

**THE EURO-SCEPTICAL DIRECTORY:**  
**Being a selected annotated bibliography of the best critical writings on the**  
**European project together with a directory of useful addresses and internet**  
**resources and a chronology of relevant events**

By Dr. Chris R. Tame

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## I: INTRODUCTION

The proponents of the European Union (EU) are fond of portraying their opponents as mere xenophobes, unpleasant nationalists verging on Naziism, old buffers, blimps, ignoramuses, or, in one recent example by Matthew Parris, “people with funny ears”! No doubt “Euro-scepticism”, like **any** stream of political thought and opinion contains its fair share of oddballs or rogues. But what has struck me, as a relatively recent adherent to its cause, has been the cogency of its intellectual case. Whilst the supporters of what it is now clear was always meant to be the creation of a European superstate have largely relied on ridicule, assertions of historical inevitability, well-funded but superficial propaganda, political scheming and behind-doors pressure and threats, the Euro-sceptics have been slowly building up a body of critical literature on the European project that is grounded in the facts, sound economics, a genuinely realist political analysis, and an appreciation of Britain’s essentially liberal common law traditions and constitution.

### **The Purpose and Scope of This Directory**

This publication is an attempt to compile a **selected** annotated bibliography of the best critical writings on the European project together with a directory of useful addresses and internet resources and a chronology of relevant events. Such a compendium has long been needed as the literature of Euro-scepticism has been scattered amongst a wide range of groups, publishers and journals, and was frequently poorly publicised or distributed. It also includes items of fugitive journalism that slip easily from the public consciousness. I have generally omitted works which now seem predominantly outdated by events, or which were urging liberal re-forms and measures within the existing framework of transnational Europe (except, in this latter case, where they still contain substantially useful critical data). Since a number of sources are relatively small, overseas or possibly hard to locate, I have wherever possible provided their full addresses. Some items are included which, whilst not actually Euro-sceptic in orientation or even dealing with Europe at all, contain useful data or an analytical perspective which is valuable in some way. In the case of collections of essays I have made an entry for the work itself as well as separate entries for the most important contributions.

The inclusion of material in this bibliography should not be taken as necessarily implying the endorsement, by either myself or the Bruges Group, of every analysis or view contained therein. Neither are we necessarily endorsing all the groups included in the directory. It should also not be assumed that the

viewpoints, analyses, or groups listed herein are all in agreement with each other.

I have included details of pro-EU groups, periodicals and internet resources in the directory since Euro-scepticism has full confidence in the validity of its analyses and no fear over exposing its readers, and the public as a whole, to the pro-European argument. It is perhaps significant that the reverse does not appear to be the case. By providing such a comprehensive guide to the major exponents of **both** sides of the European argument we are sure that Euro-scepticism can only be furthered. We also hope that, together with its Chronology, it will also render this publication useful to **anyone** interested in or studying the European issue, whatever. At one point I had also considered including a selected bibliography of the best works in favour of the European Union. However, the body of literature is so huge and so intellectually shoddy that I simply could not submit myself to the ordeal of trying to sift something out of it. There are acres of turgid volumes detailing the history and bureaucratic architecture of the EU. Most lack any serious conceptual framework or scholarly rigour. When they do attempt a more serious economic or political science perspective, it is generally based on the most myopic or question-begging analysis. The temper of the more elementary works is supercilious, dogmatic, intellectually superficial and generally fatuous. Why such a voluminous body of work has been so assiduously subsidised and produced is clearly a topic begging for the application of interest group and class analysis, the “sociology of knowledge”, and the psycho-logy of social movements. The corruption of academic scholarship by what is nothing less than political bribery by the EU is another scandalous aspect of the European project.

This is **not** a definitive bibliography. It is quite comprehensive and does cover most of the major lines of argument. However, I have not completed a **full** literature search in the relevant libraries nor trawled through all the major scholarly journals. Should anyone be willing to finance me in the few weeks work that this would entail I would be happy to do so for a second edition of this bibliography! (I can be contacted either through the Bruges Group or via the Libertarian Alliance address contained in Part II below, or at my email address: [director@libertarian.co.uk](mailto:director@libertarian.co.uk).) I also welcome suggestions for inclusion in future editions.

Those wishing to arrive at a fully comprehensive critique of the European project would also do well to avail themselves of the broader literature of “public choice” (the economic analysis of politics), with its realistic analysis of the dynamics of political, bureaucrat and interest group politics. Public choice economists have also done much work on the dynamics of federal political

structures, the economics of federalism, and “constitutional economics”. The general literature on the economics of trade is obviously of relevance, as are the specialised fields of the economics of customs unions and optimal currency areas. And, of course, general monetary economics (and especially the burgeoning area of the economics of currency competition and “free banking”) is also indispensable to arriving at a rational perspective. The long tradition of classical liberal and libertarian class analysis (eg Smith and Millar, through its French, German and Italian contributions to such modern American exponents as Murray Rothbard) is also of great utility in understanding the nature of state formation, special interest seeking, neo-mercantilism and corporatism – i.e., all the processes at work in the drive to the European super-state.

Need I say that those looking for exposures of the EU as a sign of forthcoming apocalyptic “end times”, as the work of the devil (1), “Jewish bankers”, Freemasons, or the “Illuminati” and the like, and analyses based on the alleged virtues of “debt free” currency and other funny-money inflationary nostrums, will have to look elsewhere for intellectual sustenance? (Neither have I included works produced by the Communist Party of Great Britain, since these have no intellectual sincerity and represented merely the foreign policy diktats of its paymasters in the USSR).(2).

