



The UK Presidency of the European Union

Priorities and Objectives



20-21 June 2005

Chatham House, London

ON THE EVE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM'S PRESIDENCY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION THIS CONFERENCE WILL DISCUSS THE UK GOVERNMENT'S PRIORITIES FOR THEIR SIX MONTH TERM. IT WILL PROVIDE A PLATFORM TO ANALYSE AND DEBATE BOTH THE PROPOSALS EMERGING FROM THE GOVERNMENT, AS WELL AS QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE FUTURE OF EUROPE AND EUROPE'S ROLE IN THE WORLD

THE CONFERENCE WILL COVER THE CHANGING INSTITUTIONAL DIMENSION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION, THE RATIFICATION PROCESS FOR THE EU CONSTITUTIONAL TREATY, EU ENLARGEMENT, THE FUTURE OF THE EU BUDGET, THE LISBON AGENDA, EUROPEAN TRADE POLICY, EUROPE'S EXTERNAL RELATIONS AND ROLE IN GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE.

A CONFERENCE ORGANISED BY

THE FEDERAL TRUST
for education and research
enlightening the debate on good governance



CHATHAM HOUSE



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MONDAY 20 JUNE 2005

9.00-9.30: ARRIVAL AND REGISTRATION

9.30: WELCOME

DR RICHARD WHITMAN

Head, European Programme, Chatham House

MR BRENDAN DONNELLY

Director, The Federal Trust for Education and Research

PROFESSOR CHRISTIAN FRANCK

Director General, Trans-European Policy Studies Association

09.45: PERSPECTIVES ON THE PRESIDENCY

CHAIR: MR WILL HUTTON

Chief Executive Officer, The Work Foundation

PROFESSOR PHILIPPE POIRIER

DOCTEUR EN SCIENCES POLITIQUES, ENSEIGNANT-CHERCHEUR, UNIVERSITÉ DU LUXEMBOURG

LORD KERR OF KINLOCHARD

FORMER SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE CONVENTION ON THE FUTURE OF EUROPE

SIR STEPHEN WALL

FORMER UK PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TO THE EU AND EUROPEAN ADVISER TO THE UK PRIME MINISTER

MR ANDREW DUFF MEP

SPOKESMAN ON CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS, ALLIANCE OF LIBERALS AND DEMOCRATS FOR EUROPE

Questions and Discussion

11.15 - 11.30: Tea and Coffee

11.30: PRIORITIES FOR THE NEXT SIX MONTHS

CHAIR: SIR BRIAN UNWIN

Honorary President, European Investment Bank

KEYNOTE SPEECH: MR PETER SUTHERLAND KCMG

Chairman, BP p.l.c

Questions and Discussion

12.30 -13.45: Lunch

13.45: THE EU INSTITUTIONS: SHIFTING PERSONALITIES?

CHAIR: MR HYWEL CERI JONES

Executive Director, Network of European Foundations for Innovative Cooperation

PROFESSOR WOLFGANG WESSELS

JEAN MONNET CHAIR AT THE DEPARTMENT FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE AND EUROPEAN AFFAIRS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF COLOGNE & TEPSA

DR JULIE SMITH

CENTRE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

PROFESSOR VERNON BOGDANOR

PROFESSOR OF GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS, BRASENOSE COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

Questions and Discussion

15.15 - 15.30: Tea and Coffee

15.30: WHERE NOW FOR THE EU CONSTITUTIONAL TREATY?

CHAIR: PROFESSOR OLIVIER DUHAMEL

Co-Director, Europhillia, Sciences Po, Paris

BRENDAN DONNELLY

DIRECTOR, THE FEDERAL TRUST

PROFESSOR JO SHAW

SALVESEN CHAIR OF EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS, UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH AND
SENIOR RESEARCH FELLOW, THE FEDERAL TRUST

MR TONY BROWN

INSTITUTE FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, DUBLIN

DR ULRIKE GUEROT

EUROPEAN FELLOW, GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES

Questions and Discussion

17.00 - 17.15: Tea and Coffee

17.15: ENLARGEMENT: WHERE NEXT FOR THE EU'S BORDERS?

