

**CURRICULUM VITAE
SUBMITTED BY
JOSEP BORRELL FONTELLES
TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT'S
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
IN RESPECT OF HIS NOMINATION AS
HIGH REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNION
FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND SECURITY POLICY
AND
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION**

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1. PERSONAL DATA

- Born on 24 April 1947 in Pobla de Segur, in the province of Lleida, Catalan Pyrenees, Spain
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2. INTRODUCTION

This CV covers my political, institutional, academic, and professional activity from 1969, when I obtained my first university degree, up to my current position as acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, the European Union and Cooperation of the Government of Spain.

In 1979, with the first democratic local elections in Spain, I assumed my first institutional position. Forty years of intense political activity have ensued. This CV focuses on my participation in the process of constructing the European Union and its international aspects.

I would like to begin by highlighting that, in representation of the Spanish Parliament, I was a member of the European Convention (2001-2003), and participated actively in its working group on EU foreign policy. This working group engaged in intense debate on the advisability of creating a position initially denominated “EU Minister for Foreign Affairs”, and of conferring upon this single figure the role of High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy—at that time Javier Solana—as well as that of the European Commission’s Relex Commissioner, who was then Chris Patten. Similarly, there was much discussion regarding what this figure’s precise functions should be.

Through this new position we sought to give unity and coherence to the European Union’s voice and action in the world, both from the perspective of constructing a common foreign and security policy, and that of the external dimension of EU policies. It was a highly controversial and much-debated decision, and at that time we were all aware—myself in particular—of the difficulties and demands involved in performing this complex *double-hatted* role.

Little did I imagine that, some years into the future, at a time when the EU is more present than ever in all global affairs and in all regions of the world, I would be submitting my CV to the European Parliament’s Committee on Foreign Affairs, to be able to exercise these dual functions of High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, and of Vice-President of the European Commission (HR/VP).

This CV is therefore structured as follows:

3. Chronological summary of activities

4. Description of my commitment to Europe and of certain relevant activities that I have performed in the international sphere, which contributed to shaping my interest in and my capacity to undertake the functions of HR/VP

5. Long version of my CV including a description of the activities to which the chronological summary (3) refers, divided into four blocks:

5.1 University qualifications

5.2 Political and institutional activities

5.3 Academic activities

5.4 Private-sector activities

6. List of honours

7. List of publications

3. CV SUMMARY

University qualifications

- Degree in Aeronautical Engineering, Polytechnic University of Madrid (1964-1969)
- Master's degree in Oil Industry Economics and Technology, *Institut Français du Pétrole* in Paris (1971-1972)
- Master's degree in Applied Mathematics (Operations Research), Stanford University, California (1974-1975)
- Degree (1967-1972) and doctorate (1976) in Economics, Complutense University of Madrid

Academic, political and professional activities

- 1972-1980. Engineer at the Spanish oil company CEPSA
- 1972-1982. Professor at the School of Economics of Complutense University of Madrid
- 1982. Obtained the Chair in Foundations of Economic Analysis at the Complutense University of Madrid
- 1979-1982. Candidate in the first democratic municipal elections. City Councillor for Majadahonda and Counsellor of the Treasury of the provincial government of Madrid
- 1982-1984. Secretary-General for Budgets and Public Expenditure, Ministry of the Treasury
- 1984-1991. Secretary of State for the Treasury
- 1991-1996. Minister of Public Works, Transport, Telecommunications, and the Environment, over the course of two administrations
- 1998. Elected candidate for the Presidency of the Government in the first primaries held in the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE)
- 1986-2003. Member of Parliament for the constituency of Barcelona
- 1999-2003. Chair of the Joint Congress-Senate Committee for the European Union
- 2001-2003. Representative of the Spanish Parliament in the European Convention. Member of the External Action and Economic Governance working groups
- 2004. Head of the electoral list of the PSOE in the 2004 European elections
- 2004-2007. President of the European Parliament

- 2007-2009. President of the European Parliament's Committee on Development
- 2009-2016. Member of the Board of Directors of Abengoa, a renewable energy company, and Chairman of its International Advisory Committee
- 2010-2012. President of the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence
- 2013-2016. Jean Monnet Chair, Institute for International Studies, Complutense University of Madrid
- 2018-2019. Minister of Foreign Affairs, the European Union and Cooperation of the Government of Spain
- 2019. Head of the electoral list of the PSOE in the European elections

4. EUROPEAN AND INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE

4.1. EUROPEAN EXPERIENCE

I have devoted a significant part of my life, my work, and my political activities to European issues, which have always taken a central place in my interests and commitment. This has been the case since I was awarded my first scholarship at the age of 17 (for an essay on Spain's prospects of accession, while still under the Franco regime, to what we then called the "European Common Market") until I was nominated as Spain's Minister of Foreign Affairs, the European Union and Cooperation in 2018.

