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Federalisms in East and West: India, Europe and North America

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Speaker Biographies

MANI SHANKAR AIYAR is a former Indian diplomat, who resigned from the foreign service and became a politician working for Rajiv Gandhi in 1989-1991. He is a member of the Indian National Congress party and was *Panchayati Raj* Minister. He served as Union Cabinet Minister for Petroleum and Natural Gas (2004-6) and Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports (2006-9). He is the author of many books including *Remembering Rajiv; One Year in Parliament; Pakistan Papers; Knickerwallahs, Silly-Billies and Other Curious Creatures; Rajiv Gandhi's India; Confessions of a Secular Fundamentalist; A Time of Transition: Rajiv Gandhi to the 21st Century*.

ANTHONY BARNETT is a British writer and editor. A founder of *OpenDemocracy* in 2001, he was Editor and then Editor-in-Chief until 2007. He now edits its British blog *OurKingdom*. He was the first Director of Charter 88 from 1988 to 1995, and Co-Director of the Convention on Modern Liberty (2009). Currently he writes for the *New Statesman*. His books include, *Iron Britannia, Soviet Freedom, This Time: Our Constitutional Revolution*, and *The Athenian Option: radical reform of the House of Lords*. He conceived and developed the television film, *England's Henry Moore* (with Peter Carty 1988).

JULIO CRESPO MACLENNAN, is a historian, international analyst and writer. He is been *Santander fellow in Iberian and European Studies* at St. Antony's College, Oxford (2008-10), visiting professor at Tufts University and lecturer in Contemporary European History and International Relations at Ortega y Gasset University Institute, and IE business School in Madrid. He was briefly involved in Spanish diplomacy and was posted in Turkey and Ireland. He is the author of the following books: *Spain and the process of European Integration*, Palgrave (2000), *Spain and Ireland throughout the ages* (with Declan Downey 2008 *Europe-makers: great Europeanists and Eurosceptics in the twentieth century*, (forthcoming) and *A reassessment of Spain in the twentieth century* (forthcoming). He currently works on a book under the title of: *Fortune seekers and adventurers: the rise and fall of Europe in the world, 1492-2010*. He writes regularly about European and international affairs for the Spanish press and occasionally for the international press.

SUNANDA K. DATTA-RAY was educated in Calcutta and at Manchester University and is a sometime Visiting Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He was South Asia Correspondent for *The Observer*; Editor of *The Statesman* in India; Editor-in-Residence at the East-West Center, Honolulu; and Editorial Consultant to *The Straits Times* group, Singapore. His latest book, *Looking East to Look West: Lee Kuan Yew's Mission India*, is on the bestselling lists in Singapore and India and has received a major Indian award (the Crossword Vodafone Award) for non-fiction. His other books include *Smash and Grab: Annexation of Sikkim* and *Waiting for America: India and the US in the New Millennium*.

MEGHNAD DESAI is Professor of Economics and Director of the Centre for the Study of Global Governance at the London School of Economics. He is the author of many publications on economics and his forthcoming book is on Hayek; from 1984-1991. He was co-editor of the *Journal of Applied Econometrics*. He is President of the Islington South and Finsbury Labour Party and was raised to the peerage in April 1991. His special interests are: economic policy education and development.

VINITA DESHMUKH is the editor of *Intelligent Pune* weekly paper, India – it is dedicated to pro-public journalism and activism. She is a *Right To Information (RTI)* activist and most of the investigative stories in *Intelligent Pune* are based on inspection of files at government departments under the RTI Act. Importantly,

Dow Chemicals was forced to leave Pune district after she procured vital information under RTI to reveal its gross irregularities in setting up the plant in Pune suburbs. Vinita worked as Senior Editor in India's premier English newspaper daily *The Indian Express* between 1987 to 2006. She has won the prestigious *Chameli Devi Jain Award* for outstanding media person of the year in 2009 for her Dow Chemical investigations. She has won the esteemed *The Statesman Award for Rural Reporting* twice in 1998 and 2006. She is the co-author of the best seller non-fiction book *To the last bullet* – the book is based on the 26/11 Mumbai terror attack.