As well as being a useful aide for students of politics, I hope this bibliography will serve another function. Ultimately, political success depends upon gaining intellectual hegemony. Even class interest and economic and power motivations ultimately fall before the power of ideas (indeed, in the last analysis such motivations themselves are the product of **ideas** as to what is in ones interest). As this bibliography shows, there is no shortage of sophisticated and penetrating analyses of the European project. But Euro-sceptics cannot afford to be complacent. There is much more to be said and written, more research to be undertaken, more critical analyses to be penned and more fallacies to be refuted. I therefore hope this bibliography will stimulate that research and a more systematic and fully comprehensive argument on the part of Euro-sceptics. (And again, anyone interested in funding the present author in such work is most welcome to contact me!). For that is the only route to political victory.

### **The Meaning of Euro-Scepticism**

“Euro-scepticism” is an inelegant, but now rather firmly stuck, label for those either totally opposed to Britain’s membership in the European Union, or who seek to resist and reverse what they see as the predominant corporatist and “federalist” economic and political character of the Union. Contrary to the impression assiduously propagated by the supporters of the European Union, a great many of those who are now designated “Euro-sceptics” were generally

very much in favour of European co-operation in the removal of barriers to both economic and social intercourse. Indeed, not a few liberals and market economists, like Friedrich Hayek and [Lord] Lionel Robbins were advocates of some form international federal political order and were involved in the 'federalist' movement in its early days. (3) Euro-sceptics are certainly **not** in favour of national animosities or jingoism. I think it is fair to say, however, that there has been an increasing shift in Euro-sceptic opinion from the hope that the increasingly statist and illiberal character of the EU could be reformed to the view that the European-project is now irrevocably flawed and inherently statist, and that total withdrawal is the only feasible option.

The political character of Euro-scepticism in Britain is generally that of liberalism in its broadest sense, in its broadest sense, whether manifest in market-oriented Conservatism, free market economic thought, and classical liberalism and radical libertarianism. There are, of course, Euro-sceptics from the socialist "Left", the Labour Party and the trade union movement. But even when they favour measures of domestic economic interventionism not countenanced by their liberal comrades, even such Euro-sceptics of the "Left" are similarly aware of the dangers to Britain's basically liberal political tradition from the emerging European super-state. There is also another tradition of thought, outside of liberalism, and that is "decentralism" and environmentalism, although it is much stronger on the continent than in the UK. This bibliography also contains examples of this approach, one which usually rejects the nation state in favour of autonomous local, regional or ethnically based communities, associated in a "Europe of Regions". It opposes the EU because it sees it as a manifestation of the free market, economic development and industrial civilization *per se*. It is thus clearly distinct from classical liberalism and libertarianism and free market economics - which are the embodiment of the Enlightenment project of rationality, science, industry and technology - except in a shared rejection of statism.

## **Nationalism, Good and Bad**

There has been a consistent attempt by the advocates of the EU to smear Euro-sceptics as extreme nationalists or even Nazis. (See, for example, the disgraceful libels by the Labour MEP Glyn Ford against Sir James Goldsmith, which he had to ignominiously retract and apologise for in open court). This is particularly ironic since dreams of European pan-Aryan unification have always been a significant part of National Socialist and Fascist doctrine. It was, for example, the British Fascist leader Sir Oswald Mosley who proclaimed the ideal and goal of "Europe A Nation" (4). Moreover, the institutions and political dynamic of the European Union are increasingly those of **corporatism**, one of the features of the theory and practice of classic Fascism.

In so far as Euro-sceptics are “nationalists” they are **liberal nationalists**, in the sense described in virtually all the scholarship on the history and theory of nationalism (5). Liberal nationalism is not the blind worship of national sovereignty or the assertion of the precedence of the nation over the individual. It is not the “integralist”, “solidaristic”, xenophobic and expansionist nationalism which emerged later as collectivist and racialist doctrines began to displace classical liberalism. For liberals what the nation state system preserves is “polycentricity”, a realm of diversity and political “competition” which provides some (although by no means perfect) remedy for the inevitable growth and misuse of state power. (6) Moreover, the proponents of the EU are **not** committed to the liberal, cosmopolitan ideal of world harmony, free trade and peace. As Rodney Atkinson has put it, their “supra-nationalism” is really “super nationalism”. It is motivated by illiberal desires for autarchy, power and prestige and can only lead to a political order characterised by such dismal features.

### **The European Ideal**

It is one of the further ironies of the European Union that it masquerades in the garb of “The European Ideal”. But if there is anything that distinguishes European civilisation from other historical or contemporary civilisations it is precisely the ideal (if not, alas, always the practice) of liberty and diversity. The idea that the core of the project of European unification was the establishment of a real free market or a liberal social order has been increasingly been revealed to be mistaken. Free market rhetoric seems to have been a tactical ruse, to conceal the core agenda: the creation of “federal” superstate. Moreover, many of what are called the EU’s “free market” policies are really those of corporatism and neo-mercantilism. Socialist and Marxist attacks on the EU as a “rich man’s club” or a manifestation of “organised capital” are often justified. Unfortunately, they confuse privilege-mongering and corporatism - the “political means” to wealth, with the “economic means” - free market capitalism, the non-coercive process of production and exchange. As Adam Smith, and countless advocates of the free market since, have pointed out, business, both big and small, frequently seeks to escape the rigours of market competition by utilising the state to gain special privileges, subsidies, and anti-competitive controls and regulations. The EU is a classic example of such “neo-mercantil-ism” and corporatism, a wonderland of what Ayn Rand once called “pull-peddling”, in which **big** business is frequently at an advantage over its smaller competitors. (7)

Perhaps the best brief critique of the project of European political unification was penned by the great German free market economist and liberal social

philosopher Wilhelm Roepke (the principal intellectual architect of Germany's post-war "Economic Miracle") as long ago as 1958:

"We can be loyal to Europe only if we preserve her spirit and heritage ... **Decentrism is of the essence of the spirit of Europe.** To try to organise Europe centrally, to submit the Continent to a bureaucracy of economic planning, and to weld it into a block would be nothing less than a betrayal of Europe and the European patrimony. The betrayal would be the more perfidious for being perpetrated in the name of Europe and by an outrageous misuse of that name. We would be destroying what we ought to defend, what endears Europe to us and makes her indispensable to the whole free world.

