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## THINK TANK REVIEW

Special Issue  
April 2014

### *The UK relationship to the European Union*

*Since early 2013, the Library at the General Secretariat of the EU Council monitors think tank publications on EU affairs and publishes a monthly review. What follows is a compilation\* of think tank papers published in the last year on the UK relationship to the European Union. The papers cover various general aspects, including the in/out referendum, re-negotiation, repatriation of powers, the review of competences, as well as sectorial policies such as climate and energy, free movement, migration and others.*

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## FROM TTR ISSUE 0 - NOVEMBER/DECEMBER 2012

NOTRE EUROPE

### **Britain and Europe - The last rites?**

by Julian Priestley

4 December 2012

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper analyses the new UK/EU relationship. Indeed Britain is currently at the heart of the discussions in the EU, given the attitude of its government towards the fiscal compact and the budget negotiations, and the evolutions of its political parties and public opinion. The author tries to answer four key questions: firstly, would Europe proceed more speedily and more efficiently without Britain; secondly, are British political parties committed to the EU; thirdly, about restoring British sovereignty; and finally, concerning the new phase of EU/UK relations.

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES

### **Les relations germano-britanniques à l'heure de vérité**

by Roderick Parkes

November 2012

Link to the article in [French](#)

British veto at the European Council in December 2011 once again highlighted the differences between Germany and the UK. Whether it is economic policy or defence policy, or more broadly, their conceptions of European integration, disagreements between the two states are numerous and their inability to solve them is a factor of disintegration, according to the author.

## FROM TTR ISSUE 1 - FEBRUARY 2013

CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN REFORM

### **Cameron's optimistic, risky and ambiguous strategy**

by Charles Grant

24 January 2013

Link to the article in [English](#)

In his long-delayed speech on Britain and the EU, David Cameron pledged to campaign for a Yes vote "with all my heart and soul". The speech contained much that is sensible. But its implicit message to Britain's partners was: "Give us what we want, by the deadline that we specify, or we may well leave the EU", a very risky approach, says CER, that many other Europeans consider not far short of blackmail.

### **Leaving the EU will not set Britain's economy free**

by Philip Whyte

25 January 2013

Link to the article in [English](#)

EU membership, British eurosceptics are fond of asserting, has become the principal obstacle to the country's prosperity. They note that if the UK loosened its relations with the EU – or perhaps left the club altogether – it would free itself of the irksome regulatory burden that cripples British business and could focus on developing trading relations with faster-growing economies outside the EU. This CER analysis argues that such concepts are deeply misleading and leaving the EU would not be an economic liberation for the UK. It would resolve none of the domestic failings that are the main constraints on Britain's long-term growth and would do little to lighten the regulatory burden on British business. And it might well leave the UK more closed to the outside world, not less.

### **Untying the knot? Ireland, the UK and the EU**

by Dáithí O'Ceallaigh and James Kilcourse

14 February 2013

Link to the article in [English](#)

Ireland must stay close to both the UK and Europe, the IIAE argues. It is the crux of the challenge facing Ireland as the UK attempts to renegotiate its position in the European Union. "The relationship between Ireland and the UK has never been better, but David Cameron's January 2013 speech on Europe heralds a long period of uncertainty for Ireland and the EU." The uncertainty surrounding the UK's place in Europe is further intensified by the Scottish vote on independence in 2014. Given that it stands to be one of the biggest losers from a UK withdrawal. The paper notes that it's crucial that Ireland adopts a far-sighted and well-balanced strategy for dealing with the possible implications.

### **FROM TTR ISSUE 2 - MARCH 2013**

THE FINNISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **David Cameron's European policy: Britain sidelined by Euro-scepticism and the economic crisis**

by Juha Jokela

27 February 2013

Link to the article in [English](#)

The suggestion of the British Prime Minister David Cameron that EU members should be entitled to renegotiate their membership conditions is likely to be very difficult to advance, comments the author of the paper. He points out that even Cameron's coalition partner - the Liberal Democrats - has voiced concerns over the current developments and highlighted the EU's importance for Britain.