Tom EIJSBOUTS is a professor of European Constitutional Law at the University of Amsterdam, founding Director of the Hogendorpcentre for European Constitutional Studies and founding editor of the *European Constitutional Law Review*. He teaches and writes in European law, constitutional law, legal and political theory, history and philosophy. Comparison of the US and EU constitutional histories is a great theme in his research and teaching. He is also a columnist for *Financieele Dagblad* the Dutch financial daily, and during the occasion of the 2006 world championships of football he wrote a *Little Philosophy of the Ball* (in Dutch).

PAUL FLATHER is Secretary-General of the Europaeum, an association of leading European Universities and Fellow of Mansfield College, Oxford. He studied at Balliol College, Oxford. He was the founding Secretary-General of the Central European University (1990-1994) originally set up in Budapest, Prague and Warsaw by George Soros, and director of international and external affairs for Oxford University (1994-2000). He is a former Fellow of Corpus Christi. He has worked at the BBC, *Times Newspapers*, and served as Deputy Editor of the *New Statesman*. His research work is on Indian political development since Independence. He has worked with dissident movements in Central Europe in the 1980s, and with cultural and race equality groups in the UK. He was an elected member of the London Council in the 1980s (chairing its committee on post-school education 1986-1990). He currently chairs the Noon Scholarships Foundation Committee, and is on the board of the *Roundtable*.

CRISTINA GALLACH works in the Communication and Information Directorate of the Council of the European Union. She was the spokesperson of the Spanish Presidency of the Council of the EU from January to June 2010. Formerly she was spokesperson, and closest advisor, for Javier Solana, the Secretary General, NATO, 1996-1999. From 1999 until 2009 she continued as spokesperson for Javier Solana (EU Council) during his role as High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy, EU (PESC). She worked as an editor of the political section of the newspaper *El Noticiero Universal* (Barcelona) and in the headquarters of *TVE* (Barcelona). From 1984 to 1986 she was the North American correspondent for the paper *Avui*, Catalonia Radio and the weekly *El Món*, which coincided with the period of studies at Columbia University. From 1986 to 1996 she acted as special envoy to countries in Central and Eastern Europe for *El Periódico de Catalunya* and as correspondent of the EFE Agency in Moscow (1990-1993) and Brussels (1993-1995).

DAVID GRACE is the Secretary of our sponsor the James Madison Trust and Director of Inside Europe Limited. He is an advocate of Europe in the UK. Formerly he was the Head of European Affairs, East Sussex County Council (1995-2002), a European lobbyist on Environmental and Regional Policy (1990-1995), Company Secretary of the Federal Union (1986-1990) and a Council Member of the Federal Trust, (1986-1990). In 2009 he was a European Parliamentary Candidate.

ANDREW GRAHAM is an academic and Master of Balliol College, Oxford. Dr Graham read PPE at St Edmund Hall and graduated from Oxford University in 1964. He worked at the National Economic Development Office in the autumn of 1964 and then, from 1964 to 1966, at the Department of Economic Affairs. Dr Andrew Graham became economic adviser to Harold Wilson, Prime Minister 1967–69. In 1969, at the age of 26, he was elected to a Tutorial Fellowship in Economics at Balliol. He returned to 10 Downing Street as a Policy Adviser to the Prime Minister, 1974–76 and later, from 1988–94, became economic advisor to the Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer and, from 1992, Leader of the Labour Party, John Smith. He remained as a Tutorial Fellow in Economics at Balliol College, Oxford until 1997 and combined this with being a Member of the Committee to Review the Functioning of the Financial Institutions, 1977–80, a non-executive director of the British Transport Docks Board, 1979–82, and a member of the media advisory committee of the IPPR, 1994–97. He is an elected member of the Council of Oxford University and a member of the Scott Trust, which owns *The Guardian* and *The Observer*.