CHAIR: DR RICHARD WHITMAN

Head, European Programme, Chatham House

PROFESSOR MARIA KARASINSKA-FENDLER

JEAN MONNET PROFESSOR AND RESEARCH DIRECTOR, EUROPEAN INSTITUTE, LODZ, POLAND

AMBASSADOR AKIN ALPTUNA

TURKISH AMBASSADOR IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

MR MIHAI-RAZVAN UNGUREANU

FOREIGN MINISTER, ROMANIA

Questions and Discussion

18.30: Reception kindly sponsored by UCAES

Tuesday 21 June 2005

10.00: EU STRATEGIES FOR WORLD TRADE AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

CHAIR: MR CHRISTOPHER ROBERTS

Senior Trade Adviser, Covington and Burling

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: LORD BRITAN OF SPENNITHORNE, QC

Vice-Chairman, UBS and Former European Commissioner

Questions and Discussion

11.15 - 11.30: Tea and Coffee

11.30: THE FINANCIAL PERSPECTIVE: WHERE NEXT FOR THE EU BUDGET?

CHAIR: MR WILLIAM KEEGAN

Economics Editor, The Observer

PROFESSOR IAIN BEGG

EUROPEAN INSTITUTE, LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

PROFESSOR JIM ROLLO

CO-DIRECTOR, SUSSEX EUROPEAN INSTITUTE, UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

LORD RADICE

CHAIRMAN, EU-SUB COMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL AFFAIRS, INTERNATIONAL TRADE, HOUSE OF LORDS

Questions and Discussion

13.00 - 14.15: Lunch

14.15: THE EU IN THE WIDER WORLD: BUILDING STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIPS

CHAIR: PROFESSOR MATHIAS JOPP

Director, Institute for European Policy, Institut für Europäische Politik, Berlin

MR DAVID CLARK

SENIOR RESEARCH FELLOW, THE FEDERAL TRUST

MR GRAHAM AVERY

DIRECTOR, DG EXTERNAL RELATIONS, EUROPEAN COMMISSION

AMBASSADOR GÉRARD ERRERA

AMBASSADOR OF FRANCE TO THE UNITED KINGDOM

Questions/Discussion

15.45 - 16.00 Coffee and Tea Break

16.00 - 17.30: BRITAIN AND EUROPE: THE RELATIONSHIP IN 2015

CHAIR: BRENDAN DONNELLY

Director, The Federal Trust

DR RICHARD WHITMAN

HEAD, EUROPEAN PROGRAMME, CHATHAM HOUSE

GIANNI BONVICINI

DIRECTOR, ISTITUTO AFFARI INTERNAZIONALI, ROME

MR PETER NORMAN

EUROPEAN AFFAIRS WRITER, THE FINANCIAL TIMES

Questions and Discussion

17:30 Closing Reception

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Ambassador Akun Alptuna

Akin Alptuna was educated at Ankara University where he received both his bachelors and his PhD in Political Science. In 1972 he worked as Second and then First Secretary at the Turkish Embassy in Copenhagen. From 1975 to 1977 he worked as First Secretary at the Turkish Embassy in Nicosia. In 1979, Mr. Alptuna worked as the Counselor to the Permanent Delegation of Turkey to the EU. Between 1983 and 1985, Mr. Alptuna was Head of the Department for International Economic Organisations. In 1985, he was appointed Deputy Head of Mission of the Turkish Permanent Delegation to the United Nations. From 1993 to 1995 he was Director General for the European Union. In 1995 he was appointed Turkish ambassador to the Republic of Finland. Between 1997 and 2000 he served as Permanent Representative of Turkey to the OECD. In 2003 Mr. Alptuna worked as Deputy Under-secretary for the European Union and Political Relations with the EU Member States. In 2003 he began his term as Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to the United Kingdom.

Graham Avery

Graham Avery is Director for Strategy, Co-ordination and Analysis, Directorate General for External Relations, European Commission, Brussels. In the European Commission, Mr. Avery has been a member of the cabinets of the President (Roy Jenkins) and other Members of the Commission. He has contributed to successive phases of the EU's enlargement, holding various posts.

Graham Avery is a visiting Professor at the College of Europe, Natolin, Poland, and a Practitioner Fellow of the Sussex European Institute. He has been a Fellow at the Centre for International Affairs, Harvard University, and a Fellow at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Florence. He has co-authored of *The Enlargement of the European Union* (Sheffield Academic Press, 1998) and a contributor to *The Future of Europe: Enlargement and Integration* (Routledge, 2004).

