



2005





**CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN REFORM**

# *about the CER*

The CER is a think-tank devoted to improving the quality of the debate on the future of the European Union. It is a forum for people from Britain and across the continent to discuss ideas on how to meet Europe's social, political and economic challenges.

The CER works with similar bodies in other European countries, North America and elsewhere in the world. It is pro-European but not uncritical. It regards European integration as largely beneficial but recognises that in many respects the Union does not work well. The CER therefore aims to promote new ideas and policies for reforming the EU.

The CER makes a point of bringing together people from the world of politics and business. Most of our meetings and seminars are invitation-only events, to ensure a high level of debate. The conclusions of our research and seminars inform our publications, as well as the private papers and briefings that business people, senior officials, ministers and commissioners ask us to provide.

The CER is funded by donations from the private sector. It has never received money from governments or EU institutions.

The CER's work programme is centred on seven themes:

- ★ The euro and economic reform
- ★ Enlargement of the European Union
- ★ Reform of the EU's institutions and policies
  - ★ European foreign and defence policy
  - ★ Transatlantic relations
  - ★ Justice and Home Affairs
- ★ The EU's relations with Russia and China



## The CER in 2005: buoyant in a stormy sea

The European Union had a difficult year in 2005. Bitter arguments over the EU budget, the Common Agricultural Policy and the Doha round of trade talks fuelled an often poisonous atmosphere among EU leaders. More fundamentally, the poor performance of the core Euroland economies worsened many of Europe's problems. Low economic growth and high unemployment make many people fearful of change, whether it comes in the form of new EU treaties, fresh rounds of enlargement or world trade liberalisation. The failure of the EU's constitutional treaty has left a cloud of uncertainty hanging over its institutions. Partly because of these economic and institutional problems, the legitimacy of the Union has diminished among broad sections of the European public.

For many Europeans, the EU symbolises the forces of globalisation. It is viewed – with some justice – as the body that tries to remove barriers to trade, and the free movement of people, across an increasingly wide area. As a consequence, those who see globalisation as a threat to their jobs, or who believe that there are too many immigrants in their country, tend to hold the EU responsible. Populist politicians are increasingly adept at exploiting nationalist feeling to oppose openness in general, and the EU in particular.

For 50 years the Union has been a success, helping to spread prosperity, democracy and security across much of the European continent. But as the Union has expanded, becoming increasingly diverse, the sense of common purpose among its member-states has diminished. Many Europeans see the EU institutions as remote, complex and hard to understand, but few are aware of the many practical benefits that they deliver. Now that the euro has been created, and most of the Central and East European countries taken in, the Union lacks a single, unifying project.

All these problems have been compounded by a leadership vacuum: the authority of the Commission is at an all-time low, while many member-states have leaders who appear to care little about the fate of the Union. The possibility of the EU 'going backwards', for example through an increase of protectionism in some member-states, is real.

And yet, despite all these difficulties, the Union remains indispensable to its member-states. The single market creates prosperity through free trade and competition. Enlargement has helped the European economy to achieve a more efficient division of labour, and thus remain competitive in the global economy. In all sorts of ways the Union can help its members to cope with the challenges of globalisation, such as

terrorism, technological and demographic change, global warming, the need to diversify energy supplies and the industrialisation of developing countries. They cannot be tackled by one or a few countries on their own. More than ever, therefore, Europeans need a strong and effective Union to promote their interests and express their values.



*Launch of 'The Lisbon Scorecard V: Can Europe compete?' with President Barroso, March 2005*

Our job at the CER is to come forward with new ideas and policies for reforming the EU, so that it works better. The CER has thrived amidst the uncertainty and confusion. Even when the EU is listless and leaderless, think-tanks have plenty of opportunities to influence decision-makers and opinion-formers. Much of our work over the past year has been directly tied to the Union's current problems.

### **The failure of the constitutional treaty**

The constitutional treaty offered one route for reforming the Union. Many of its provisions would have improved the efficiency of the EU's institutions. However, the No votes in the French and Dutch referendums have killed the treaty, since it cannot be ratified without the consent of every member-state. In the long run, the EU will have to come back to the question of treaty revision; another major round of enlargement is unlikely to be viable without a new treaty. But the CER believes that for the rest of this decade the EU should not expend much time or energy on trying to overhaul its treaties.

