



2008





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, and can be improved. 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 EU commissioners ask us to provide.

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

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

- ★ The euro, economic reform and financial regulation
- ★ Enlargement and the EU's neighbourhood
- ★ Reform of the EU's institutions and policies
 - ★ European foreign and defence policy
 - ★ Energy and environment
 - ★ Transatlantic relations
 - ★ Justice and home affairs
- ★ The EU's relations with Russia and China



From left to right: Charles Grant, Clara Marina O'Donnell, Catherine Hoyer, Philip Whyte, Tomas Valasek, Katinka Barysch, Susannah Murray, Hugo Brady, Bobo Lo, Kate Mullineux and Simon Tilford

The CER in 2008

The year 2008 was one of rapid change and uncertainty, which may come to be seen as a bigger turning point in the history of Europe than 1968 or 1989. The Irish voted No to the Lisbon treaty, Russia conquered parts of Georgia, some of Europe's biggest banks went bust, the state increased its role in many economies, and Europe prepared for its worst recession since the 1930s.

Faced with all that, the European Union, a cumbersome, slow-moving creature run by 27 governments – who often struggle to agree on foreign and economic policy – did not perform too badly. The French presidency, which managed the EU in the second half of 2008, did a good job of keeping the 27 more or less together on some key issues. In December the Union even managed to agree on a stringent set of measures that should curb carbon emissions by 20 per cent (from 1990 levels) by 2020. No other country or group of countries has even begun to deal with climate change in that kind of way. And a cheerful counterpoint to the economic gloom was the election to the US presidency of the candidate that most Europeans preferred, Barack Obama.

When the financial crisis dramatically worsened, in September, the Union was fortunate to have the hyperactive Nicolas Sarkozy in its presidency. Initially the member-states did their own thing, but Sarkozy managed to corral them into a common approach, for example in following Gordon Brown's idea that the major banks should be recapitalised. But although Europe's financial systems were saved, it soon became clear that the combination of the dearth of credit and the unwinding of massive global economic imbalances was triggering a world recession. The 27 backed a Commission-led plan to boost demand. Some governments implemented this more enthusiastically than others, but that was inevitable, given that governments are responsible to national parliaments for what they do with taxpayers' money, and given the very different circumstances in the various member-states.

Recession and high unemployment are likely to have a harmful effect on economic policy-making across the world. Populists of left and right, and economic nationalists, are on the march – in many EU countries, in the US, Russia, China and elsewhere. Those of us who believe that future prosperity requires free trade, foreign investment and free movement of labour will have to fight very hard to defend globalisation from its critics.

Within Europe, the Union's rules and institutions should be able to prevent protectionist instincts from blighting policy. However, rules on competition policy

and state aid have already been loosened to allow governments to respond speedily to the crisis. Some of this flexibility is desirable. But there is a risk that too much flexibility will endanger one of the EU's biggest achievements: the solid and tested legal framework of the single market. Meanwhile, the EU's longer-term to-do list, enshrined in the Lisbon agenda for jobs and growth, is falling out of view. Too few European governments have – like President Obama – talked about how the current crisis can be turned into an opportunity to boost long-term growth prospects, for example through spending more on green technologies and skills.

The world lacks global rules and institutions that are strong enough to ensure that economic openness prevails. The World Trade Organisation does valuable work but has been weakened by the failure to clinch a deal on the Doha development round. The IMF and the World Bank need reform, notably to enhance the role of emerging economies such as India and China. The inadequacy of the G8, which excludes those powers, has never been more apparent. The International Energy Agency, the Financial Stability Forum and many other important bodies need to be reformed to give a greater voice to these countries.

The EU, itself a multilateral creation, should have been in the vanguard of rethinking global governance. But until now it has failed to lead, partly because it is reluctant to give up its over-representation in many bodies, and partly because its governments cannot agree on who should sit on the UN Security Council. However, both Sarkozy and Brown deserve credit for backing a bigger role for the G20, meeting at head of government level, to co-ordinate economic policy.

Since its foundation, the CER has been passionate about economic openness and the need for strong multilateral rules, both within Europe and globally. At times of uncertainty, when policy-makers are inevitably focused on the short term, think-tanks have an especially important role to play in shaping policy debates. Given the gathering forces of economic introversion and the many threats to openness, my colleagues and I have no doubt that there has never been a greater need for the CER.