Professor Iain Begg

Iain Begg is a Visiting Professor at the European Institute, London School of Economics and Political Science. His main research work is on the political economy of European integration and he has directed a series of research projects on different facets of EU policy. This work includes studies of policy co-ordination under EMU, the EU budget and cohesion policy. He has published extensively on these topics. Professor Begg served as Programme Director of the ESRC Single European Market Programme and was the co-editor of the *Journal of Common Market Studies*, the leading academic journal focusing on the study of European integration, from 1998 to 2003. He was invited by Commissioner Barnier to be a member of a groupe de prospective on the future of cohesion policy and has been called as an expert witness on EU issues by the House of Commons Treasury Committee and the House of Lords European Communities Committee and the European Parliament.

Professor Vernon Bogdanor

Professor Vernon Bogdanor is a Professor of Government, Oxford University and Fellow of Brasenose College. Since 2004, he has also been Gresham Professor of Law, Gresham College. In 1998, he was appointed a CBE for his contributions to constitutional history. Professor Bogdanor is also a frequent contributor to the *Financial Times* and appears on the ITN News Channel to comment on current affairs, most recently regarding the Euro-Elections, the Butler Report and the Queens Speech.

Professor Bogdanor's most recent books include: Power and the People: A Guide to Constitutional Reform (1997), Devolution in the United Kingdom

(1999) *The British Constitution in the 20th Century* (2003). *At present he is completing The Governance of Britain to be published by Allen Lane Penguin.*

Professor Gianni Bonvicini

Gianni Bonvicini is Director of the Istituto Affari Internazionali in Rome (since 1987) and Editor of the *International Spectator*, a quarterly journal of the IAI (since 1979).

Mr. Bonvicini is the author and editor of numerous articles and books. Among his recent book publications: Le cooperazioni rafforzate per la ristrutturazione dell'industria europea degli armamenti, Roma, Artistic&Publishing Company (2003); Le relazioni internazionali dell'Unione europea dopo i Trattati di Amsterdam e Nizza, Torino, Giappichelli (2003); The Northern EU: National Views on the Emerging Security Dimension, Ulkopoliittinen instituutti & Institut für Europäische Politik, Helsinki, Berlino, (2000).

Lord Brittan of Spennithorne

Lord Brittan is currently Vice Chairman of UBS Investment Bank. He was a Member of the European Commission from 1989 to 1999 and for much of the time served as Vice president. In 1974 he entered Parliament as Member for Cleveland and Whitby. In 1979, Lord Brittan was appointed Minister of State at the Home Office. In 1981 he joined the Cabinet as Chief Secretary to the Treasury, became Home Secretary in 1983 and was Secretary of State for Trade and Industry from 1985 to 1986. Lord Brittan was awarded a Life Peerage in the Millennium New Year Honours List, and appointed a Deputy Lieutenant for North Yorkshire in 2001.

Tony Brown

Tony Brown is an economics graduate of University College Dublin. He is the director and a founding member of the Institute of European Affairs in Dublin as well as a chairman on the Balkans Working Group. He was an advisor to the Oireachtas Delegation to the European Convention (2002-2003). Since 2001 he has been the co-ordinator of the Labour Party's delegation to the National Forum on Europe and a member of the Forum's Steering Committee. Mr. Brown was the director of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development between 1997 and 2000. He was a member of the International Affairs Committee of the Royal Irish Academy (1985-1997) and of the council of the European Movement Ireland (1970-1997).

David Clark

David Clark is a former Special Adviser to the previous Foreign Secretary Robin Cook. With extensive experience of writing and advising on policy options, press briefing and speechwriting at the highest levels in government, he has a unique understanding of the workings of the Foreign Office. Since leaving government David Clark has proved to be an accomplished commentator in print and broadcast on a range of foreign affairs and political issues, particularly after 9/11, the subsequent "war on terror" and ongoing tension with Iraq and in the Middle East. David joined the Federal Trust as a Senior Research Fellow in January 2005 to coordinate a major new project 'A Global Strategy for Europe'.

Brendan Donnelly

Brendan has been Director of the Federal Trust since January 2003. He is a former Member of the European Parliament (1994 to 1999). He was educated at Oxford, where he obtained a double first in classics, and later worked in the Foreign Office, the European Parliament and the European Commission.

Andrew Duff MEP

Andrew Duff has been the Liberal Democrat Member of the European Parliament for the East of England since 1999. He is spokesman on

constitutional affairs for the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE), and Vice-President of the EU-Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee.

From 1999-2000 he was a member of the Convention which drafted the Charter of Fundamental Rights, and was also the Parliament's rapporteur on the Charter. In 2002 he was elected to the constitutional Convention on the

Future of Europe, where he chaired the Liberal caucus and was Vice-President of the European Parliamentary delegation.