"It is an ominous sign that there should be any need even to argue about the fact that a certain method of European economic integration should be excluded because it is un-European, centrist, and illiberal in the broadest sense of "European libertarian thought. Economic nationalism and planning on the continental scale is no progress whatever in relation to economic nationalism and planning on the national scale. Indeed, it is much worse because these tendencies would have much freer scope on the larger territory of a whole continent ...

Respect for distinctions and particularities, for diversity and for the small units of life and civilisation ... these are the general principles whose observance alone identifies us as true Europeans who take the meaning of Europe seriously". (8)

## Notes

1. Well, if you twist my arm, see: Colin Hudson, **Europe and the Beast**, C. G. Publishing, St. Austell, nd (c1994?)

2. For those with a streak of intellectual masochism or an interest in historical forensics, see: Dave Bowman, **The Alternative to the Common Market**, CPGB, London, 1961; Gordon McLarren, **Quit the Market, Join the World**, Communist Party of Great Britain, London, 1975; CPGB EEC Study Group, **The Common Market: Let's Get Out**, CPGB, London, 1980. For some other Marxist attacks on the EU, not necessarily at the behest of the late USSR, see John De Courcey Ireland, **Ireland's European Traditions: The Historical Case Against the Common Market**, Vanguard Publications, Greystones, Co. Wicklow, nd (1970), Ted Grant, **Common Market - No. Socialist Europe - Yes**, Militant, London, 1975, and Anon., **Britain and the EU: Time to Leave**, Communist Party of Great Britain (Marxist-Leninist), (78 Seymour Avenue, London, N17 9ED), nd. The latter item actually makes some valid points.



3. Both Hayek and Robbins were on the Economists Subcommittee of the Federal Union Research Institute and presented the case for federalism in a number of their writings. See Lionel Robbins (1937), “International Liberalism”, and “Nationalism or Internationalism”, in Idem, **Economic Planing and International Order**, Macmillan, London, pp. 221-268 and pp. 309-328; and (1939), “The Economics of Territorial Sovereignty”, Idem, **The Economic Basis of Class Conflict and Other Essays in Political Economy**, Macmillan, London, pp. 81-106; “Economic Aspects of Federation”, in Channing-Pearce, M., ed., **Federal Union: A Symposium**, Jonathan Cape, London, 1940, pp. 167-86; “The Meaning of Economic Integration” (1953), and “Liberalism and the International Problem” (1960), Idem, **Politics and Econo-mics: Papers in Political Economy**, Macmillan, London, 1963, pp. 113-133 and pp. 134-158. His **Interim Report on Economic Aspects of Federation**, was published as a Federal Tract by the Federal Union Research Institute & Macmillan, London, 1941; and was reprinted in Ransome, Patrick, ed., **Studies in Federal Planning**, Federal Union, London, 1941 and in Ransome, Patrick, ed., **Towards the United States of Europe: Studies on the Making of the European Constitution**, Lothian Foundation Press, London, 1991, pp. 91-97. Also see Anon (October 1984), “Federalism in the History of Thought: Lionel Robbins”, **The Federalist: A Political Review** (European Federalist Movement, Pavia, Italy), XXVI(2), pp. 152-158.

For Hayek’s relevant works see: Friedrich A. Hayek, (September 1939), “The Economic Conditions of Interstate Federalism”, **New Commonwealth Quarterly**, V(2), pp. 131-49; reprinted in Idem, **Individualism and Economic Order**, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1949, pp. 255-272; (1944), “The Prospects for International Order”, Idem, **The Road to Serfdom**, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, pp. 163-176; **The Road to Serfdom**, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1944, pp. 163-176. The very first conference of the Mont Pelerin Society, set up by Hayek, in April 1947 included a session “The Problems and Chances of European Federation”.

Other major classical or neo-liberal supporters of Federalism included Leonard Woolf, Sir William Beveridge, James E. Meade, Ivor Jennings (author of **A Federation for Western Europe**, Macmillan, New York/Cambridge University Press, 1940), Ernest Barker, H. A. L. Fisher, and Philip Kerr, the 11th Marquis of Lothian. See especially Lord Lothian, “Liberalism in the Modern World”, Idem, **Pacifism Is Not Enough: Collected Lectures and Speeches of Lord Lothian (Philip Kerr)** (Pinder, John and Bosco, Andrea, eds.), Lothian Foundation Press, London, pp. 146-176. The post-war classical liberal journal, **The Owl: A Quarterly Journal of International Thought** (published by The English League of Youth), which featured some of those who were shortly to be

major activists and thinkers in the revival of British Liberalism (e.g., Ralph Harris, Arthur Seldon, and Arthur Shenfield), was in favour of European unification (including a common currency and a common language!) and published a number of essays and reports on its early stages. See, for example, William Clark (January 1954), "The Spiritual and Cultural Unity of Europe and the Mission of Europeans in the Contemporary World", pp. 3-10; Paul Adam (November 1952), "Britain and Strasbourg 1952", pp. 19-31; Idem (April 1953), "Strasbourg in January - And After", pp. 16-34; Idem (January 1954), "London-Strasbourg-Rome", pp. 23-37; Victor Decroyere (January 1954), "Les Routes de L'Unité Europe-enne", pp. 38-45; "Special Correspondent" (April 1953), "The Sterling Area, Little Europe and Convertability", pp. 35-41. These essays are now interesting for their frank admission that the goal of the European-project was the creation of a new, unified state.