Instead the Union needs to show that it can reform itself and improve its record of delivering tangible benefits to European citizens. We think that the EU's member-states and institutions can do a great deal to improve the Union's institutions and policies, even with the current treaties. That is why in October we and the Institut Montaigne, a French think-tank, drew up a joint manifesto of 20 proposals to reform the Union. We have also worked on a more comprehensive reform programme for publication in early 2006.



*Seminar on 'Europe's referendum challenge: What happens next?', with Giuliano Amato, May 2005*

Throughout 2005, the CER was actively involved in the debates on the future of Europe. At the start of the year, when it looked like the British would be the ones to block the constitutional treaty, we launched my pamphlet *What happens if Britain votes No?* at seminars in Brussels, Paris, New York and Washington. Two days after the French referendum, Giuliano Amato, Timothy Garton Ash and Sylvie Goulard headed a star cast at our London seminar on the consequences of the referendums.

### **Rows over the EU budget, farm policy and the trade talks**

During the referendum campaigns in France and the Netherlands, the CER was the think-tank most quoted in the world's media. Similarly, during the bitter rows over the

EU budget, the Common Agricultural Policy and trade, CER researchers spent a large part of their time briefing journalists and appearing on TV and radio programmes. Journalists from across the world have turned to the CER as a cool, calm voice of reason during the big European battles. We also made our own contributions to the central debates. We published policy briefs on how to reform both the EU's budget and the Common Agricultural Policy, and a briefing note on the Doha trade talks.

### Enlargement fatigue

Even before the French and Dutch referendums, there was growing hostility to further EU enlargement. But the demise of the constitutional treaty increased the opposition, because of the implicit link between the Union's 'deepening' and 'widening'. Many people fear that, without further moves towards a politically integrated Europe, enlargement will weaken both the EU's institutions and the solidarity that binds the peoples of Europe together.

However, the CER continues to champion the cause of enlargement in general, and Turkish accession in particular. We continued our series of seminars on Turkey and the EU with a meeting in Berlin in June. In September we launched a volume of essays on *Why the EU should embrace Turkey*. In October we ran our second annual Istanbul conference, bringing together politicians and think-tankers from Turkey and EU countries. We were delighted that Abdullah Gül, the Turkish foreign minister, and Geoff Hoon, the leader of the House of Commons, took part.

I have written a paper arguing that more 'variable geometry' – the idea that not every country needs to take in every policy area – could boost the cause of enlargement. If the more integrationist member-states create *avant-garde* groups, they may become less fearful of further widening. This paper – to be published in early 2006 – also suggests that neighbours of the EU which have no prospect of joining could nevertheless take part in its foreign policy.

### Slow economic growth and hostility to 'Anglo-Saxon liberalism'

Given that many of the EU's problems stem from economic under-performance, we stepped up our work on the European economy in general, and the unsexy but essential Lisbon reform agenda in particular. Commission President José Manuel Barroso spoke with great passion about economic reform when he launched Alasdair Murray's and Aurore Wanlin's *The Lisbon scorecard V* in Brussels in March. This annual publication, which awards countries marks for how well or poorly they implement their Lisbon



Launch of 'The EU and counter-terrorism' with The Rt Hon Charles Clarke MP and Charles Grant, October 2005

promises, continues to attract huge media interest. The fact that Italy came bottom in 2005 made the front pages of every serious Italian newspaper (and may explain why foreign minister Gianfranco Fini and Europe minister Giorgio La Malfa subsequently asked us to provide them a platform, which we were happy to do).

Our other contributions to the economics debate included a short piece by Katinka Barysch – *Liberal versus social Europe* – which pointed out that the Anglo-Saxon and continental social models are more similar than many people realise, and that they are in fact converging. An essay by Katinka, on the EU economy after enlargement, was one of those presented to EU leaders at their Hampton Court summit in October. This essay debunks the myth that the Central and East European countries engage in 'social dumping' or 'unfair' tax competition. In November we took over Ditchley Park in Oxfordshire for a seminar on the European economy. Participants included many of Europe's top economists, such as Mario Monti, Richard Layard, Norbert Walter, John Kay, DeAnne Julius and André Sapir.



Launch of 'The Lisbon Scorecard V: Can Europe compete?' with The Rt Hon Patricia Hewitt MP, March 2005

### Global ambitions

Despite the EU's many internal problems, much of the CER's work looked beyond Europe. Over recent years an increasing proportion of our activity has covered the EU's links with other parts of the world. Given the growing importance of China, Russia, India and the Arab world to the EU, this trend is likely to continue.