Andrew Duff was Director of the Federal Trust from 1993-99, and has published widely on European integration. Among his books are (with John Pinder and Roy Pryce) *Beyond Maastricht: Building the European Union* (1994), *Reforming the European Union* (1997) and *The Treaty of Amsterdam* (1997).

Professor Olivier Duhamel

Olivier Duhamel is a Professor of Political Science in Paris. He was a Member of the European Parliament for the Socialist Party from 1997 to 2004 and was a member of the Convention on the Future of Europe. He is the author of numerous publications on French politics and constitutional issues. He has written on the European Constitution ('Pour l'Europe - La Constitution européenne expliquée et commentée', Editions du Seuil, new edition 2005) and, most recently, on the reasons for the 'non' ('Des raisons du non', Seuil, June 2005). He was an adviser to the President of the French Constitutional Council from 1983 to 1995.

Ambassador Gérard Errera

Gérard Errera is the Ambassador of France to the United Kingdom. He is a graduate of the Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris as well as the Ecole Nationale d'Administration. In 1971 he became the First Secretary of the French Embassy in Washington. From 1975 to 1977 and 1980 to 1981 he was Special Advisor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. From 1977 to 1980 he was Political Counsellor for the French Embassy in Madrid. Mr. Errera was the Consul General in San Francisco between 1982-1985 and in 1985 he became the Director for International Relations. Mr. Errera was Ambassador to NATO (1995-1998) and in 1998 he became the Political Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which he held until 2002. Throughout his career, he has received the following distinctions: Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, Officier de l'Ordre National du Mérite, *Officer of the Order of Civil Merit of Spain*, Officer of the Order of the White Rose of Finland, Commander of the Victorian Order (C.V.O.)

Professor Christian Franck

Christian Franck holds a PhD in political science and a degree in economics and philosophy from the Catholic University of Louvain (Belgium). He is currently Professor of Political Science at the University of Louvain. From 1977 to 1980 he advised the Belgian Minister for Development and External trade (1977-1980). He has been attached to the European Studies Institute of the University since 1994 and in September 2004 he became president. He has been a Visiting Professor at the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna, the Alcalá de Henares University, the Political Studies Institute of Katowice, the Bratislava University and the University Hassan II in Casablanca.

Professor Franck is responsible for the "Documentation Française": the preparation of an annual chronicle on the political, economical and social evolution of Belgium.

Since May 2000 he has been Secretary General of the Trans European Policy Studies Association (TEPSA).

Dr. Ulrike Guérot

Dr. Ulrike Guérot works in the German Marshall Fund's Berlin office as the director of foreign policy where she focuses on a broad range of issues dealing with transatlantic relations. She has been an Assistant Professor at

the European Studies Department of The Paul N. Nitze School for Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, in Washington, D.C.; a Senior Research Fellow at the Paris-based think-tank Groupement d'Études et de Recherches 'Notre Europe' under the guidance of President Jacques Delors; and a staff member on the German Bundestag's Committee on Foreign Relations. Dr. Guerot's education includes a PhD in Political Sciences from the University of Munster and a Masters Degree of Political Sciences and International Relations from the Institut d'Études Politiques in Paris.

Will Hutton

Will Hutton is chief executive of The Work Foundation an independent, not for dividend, research based consultancy which is an influential voice on work, workplace and employment issues in Britain. He was recently invited by the EU Commission to join the High-level Group on the mid-term review of the Lisbon strategy and acted as rapporteur for the group. Will began his career as a stockbroker and investment analyst, going on to work in BBC TV and radio.

He is the author of a number of best selling books, including The State We're in and The World We're In. Prior to joining The Work Foundation, Will spent four years as editor in chief of the Observer and Director of the Guardian National Newspapers, and he continues to write a weekly column in the Observer.

Hywel Ceri Jones

Hywel Ceri Jones has been Director of the Network of European Foundations since 2004. He is also the Chairman of the Governing Board of the European Policy Centre in Brussels. Since 1999 he has been a Visiting Professor at the University of Glamorgan (Wales) as well as a Governor of the European Cultural Foundation, located in Amsterdam, a Governor of the Federal Trust for Education and Research and a Governor of the Franco-British Institute. From 2000-2004, Hywel Ceri Jones was the Chairman of the European Institute for Education and Social Policy. Between 1998-99 he was European Adviser to the Secretary of State for Wales and Chairman of Committee on Wales and Europe. From 1995-98 he was Deputy Director-General of Directorate General for Employment, Social Policy and Industrial Relations, European Commission with special responsibility for the European Social Fund, and for external relations of the EU in the field of social policy; social protection, disability and equal opportunities policies