In the autumn of 2009 the Irish will vote again on the Lisbon treaty. They have been reassured that every EU member will be allowed to keep its own commissioner, and that Irish laws on abortion, tax and defence cannot be over-ruled by Brussels. If the Irish vote Yes, the Lisbon treaty is likely to enter into force. But if by any chance the Conservative Party takes office in the UK before everyone else has adopted the



Charles Grant and José Manuel Barroso, launch of 'The Lisbon scorecard VIII', Brussels

treaty, its prospects are bleak: in such circumstances, the Conservatives promised, they will hold a referendum on the treaty. If the British vote No, or if the Irish vote No in their second referendum on the Lisbon treaty, the Europeans will have to learn to live with the imperfections of the current treaties.

The biggest failing of the current treaties is in the area of foreign policy, where the six-monthly rotating presidency and the split between the Commission and the Council of Ministers makes it hard for the EU to present an effective external policy. However, although badly-designed institutions matter, they are not the principal cause of the fact that the Union sometimes fails to speak and act coherently on foreign policy. On policy towards Russia, for example, the various member-states believe they have different interests – particularly in the field of energy – so are reluctant to let the EU speak for them. The new institutions promised by the Lisbon treaty would not in themselves generate the political will to overcome differences on Russia.

In fact the performance of the 27 on Russia in 2008 was not disastrous. In January, when the Russian authorities persecuted the British Council, and in August, when Russia responded to Georgian provocations by invading Abkhazia and South Ossetia, the Europeans held together and condemned Russian actions. But the French presidency also built a consensus for the view that the EU must engage Russia, and talks on a partnership and co-operation agreement resumed in November.

Many Europeans cheered the election of Obama on November 4th, warming to a style that is antithetical to that of George W Bush. Whether the substance is very different remains to be seen. But there are signs that Obama will take Europe more seriously than his predecessor. The shift of relative power to the east means that the US alone cannot hope to resolve many key global problems. Obama will look to Europe for help. The CER is concerned that Europe may be too divided and weak to rise to the challenge and deliver effective policies, in places like Eastern Europe, the Balkans, Afghanistan and Iran.

Who needs the Lisbon agenda?

Three themes were particularly important for the CER's work in 2008: economics, Russia and transatlantic relations. A month after the collapse of Lehman Brothers, we published a substantive paper on what the financial crisis meant for the EU. We are not aware of any other think-tank that took a view on how the crisis would affect each of the EU's principal policy areas.

We predicted growing calls within Europe for protection against imports, foreign investment and immigrants; more scepticism about further enlargement; less enthusiasm for structural economic reform; a greater desire among some North and East European countries to join the euro; a slackening of the EU's efforts to curb carbon emissions; and of course tighter financial regulations. We also thought the financial crisis would reinforce the perception that power was shifting – in relative terms – from west to east. But we took a view that Russia – hit by both the credit crunch and the falling oil price – would be the biggest loser from the economic turmoil. By year-end none of our predictions had proved inaccurate (though the Chinese economy slowed down faster than we expected, and in December the EU forged a better deal on curbing carbon emissions than we had feared).

In December we published a report on sovereign wealth funds. The prospect of them investing in European companies has provoked fear and hostility in some countries. But Katinka Barysch, Simon Tilford and Philip Whyte argued in their report that in many respects Europe should welcome investments by these funds, and that it should avoid imposing restrictions on them at EU level.

Many of our seminars focused on the regulatory and economic consequences of the financial crisis. Thus we gave a platform to Charlie McCreevy, the commissioner responsible for financial markets; Sir Callum McCarthy, the departing UK Financial Services Authority chairman; Joaquín Almunia, the economics commissioner; Ilmars Rimsevics, the Latvian central bank governor; and David Wright, the Commission official responsible for financial markets.

The immediate crisis has not distracted us from our work on longer-term economic issues, notably the importance of economic reform to strengthen Europe's growth potential. In March we published the eighth of our annual Lisbon scorecards, by Katinka, Simon and Philip. They analysed how well – or badly – governments had fulfilled the promises on economic reform that they undertook in 2000 at the Lisbon summit. This year we ranked the Netherlands as the top performer, while Greece and Italy won the wooden spoon. We launched the scorecard in Brussels with Commission President José Manuel Barroso, in London with Business Secretary John Hutton, in Paris with Europe Minister Jean-Pierre Jouyet and in The Hague with Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende. President Barroso has encouraged us to continue this project. He likes the fact that we name and shame the guilty governments, which the Commission cannot easily do.