For some brief accounts of federalism in British liberal thought see John Pinder, (1989), "Federalism in Britain and Italy: Radicals and the English Liberal Tradition", Stirk, Peter M. R., ed., **European Unity in Context: The Interwar Period**, Francis Pinter, London, pp. 201-203; (1991), "The Federal Idea and the British Liberal Tradition", Andrea Bosco, ed., **The Federal Idea: The History of Federalism From Enlightenment to 1945**, Vol. 1, Lothian Foundation Press, London, pp. 99-118; (1996), "Prewar Ideas of European Union: The British Prophets", Bond, Marilyn et al, eds., **Eminent Europeans: Personalities Who Shaped Contemporary Europe**, The Greycoat Press, London, pp. 1-21. Dr. Nigel Ashford of the University of Staffordshire is a contemporary example of this tradition in libertarian thought. (See the Bibliography, below). It should be noted however, that the pro-federalist writers massively over-state the extent, and subtly misrepresent the nature, of the sort of "federalism" countenanced by many of the classical liberal economists.

On the continent classical and neo-liberal supporters of federalism included Luigi Einaudi, Bertrand de Jouvenal, Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, Salvatore de Madariaga, Gustav Stolper (author of **Uniting Europe**, Yale University Press, New Haven, New Jersey, 1930). In the USA Walter Lippmann also wrote in favour of European economic union. A full assessment and critique of all these thinkers is long overdue, and would assist in the formulation of a comprehensive classical liberal/libertarian theory of international relations.

4. See Sir Oswald Mosley, **Europe A Nation: Mosley's Speech in East London, 16th October 1948 on The Election of a European Assembly**, Mosley Publications, Wiltshire, 1948, and "Europe A Nation", in Idem, **Mosley: Right or Wrong?**, Lion Books, London, 1961, pp. 9-46, amongst many other expressions of this view in his writings.

5. See especially the works of the premier historian and analyst of nationalism, Hans Kohn, including **The Idea of Nationalism: A Study of Its Origins and Background**, Macmillan, London, 1944 and **Nationalism: Its Meaning and History**, D. Van Nostrand, Princeton, New Jersey, 1955. See also the work of Carlton J. H. Hayes, Elie Kedouri, Hugh Seton-Watson, Louis L. Snyder, and Kenneth Minogue amongst others.

6. Thus, see the work by Professor E. L. Jones in the Bibliography below.

7. The concept of the “economic and political means to wealth” is central to libertarian class analysis (as opposed to the more well known socialist and Marxist views) as found in the work of Franz Oppenheimer and Albert Jay Nock and successive writers. See Franz, Oppenheimer, **The State: Its History and Development Viewed Sociologically**, Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis, 1914/Vanguard Press, New York, 1914/Allen & Unwin, London, 1923/The Right Wing Individualist Tradition in America, Arno Press, New York Times, 1972/Black Rose Books, Montreal, nd (1990s?) and Albert Jay Nock, **Our Enemy, the State**, Halberg Publishing, Delaven, Wisconsin, 1935/Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho, 1950/Free Life Editions, New York, 1972. Ayn Rand’s incisive essay “The Pull Peddlers”, can be found in her **Capitalism: The Unknown Ideal**, New American Library, New York, 1967, pp. 167-172. My own essay, “Against the New Mercantilism: The Relevance of Adam Smith, **Il Politico: The Italian Journal of Political Science** (University of Pavia), XLIII(4), December 1978; reprinted under the same title as Pamphlet No. 1, The Libertarian Alliance, London, 1980, provides a concise introduction to Smith’s class analysis and its relevance to the critique of modern corporatism.

8. Wilhelm Roepke, “International Centrism”, Idem, **A Humane Economy: The Social Framework of the Free Market** [1958 in German], Henry Regnery, Chicago, 1960/Liberty Fund, Indianapolis, 1970, pp. 243, 244; emphasis in original.

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## **II: A DIRECTORY OF THE PRINCIPAL EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS, PRO-EU AND EURO-SCEPTIC ORGANISATIONS, PUBLICATIONS AND INTERNET RESOURCES AND OTHER RELEVANT INFORMATION SOURCES**

Descriptions within quotation marks are drawn from the publications of the groups themselves. Other comments are those of the author.

### **i: Pro-EU Organizations**

#### **Action Centre for Europe (ACE)**

Lord Rothschild, Chairman  
Lord Howe of Aberavon, President  
Rt. Hon. Viscount Whitelaw, Patron  
Michael Welsh, Chief Executive  
2 Queen Anne's Gate  
Westminster  
London  
SW1H 9AA

Tel: 0171 493 8111/0171 222 1720/976 7706

Fax: 0171 222 0869

or:

181 Town Lane  
Whittle le Woods  
Chorley  
Lancashire  
PR6 8AG

Tel: 01257 276992

Fax: 01257 231254

“ACE's main activity is to commission and publish original papers by independent academic and other experts on key topics relating to European Union, with a view to stimulating public discussion. ACE is a company limited by guarantee. It is independent of any political party or group and is financed by the sales of publications and by voluntary donations from individuals, organizations and companies”. There is some confusion as to ACE's real address. Different addresses are given on different publications, whilst other

materials sent out in response to inquiries contain no address. The telephone number given out by Directory Inquiries, 0171 493 8111, and answered in their name, turns out to be that of John Stevens, the Conservative MEP. But they then refer one to another number: 0171 976 7706. Another number given out, 0171 222 1720, turns out to be that of the European Parliamentary Conservative Group. On some publications it uses the address of the European Parliament's UK office, who, on inquiry admit to allowing it to use their facilities for meetings. All this clearly contradicts its claim to be "independent of any political party or group". ACE's Advisory Council and Management Committee includes such independent and non-party political figures as Tory grandees and Parliamentarians as Sir Leon Brittan, Kenneth Clarke, Lord Kingsdown, Lord Stockton, and Lord Plumb MEP, David Hunt MP, Tim Renton MP, John Stevens MEP, Chris Patten, and Stephen Dorrell (who, as of writing, predictably and cynically started making Euro-sceptic noises to curry favour in the lead up to the Tory leadership struggle!). Its Chief Executive is Michael Welsh, a former Tory MEP.