DAVID HANNAY, a graduate of New College, Oxford, since 2001 he has been a member of the House of Lords. He serves on the European Union Select Committee, and is a member of the EU sub-committee on Home

Affairs. Lord Hannay is also a member of the Advisory Board of the Centre for European Reform. His career has seen him work extensively in the British diplomatic services, he was initially posted in Tehran and Kabul from 1965 to 1970s, he was involved in the discussions that led to the UK's entry into the European Communities. He acted as Ambassador to the EC (1985-90), and then Ambassador to the UN (1990-5). Following his retirement from the diplomatic service he was British Special Representative for Cyprus (1996-2003) and a member of the UN Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change.

GARY HART, a former US Senator, is currently scholar in residence at the University of Colorado and chair of the Threat Reduction Advisory Council at the US Department of Defense. He is also chair of the American Security Project, co-chair of the US-Russian Commission, and Fellow of the Center for Security and International Studies. He was co-chair of the US Commission on National Security which forecast terrorist attacks on the US and was former chair of the Council for a Liveable World. He has earned a D.Phil. from Oxford and a J.D. degree from the Yale Law School.

VIJAY JOSHI is a Fellow of St John's College, Oxford and an Emeritus Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. He has published widely in scholarly journals and elsewhere on International Economics and Development Economics. He has also written extensively on the economy of India, in particular two major books (jointly with I.M.D. Little): *India - Macroeconomics and Political Economy*, (World Bank and OUP 1994) and *India's Economic Reforms 1991-2001*, (OUP 1996). He is currently writing a book on the economics, ethics and politics of globalisation. He has served as Economic Advisor to the Government of India and as consultant to various international organisations, including the World Bank.

MARY KALDOR is Professor of Global Governance and Co-Director of LSE Global Governance. She previously worked at the Stockholm Peace Research Institute and the University of Sussex, including the Science Policy Research Unit. In addition, she was a founder member of European Nuclear Disarmament (END), founder and Co-Chair on the Helsinki Citizen's Assembly, a member of the Independent International Commission to Investigate the Kosovo Crisis and a governor for the Westminster Foundation for Democracy. She has written widely on security issues and on democracy and civil society. Her recent books include *Human Security: Reflections on Globalisation and Intervention* (Polity Press, 2007) and most recently *The Ultimate Weapon is No Weapon: Human Security and the Changing Rules of war and Peace* (Public Affairs, 2010) written jointly with a US Army officer. She directs the Global Civil Society programme, and the Global Security Programme at LSE Global Governance. She is currently convenor of the Human Security Study Group, which produced *A Human Security Doctrine for Europe* (2004) *A European Way of Security* (2007) and *Helsinki Plus: A Human Security Architecture for Europe* (2010). In 2009-2010, she was a member of the Defence Advisory Forum which advised the Minister of Defence on the preparation of a green paper on Defence.

BRIDGET KENDALL has been BBC diplomatic correspondent since 1998. She was previously BBC Washington correspondent (1994-98). She is London-based and covers foreign stories for radio, television and online news. She reports on a wide range of international diplomatic and security issues, but has a particular interest and expertise in Russia and East/West relations, dating from when she was BBC Moscow correspondent at the time of the collapse of the Soviet Union (1989-94). Previously, she was BBC reporter and producer, News and Current affairs programmes (1983-89). She is co-author of a book on classical Armenian philosophy, *David The Invincible* (1980) and co-contributor to two BBC publications: one on the impact of the September 11 terrorist attacks in 2001, *The Day That Shook The World*; and one on the run-up to the Iraq war of 2003, *The Battle For Iraq*.

JEANNETTE LADZIK worked as a political assistant to a German member of the European Parliament in Brussels for two years before in 2008 she began her current job as Project Manager at the London office of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. She is currently finalising her PhD in International Relations at London Metropolitan University. During her studies, she spent a year at Harvard University as a visiting fellow. Her research interests cover European Security and Defence Policy, European Diplomacy and External Relations of the European Union.