As always, the CER's output in 2005 had a strong transatlantic flavour. The softer tone of the second-term Bush administration helped to improve EU-US relations. In February, at the time of President Bush's visit to Europe, the CER and the Brookings Institution drew up a 'compact' on transatlantic relations, suggesting ways forward on the most contentious issues. This attracted the signatures of many distinguished politicians, former officials and think-tankers on both sides of the Atlantic.

The happier state of transatlantic relations helped us to attract good people to the DaimlerChrysler Forum on Global Issues, which is run by the CER and the Brookings Institution. This provides an intimate venue for senior decision-makers and think-tankers to exchange views on the most pressing issues in transatlantic relations. The meetings in Paris in May and Washington in November attracted the chief foreign policy advisers of Tony Blair, Jacques Chirac and Gerhard Schröder, together with the EU's Javier Solana and, from the Bush administration, J D Crouch, Steve Krasner, Nick Burns and Eric Edelman. One of the key issues in EU-US relations is counter-terrorism. Our publication in May of

Daniel Keohane's *The EU and counter-terrorism* proved only too prescient, coming shortly before the London bombs. This working paper has been debated at three CER seminars – two in London and one in Washington – with speakers including Charles Clarke, the British Home Secretary, David Omand, the British government's former anti-terrorism co-ordinator, and Jean-Louis Bruguière, France's top anti-terrorism judge.

Iran's nuclear programme provided another contentious transatlantic issue in 2005. The US started to support the EU's diplomatic initiatives, though sometimes half-heartedly. In September the CER and the Brookings Institution drew up another compact, specifically on Iran, which sought to map out common ground between the European and American approaches. Mark Leonard's two publications on Iran kept the CER in the forefront of the debates on what strategies the EU should pursue.

In 2005 we launched our China programme in a big way, with one major publication (Katinka Barysch's *Embracing the dragon: the EU's partnership with China*) and six seminars and panels – two in Beijing, two in London, one in Brussels and one in Washington. Those speaking at our China events included State Councillor Tang Jiaxuan, Chinese Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing, Zheng Bijian of the China Reform Forum, former Commission President Romano Prodi, British Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott, EU Trade Commissioner Peter Mandelson, former French Prime Minister Alan Juppé and former German Defence Minister Rudolf Scharping. Together with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, we have started work on an 'EU-China compact', a document that will set out the key problems in the relationship and make suggestions on how to overcome them.

Russia, too, remains central to our work. Despite growing concerns about the state of Russian democracy, and a sometimes bad-tempered relationship between Moscow and Brussels, the EU and Russia have no choice but to work together on areas of common concern. These include energy, migration, counter-terrorism and the risk of instability in their common neighbourhood. In May we teamed up with the Carnegie Centre to run a seminar in Moscow on EU-Russia relations. We also published an essay on Russia's relations with its neighbours, and another on the specific case of Georgia.

### **Bigger is not necessarily better**

For a small think-tank – with a total staff of only ten – we make a lot of noise. In August the CER held its annual retreat in Hay-on-Wye. We were fortunate to be joined by David Miliband, once a founder of the CER and now a cabinet minister. We discussed our size, deciding that we shall not, for now, seek to grow. The advantages of staying small are

that we are forced to remain focused; we need virtually no rules or bureaucracy; we find teamwork natural; and we can more easily maintain quality control. The only disadvantage of being small is that in a period when the world's media are looking for comments, or when we are managing a stream of events outside the UK, there is a risk of over-stretch. We organised 42 seminars and conferences in 2005, including events in Brussels, Berlin, Istanbul, Moscow, Beijing, Paris, New York and Washington. At all times our admin team – Catherine Hoye, Kate Meakins and Susannah Murray – kept their cool and coped brilliantly.

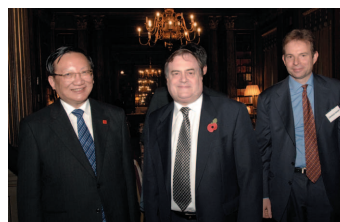
At the end of the year we were sad to bid farewell to Alasdair Murray, who was with us for almost six years, most recently as deputy director. Alasdair's work on the Lisbon scorecards, EU competition policy and the European Commission proved pioneering and influential. We wish him every success as the director of a new London-based think-tank, the CentreForum. We gained two excellent recruits during the year. Mark Leonard became the CER's director of foreign policy. Mark had been the founder and director of the Foreign Policy Centre. Then Hugo Brady joined us from the Dublin-based Institute of European Affairs, to relaunch our work on Justice and Home Affairs.