The Rt Hon John Hutton MP and Simon Tilford at the launch of 'The Lisbon scorecard VIII', London

Europe's future growth prospects depend in part on demography. In January 2008 we published an essay in our series on the EU in 2020, by former CER deputy director Alasdair Murray, on the key demographic trends in Europe. At the end of the year we published a controversial and original piece of research by Simon Tilford on the link between competition policy and innovation. Simon argued that in the key industries of information technology and pharmaceuticals, the Commission's emphasis on lowering prices has reduced the incentives for companies to innovate.

We also held breakfasts with commissioners Potocnik (on innovation), Verheugen (on whether the EU needs an industrial policy) and Reding (on telecoms). We organised two breakfasts with senior Commission officials, John Bell and Robert Madelin, on consumer protection and health policy. While still a commissioner, Peter Mandelson led a dinner discussion on the Doha round of trade talks and on China's role in the world economy.

Russia and the EU: condemned to partnership

Russia and its stormy relationship with the EU kept us busy in 2008. In June, Katinka Barysch's briefing note on that subject called on the EU governments to make an effort to define their interests vis-à-vis Russia more clearly. When Russia fought its war against Georgia the Europeans struggled to forge a common view but just about succeeded. Tomas Valasek's briefing note on the consequences of the war for EU foreign policy urged the Union to strengthen its ties with the countries that lie between it and Russia. The Czech presidency has picked up some of Tomas's ideas, such as EU aid for the Crimean economy.

However bad the political relationship between Moscow and Brussels may become, they are condemned to work together on many issues, and in particular energy. The January 2009 gas cut-off will spur the EU's efforts to build a more integrated gas infrastructure and diversify its sources of energy. But for decades to come the gas nexus will tie Russia and Europe together in mutual dependency. In October we published a book of essays on the EU-Russia energy relationship, including some particularly striking – and combative – contributions from senior Russians such as Konstantin Kosachev, Dmitri Trenin and Sergei Yastrzhembsky. Bobo Lo, a noted scholar on Russia, joined the CER to lead our work on Russia and China. His major book – 'Axis of Convenience: Moscow, Beijing and the New Geopolitics' – was published by Chatham House and the Brookings Institution in October. In December the CER published Bobo's policy brief 'Ten things everyone should know about the Sino-Russian relationship', which argues that for all the summits and smiles between Moscow and Beijing, deep down the relationship is defined by mutual mistrust.

Many of our seminars focused on various aspects of EU-Russia relations, notably those with Carl Bildt, Alex Stubb, Alexander Voloshin and Alexandr Vondra. We are proud to have advised several governments, including that of the UK, on Russia policy. The CER is the only think-tank that was invited to send two researchers to the 2008 Valdai Club, a group of foreign analysts that meets the Russian leadership every September. From those and other meetings that we have had with Russian leaders, we are not entirely pessimistic about the long-term prospects of Russia. Russia has suffered particularly badly from the economic crisis. But there are senior figures in the Russian leadership who know that they will not be able to modernise their economy successfully if they have dire relations with the Europeans.

A new spirit in transatlantic relations

The third major strand in our work was transatlantic relations. The Daimler Forum on World Order and Global Issues – run by ourselves, the Brookings Institution and the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik – met for the 18th time. This forum brings together senior policy-makers and think-tankers from Europe and the US. When

the forum met in Paris in April, Jim Steinberg, Susan Rice, Phil Gordon and Ivo Daalder – all of whom would play a leading role in Obama's campaign – led the US delegation. At the next meeting, in Washington, just after the presidential election, the discussion on Russia – with Carl Bildt, Bob Blackwill, Bill Burns, Radek Sikorski and Alexandr Vondra – was particularly memorable: Europeans and Americans agreed that there was no alternative to engagement. We also had good sessions on global governance, with Kemal Derviş and Carlos Pascual; and on the Middle East, with the British, French and German political directors and Martin Indyk.

The new US ambassador to NATO, Kurt Volker, chose the CER as the venue for his first speech in the UK, in September. In the same month we hosted the German Marshall Fund's Ron Asmus, when he unveiled the latest Transatlantic Trends, a survey of public opinion on EU-US relations. The following month Italy's foreign minister, Franco Frattini, spoke at a session on transatlantic relations. In November we published an open letter from Tomas Valasek to Barack Obama, setting out some of Europe's hopes and expectations. In January 2009 we published a major report by Philip Whyte on the EU-US economic relationship, arguing that despite the evident shift in relative power to the east, the trade and investment ties across the Atlantic remain central to the healthy functioning of the global economy.