Inter alia, I participated, as a Secretary of State, in the negotiations surrounding Spain's accession to the European Communities. I have represented my country for ten years (1986-1996) in three configurations of the Council of the European Union (Economic and Financial Affairs, Environment, and Transport and Telecommunications); I chaired the Spanish Parliament's Joint Committee for the European Union; I was a member of the Convention that drew up the draft European Constitution which went on to become the Treaty of Lisbon; and I had the honour of being the President of the European Parliament (2004-2007) as well as of its Development Committee (2007-2009). Since June 2018 I have been the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the European Union and Cooperation of the Government of Spain.

In addition, I have given courses and conferences, and participated in seminars on the European Union at numerous universities, training centres, and international forums in many countries.

Among them I can cite some relevant examples outside of Europe, such as the Chinese Communist Party's Cadre Academy, Vietnam's Institute for Policy Studies, the Raisina Dialogue in India, the World Political Forum in Rabat, the Salvador Allende and Chile 21 Foundations, the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), universities in Chile and Ecuador, European Studies Centres belonging to universities, such as those of Harvard, Yale (the European Student Conference), Seattle and New York, and Saint Petersburg in Russia, the Chilean Senate's Congress of the Future, the IMF conference on regional integration attended by the Central Latin American Banks in Guatemala, seminars at the

University of Oxford (“International Institutions in Turbulent Times”, Saint Anthony’s College, “The Future of Government”, Christ Church College), and international political think tanks such as the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington.

4.2. INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE

The first times I ever crossed my country's border—something which was not as easy back then as it is now—was for my student summer jobs: working on a farm in Denmark, in the construction sector in Germany, in the hospitality business in London, or harvesting grapes in France. I can still remember the emotions I felt as a young Spaniard upon discovering Europe—a continent which for my generation was an existential reference that we wanted to be part of.

Since then, I have had many other international experiences, both in my personal and professional life, with highlights including time spent in Israel, China, El Salvador, Poland, Nepal, Sudan, Gaza, Georgia, Armenia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Senegal, Niger, Lebanon, Jordan and Latvia.

After completing my studies at the Polytechnic University of Madrid, in the summer of 1969 I worked on Kibbutz Gal On, to the south of Beersheba. I travelled all over Israel and the occupied Palestinian territory, from the Golan Heights to Eilat. This was my first ever contact with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

As Spain’s Secretary of State for the Treasury, I visited China in 1986 to negotiate a double taxation agreement.

As President of the European Parliament I returned to China in 2006, at the invitation of President Hu, and I visited Tibet, after having met with the Dalai Lama in Brussels. In 2019 I represented Spain at the Belt and Road Forum hosted by President Xi.

By invitation of the then Minister Shimon Peres I analysed the feasibility of the Red Sea-Dead Sea Water Conveyance Project (2000).

In El Salvador, I taught courses on the democratic reintegration of guerrillas demobilized following the Central American peace agreements (2001).

I participated in conferences and citizens' debates during the referendum campaign for Poland's accession to the EU, recounting Spain's own experience (2003).

At the request of the OSCE Chairmanship, I carried out an assessment of the situation of the frozen conflicts in the Caucasus (in Georgia and Armenia), in 2007.

I chaired the European Parliament's election observation mission during the elections in Nepal, which led to the fall of the country's monarchy (2008).

I led a fact-finding mission of the European Parliament in Darfur on the conditions of the refugee camps (2008).

Together with Development aid Commissioner Louis Michel, in 2009 I participated in an Observer Mission to Gaza after the Operation Cast Lead bombings.

By invitation of the government of Ecuador, during the term of President Correa, I participated in the international promotion of the project aimed at preventing drilling in the Yasuni oil fields in the Amazon Basin (2013).