Dr. Mathias Jopp

Dr. Mathias Jopp studied economics at the University of Gießen and received his PhD in Political Science at the University of Frankfurt/Main. From 1995-1999 he was a visiting professor at the College of Europe in Bruges. Between 1999 and 2000 he was a Jean Monnet professor at the University of Gießen. Since then Dr. Jopp has held the positions of visiting professor at the Free University of Berlin as well as at the European University Viadrina, Frankfurt/Oder. He has also been the Director of the Institut für Europäische Politik in Berlin since 1995. Dr. Jopp was a consultant for the External Relations Committee in the European Parliament between 1982 and 1984. In 1991 he was the Senior Research Associate at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London and following that he was the Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union in Paris from 1992 until 1994/95.

Professor Maria Karasinska-Fendler

Professor Maria Karasinska-Fendler is currently a Jean Monnet Professor and Research Director at the European Institute in Lodz, Poland. She is also a Visiting Professor at the Institute of European Studies at the University of Brussels. She is a member of the European Common Studies Association, European Association of Comparative Economic Studies, European Evolutionary Studies Association and the Polish European Movement, where she was Vice President between 1994-96. From 1999 to 2002, Professor Karasinska-Fendler was Director General of the European Institute,

Poland. Between 1999-1998, she was Under Secretary of State for European Integration. Between 1997-98 she served as Vice President of the Government Centre for Strategic Studies.

William Keegan

William Keegan has been the Economics editor of the Observer since 1977. Previously he worked as an Economics Correspondent for the Financial Times (1967-76) and at the Economic Intelligence Department at the Bank of England between 1976-77. Since 1989, William Keegan has been a Visiting Professor of Journalism at the University of Sheffield.

His publications include *The Prudence of Mr Gordon Brown* (2003), *2006 and All That* (2000), *The Spectre of Capitalism* (1992), and *Mrs Thatcher's Experiment* (1984).

Lord Kerr of Kinlochard

Lord Kerr was a member of the UK Diplomatic Service from 1966 to 2002. From 1987 to 1990 he was the Foreign Office's European Community Under-Secretary, and from 1990 to 1995 was UK Permanent Representative to the European Union (and one of the Maastricht Treaty negotiators). After service as UK Ambassador to the United States, his final four years in Government service were spent as Head of the Diplomatic Service and FCO Permanent Under-Secretary of State. In 2002-2003, he served as Secretary-General of the Convention on the Future of Europe. He joined the House of Lords in 2004.

Peter Norman

Peter Norman was a foreign correspondent for a total of 22 years, based at various times in Frankfurt, Bonn and Brussels for Reuters, the Times of London, the Wall Street Journal-Europe and the Financial Times. The most recent of his three assignments to Brussels was as the Financial Times Brussels Bureau Chief and Chief Correspondent between November 1998 and March 2002. He currently lives in London where he contributes leaders to the Financial Times.

Professor Philippe Poirier

Professor Poirier is currently working as a political science researcher and lecturer at the new University of Luxembourg. In 2004, he was visiting professor at the European Inter-University Centre for Human Rights and Democratisation in Venice and was nominated by the French government to the Europe Metropoles Foundation's Scientific Council. He is also a member of the Research Centre on Democracy, the National Research Council (CERAD- CNRS) and the standing group on Extremism and Democracy of European Consortium Political Research.

Philippe Poirier is the weekly European Affairs columnist at The Wort, the main newspaper in Luxembourg. His most recent book was co-edited with Pascal Delwit, *Parlement puissant électeurs absents? Les élections européennes de juin 2004*. Bruxelles: Editions del, Université libre de Bruxelles, April 2005.

Lord Radice

Lord Radice is the Chairman of the EU-Sub Committee on Economic and Financial Affairs and International Trade at the House of Lords. He is currently Chair of the British Association for Central and Eastern Europe and Chair of the Franco British Council. Lord Radice was the Labour Party Commons Opposition Spokesman on Foreign Affairs (1981), Employment (1982-3) and Education (1983-87). He was also Chair of the European Movement between 1995-2001.

His publications include: *Offshore - Britain and the European Idea* (1992), *What Needs to Change* (1996) and *Friends and Rivals* (2002).

Christopher Roberts

Mr. Roberts is Covington and Burley's senior trade analyst, based in the London office. Mr. Roberts advises clients, including both Governments and individual companies, on developments in the World Trade Organisation (WTO), on specific WTO disputes and on international trade issues generally.