In many parts of the world the CER has established a reputation – among decision-makers and journalists – for producing well-argued, well-written and practical proposals for reforming the EU. The channels for distributing our work are in place. In 2005, as in previous years, some of our initiatives were picked up and implemented. For example, in November 2005 EU defence ministers agreed to adopt a 'code-of-conduct' on opening up their defence markets. That was an idea the CER had launched in June 2004 with the policy brief *Europe's new defence agency* by Daniel Keohane.

Our challenge is to come up with new policies or ideas that are interesting, relevant and original. If we succeed, there is a real chance that our work will make an impact. What matters is not the number of people we employ, but rather the quality of our staff and their ideas.



*Launch of 'Embracing the dragon: The EU's partnership with China' with Commissioner Mandelson, June 2005*



*Seminar on 'China and globalisation' with State Councillor Tang Jiaxuan, The Rt Hon John Prescott MP and Charles Grant, November 2005*

Charles Grant  
Director

# CER Events 2005

**4-6 February:** Conference on Britain's role in the enlarged EU with Christoph Bertram, Loukas Tsoukalis, Chris Haskins, Sylvie Goulard and Stephen Wall, Wilton Park

**23 February:** Roundtable on transatlantic relations with David Johnson and Philip Stephens, London

**28 February:** Seminar on the EU constitution with Vernon Bogdanor and David Frost, London

**2 March:** Roundtable on the economic consequences of Turkish accession with Bahadır Kalegasi (Turkish industrialists' association) and Nick Eisinger, London

**7 March:** CER 7<sup>th</sup> birthday party hosted by the Italian Ambassador. Speakers: Boris Johnson MP and John Kerr, London



**9 March:** Roundtable on UN reform with Ron Asmus, David Hannay, Steve Steadman and Jim Steinberg, Brussels

**17 March:** Launch of 'The Lisbon Scorecard V: Can Europe compete?' with José Manuel Barroso, Brussels (left)

**21 March:** Launch of 'The Lisbon Scorecard V: Can Europe compete?' with The Rt Hon Patricia Hewitt MP, London

**22 March:** Roundtable on a human security doctrine for Europe with Mary Kaldor and Klaus Reinhardt, London

**18-19 April:** 11<sup>th</sup> Meeting of CER/Brookings US-European forum on world order and global issues, Paris

**26 April:** Launch of 'What happens if Britain votes No?' with Pascal Lamy, Lucy Powell and Stephen Wall, Paris

**4 May:** Breakfast seminar on Justice and Home Affairs with Commissioner Franco Frattini, Brussels

**4 May:** Launch of 'What happens if Britain votes No?' with Florence Deloche-Gaudez, Joost Lagendijk MEP and John Palmer, Brussels

**9 May:** Launch of 'What happens if Britain votes No?' with Geoffrey Cimbalo, Washington

**13 May:** Launch of 'What happens if Britain votes No?', New York

**17 May:** Launch of 'Embracing the dragon: The EU's partnership with China' with Zheng Bijian, HE Wu Jianmin and Romano Prodi, Beijing

**17-20 May:** Informal EU-China summit with Alain Juppé, Romano Prodi, António Vitorino and Chinese Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing, Beijing

**24 May:** Roundtable on the French referendum, London

**31 May:** Seminar on the the EU referendums with Giuliano Amato, Timothy Garton Ash and Thom de Graaf, London (above left)

**1 June:** Breakfast seminar on China and the EU arms embargo, London

**6 June:** Roundtable on EU-Russia relations with Carl Bildt, Michael Leigh, Nikolai Spassky and Dmitri Trenin, Moscow

**15 June:** Launch of 'Embracing the dragon: The EU's partnership with China' with Commissioner Peter Mandelson and Robert Cooper, Brussels (top right)



**18 June:** Compass conference fringe meeting on the future of the EU with The Rt Hon Douglas Alexander MP, London

**4 July:** Launch of 'The economics of Turkish accession', with Güven Sak, Heinz Kramer, Soli Özel and Karl-Theodor Freiherr zu Guttenberg MP, Berlin