The EU and the world

The CER continued to work on many other policy areas, especially the EU's external relations. The Union's role in the world was the subject of our fringe meeting at the



Jan Peter Balkenende and Charles Grant, launch of 'The Lisbon scorecard VIII', The Hague

Labour Party conference in September, with guest speakers Urban Ahlin, Sweden's shadow foreign minister, and Jim Murphy, then Britain's Europe minister. Once a year we bring together a small group of EU and government officials, plus think-tankers, to discuss how EU foreign policy can be made more effective. In November the group met in Stockholm, where Carl Bildt and Alexandr Vondra led the discussion.

Katinka Barysch and I wrote a report on the EU's relationship with China, arguing that they should build a strategic partnership focused on maintaining an open global economic system, and co-operating on climate change, Africa, non-proliferation and the reform of global governance. We warned that protectionism in both China and the EU risked damaging the political ties between them. We launched the report in June in London with a panel that included Song Xinning, Linda Yueh, Simon Fraser and Will Hutton, and in Berlin with Volker Stanzel, the political director and former Beijing ambassador. Then we took the report to China, with two seminars in Shanghai (at Fudan University and East China Normal University) and three in Beijing (at the China Foreign Affairs University, the China Institute for Contemporary International Relations and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences). In November we hosted two leading scholars from China and India, Feng Zhongping and Rajendra Jain, to discuss the role of those two countries in the new world order. Having won a reputation for our work on Russia-EU and China-EU relations, we now plan a major project on India and the EU. In September we published my paper on Indian foreign policy.



Ali Babacan at the 5th Bosphorus conference, Istanbul

In April a working paper by Clara Marina O'Donnell argued that the Middle East peace process could not move forward unless Americans, Europeans and Israelis were prepared to talk to the more moderate elements within Hamas. Subsequently we hosted Israeli government policy-planners at a seminar in London.

The enlargement of the EU, and its neighbourhood policy, remain priorities for the CER. We continue to work on the unfashionable subject of Turkey's integration with the EU. In March we ran a seminar on Turkey as an energy hub. In October, at the fifth of our annual Bosphorus conferences, Ali Babacan, Ahmet Davutoğlu, Olli Rehn, Carl Bildt and Cathy Ashton (the new British commissioner) led the discussions.

Turkey and Ukraine are arguably the two most interesting countries in Europe: both are of huge strategic importance, yet the future trajectory of neither is clear. We ran a seminar on Ukraine and the EU in Brussels in September, with Kostyantyn Gryshchenko, currently Ukraine's ambassador to Moscow, and published Tomas Valasek's 'Why Ukraine matters to Europe' in December. Tomas made the case for integrating Ukraine much more closely with the EU.

In the Balkans, the newly independent Kosovo has made progress, and EU law officers and administrators have been deployed. But Bosnia, a country that many people have forgotten about, has slipped backwards. At a roundtable in November with EU high representative Miroslav Lajcak and Paddy Ashdown (his predecessor in that job) we learned that Bosniaks and Bosnian Serbs are moving further apart.

On climate change, we launched in May a revised version of Simon Tilford's 'How to make EU emissions trading a success', with a distinguished panel led by Adair Turner, chairman of the UK Committee on Climate Change. Then in November Richard Lambert, director general of the Confederation of British Industry, spoke at a breakfast on how businesses needed to adjust to a low carbon economy.

Institutions and eurosceptics

In 2008 we worked less on EU institutions than in previous years, partly because the Irish rejection of the Lisbon treaty, in June, put institutional questions on hold. Early in the year, very few commentators predicted that the Irish would vote No. But our own Hugo Brady did just that with a piece in our February bulletin. Subsequently Hugo wrote a number of short pieces analysing the referendum and its consequences. He is now predicting a Yes when the Irish vote again in autumn 2009.

Hugo also runs our justice and home affairs programme. In 2008 the focus was on migration. In February, Hugo's 'An A-Z of EU migration policy' was an essential guide for the perplexed, explaining clearly and simply the EU's growing but hard-to-understand role in migration. In the same month, immigration minister Liam Byrne spoke at a CER breakfast. Then in November we ran a seminar in Brussels on labour mobility and migration with Commissioner Vladimir Spidla.