As Director-General of Trade Policy from 1987 to 1997 Mr. Roberts was the most senior British Government official responsible for international trade issues. He was actively involved in the Uruguay Round negotiations and in the creation of the WTO. In 1998 he received the Japanese Prime Minister's award for his contribution to international trade policy.

In his earlier civil service career he worked on competition policy, international civil aviation and the promotion of British exports and investment overseas. From 1970 to 1973 he was Private Secretary to the Prime Minister (Mr. Edward Heath). He holds an M.A. degree from Oxford University, where he lectured in classics after graduation.

Professor Jim Rollo

Jim Rollo has been Professor of European Economic Integration at the University of Sussex and Co-Director of the Sussex European Institute since 1999. He is Editor of the Journal of Common Market Studies (JCMS) and Director of the Centre on European Political Economy at the University of Sussex. Between 2001 and 2003 he was Director of the ESRC research programme One Europe or Several? He was, until December 1998, Chief Economic Adviser in the British Foreign Office and before that, director of the International Economics Research Programme at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London.

Professor Rollo has published widely on international economic issues, principally in the field of EU economic integration and trade policy. His main research interests are EU integration, trade policy, agricultural policy, EU enlargement, and EMU. Recent research includes on EU enlargement and transition, on standards, harmonisation and trade policy and on EMU and Enlargement, on Britain and EMU, Regionalism and the world trading system, domestic regulation and the WTO, and on trade disputes in the WTO and on the Doha Development Agenda.

Professor Jo Shaw

Jo Shaw is the Salvesen Chair of European Institutions at the University of Edinburgh. Since September 2001, Jo has been Professor of European Law and Jean Monnet Chair at the University of Manchester. Her earlier appointments included a post as Professor of European Law and Jean Monnet Chair of European Law and Integration at the University of Leeds, Director of the Centre for the Study of Law in Europe and posts at the Universities of Keele and Exeter, and University College London. During 1998, she was EU-Fulbright Scholar-in-Residence and Visiting Professor at Harvard Law School. In 2001 she was appointed a Senior Research Fellow at the Federal Trust, to direct a study on Constitutionalism, Federalism and the Reform of the European Union. She is Chair of the University Association for Contemporary European Studies (2003-2006) and is on the Editorial Board of the European Law Review.

Dr Julie Smith

Dr Julie Smith is Deputy Director of the Centre of International Studies, Cambridge and a Fellow of Robinson College, Cambridge. She was Head of the European Programme at Chatham House (the Royal Institute of International Affairs) from 1999 until 2003.

Recent publications include *The New Bilateralism: the UK's Relations within the EU* (with Mariana Tsatsas; 2002); *Through the Paper Curtain: Insiders and Outsiders in the New Europe* (edited with Charles Jenkins, 2003), *Reinvigorating European Elections: the Implications of Electing the European Commission* (2005).

Peter Sutherland KCMG

Mr. Sutherland has been Chairman of BP p.l.c. since 1997 and Chairman of Goldman Sachs International since 1995. Of Irish nationality he was educated at Gonzaga College, University College Dublin and the King's Inns. In addition to his Chairmanships he also serves on the Board of Directors of the Royal Bank of Scotland Group plc. Prior to his current position, Mr Sutherland served as Attorney General of Ireland (1981-1984); EC Commissioner responsible for Competition Policy (1985-1989); Chairman of Allied Irish Banks (1989-1993) and Director General of The World Trade Organisation, formerly GATT (1993-1995).

Mihai-Razvan Ungureanu

Mihai-Razvan Ungureanu was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs for Romania on December 29, 2004. Prior to this appointment, he was deputy coordinator for the South-East European Cooperation Initiative (SECI), Vienna. He served as State Secretary with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1998 - 2001) and Director General - Regional envoy of the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe (2001-2003). Mihai-Razvan Ungureanu has delivered courses at a number of higher education institutions in Romania and abroad. He was a Professor at the Faculty of History, "Al.I.Cuza" University of Iasi and has been a Senior Reader at "George C. Marshall" Center for Security Studies, Garmish-Partenkirchen, Germany since 2003. Since 2001 he has also been a Senior Reader at NATO School (SHAPE), Oberammergau, Germany, and he recently became a Visiting Professor at the National University of Defence.

He has published over 50 scientific articles and is a frequent contributor to newspapers both in Romania and abroad.