### **FROM TTR ISSUE 3 - APRIL 2013**

CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN REFORM

### **Do Britain's European ties damage its prosperity?**

by Philip White

22 March 2013

Link to the article in [English](#)

Leaving the EU would not resolve Britain's economic difficulties, which are mostly home-grown, argues the paper. However, it could turn the country into a more closed economy and its services, goods and people would probably move less freely across UK borders than they do at present.

FRIENDS OF EUROPE

### **UK referendum on the EU: lessons from the past**

by Joe Litobarski

March 2013

Link to the article [English](#)

Prime Minister David Cameron's speech on January 23 opened the way for a referendum on Britain's membership of the EU by 2017. The paper reflects on Britain's past experiences with referendums and considers whether the lessons of the previous two might be relevant today. It also notes that Cameron cannot legislate for a referendum in this parliament because he doesn't have a majority, and his coalition partners have indicated they won't support him. And if the Conservative Party were to lose in 2015, the chances of a referendum before 2020 would look slim.

## **FROM TTR ISSUE 5 - JUNE 2013**

GERMAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AND SECURITY AFFAIRS

### **Why an in-out referendum won't settle the European question in British politics**

by Tim L. Oliver

14 May 2013

Link to the article in [English](#)

Settling the "European question" and bringing stability to Britain's relations with the EU – whether in or outside the EU – will require comprehensive, longer-term changes, which a referendum can help trigger but in no way guarantee, argues the paper. The author underlines that a referendum is a necessary step forward for the British politics and EU relations, but it is only that - a single step, after which further steps will be needed.

POLISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **The renegotiation delusion? Nine questions about Britain's EU future**

by Agata Gostyńska, Roderick Parkes, Paweł Tokarski, Patryk Toporowski and Marta Stormowska

7 May 2013

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper analyses options such as the UK leaving the EU or adopting a new membership status. The precedent of associate status for the UK could undermine Polish efforts to prevent a dilution of the EU's enlargement policy. But above all, it would raise the question of participation rights in decision-making in policy areas to which not all Member States are party—in Poland's case, the eurozone, comment the authors.

## **FROM TTR ISSUE 6 - JULY 2013**

INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

### **Running on empty? Why the UK needs Europe for affordable and secure energy**

by Clare McNeil

24 June 2013

Link to the article in [English](#)

The UK needs interconnection with Europe to secure its short-term and long-term energy security, this paper says. More widely, greater energy market integration is needed to boost Europe's competitiveness and improve levels of energy security across the continent. This report argues that a single, interconnected energy market in Europe will reduce energy prices for consumers and business and help accommodate an expansion of renewable energy.

## FROM TTR ISSUE 7 - OCTOBER 2013

GERMAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AND SECURITY AFFAIRS

### **Europe without Britain: assessing the impact on the EU of a British withdrawal**

by Tim L. Oliver  
7 September 2013

Link to the article in [English](#)

According to the author, a withdrawal of the UK from the EU has the potential to fundamentally change the EU and European integration. On the one hand, a withdrawal could tip the EU towards protectionism, exacerbate existing division, or unleash centrifugal forces leading to the EU's unravelling. Alternatively, the EU could free itself of its most awkward member, making the EU easier to lead and more effective.

## FROM TTR ISSUE 8 - NOVEMBER 2013

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **British balance of competence reviews, part I: 'Competences about right, so far'**

by Michael Emerson and Steven Blockmans  
29 October 2013

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper aims to give a basis for an informed debate before the referendum on the UK's membership to the EU. It refers to the UK's review of competences, which found that the competences of the EU are judged by respondents to be 'about right' on the whole. The paper argues that the survey was objective and impressively researched, and that sceptical remarks reveal a huge gap between the views of informed stakeholders and the general public opinion.

COLLEGE OF EUROPE

### **Is independence possible in an interdependent world? Scotland vs. the UK's participation in the European economy**

by Andrew Hughes Hallett  
October 2013

Link to the article in [English](#)

This lecture sets out to identify what level of autonomy or independence would best suit a regional economy in a currency union, and also the institutional changes needed to sustain those arrangements. The topics covered include the advantages of a fiscal federalism framework with the institutions needed to support it, and the main arguments for the breakup of nations or economic unions, with Scotland and the UK as leading examples.