I visited the primary healthcare centres of Spanish NGOs attending to the indigenous populations in the most remote corners of the Amazon rainforest, in the Beni Department in Bolivia (2017).

I was a speaker at the 3rd Ibero-American Socioeconomics Meeting in Cartagena de Indias, Colombia (2017).

I participated in the fact-finding mission investigating the causes of emigration from Senegal, organized by the Migration Policy Group of the Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS) and led by the former Italian Prime Minister Giuliano Amato (2018).

As President of the European Parliament, I strongly promoted parliamentary diplomacy. Moreover, as Chair of its Committee on Development, I visited several of the European Commission's field operations for international cooperation and humanitarian assistance, from the centres providing psychological assistance to the

victims of guerrilla forces in Colombia, to the supply of water to villages in Nigeria.

As Minister of Foreign Affairs, I have visited the Syrian refugee camps in Jordan, as well as the Spanish troops in Lebanon (UNIFIL Operation), those training the gendarmerie in Niger, those helping to control the borders of Senegal, and those stationed in Latvia, contributing to the security of the Baltic countries.

Finally, also as Minister of Foreign Affairs, I spent the summers of 2018 and 2019 seeking a solution to the migration problems in the Mediterranean, understanding how essential it is to agree on a coherent and long-term European solution.

Thus, through these varied experiences, I have witnessed first-hand the necessity of a stronger Europe, one that defends European values the world over in the face of threats that affect all Europeans. A Europe that exercises international solidarity, and upholds peace and security in the world—all issues that fall under the mandate of the HR/VP.

5. DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES

5.1. UNIVERSITY QUALIFICATIONS

Between 1964 and 1969, I studied at the Polytechnic University of Madrid, graduating with a degree in Aeronautical Engineering.

In 1967, I began studies for a degree in Economics at the Complutense University of Madrid, graduating in 1972, and presented my doctoral thesis at the same university in 1976.

Between 1971 and 1972, I studied at the *Institut Français du Pétrole*, receiving a master's degree in Oil Industry Economics and Technology.

I was awarded a Fulbright scholarship to study a master's degree in Operations Research (Applied Mathematics) at Stanford University, California (1974-1975).

5.2. POLITICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL ACTIVITIES

In 1975, upon returning from my studies at Stanford, I joined the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE), later becoming a member of its directive body, the Federal Executive Committee, and of its oversight body, the Federal Committee.

In 1979, in the first democratic municipal elections, I was elected a City Councillor in my municipality of residence (Majadahonda, Madrid), and served as Counsellor of the Treasury of the provincial government of Madrid until November 1982.

Under President of the Government Felipe González, I served as Secretary-General for Budgets and Public Expenditure (1982-1984) and as Secretary of State for the Treasury (1984-1991).

During these nine years, I directed the transformation of Spain's Public Treasury into one of Spain's most efficient public administrations, including the implementation of an income and capital gains tax; the lifting of banking secrecy; the creation of the Tax Agency; the adaptation of our tax system following accession to the European Communities, which, in particular, entailed implementing VAT; and the decentralization of the Spanish State, devolving power to the regional authorities. During this time, public revenue as a percentage of GDP rose 9 percentage points, from 23% to 32%, enabling the Spanish government

to further develop the Welfare State.

Subsequently, I served as Minister of Public Works, Transport, Telecommunications, and the Environment over the course of two administrations (1991-1993 and 1993-1996).

During that period, I managed a massive infrastructure investment process, totalling an annual amount of 3% of GDP, thanks to Spain's greater tax resources and to EU Structural and Cohesion Funds, which radically improved connectivity all across Spain.

The first high-speed train line was built, in addition to motorways totalling 3000 km, and the National Airport Authority was created. The National Maritime Rescue Agency, which is currently playing such a crucial role, was also established during this period.

European Directives on the liberalization of transport and communications were implemented, as well as Directives on water and the environment.

In April 1998, I won the PSOE's first primary elections to stand as their candidate for Presidency of the Government.

Between 1986 and 2003, I served as a Member of the Spanish Parliament for the constituency of Barcelona.

I presided over the Parliamentary Joint Committee for the European Union (1999-2003), and was a member of the European Convention (2002-2003) that drafted the European Constitution.

As head of the electoral list for the PSOE in the 2004 European elections, I was elected President of the European Parliament for the first half of the legislature, and during the second half, I chaired its Committee on Development.