Sir Brian Unwin

Sir Unwin served in HM Treasury from 1968 to 1985 and led the Treasury team in the negotiations on the European Budget in 1983-84. In 1993 he became President of the European Investment Bank (EIB) and also served as a Governor of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD). He was the first Chairman of the European Investment Fund (EIF), which he established in 1994.

Since leaving the EIB in 2000 Sir Brian has been President of The European Centre for Nature Conservation (ECNC), Chairman of Assettrust Housing Ltd, and non-executive Director of the Franco-Belgian Bank Dexia. He is also a Council member of the Federal Trust.

Sir Stephen Wall

Sir Stephen has been the Prime Minister's European Union Adviser in addition to his role as head of the European Secretariat in the Cabinet Office (2000-2004). At present he is the Principal Adviser (Public Affairs) to Cardinal Cormac Murphy O'Connor. From 1995-2000, Sir Stephen was the UK Permanent Representative to the European Union. Between 1993-1995, he was the British Ambassador to Poland. Sir Stephen joined the Diplomatic Service in 1968 and was Private Secretary to the Foreign Secretary (1988-90) and to the Prime Minister (1991-93). He headed the Foreign Office EU Department for five years, 1983-88.

Professor Wolfgang Wessels

Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Wessels has been Jean Monnet Chair for Political Science at Cologne University and visiting professor at the Collège d'Europe, Bruges since 1994. He also acts as Chairman of the Board of the Trans European Policy Studies Association (TEPSA) and as a member of the executive board of the Institute of European Politics (IEP) in Bonn.

Professor Wessels' main research interests are in the institutional and theoretical aspects of European integration as well as the EU's external relations, Economic and Monetary Union, and comparative political analysis.

His most recent publications include: *Theorien europäischer Integration*, Wiesbaden (2005); (with Elfriede Regelsberger): *The evolution of the Common Foreign and Security Policy. A case of an imperfect ratchet fusion*, in: Verdun, Amy Croci, Osvaldo (eds.) (2005); *The European Union in the wake of Eastern enlargement. Institutional and policy-making challenges*, Manchester University Press. *Die institutionelle Architektur des Verfassungsvertrags: Ein Meilenstein in der Integrationskonstruktion*, in: Mathias Jopp/ Saskia Matl (eds.): *Der Vertrag über eine Verfassung für Europa. Analysen zur Konstitutionalisierung der EU*, Baden-Baden (2005).

Professor Richard Whitman

Professor Whitman is Head of the European Programme at Chatham House (formerly the Royal Institute of International Affairs). He is currently on secondment from the University of Westminster where he is Professor of European Studies and was Director of the Centre for the Study of Democracy from 2001-2003.

He is the author of *From Civilian Power to Superpower? The International Identity of the European Union* (Macmillan, 1998), editor (with Ian Manners) of *The Foreign Policies of European Union Member States* (Manchester University Press, 2000) editor (with Alice Landau) of *Rethinking the European Union: Institutions, Interests and Identities* (Macmillan, 1997) and (edited with Victoria Curzon Price and Alice Landau) *Enlargement of the European Union: Issues and Strategies* (Routledge 1999).

PARTICIPANTS

Paul Adamson - Co-Founder, The Centre and Founder, E!Sharp
H.E. Ambassador Akin Alptuna - The Turkish Embassy
Professor David Allen - Loughborough University
Emma de Angelis - Chatham House
Carl Anton Muller - Chatham House
Andreas Antoniou - The Commonwealth Secretariat
Graham Avery - DG External Relations, European Commission
Iradj Bagherzade - I.B. Tauris
Katherine Baldwin - Reuters
James Barbour - Hill & Knowlton
Mireia Barrachina Plo - Trans-European Policy Studies Association
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Simon Coates - BBC
Ruth Cobbe - BBC
Diego Colas - The French Embassy
Tim Cooper - Accenture
Dr Anne Corbett - London Schools of Economics and Political Science
Dr Paul Cornish - Chatham House
Maureen Covell - Simon Fraser University
Harry Cowie - The Federal Trust for Education and Research
Sir Brian Crowe - European Discussion Group, Chatham House
Richard Daniel - Sovereign Strategy
Sue Davis - UACES
Michael Dean - Australian High Commission