## FROM TTR ISSUE 9 - DECEMBER 2013

THE CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES

### **Cameron's proposals to limit EU citizens' access to the UK: lawful or not, under EU rules?**

by Elspeth Guild  
29 November 2013

Link to the article in [English](#)

This paper briefly examines each of Prime Minister Cameron's headline proposals to limit EU citizens' access to social benefits, and questions if these proposals are in breach of the UK's obligations under EU law. The paper also makes some general comments about the end of the transitional arrangements for Bulgarian and Romanian work-seekers, and 'benefits tourism' in general.

INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

### **Up in smoke: how the EU's faltering climate policy is undermining the City of London**

by Will Straw and Reg Platt, with Jimmy Aldridge and Esther Cowdery

November 2013

Link to the article in [English](#)

The EU has a proud record of taking the lead in tackling climate change, and the City of London has been a major beneficiary of this leadership. However, problems with Europe's emissions trading scheme, argues the progressive think tank IPPR, risk undermining the City of London's leading role in carbon finance.

## **FROM TTR ISSUE 10 - FEBRUARY 2014**

POLICY NETWORK

### **Britain's financial services industry in a changing Europe**

December 2013

Link to the article in [English](#)

This article focuses on financial services, as the focal point of the debate about Britain's future in the EU. The sovereign debt and banking crises have accelerated integration in the eurozone, a trend often seen as alien to British interests. The position of the City as the main financial services centre in Europe has become uncertain.

BARCELONA CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **Britain and Europe: backing into the future**

by David Hayes

December 2013

Link to the article in [English](#)

This article focuses on Britain's awkward relationship with the EU, which will endure due to issues related to the rise of centrifugal forces that may rupture the UK, and to the structural flaws of the British economy. Europe has come to operate in the British debate as a screen onto which eurosceptics project the blame for defects that in most cases are home-grown, the author says. The future relationship depends on the character of forthcoming EU reform, the outcome of the government's balance of competences review, and whether Britain can join any EU-wide process or negotiate new special arrangements and opt-outs.

CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN REFORM

### **The Great British trade-off: the impact of leaving the EU on the UK's trade and investment**

by John Springford and Simon Tilford

January 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

Some eurosceptics think Britain can leave the EU and still have access to its markets. The authors argue that Britain will have to sign up to EU rules in order to achieve this. Additionally, Britain is home to a larger stock of EU and US foreign direct investment than any other EU economy and is the preferred location for investment from other leading markets. Some of this investment would be threatened by a UK exit from the EU, the authors hold.



INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

**In transition: Romanian and Bulgarian migration to the UK**

by Alex Glennie and Jenny Pennington

December 2013

Link to the article in [English](#)

In January 2014, temporary restrictions on the working rights of Romanian and Bulgarian citizens in the UK was lifted. Predating this move, this report outlines the potential impacts of new migration flows from eastern Europe and identifies the key lessons UK policymakers can take from the previous wave of new migration in 2004.

**FROM TTR ISSUE 11 - MARCH 2014**

FOREIGN POLICY CENTRE

**Renegotiation, reform and referendum: does Britain have an EU future?**

by Adam Hug (ed.)

February 2014

Link to the article in [English](#)

This essay collection examines some of the key issues in the current UK debate over the future of its membership of the EU. It looks at the UK government's attempts to renegotiate its relationship with the EU, the current debate about ideas for possible reform, the implications of the proposed 2017 membership referendum, and at how the UK's renegotiation proposals and the wider British debate are regarded in other member states.

GERMAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AND SECURITY AFFAIRS

**Großbritannien und die EU-Reform. Empfehlungen für den Umgang mit den britischen Forderungen an die Europäische Union**

by Nicolai von Ondarza

February 2014

Link to the article in [German](#)

After an analysis of the motives for Cameron's in/out referendum and renegotiation strategy, this paper presents five policy domains, in which Britain could be integrated into a reform of the EU/Eurozone. This could be achieved if these developments convince the moderate eurosceptics, and marginalise the hard eurosceptics who demand the Brexit.