### **The Association of European Journalists (British Section)**

Sara O'Neil, Secretary  
31 St. James's Gardens  
London  
W11 4RF

Tel: 0171 371 4376  
Fax: 0171 371 4376

"The AEJ was founded in 1963 and now comprises some 2,000 journalists from 22 countries from Finland to Spain, Ireland to Turkey. Membership is open to journalists from countries in the Council of Europe and who favour the unification of Europe on a democratic basis. Each year the Association holds a congress in one or other member country ... Subjects discussed include the state of European unification, especially as viewed by government and other speakers from the host country, and factors affecting the practice of journalism in Europe, including freedom of expression. The national sections also carry out individual activities. The British section's programme mainly comprises lunch meetings with British and foreign persons".

In reality, this organisation receives funds from the EU and is clearly a disturbing part of its attempts to corporatise journalists and enrol them in the project of European unification.

### **The Association for the Monetary Union of Europe**

Christopher Johnson

39 Wood Lane  
London  
N6 5UD

Tel: 0181 340 4970  
Fax: 0181 340 4978

Headquarters:  
26 Rue de la Pepiniere  
75008 Paris  
France

Tel: 00331 44706030  
Fax: 00331 45223377  
Email: mmue@iplus.fr  
WWW: <http://www/amue.lf.net>

“The member companies of the AMUE believe that monetary stability is essential for the success of the European Single Market and for economic growth. It requires both courage and perseverance - for which the Association is committed to providing support ... The reduction of inflation and of public deficits is at the heart of suggestions put forward by the AMUE since its formation in 1987 ... Following open competitive tender, AMUE was chosen by the European Parliament ... to complete by mid-1993 proposals for improving the working of the EMS. In 1995, the Association completed a similar study for the European Commission ... The Association has produced a series of reports on [the move to Monetary Union] in 1993-95 and is actively pursuing its efforts to facilitate the adoption of its members. The AMUE is currently associated with the official working groups. It is relying on the support of its members and of the European Commission to produce practical publications to help the process of change ... In addition to its permanent contacts with the Governments and Parliaments of the 15 member countries, AMUE is involved on average once a week in the organisation of a public debate or training seminar, often in partnership with the European Commission and central banks and with those professional and employers' organisations which share the same objectives. The publication of the periodical bulletin **EMU For European Business** is an added information resource for members of AMUE ... The AMUE is headquartered in Paris, with national representatives in each of the 15 member countries of the EU”. The President of the AMEU is Etienne Davignon, a former Vice-President of the European Commission.

**The Centre for Europe**  
Peter Vieland, Chairman

21 The Lodge  
Kensington Park Gardens  
London  
W11 3HA

Tel: 0171 727 9732  
Fax: 0171 221 5187

“ ... is an educational organisation which sets up seminars throughout the UK to raise public awareness of European political, economic and social issues and their relevance to the British people. It is a member of the Federation International des Maisons de l'Europe (FIME), a network of 100 conference and study centres in 25 countries. Funded by the European Com-mission ... plays a very special role in the campaign for Britain's active participation in Europe. It serves to enthuse our people for the European cause, and by working in close harmony with the European Movement while maintaining its own identity, helps to build up the Movement's membership, influence and standing ... [it] has [also] spawned with FIME back-ing separate Europe Houses in Cumbria and in Scotland”. The Centre's Patrons are Hugh Dykes MP, Ferdinand Count Kinsky, John Tomlinson MEP and Graham Watson MEP.

### **The Centre for European Policy Studies**

Erik Belfrage, Director  
Peter Ludlow, Chairman  
Place du Congres 1  
B-1000 Brussels  
Belgium

Tel: 00322 2293911  
Fax: 00322 2194151

“ ... incorporated in July 1983 as an independent international organization under Belgian law ... independent in its political philosophy, interdisciplinary in academic orientation [its goals are] ...: To provide decision-makers, inside and outside government, with authoritative and independent information and analysis of European affairs. To contribute to and influence the public debate about European institutions and policies through solid research and sound judgment. To create and international network of leaders and thoughtful individuals who are committed to working together to enhance the development of European integration and coop-eration”. Publishes a huge range of books and papers, as well organising academic confer-ences and seminars and executive seminars. It is funded from “membership fees from official institutions (international organizations, governments and central banks). Grants from

foundations, fees from conferences and seminars and earnings from the sale of CEPS publications”.

### **The Centre for European Reform**

Ben Hall, Co-ordinator

11 Carteret Street

London

SW1H 9DL

Tel: 0171 233 1199

Fax: 0171 233 1117

Email: ye21@dial.pipex.com

“New Ideas For a New Europe ... The Centre ... was established to improve the quality of debate on European issues from a standpoint of constructive engagement with the European Union. There is growing concern that the current climate in Britain is undermining arguments for reform of the European Union which is essential to our prosperity and security ... The Centre will draw together individuals from business, the professions, the academic world and public life to encourage the development of new ideas on European issues, and it is committed to establishing contacts across Europe in order to build consensus for progressive change ..”. A Labour Party oriented group, whose Trustees include Lord Dahrendorf, Lord Gilmore, Professor John Gray and David Sainsbury. It is backed by such business companies as BAT, BP, Carlton Communications, Cooper and Lybrand, Guinness, ICI, NatWest, Northern Foods, Unilever and David Sainsbury.