Dr Slawomir Debski - The Polish Institute of International Affairs
Dr Erin Delaney - New York University
Jasminka Dini - The Croatian Embassy
Kerem Divanlioglu - The Turkish Embassy
Ingemar Dolfe - The Swedish Embassy
Brendan Donnelly - The Federal Trust for Education and Research
Andrew Duff MEP - Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe, European Parliament
Professor Olivier Duhamel - Institut Français des Perspectives Européennes
Dr Geoffrey Edwards - Centre of International Studies, University of Cambridge
Else Berit Eikeland - The Norwegian Embassy
Josy Eldred - Member of Chatham House
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Ambassador Gérard Errera - Ambassador of France to the United Kingdom
Tim Fallon - Hill & Knowlton
Abigail Fielding-Smith - I.B. Tauris
Regina Figl - The Austrian Embassy
Jana Fleschenberg - University of Cologne
Luke Foster - UACES
Toby Francis-Bromley - UK Cabinet Office
Professor Christian Franck - Trans-European Policy Studies Association
Nikos Frangakis - Greek Centre of European Studies and Research
Maurice Fraser - The London School of Economics and Political Science
Dr Lykke Friis - Confederation of Danish Industries
David Frost - The Foreign & Commonwealth Office
Soteris Georgallis - Cyprus High Commission
Peter Glenn - The Federal Trust for Education and Research
Charlotte Granville-West - House of Lords
Roger Grazebrook - Lloyds TSB Bank Plc
Clary Griffiths - Kingston University
Dr Karoly Gruber - The Hungarian Embassy
Dr Ulrike Guerot - German Marshall Fund of the United States
Barbara Gunnell - The Observer Newspaper, UK
Lowri Gwilym - Welsh Local Government Association
Brendan Halligan - Institute of European Affairs, Dublin
Caroline Halpern - European Secretariat, UK Cabinet Office
Claudia Hamill - Fondation Arlon
Pang Hanzhao - The Chinese Embassy
Judith Hardt - Federation of European Securities Exchanges
Professor Stephen Haseler - London Metropolitan University
Lord Haskins - The European Movement
Professor Stanley Henig - The Federal Trust for Education and Research
Dr Imke Henkel - FOCUS Magazine
Gunilla Herolf - Swedish Institute of International Affairs
Otmar Hoell - Austrian Institute for International Affairs

Ron Hoffman - Canadian High Commission
Rachel Holloway - UK Cabinet Office
Miki Hoshino - Keio University
Professor Catherine Hoskyns - Coventry University
Will Hutton - The Work Foundation
Daniel Izsak - BBC
Dr Lotarski Jaroslaw - European Union - Committee of the Regions
Charles Jenkins - Economist Intelligence Unit
Professor Mathias Jopp - Institut für Europäische Politik, Germany
David Jordan - BBC
Dezséri Kálmán - Institute for World Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences
Professor Maria Karasinska-Fendler - European Institute, Poland
Dr Andres Kasekamp - Estonian Foreign Policy Institute
Aboulfazl Ghapani Fard Kashani - The Iranian Embassy
Joanna Kasinska - Federal Trust for Education and Research
Dr Hussein Kassim - Birkbeck, University of London
Robo Kastriot - The Albanian Embassy
William Keegan - The Observer Newspaper, UK
Reverend John Kennedy - CTBI
Pavlo Klimkin - The Ukrainian Embassy
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Antje Leendertse - The German Embassy
Atis Lejins - Latvian Institute of International Affairs
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Alan Maine - Merck Sharp & Dohme
Raduta Matache - The Romanian Embassy
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Guillaume McLaughlin - European Parliament
Costas Melakopides - Cyprus Institute of Mediterranean European and International Studies
Zhora Moosa - Commission for Racial Equality
Kiyoshi Mori - JETRO London
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Stephen Mulvey - BBC
Katy Munns - Merck Sharp & Dohme
Dr Thierry Nebout - Servier
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Krassimir Nikolov - Varna Free University
Peter Norman - The Financial Times
Dan O'Brien - Economist Intelligence Unit
Simon O'Connor - The Centre, Brussels
Dr Jane O'Mahony - University of Kent
Lord Kerr of Kinlochard - Former General Secretary of the Convention on the Future of Europe
Lord Brittan of Spennithorne QC - UBS Investment Bank
Tim Oliver - London Schools of Economics and Political Science
Ambassador Josko Paro - The Croatian Embassy
Quentin Peel - The Financial Times
John Peet - The Economist
James Perham-Marchant - Standard and Poor's
Nikolajh Petersen - The Danish Embassy
Oriël Petry - House of Lords
Professor John Pinder - The Federal Trust for Education and Research
Michal Pistecky - The Dutch Embassy
Mark Platt - Confederation of British Industries
Cyril Pohl - European Movement
Professor Philippe Poirier - Université du Luxembourg
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John Preston - Federal Union
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Lord Radice - House of Lords
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