Within the UK, one of our priorities is to work with the Conservative Party, and in particular to encourage it to take a more constructive attitude to the EU. Thus George Osborne, shadow chancellor, spoke at a lunch for our corporate members in July; Liam Fox, shadow defence secretary, led the discussion at a dinner on EU defence and NATO in October (with General Lord Guthrie as the other speaker); and Mark Francois, shadow Europe minister, spoke at a breakfast for us in November. Pauline Neville-Jones, shadow security minister, is an active member of our advisory board.

Despite our best efforts, however, the Conservatives remain hostile to many institutional aspects of European integration. There is growing interest on the continent in what a Conservative government might do. The real problem, of

course, is less the Conservative Party itself than the innate euroscepticism of the British people, which the party reflects. I analysed the causes of British euroscepticism in an essay that we published in December. I argued that the eurosceptics drew their strength from the EU's endless talk of treaties and institutions; conversely if the EU could move on to deal with real problems in the real world, it would become less unpopular.

A year of 10th birthdays

For the EU, and the CER, this was a year of tenth anniversaries. In December 1998 Tony Blair and Jacques Chirac signed the Saint Malo declaration, which paved the way for the EU to take on a military role. The CER is proud to have been at the heart of the debates over the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) ever since Saint Malo – and indeed earlier. In September 1998, in one of our first publications, we called for a merger of the Western European Union and the EU, so that the latter could run military operations. Perhaps inevitably, the ESDP has failed to fulfil expectations, although it has run two dozen mostly modest but largely successful missions.

We debated EU defence at a seminar with three of our board members – George Robertson, François Heisbourg and Kori Schake – in February. In May, Tomas Valasek wrote a policy brief on the significance of France's efforts to reintegrate with NATO, and how this could benefit EU defence. Together with former CER researcher Daniel Keohane, Tomas wrote an essay on what EU defence could look like in 2020, which we launched at an event with Lord Robertson again and French ambassador Maurice Gourdault-Montagne.

The euro celebrated its tenth birthday on January 1st 2009.

The CER's verdict is that the euro has been a qualified success. It has sheltered its members from financial storms and boosted the efficiency of the single market within the eurozone. It has not led to the centralised super-state feared by many eurosceptics. But the euro has not, as some of us hoped, pushed the more sclerotic economies into the major structural reforms that they need. In an essay published on the euro's 10th birthday, Simon Tilford examined the problems besetting the eurozone's southern members. Unless countries like Italy, Greece, Portugal and Spain can find a way of carrying out the painful reforms that will boost their sagging competitiveness, financial markets may – in the long run – start to question the viability of their euro membership.

The CER also celebrated its 10th birthday. At a party in London in February, hosted by German ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger, Foreign Secretary David Miliband was the guest of honour. And in May in Brussels John Kerr and WTO chief Pascal Lamy spoke at a party hosted by UK Permanent Representative Sir Kim Darroch.

At the CER our ways of working have evolved. Our website (www.cer.org.uk) becomes ever more important. An increasing number of our longer publications are published only in electronic form. And roughly once a week we publish the CER Insight, based on our analysis of current events and observations from our travels. We continue to print the bulletin every two months, as an outlet for more considered and less time-sensitive articles. In 2008 CER researchers had more than a dozen opinion pieces published in newspapers – most of them in the *Financial Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*, but also in the *Guardian*, the *International Herald Tribune*, the *Irish Times* and *Time*.



(L to R) Charles Grant, Louise Shackelton, Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger, The Rt Hon David Miliband MP and Mrs Ischinger, CER 10th birthday party, February 2008, London

Finally, there have been changes on the CER's advisory board. Some long-serving members have stood down: Percy Barnevik, Richard Haass, Ian Hargreaves and Wanda Rapaczynski. We are grateful to them for their help and support over the years. The new recruits are Giuliano Amato, twice Italian prime minister; Wolfgang Ischinger, who now runs the Munich security conference; Roland Rudd, who heads the Business for New Europe campaign; and Igor Yurgens, chairman of the Institute for Contemporary Development, a think-tank close to President Medvedev. We have also had our first ever change of chairman. Together with David Miliband, Nick Butler thought up the CER in the mid-1990s. The CER would not exist today without his efforts on our behalf. He understandably feels that ten years as chairman is long enough, but we are happy that he will be staying on the board. We are delighted that John Kerr, former ambassador to the EU and the US, and currently deputy chairman of Shell, has agreed to become chairman.