**14 July:** Dinner debate with Commissioner Peter Mandelson, London

**12 September:** Trades Union Congress fringe meeting on do we need a more social Europe? with John Monks and Jo Shaw, Brighton

**19 September:** Liberal Democrat Party Conference fringe meeting on what future for Europe? with Jeremy Browne MP, Chris Davies MEP, Andrew Duff MEP and Chris Huhne MP, Blackpool

**25 September:** Labour Party Conference fringe meeting on what future for Europe? with Commissioner Mandelson, The Rt Hon Douglas Alexander MP, Edith Mastenbroek MEP and Pierre Moscovici MEP, Brighton (below)

**5 October:** Dinner debate on counter-terrorism with David Omand and Simon Webb, London

**7 October:** Breakfast seminar with HE John Grant, London

**14-15 October:** Conference on EU-Turkey relations with the British Council and TESEV. Speakers included: HE Abdullah Gül (above centre) and The Rt Hon Geoff Hoon MP, Istanbul

**18 October:** Roundtable on competitiveness, Italy and the Lisbon strategy with Italian



Europe Minister Giorgio La Malfa, London

**20 October:** Launch of 'The EU and counter-terrorism' with The Rt Hon Charles Clarke MP, London (below right)

**1-2 November:** 12<sup>th</sup> meeting of CER/Brookings US-European forum on world order and global issues, Washington

**4-5 November:** Conference on the future of the European economy, Ditchley Park

**8 November:** Seminar on China and globalisation with The Rt Hon John Prescott MP and State Councillor Tang Jiaxuan, London

**23 November:** Breakfast seminar on the UK Presidency and economic reform in Europe with The Rt Hon Douglas Alexander MP, London

**28 November:** Launch of 'Georgia and the EU: Can Europe's neighbourhood policy deliver?' with Georgian Prime Minister Zurab Nogaideli, Brussels

**30 November:** Seminar on Italy's political developments and its foreign policy with Italian Foreign Minister Gianfranco Fini and John Lloyd, London

**1 December:** Seminar on reconnecting Europe with The Rt Hon Douglas Alexander MP, Ben Crum, Renaud Dehousse, Olivier Ferrand and Louisewies van der Laan, Brussels

**6 December:** Seminar on trade and agricultural policy with John Audley, Bart Brady, Benoit Chevalier, Isabelle Garzon and Jack Thurston, London

**15 December:** Lecture by Zheng Bijian on 'China's peaceful rise', London



# CER Publications 2005



## Pamphlets

### What happens if Britain votes No?

Ten ways out of a European constitutional crisis  
Charles Grant (March 2005)

### The Lisbon Scorecard V: Can Europe compete?

Alasdair Murray and Aurore Wanlin (March 2005)

### Embracing the dragon: The EU's partnership with China

Katinka Barysch with Charles Grant and Mark Leonard (May 2005)

### Why Europe should embrace Turkey

Katinka Barysch, Steven Everts and Heather Grabbe (September 2005)

## Essays

### The economics of Turkish accession

Katinka Barysch (July 2005) *web only*

### Germany's foreign policy: What lessons can be learned from the Schröder years?

Charles Grant (September 2005) *web only*

### Russia, the EU and the common neighbourhood

Dmitri Trenin (September 2005)

### East versus West?

#### The European economic and social model after enlargement

Katinka Barysch (October 2005) *web only*

## Working papers

### The EU and counter-terrorism

Daniel Keohane (May 2005)

### Can EU diplomacy stop Iran's nuclear programme?

Mark Leonard (November 2005)

## Policy briefs

### Ukraine after the Orange Revolution

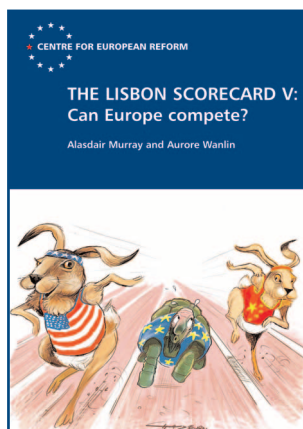
Kataryna Wolczuk (February 2005) *web only*

### Crunch-time on Iran: Five ways out of a nuclear crisis

Mark Leonard (August 2005) *web only*

### Consumers and EU competition policy

Alasdair Murray (September 2005)



### The EU budget: A way forward

John Peet (September 2005)

### Georgia and the EU:

#### Can Europe's neighbourhood policy deliver?

Mark Leonard and Charles Grant (October 2005)