### **The Conservative Group for Europe**

Mrs. Joyce Billings CBE

Steppington Cottage

Tarrant Gunville

Blandford

Dorset

DT11 8JU

Tel: 01258 830363

“ ... brings together members of the party who support the work of successive Conservative governments to bring Britain to the heart of Europe. The CGE believes Britain must take a positive, constructive lead in developing the EU.” Organises briefing meetings, conferences, meetings at Party Conference, and study groups, issues a regular newsletter, **Conservative European**, and



occasional publications. The group's head, Stephen Woodard, is also the current Director of the European Movement. Actually getting hold of CGE publications has proved difficult, as repeated requests from the public seem to be ignored.

**European Access: The Current Awareness Bulletin to the Policies and Activities of the European Union**

Ian Thomson, Editor  
European Documentation Centre  
University of Wales  
College of Cardiff  
P. O. Box 430  
Cardiff  
CF1 3XJ

Tel: 01222 874262

Fax: 01222 229740

Published by Chadwyck-Healey in association with the Representation of the European Commission in the UK. "[A] bimonthly current awareness guide to the policies and activities of the European Union". Includes an ongoing current "Chronology of Events in the EU".

**European-Atlantic Group**

Lord Dahrendorf, Chairman  
Justin Glass, Joint Hon. Director  
6 Gertrude Street  
Chelsea  
London  
SW10 OJN

Tel: 0171 352 1226

"... was founded in London in 1954 by the late Lord Layton (then Vice-President of the Council of Europe) together with other Members of both Houses of Parliament, Industrialists, Bankers, Economists and Journalists. Its main object is to promote closer relations between the European and Atlantic countries by providing a regular forum in Britain for informed discussion of their problems and possibilities for better economic and political co-operation with each other and the rest of the world. The purpose of the Founders was to disseminate authoritative information concerning the work of International Organizations such as the Council of Europe, NATO, the OECD, WEU and the EEC, as well as EFTA, GATT, the Economic Commission for Europe and the Conference on European Security and Co-operation". Holds monthly dinners

and meetings in London, sends delegations abroad, and publishes a regular journal **Europe-Atlantic Journal**.

### **The European Business Foundation**

The Secretariat  
39 Broughton Road  
London  
W13 8QW

Tel: 0181 579 4688

Fax: 0181 840 7345

“ ... is a non-profit making organisation committed to increasing knowledge of European legislative, economic, social and environmental issues. To this end it organises meetings bringing together experts from different parts of the EU. It also produces regular briefings on developments in the EU and undertakes research assignments.” Established in 1979 the Foundation is primarily a business-backed private group, although recently it has received some “Citizens’ First” funding from the EU’s Committee of the Regions to fund meetings in conjunction with the European Movement. Its Roundtable meetings are attended by representatives from leading UK companies, and addressed by EU officials and advocates. Its Vice Presidents include Sir Leon Brittan, Malcolm Rifkind, Lord Jenkins of Hillhead, Paul Channon MP, and Willy de Clercq MEP amongst others.

### **European Campaigner**

qv European Movement, below,

### **European Conservative**

qv The Conservative Group for Europe

### **The European Institute**

Professors Iain Begg and Andrea Bosco, Directors  
Tom Grier, Executive Secretary  
Sarah Plant, Administrator  
South Bank University  
103 Borough Road  
London  
SE1 OAA

Tel: 0171 815 7074

Fax: 0171 815 7075

Email: [plants@vax.fbu.ac.uk](mailto:plants@vax.fbu.ac.uk)

“The Aims of the Institute are: To promote and co-ordinate research on historical, political, economic and juridical aspects of European integration. To examine ways of achieving better relations between the citizens of the European Union, and between them and other peoples ... To enhance the development of postgraduate education on serious aspects of European integration”. It holds the Jean Monnet Lectures on current European affairs and the Jean Monnet Conferences on historical, political, economic and juridical aspects of European unification. It is also creating the Jean Monnet Collection of books and documents on the past, present and future of the EU, and publishes the South Bank European Papers series on European issues. This constitutes one of the many examples of the undermining and subversion of scholarly independence by EU financing.

### **European Labour Forum**

Bertrand Russell House  
Gamble Street  
Nottingham  
NG7 4EZ

Tel: 0115 9708318

Fax: 0115 9420433

A group of political dinosaurs - socialists, former Trotskyists, nuclear-disarmers and neo-Marxists associated with the Group of the Party of European Socialists in the European Par-liament. Includes Ken Coates MEP, David Martin MEP, Stuart Holland MEP, and Glyn Ford MEP. In favour of massive Euro-statism, planning, “full employment” (ie subsidies and infla-tionism that actually destroy real jobs), censorship and PC thought police etc etc. (Ford works closely with the sinister “anti-fascist” magazine **Searchlight**, notorious for its inaccuracies, outright fabrications, attempts to smear innocent people as fascists and anti-semites, incitement to violence, fomenting of racial abuse and, ironically, its involvement with the British intelligence services in spying on the “Left” in Britain and in other dirty-tricks operations.) The ugly face of actually existing Euro-socialism. The ELF publishes a regular journal and many books.