Charles Grant, Director

CER Events 2008

11 January: Launch of 'European retail banking' with David Shirreff, Brussels

24 January: Breakfast meeting on 'Improving Europe's innovation record' with Commissioner Potocnik, Brussels

25 January: Launch of 'European retail banking' with David Shirreff, London

14 February: Roundtable with François Heisbourg, Lord Robertson and Kori Schake, on 'The EU, NATO and the future of European defence', London

14 February: CER 10th birthday party hosted by the German ambassador. Speaker: The Rt Hon David Miliband MP (right), London



15 February: Roundtable on 'Global governance' with Carlos Pascual and Steve Stedman, London

21 February: Breakfast meeting on 'Immigration: What role should the EU play?' with Liam Byrne MP, London

3 March: Launch of 'The Lisbon scorecard VIII' with The Rt Hon John Hutton MP, London

10 March: Launch of 'The Lisbon scorecard VIII' with José Manuel Barroso, Brussels



12 March: Breakfast meeting on 'Public health, food safety and consumer protection' with Robert Madelin, Brussels

17 March: Roundtable with RUSI on 'Turkey as an energy hub' with Mehmet Ogutcu, John Roberts and Gottfried Steiner, London

9 April: Launch of 'The Lisbon scorecard VIII' with Jean-Pierre Jouyet (above), Paris

17 April: Breakfast meeting on 'The consumer protection policy review' with John Bell, Brussels

13 May: CER/Brookings/SWP Daimler Forum on 'World order and global issues', Paris. Speakers included: Ivo Daalder, Phil Gordon, Susan Rice and Jim Steinberg

14 May: Dinner seminar with Alexander Voloshin, London

15 May: Roundtable on 'Russia and its relations with the West' with Alexander Voloshin, London

19 May: Seminar on 'The EU, energy security and Russia' with Alexandr Vondra, London

22 May: Dinner seminar with Commissioner Mandelson, London

27 May: Launch of 'The Lisbon scorecard VIII' with Prime Minister Balkenende, The Hague

29 May: CER 10th birthday party hosted by Kim Darroch. Speakers: Lord Kerr and Pascal Lamy (above right), Brussels

9 June: Launch of 'How to make EU emissions trading a success' with Adair Turner (right), London

23 June: Lunch seminar with George Osborne MP, London

24 June: Seminar with the LSE on 'The EU presidency: Over to France', London

27 June: Breakfast meeting on 'The future of financial regulation' with Sir Callum McCarthy, London

30 June: Launch of 'Can Europe and China shape a new world order?' with Volker Stanzel, Berlin

2 July: Launch of 'Can Europe and China shape a new world order?'



with Simon Fraser, Will Hutton, Gerard Lyons, Song Xinning and Linda Yueh, London

14 July: Dinner seminar with Douglas Alexander MP, London

8 September: Launch of 'Why Ukraine matters to Europe' with Konstyantyn Gryshchenko, Brussels

11 September: Launch of GMF's Transatlantic Trends 2008 survey with Ron Asmus, London

12 September: Roundtable on 'Challenges raised by the conflict in Georgia' with Ambassador Kurt Volker, London

12 September: Breakfast meeting on 'Reinforcing the single market in telecoms' with Commissioner Reding, Brussels



3 November: Roundtable on Bosnia with Lord Ashdown and Miroslav Lajcak, London

4 November: Roundtable with IPPR on 'EU mobility and migration policy' with Commissioner Spidla, Brussels

6 November: Breakfast meeting with Mark Francois MP, London

6 November: Roundtable on 'The role of China and India in the new world order' with Rajendra Jain and Feng Zhongping, London

14 November: Breakfast meeting on 'The impact of the economic crisis on the EU's climate policies' with Richard Lambert, London

17 November: Roundtable with Franco Frattini, London

18-19 November:

CER/Brookings/SWP Daimler Forum on 'World order and global issues', Washington. Speakers included: Bill Burns, Kemal Derviş, Martin Indyk, Radek Sikorski and Alexandr Vondra

20 November: Roundtable on 'How the EU and Russia can work together after the Caucasus war' with Alexander Stubb, London

25 November: Breakfast meeting on 'The future of EU financial services regulation' with David Wright, London

27 November: Breakfast meeting on 'The economic crisis' with Commissioner Almunia, Brussels



1 December: Roundtable with Nimrod Barkan, Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, London

9 December: Breakfast meeting on 'Do we need an EU industrial policy?', with Commissioner Verheugen, Brussels



21 September: Fringe meeting at Labour Party Conference with Policy Network on 'The world in 2020: What role should Europe play?' with Urban Ahlin and Jim Murphy MP, Manchester