During my term as President of the European Parliament, international activity was stepped up; the EP's operations were adapted to the EU's enlargement to new Member States; and the Euro-Latin American and Euro-Mediterranean Parliamentary Assemblies were created, of which I was their first Co-President.

The Statute for Members of the European Parliament, guaranteeing equal treatment for all MEPs, was adopted under my Presidency.

In June 2018, I was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, the European Union and Cooperation of the Spanish government, a position that I hold until the present.

In the 2019 European elections, I once again headed the electoral list of the PSOE.

5.3. ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES

Between 1972 and 1982, I taught Mathematical Analysis at the School of Economics of Complutense, University of Madrid.

After rising through the ranks of academia, I obtained, through a competitive exam process, the post of Chair in Foundations of Economic Analysis at the Complutense University of Madrid, which I held until my retirement in 2011.

From January 2010 until May 2012, I served as President of the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence.

During this period, I promoted the Institute's internationalization, strengthening its European focus, bridging academic activities and policy-making and making research more policy relevant, intensifying the Institute's collaboration with the European Commission and the European Parliament. Moreover, the annual "State of the Union" conference was launched, now one of the most important events on the European integration process; the Migration Policy Centre and the Global Governance Programme were created; and Chairs were founded to promote studies on governance of the Economic and Monetary Union and on energy and climate change.

Between 2013 and 2016, for three academic years, I held the Jean Monnet Chair for European Economic Integration at the Complutense Institute for International Studies in Madrid.

For the last 20 years (2000-2019), I have directed the course *Quo Vadis Europa?* at the Menéndez Pelayo International University in Santander, the latest edition of which was held in August 2019.

I have given many courses and chaired conferences in Spanish universities, particularly on the Economic and Monetary Union and on energy and climate change policy at the *Instituto de Empresa* Business

School (now IE University) in Madrid.

During the second half of my term in the European Parliament (2007-2009), I headed the Global Progressive Forum of the Party of European Socialists (PES).

I have been a member of the Board of Directors of the Jacques Delors-Notre Europe Foundation (2012-2017) and am currently a member of the honorary Council of the Jean Monnet Foundation.

Between 2017 and 2018, I was a member of the Council of the Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS), and chaired its Research Council. Since 2017 I am a member of the advisory council of the Graduate school for Global and international studies at the University of Salamanca (Spain).

5.4. PRIVATE-SECTOR ACTIVITIES

For nearly 10 years, between 1972 and 1980, with the exception of my time at Stanford, I worked as an engineer in the Spanish oil company CEPSA.

Between June 2009 and November 2016, I was a member of the Board of Governors of the Spanish company Abengoa, specialized in the technological development of renewable energy sources, especially solar thermal energy and second-generation biofuels.

From 2011, I chaired its International Advisory Council, whose members included such prominent figures as Nicholas Stern, Kemal Dervis (former UNDP Administrator), Nobel Laureate Mario Molina, and Ricardo Hausman (Professor at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government). From 2013, I chaired Abengoa's Technological Development Committee, until in 2017 the company's Board of Governors was replaced due to its financial crisis and concomitant change in ownership.

6. HONOURS

- Honorary Doctorate in Law from the University of Coimbra, Portugal (2006)
- Grand Officer of the Wissam Alawite Order, Morocco (1996)
- Grand Cross of the Spanish Orders of Carlos III (1996), Isabel la Católica (2000), and Civil Merit (2007)
- Grand Order of Queen Jelena, Croatia (2006)
- Medal of the Constitutional Merit Order, Spain (2011)
- Legion of Honour of France, with the Degree of Commander (2015)
- Beato de Liébana Award for Understanding and Coexistence of the Autonomous Community of Cantabria Spain, (2018)
- Grand Cross of the Order of the Sun of Peru (2019)

7. PUBLICATIONS

The publications listed are a selection. They only include monographs, chapters in books, and articles published in academic journals.

There is no listing of the dozens of op-eds published in the Spanish and international press. The most recent of these articles was “*Europa entre USA e Irán, de la confrontación al dialogo*”, in *El País*, 14 August 2019.