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SIR JEREMY LEVER, Queen's Counsel, is one of the leading and most respected EU and competition lawyers at the Bar. In October 2007 he received the special award for 'Lifetime Achievement' at the Chambers Bar Awards. He is a Fellow and Senior Dean of All Souls College, Oxford and for many years served as a member of the Council of Management and the Executive Committee of the British Institute of International and Comparative Law. He has frequently acted as an arbitrator in international arbitrations, including an inter-State arbitration between the US and the UK. He is co-author of the comparative law textbook on *Tort Law* (Metro Institute for Transnational Legal Research, Maastricht). He has written extensively on a wide range of legal topics, both EU and national, both public and private law, including many aspects of competition law, the teaching of which at the University of Oxford he pioneered. He was also a Director (non-executive) of Dunlop Holdings Ltd from 1973 through to 1980 and of Wellcome plc from 1983 through to 1994.

ROGER LIDDLE is chair of Policy Network and a Labour member of the House of Lords. He is also chair of Cumbria Vision, a sub-regional public-private development partnership. From 2009-2010, Roger chaired the UK government's New Industry, New Jobs, Universities and Skills advisory panel. He was until October 2007 economic adviser to the European Commission president Jose Manuel Barroso and for seven years from 1997 special adviser on European affairs to then British Prime Minister, Tony Blair. Roger has written extensively on European and British affairs and appears regularly across a variety of media platforms. He is the author of numerous publications, including *The Blair Revolution* (with Peter Mandelson, 1996), *Global Europe, Social Europe* (with Anthony Giddens and Patrick Diamond, 2006) and *Beyond New Labour* (with Patrick Diamond, 2009). He has also co-authored two papers for the President of the Commission's thinktank, the Bureau of European Policy Advisers, on *Europe's Social Reality* (February 2007) and the *Single Market: Yesterday and Tomorrow* (July 2006), alongside several other Fabian Society and Policy Network pamphlets.

JOHN LLOYD is a contributing editor at the *Financial Times*. He writes a weekly column on television for the weekend FT as well as features for FT Magazine, of which he was founding editor. His previous FT posts include Labour Editor, Industrial Editor, East Europe Editor and Moscow Bureau Chief. He has been a reporter and producer for LWT's London Programme and Weekend World, and editor of Time Out and the New Statesman magazines. He co-founded the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism at the University of Oxford, where he is Director of Journalism. He sits on the editorial board of Prospect magazine and on the board of the Moscow School of Political Studies. His books are *Loss Without Limit: The British Miners' Strike* (1985); *Rebirth of a Nation: an Anatomy of Russia* (1998); and *What the Media Are Doing to Our Politics* (2004).

PETER LUFF is Chairman of the European Movement, CEO of Action for a Global Climate, Vice-Chair of the Coalition for an International Court for the Environment and a Member of the Council of the World Federalist Movement/Institute for Global Policy. Until 2000, he was *Director of the Royal Commonwealth Society* and previously he was Director of the European Movement (UK), and Deputy Secretary General and Vice President of the International European Movement (1987-1995). He has written *The Simple Guide to Maastricht and A Brilliant Conspiracy* - a study of the European federal agenda. After working as Universities Officer with the Voluntary Committee on Overseas Aid and Development and a Counsellor with the UK Immigrants Advisory Service, he travelled around the world before taking the post of *Assistant Director of Amnesty International UK*, where he directed several country campaigns, organised the first UK Trades Union Human Rights conference and produced the Secret Policeman's Ball comedy series with the Monty Python team, Beyond the Fringe and Barry Humphries. He spent a short time at the BBC before becoming the *Funding and Marketing Director of the Social Democratic Party* 1982 - 87. He is a Fellow of the *Royal Society of Arts and Manufactures* and the *Royal Geographical Society*.