1 October: Dinner seminar on 'The future of EU financial services regulation' with Commissioner McCreevy, London

7 October: Roundtable on 'Russia, the EU and their common neighbourhood' with Carl Bildt, London

8 October: Breakfast meeting on defence with Lord Robertson, London

10-11 October: 5th Bosphorus conference with Baroness Ashton (right), Carl Bildt (below), Ali Babacan, Olli Rehn and Baroness Neville-Jones (above), Istanbul

14 October: Dinner seminar with Liam Fox MP and Lord Guthrie, London



CER Publications 2008

Reports

The Lisbon scorecard VIII: Is Europe ready for an economic storm?

Katinka Barysch, Simon Tilford and Philip Whyte (February 2008)

Can Europe and China shape a new world order?

Charles Grant with Katinka Barysch (May 2008)

How to make EU emissions trading a success

Simon Tilford (May 2008)

Pipelines, politics and power: The future of EU-Russia energy relations

Pavel Baev, Vaclav Bartuska, Christian Cleutinx, Clifford Gaddy, Roland Götz, Daniel Gros, Barry Ickes, Andrey Konoplyanik, Konstantin Kosachev, Tatiana Mitrova, Andris Piebalgs, Jeffery Piper, Pawel Swieboda, Dmitri Trenin and Sergey Yastrzhembsky. Edited by Katinka Barysch (October 2008)

Essays

Growing old gracefully: How to ease population ageing in Europe

Alasdair Murray (January 2008)

Willing and able? EU defence in 2020

Daniel Keohane and Tomas Valasek (June 2008)

Is EU competition policy an obstacle to innovation and growth?

Simon Tilford (November 2008) *web only*

Why is Britain eurosceptic?

Charles Grant (December 2008) *web only*

Why Ukraine matters to Europe

Tomas Valasek (December 2008)

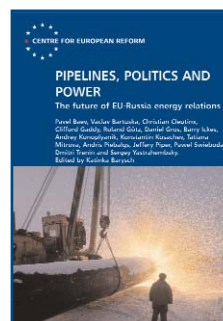
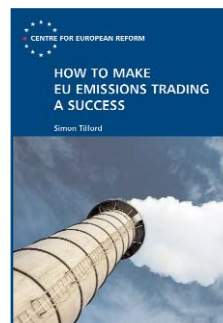
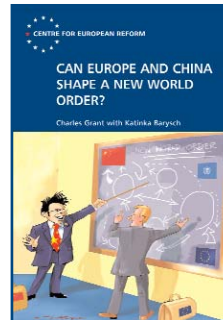
State, money and rules: An EU policy for sovereign investments

Katinka Barysch, Simon Tilford and Philip Whyte (December 2008)

Working paper

The EU, Israel and Hamas

Clara Marina O'Donnell (April 2008)



Briefing

EU migration policy: An A to Z

Hugo Brady (February 2008)

Policy briefs

France, NATO and European defence

Tomas Valasek (May 2008)

Beyond banking: What the financial crisis means for the EU

Katinka Barysch, Hugo Brady, Charles Grant, Clara Marina O'Donnell, Bobo Lo, Simon Tilford, Tomas Valasek and Philip Whyte (October 2008) *web only*

What Europe wants from President Obama

Tomas Valasek (November 2008)

Ten things everyone should know about the Sino-Russian relationship

Bobo Lo (December 2008)

Briefing notes (*web only*)

Will the Irish guillotine Lisbon?

Hugo Brady (June 2008)

The CER guide to the French presidency

Katinka Barysch, Hugo Brady, Charles Grant, Clara Marina O'Donnell, Simon Tilford, Tomas Valasek and Philip Whyte (July 2008)

What does the war in Georgia mean for EU foreign policy?