### Why Europe deserves a better farm policy

Jack Thurston (December 2005)

## Briefing notes (web only)

### Referendum season in Europe:

#### A guide to the referenda on the EU constitutional treaty

Daniel Keohane (February 2005)

### A French lesson for Europe?

#### A guide to the referenda on the EU constitutional treaty

Daniel Keohane (April 2005)

### What happens if France votes No?

CER (May 2005)

### Don't forget the Dutch referendum

Daniel Keohane (May 2005)

### The June European Council:

#### Fear and loathing in Brussels?

Hugo Brady (June 2005)

### Fighting terrorism:

#### The EU needs a strategy not a shopping list

Hugo Brady and Daniel Keohane (October 2005)

### A 'smart growth' strategy for sustainable development

Iain Begg and Allan Larsson (November 2005)

### The Doha trade round: What hope for Hong Kong?

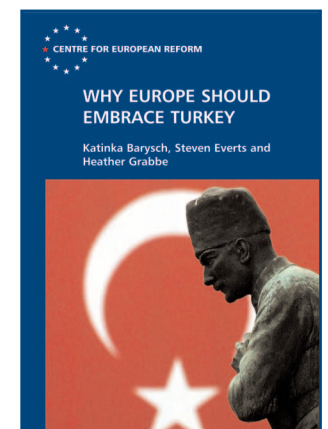
Aurore Wanlin (December 2005)

## Other publications

### A manifesto for Europe:

#### 20 steps to relaunch the EU

Joint manifesto by the CER and the Institut Montaigne (October 2005)



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Corporate members of the CER include:

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In addition to our corporate members, numerous other companies have supported specific publications and events.

# CER snapshots



Mark Leonard, CER and Ma Zhengang, President of the China Institute for International Studies, April 2005, Beijing

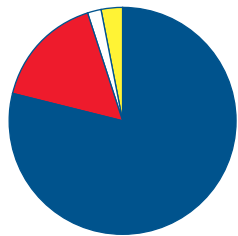


Launch of 'The EU and counter-terrorism' with Shami Chakrabarti, director of Liberty, October 2005, London

# Income & expenditure

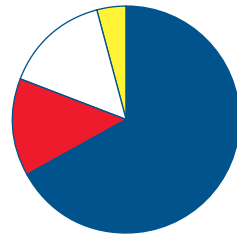
Audited accounts for year ending 31.12.2004

Income for 2004  
Total £914, 086



- Donations
- Projects/events
- Other
- Publications/subscriptions

Expenditure for 2004  
Total £919, 148



- Staff
- Administration/office
- Publishing
- Travel



Launch of 'The Lisbon Scorecard V: Can Europe compete?' with (L to R) President Barroso, Charles Grant and Alasdair Murray, March 2005, Brussels



Seminar on 'China and globalisation' with State Councillor Tang Jiaxuan and The Rt Hon John Prescott MP, November 2005, London



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**LORD TURNER** .....Chairman, UK Pensions Commission and Vice Chairman, Merrill Lynch Holdings

**ANTÓNIO VITORINO** .....Former European Commissioner

# Staff 2005

## **Charles Grant is the director.**

His interests include transatlantic relations, the future of Europe debate, European defence and Russia.



## **Mark Leonard is the director of foreign policy.**

He also manages the programmes on transatlantic relations, China and the Middle East.



## **Alasdair Murray was deputy director.**

He focused mainly on economic reform, financial services and competition policy.



## **Katinka Barysch is the chief economist.**

She also manages the programmes on Russia and Turkey, and takes a keen interest in the countries which recently joined the EU.



## **Daniel Keohane is a senior research fellow.**

He focuses mainly on security, defence and counter-terrorism and also follows the EU's institutional debate.



## **Aurore Wanlin is a research fellow.**

She follows economic reform, financial services, trade, agriculture and fisheries.



## **Hugo Brady is a research fellow.**

He focuses on EU institutions and Justice and Home Affairs.



## **Catherine Hoye is the events and office manager.**

She also manages the accounts and is PA to Charles Grant.



## **Kate Meakins is publications manager and website editor.**

She designs the publications and organises their production. She also manages subscriptions, sales and marketing.



## **Susannah Murray is the CER's events assistant.**

She is also PA to Mark Leonard and manages the CER's database.



## **Laure Astill is the CER's Paris representative.**



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