DAVID MARQUAND was educated at Emanuel School; Magdalen College, Oxford; St Antony's College, Oxford; and the University of California, at Berkeley. His books include the authorised biography of Ramsay MacDonald (published in 1977) and most recently a study of British political traditions, *Britain Since 1918: The Strange Career of British Democracy*. His forthcoming *The End of the West* will be published by Princeton

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JUDITH MARQUAND acted as a UK Government Senior Economic Adviser, 1965-91. University of Sheffield, Director of Centre for Training Policy Studies, 1992-98, and then Mansfield College, Oxford until 2003, from where she headed a range of development projects in Poland and then in Russia, particularly with Siberian universities. Author of *Autonomy and Change* (1988), examining how neo-liberal assumptions were an inappropriate basis for policy, and *Development Aid in Russia: Lessons from Siberia* (2009), on the feasibility of developing democratic behaviour there. She is now working on *What we Forgot*, about the present crisis.

GEORGE MATHEW is Founder Director of the Institute of Social Sciences, New Delhi, created in 1985. He is actively engaged with the formation of policy in several federal and state government committees. Recent roles include Chairman, Task Force on Panchayati Raj, Government of Bihar; Member of the State Planning Board, Government of Rajasthan. He is currently specialising on the local government system, decentralisation and gender equity. Major works: *Communal Road to a Secular Kerala and Panchayati Raj – From Legislation to Movement*. He has also edited works including: *Shift in Indian Politics*, *Dignity for all: Essays in Socialism and Democracy*; *Status of Panchayati Raj in the States and Union Territories of India 2000*, *Inclusion and Exclusion in Local Governance: Field Studies from Rural India*. He has also been Visiting Fellow of the University of Chicago South Asian Studies Centre (1981-82) and Visiting Professor, University of Padova (1988), and was a Fulbright Fellbright fellow (1991).

YVES MENY is the former President of the European University Institute in Florence, Italy since 2002. In 1993 he was appointed Director of the newly-founded interdisciplinary Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute in Florence. Professor Mény is a member of numerous editorial committees and writes for the French newspapers *Le Monde* and *Ouest France*. He is a member of the Bureau of Political Advisers, set up by the President of the European Commission. He was Chairman of Expert Group on Foundations and Research and Development, European Commission and in 2000–2003 he was Chairman of the Executive Committee of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR).

KENNETH O. MORGAN was Fellow and Tutor, The Queen's College, Oxford 1966 - 89 and Vice-Chancellor, University of Wales, 1989 - 95, He is Honorary Fellow of Queen's and Oriel Colleges, Oxford; Fellow of the British Academy (1983); and a Labour peer (2000). His 31 books include *Consensus and Disunity*, *Rebirth of a Nation*, *Labour in Power*, *The People's Peace: Britain since 1945*, and *Ages of Reform* (forthcoming); biographies of Lloyd George, Keir Hardie, James Callaghan and Michael Foot; and his edited *Oxford Illustrated History of Britain* (over 750,000 copies sold)

SUDIPTO MUNDLE is an honorary Emeritus Professor at the NIPFP, New Delhi, and a director of The Governance Group, Singapore. He is also a Member of India's National Statistical Commission. He retired as a Director in the Asian Development Bank in 2008. Earlier he taught and researched at several academic institutions in India and also served as Economic Adviser in the Ministry of Finance. He has had visiting assignments at Yale University, Cambridge University, Institute of Social Studies, the Hague, and the Japan Foundation, Tokyo. His main fields of research include macro economic policy, public finance and development economics.

PETER ONUF is Thomas Jefferson Foundation Professor of History at the University of Virginia. He was educated at John Hopkins University, Baltimore. His current researches are: history of democracy, with a particular focus on the political thought of Thomas Jefferson. He is the author of *Jefferson's Empire: The*

Language of American Nationhood (Virginia) and co-author (with Nicholas G. Onuf) of *Nations, Markets, and War: Modern History and the American Civil War*.

SIR MICHAEL PALLISER joined the Foreign Service after four wartime years in the Coldstream Guards. His postings included Head of Planning Staff, Private Secretary to Prime Minister Harold Wilson, Permanent Representative to the European Communities, Brussels, Permanent Under-Secretary FCO and Special Adviser to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher during the Falklands campaign. On retirement in 1982, a term at Harvard, then a Deputy Chairman of Midland Bank, Chairman of Samuel Montagu, non-Executive Director of several British and American industrial companies, Chairman of the Council, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Board of the National Theatre and Vice-Chairman of the Salzburg Global Seminar. Honorary Fellow, Merton College, Oxford and Queen Mary, University of London.