1. *Métodos matemáticos para la economía. Campos y autosistemas*
Editorial Pirámide, 1976
2. *Métodos matemáticos para la economía. Programación matemática*
Editorial Pirámide, 1977
3. *La Republica de Taxonia*
Mathematical modelling of problems in political decision-making
Editorial Pirámide, 1992
4. *Al filo de los días*
Reflections on Spanish politics
Cauce Editorial, 1998
5. *Construyendo la Constitución Europea. Crónica política de la Convención*
With Carlos Carnero and Diego López Garrido
Real Instituto Elcano, 2003

Political chronicle of the drafting of the European Constitution narrated by the Spanish socialist MPs who participated in the European Convention
6. *Compilation of speeches made while President of the European Parliament, 2004-2007*
7. *Europa en la encrucijada*
Josep Borrell (coordinator) et al. (With contributions from Jacques Delors, as well as various MEPs, Commissioners and senior EU officials)
Chapter “De Roma a Lisboa, 50 años de Europa”
Ed. Colección Estudios Socio-económicos, Mediterráneo económico12, Fundación Cajamar (2007).

8. *Yes, the Barcelona Process was “mission impossible”, but the EU can learn from that*

In *Europe’s World*, Autumn 2010

Historical lessons of the EU’s policy towards its Southern neighbourhood

9. *The future role of the European Parliament*

In *The Delphic Oracle on Europe: Is there a Future for the EU?*

Loukas Tsoukalis and Janis A. Emmanouilidis (Editors)

Oxford University Press, 2011

A study of the new powers of the European Parliament following the Lisbon Treaty

10. *Crise économique et défaite socialiste en Espagne, 2000-2011*

Revue l’Ours, 2011

A study of the social and electoral consequences of the measures required to address the 2008 crisis

11. *La crisis del euro. De Atenas a Madrid*

With Andreu Missé

Editorial Turpial, first edition 2011, third edition 2012

An analysis of the roots and development of the euro-crisis and how it affected Spain

12, 13, 14, 15. Four essays featuring economic and political analyses of “European economic governance”, from the creation of the euro to the mechanisms and institutions established to deal with the crisis. A critical approach to the decision-making process of the EU and proposals to improve it:

12. *El euro: una moneda sin gobierno ante la crisis*

In *El euro, los 10 primeros años*

Cuadernos Europeos de Deusto, volume 41, 2009 (p. 33-49)

13. *El gobierno económico de Europa*

In *Los retos de Europa. Democracia y bienestar social*

Alfonso Guerra / José Félix Tezanos (Editors)

Editorial Sistema, 2012

14. *El gobierno económico europeo*
In *No es economía, es ideología*
Editorial Planeta-Deusto, 2012

15. *De la crisis del euro a la crisis de Europa*
In *Letra Internacional*, no. 116, 2013

16. The EU in international trade and climate change negotiations
In *Multilevel governance of interdependent public goods*
Ernst-Ulrich Petersmann (Editor)
Cambridge University Press, 2013

An analysis of the EU's role in the global governance of international trade and climate change, as a case study of the EU's role in multilateral negotiations

17. Is a federal Europe possible?
In *The Federalist Debate*, year XXVII, no. 3, November 2014

18. A progressive vision for Europe, a view from Spain
In *Shaping a Different Europe. Contributions to a Critical Debate*
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Ed. Dietz, 2014

19. About the democratic governance of the euro
In *The Future of Europe*
Rowman & Littlefield, 2014

20. The crisis and the weakness of the European demos
In *The Federalist Debate*, year XXVIII, no. 3, November 2015

21. A new ambition to overcome the existential crisis of the European Union
In *The Federalist Debate*, year XXX, no. 1, March 2018

- 22, 23, 24. Three essays on Catalan independence and its implications for Spain and Europe:

22. *Las cuentas y los cuentos de la independencia*
(With Joan Llorach)
Editorial La Catarata, 2015

23. *Escucha España, escucha Catalunya*
(with Francesc de Carreras, Juan-José López Burniol and Josep Piqué
Editorial Península, 2017
24. *Anatomía del procés*
Various authors
Editorial Debate, 2018
25. For a stronger and more united Europe
In *The Federalist Debate*, XXXII, no. 1, March 2019
26. *Spain in Europe and the World: A Roadmap*
In The Santa Cruz Journals
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Spain, 2019

Reflections on a year at the helm of Spanish foreign policy
27. *Fragmentos de exteriores*
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Spain, 2019

Compilation of 46 op-eds and magazine articles by Josep Borrell, published between June 2018 and July 2019