### **The European League for Economic Cooperation (British Section)**

Robert Elphick, Secretary General  
11 Tufton Street  
London  
SW1P 3QB

Tel: 0171 821 8362

Fax: 0171 630 0148

Established in 1946 ELEC “ ... was the brain child of a group of European visionaries based in London who were determined that the national rivalries which brought on the disastrous consequences of the Second World War should never be renewed ... [it was] one of the six founders of the European Movement set up in 1948 at the Hague with Sir Winston Churchill in the Chair. ELEC’s Headquarters are in Brussels ... It has no political affiliations ... The British Section is financed entirely from Corporate donations offered by firms, both public and private based in many parts of the UK. Honorary membership is open to anyone who has a contribution to make toward its declared aims ... Most of ELEC’s work is carried out with the [European] Commissions ... [it] was granted Category A consultative status by the Council of Europe in 1957. Its objectives [are] ... to encourage and help to link culturally and economically the states which compose Europe; to develop between European states the spirit of co-operation and collaboration from the cultural and economic point of view; to consolidate the European Single Market fro the free movement of goods, people, capital and services; to accelerate progress towards Economic and Monetary Union in Europe; to advance InterGovernmental co-operation on foreign policy, security and defence. ELEC tries to achieve these objectives through conferences and congresses, through international study commissions, through publications and through constant contact with the various European institutions”. Corporate members of ELEC include British Gas, British Water. Abbey National, Credit Lyonnais, General Utilities plc, Charterhouse Bank, Coutts & Co., Ernst & Young, Marks & Spencer, Price Waterhouse, BAT Industries, Swiss Bank Corp., NatWest Group, Nestle, Bank of Scotland, Dun & Bradstreet, Nikko Europe, Schroders, Uinchem, Deutsche Bank, and Salomon Brothers International.

### **The European Movement**

Stephen Woodard, Director  
Dean Bradley House  
52 Horseferry Road  
Westminster  
London  
SW1P 2AF

Tel: 0171 233 1422

Fax: 0171 799 2817

Email: [info@euromove.org.uk](mailto:info@euromove.org.uk)

“ ... Britain’s leading pro-European campaigning group. It aims to ensure that the UK remains a leading EU member and that the benefits of Britain’s EU

membership are understood by the public. Its activities include publishing reports, surveys and briefings, holding conferences and co-ordinating the work of pro-Europeans in politics, business and elsewhere. The EM has a network of local branches and campaigners ... It is independent, all-party and non-profit making - it is funded by its members and supporters". The principal pro-EU pressure group, a branch of the international organisation, established in 1948 and headquartered in Brussels. Publishes a huge range of material and a magazine, **European Campaigner**. Its Director is also head of the Conservative Group for Europe, qv. It also operates a youth wing, The Young European Movement. The EM is economical with the truth in its self-description of being funded by "its members and supporters". It in fact receives massive funding from both the UK government and from the EU itself.

### **The European Parliamentary Conservative Party**

2 Queen Anne's Gate  
Westminster  
London  
SW1H 9AA

Tel: 0171 222 1720  
Fax: 0171 222 0869

### **The European Parliamentary Labour Party**

2 Queen Anne's Gate  
Westminster  
London  
SW1H 9AA

Tel: 0171 222 1719  
Fax: 0171 233 1365

### **The European Union of Women**

Tricia Birchley, Chairman  
Chess Park  
Berks Hill  
Chorley Wood  
Hertfordshire  
WD3 EAJ

Tel: 01823 490940  
Fax: 01923 490941

“ ... was founded in 1953 on the principles of human dignity and freedom, the maintenance of the cultural heritage of Europe and to promote social and economic progress and safeguard the rights of the individual. EUW member countries (20) are associated with political parties of the centre right (the European Peoples Party grouping in the European Parliament and the Conservative Party in the UK). It seeks to establish and increase contacts between women and the free European nations. It puts its principles into practice through the strengthening and deepening of the influence of women on political and civil life in European nations and in European and international organisations”. The EUW also organises an annual European Ball every November.

### **The Federal Trust for Education and Research**

Andrew Duff, Director

11 Tufton Street

London

SW1P 3QB

Tel: 0171 799 2818

Fax: 0171 799 2820

Email: [fedtrust@cix.compulink.co.uk](mailto:fedtrust@cix.compulink.co.uk)

“ ... works through research and education towards the widening and deepening of the European Union as well as to enhance the European policy of the United Kingdom”. Established in 1945, it appears to be one of the principal means of private funding for pro-EU groups and activities, as well publishing academic works in favour of the EU.

### **Institute for European Studies**

Professor Michel Dumoulin, Director

1 Place des Doyens

B-1348 Louvain-la-Neuve

Brussels

Belgium

Tel: 003210 478450/8488

Fax: 003210 478549

“... is an interfaculty institute for education and research operating as a department ... The Institute organises two diplomas offering multidisciplinary training. A Master in European Studies ... in English and a European Studies Diploma, a postgraduate programme in French ... these two diplomas aim to teach the evolution and current status of European integration concentrating

particularly on providing means and methods for critical analysis reinforced by training in European information and documentation". With a view to meeting the needs of those people who, while engaged in a professional activity, nevertheless wish to complete their training in European matters, the Institute regularly organises at UCL-Brussels, Jean Monnet modules on awareness of European questions". The Institute also operates a European Documentation Centre and publishes a range of publications in French.

### **The International Womens Commission of the European Movement**

Alison Parry, British Representative  
c/o The European Movement  
Dean Bradley House  
52 Horseferry Road  
Westminster  
London  
SW1P 2AF

Tel: 0171 233 1422  
Fax: 0171 799 2817  
Email: [info@euromove.org.uk](mailto:info@euromove.org.uk)

& also  
Tel: 00322 7721223  
Fax: 00322 7722771  
Alison Parry

"Its primary tasks are to keep women informed of the new opportunities offered by the unification of Europe and to encourage them to participate actively in its realisation so that their demand for a more unified society are properly taken into account. It works closely with the European Women's Lobby and other pro-European organisations involving women. It acts as a pressure group for a better representation of women in European Institutions in all Member States and is very active during campaigns and elections at European level".