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ADAM POSEN is an external member of the Monetary Policy Committee of the Bank of England and a senior fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics. His research focuses on macroeconomic policy, European and Japanese political economy, central banking issues, and the resolution of financial crises. Dr. Posen is the author of *Restoring Japan's Economic Growth* (1998), as well as of numerous research articles in monetary economics, the co-author with Ben Bernanke, et al, of *Inflation Targeting: Lessons from the International Experience* (1999), and is the editor and part-author of four collected volumes including *The Euro at 10: The Next Global Currency?* (2009). His research has been supported by major grants from the European Commission, the Ford Foundation, the German Marshall Fund, and the Sloan Foundation. Dr. Posen is in his second term as a member of the Panel of Economic Advisors to the US Congressional Budget Office, was previously a visiting scholar at central banks worldwide, and has been a consultant to several G-7 governments at the cabinet and sub-cabinet levels on global economic and foreign policy issues. He received his Ph.D. and his A.B. from Harvard University, where he was a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellow.

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R. SUDARSHAN provides policy advice from the UNDP Regional Centre in Bangkok to UNDP Country Offices on legal and judicial reforms, human rights and constitution-making processes. He conducts research on the interface of law and economics, legal empowerment of the poor, and provides guidance on access to justice

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PETER SUTHERLAND is Chairman of Goldman Sachs International and UN Special Representative for Migration and Development. He served as Attorney General of Ireland (1981-4); European Commissioner responsible for Competition Policy (1985-9). He was Chairman of Allied Irish Banks (1989-93) and Director General of GATT, and then of The World Trade Organisation (1993-5). He studied at University College, Dublin, and the King's Inns. He is Chairman of the London School of Economics and is currently He also serves on the International Advisory Boards of Eli Lilly and Allianz, and is a Consultor for the Administration of the Patrimony of the Holy See.

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GRÉGOIRE WEBBER is Lecturer in Law at the LSE. He is a graduate of McGill University (bachelors of civil law and common law) and of the University of Oxford (DPhil in law). Previously, Dr Webber was senior policy advisor with the Privy Council Office (the Canadian Cabinet Office) and law clerk to the Quebec Court of Appeal and the Supreme Court of Canada. Dr Webber is also co-director of the Supreme Court Advocacy Institute, which provides free advocacy advice to counsel appearing before the Supreme Court of Canada.

MARTIN WOLF is Associate Editor and Chief Economics Commentator at the *Financial Times*, London. He was awarded the CBE (Commander of the British Empire) in 2000 for services to financial journalism. Mr Wolf has been a forum fellow at the annual meeting of the World Economic Forum, in Davos, since 1999. He was made a Doctor of Science (Econ), *honoris causa*, by the London School of Economics in December 2006. He was joint winner of the Wincott Foundation senior prize for excellence in financial journalism for 1989 and 1997. He won the "Accenture Decade of Excellence" at the Business Journalist of the Year Awards of 2003. Mr Wolf won the "Commentator of the Year" award at the Business Journalist of the Year Awards of 2008. He won the "Ludwig-Erhard-Preis für Wirtschaftspublizistik" ("Ludwig Erhard Prize for economic commentary") from the Ludwig Erhard Stiftung (Foundation) for 2009. He won "Commentariat of the Year 2009" at the Comment Awards, sponsored by Editorial Intelligence. He was placed 15th in *Foreign Policy's* list of the "Top 100 Global Thinkers" in December 2009. He was appointed a member of the UK government's Independent Commission on Banking in June 2010. His most recent publications are *Why Globalization Works* (Yale University Press, 2004) and *Fixing Global Finance* (Washington D.C: Johns Hopkins University Press, and London: Yale University Press, 2008).