Tomas Valasek (August 2008)

India's role in the new world order

Charles Grant (September 2008)

Lessons from the financial crisis: The case for a twin-track response

Philip Whyte (October 2008)

CER snapshots



CER's 10th birthday party, London



Kim Darroch, host of the CER's 10th birthday party, May 2008, Brussels



CER launch of 'Can Europe and China shape a new world order?' with (L to R) Linda Yueh, Gerard Lyons, Katinka Barysch and Will Hutton, July 2008, London



Defence roundtable with (L to R) George Robertson, François Heisbourg, Charles Grant and Kori Schake, February 2008, London



Miroslav Lajcak and Lord Ashdown at the CER's roundtable on Bosnia, November 2008, London



CER launch of 'European retail banking' with (L to R) Christine Farnish, Simon Tilford, David Shirreff, and Nicolas Véron, January 2008, London



Launch of 'The Lisbon scorecard VIII', with (L to R) John Monks, Daniel Gros, Charles Grant, C Boyden Gray and Katinka Barysch, March 2008, Brussels



Olli Rehn at the 5th Bosphorus conference, October 2008, Istanbul



Launch of 'How to make EU emissions trading a success' with (L to R) Adair Turner, Damien Meadows, Mark Lewis, Simon Tilford, Nick Butler, Nick Mabey, Abyd Karmali and Anthony White, June 2008, London

Financial support 2008

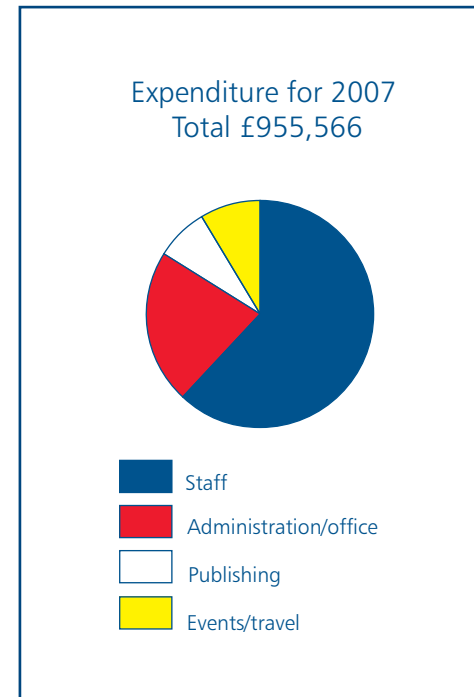
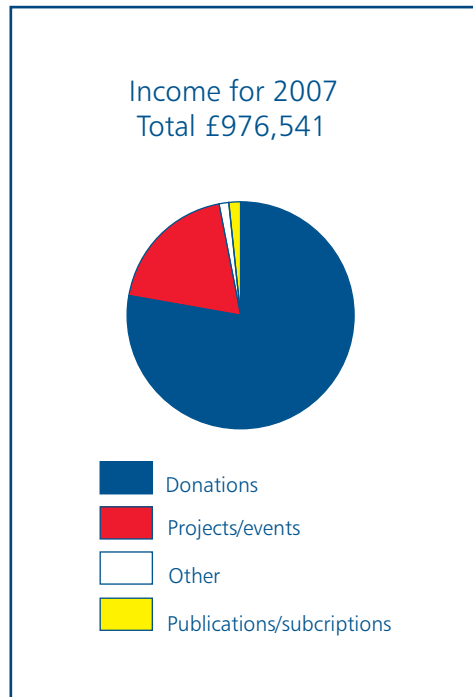
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In addition to our corporate members, numerous other companies have supported specific publications and events.

Income and expenditure

Audited accounts for year ending 31.12.2007



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Staff 2008

Charles Grant is the director.
His interests include transatlantic relations, the future of Europe debate, European defence, Russia and China.



Katinka Barysch is the deputy director.
Her areas of expertise are Russia, energy, the European economy and globalisation, EU enlargement and Turkey.



Simon Tilford is the chief economist.
He focuses mainly on competitiveness, macro-economics, economic reform, the euro and the environment.



Tomas Valasek is director of foreign policy & defence.
He specialises in European foreign and security policy, European neighbourhood policy, transatlantic relations, and the defence industry.



Bobo Lo is director of the Russia & China programmes.
He specialises in Russia and China.



Philip Whyte is a senior research fellow.
He specialises in fiscal and monetary policy, micro-economic reform and the EU budget.



Hugo Brady is a research fellow.
He specialises in justice and home affairs as well as the reform of EU institutions.



Clara Marina O'Donnell is a research fellow.
She specialises in European foreign policy, defence and the Middle East.



Catherine Hoyer is the events and office manager.
She also manages the accounts and is PA to Charles Grant.



Kate Mullineux is publications manager and website editor.
She designs all CER publications and organises their production. She also manages subscriptions, sales and marketing.



Susannah Murray is the events assistant.
She also provides administrative support to the researchers and manages the CER's database.





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