Germany's Permanent Mission to the European Union in Brussels for further valuable input. Our thanks also go as well to Philipp Gieg for the finished manuscript and to Renate Wunram for her assistance and organizational support. Lastly and above all, we want to extend our sincerest thanks to the authors of this volume who directed their acknowledged expertise to the demanding task of grasping the "Solana touch" in EU foreign and security policy. As the office is still in flux it will remain a highly interesting undertaking to sound out the potentialities, the limitations and the prospects for the High Representative within the context of the EU's ongoing search for a greater global role.

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