### **The Liberal Democratic Party European Group**

Peter Billenness, Treasurer  
White Gables  
17 Grange Close  
Edenbridge  
Kent  
TN8 5LT

Tel: 01732 862342  
Fax: 01732 862342

There appears to be no Euro-sceptic group within the Liberal Democratic Party.

**The London Europe Society**

Dr. Derek Prag  
47 New Road  
Digswell  
Welwyn  
Hertfordshire  
AL6 0AQ

Tel: 01483 712999

Fax: 01483 840422

“ ... exists to spread knowledge and understanding of the European idea and, specifically, of the European Union in Greater London. It does this by means of evening discussion meetings on key topical European subjects and through its European Luncheon Club meetings with distinguished speakers. It has no political party affiliation and makes a point of having different European viewpoints expressed. Its President is the Rt. Hon. Lord Cockfield, former Vice President of the European Commission”.

**The Lothian Foundation**

5 Great James Street  
London  
WC1N 3DA

Tel: 0171 242 2959

Fax: 0171 404 8586

“The Lothian Foundation has been established as an educational body under the auspices of the Federal Trust for Education and Research to commemorate the late Philip Kerr, 11th Marquess of Lothian. The aim of the foundation is the education of the public in the problems and possibilities of achieving better relations between the peoples of the European Community and between them and other peoples, particularly those of the United States, by educational activities which promote discussion and exchange of ideas and information in this field. The Foundation will promote the study of certain aspects of the history and theory of international relations arising from the work and influence of Philip Lothian. 1. Relations between the UK, Europe and the US in the 20th century. 2. The problem of national sovereignty and world order. 3. The history and theory of supranational organisations.” The most intellectual of the pro-EU organisations, and the link with pre- and post-World War II federalist thought.



Organises annual lectures, conferences, and scholarships and sponsors publications.

**The Lothian Foundation Press**

5 Great James Street  
London  
WC1N 3DA

Tel: 0171 242 2959

Fax: 0171 404 8586

“The aim of the Lothian Foundation Press is to promote the study and discussion of certain aspects of the theory and history of international relations arising from the work and influence of the late Philip Kerr, 11th Marquis of Lothian [1882-1940]: 1. The problem of national sovereignty as the fundamental cause of international anarchy; 2. The theory of federalism as the solution of this problem; 3. Relations between the UK, Continental Europe and the US in the 20th century”. Publishes a wide range of classic texts in, and studies of the history of, federalist thought.

**The New Federalist**

qv Young European Federalists, below.

**The Positive Europe Group**

Ray Whitney MP  
The House of Commons  
London  
SW1A 0AA

Tel: 0171 219 5099

An informal group of Conservative MPs to promote a Conservative and cooperative approach to the EU within the Conservative Party.

**South Bank European Papers**

qv The European Institute

**The Trans-European Policy Studies Association**

11 Rue D 'Egmont  
Brussels  
B-1000  
Belgium

Tel: 0032 25118100  
Fax: 0032 25116770

The Federal Trust is apparently the British affiliate of this network.

**The Women of Europe Award**

Alison Parry, British President  
c/o The European Movement  
Dean Bradley House  
52 Horseferry Road  
Westminster  
London  
SW1P 2AF

Tel: 0171 233 1422  
Fax: 0171 799 2817  
Email: [info@euromove.org.uk](mailto:info@euromove.org.uk)

& also  
Alison Parry  
396 Avenue de Tervuren  
1150 Brussels  
Belgium

Tel: 00322 7721223  
Fax: 00322 7722771

Head Office: c/o Liaison Office  
Brussels-Europe  
Avenue d'Auderghem 63  
1040 Brussels  
Belgium

Tel: 0032 2801658

“ ... is a pan-European association set up in 1987 under the auspices of the European Commission, the European Parliament and the European Movement. There are voluntary associations in the 15 member states as well as Poland and the Czech Republic, introduced under the Phare project in 1992 ... The Award is presented each year in recognition of an outstanding voluntary contribution towards European integration. The Jury are looking for a woman whose devotion to Europe ... has been beyond the call of duty, not a woman whose profession causes her to be European in outlook. The UK Woman of Europe is a

woman with a 'European state of mind' ... The Jury includes representatives, both male and female, from the European Commission, the European Parliament, the European Movement, women's organisations, the voluntary sector, business women, MEPs and journalists". Winners in the past have included Bettina Carr-Allinbson, founders of the European Youth Parliament, Lesley Abdela, founder of the 300 Group, Helena Kennedy QC, the Chairwoman of Charter 88, Josie Farrington of the Council of Europe and the Committee of the Regions, Valerie Strachan, Chairwoman of HM Customs and Excise (!), Juliet Lodge, Professor of European Politics at the University of Leeds and Sally Greegros, Director of Age Concern and Kay Young of the National Council of Voluntary Organisations. The organisation also organises Intereuropean Networking Conferences. Its UK Patrons include Baroness Chalker, Edwina Curie, Glenys Kinnock MEP, Margaret Hodge MP, Joyce Quin MP and Baroness Farrington amongst others.

### **The Young European Federalists**

Young European Federalists UK,  
The Young European Movement  
Dean Bradley House  
52 Horseferry Road  
Westminster  
London  
SW1P 2AF

Tel: 0171 233 1422

Fax: 0171 799 2817

Email: [info@euromove.org.uk](mailto:info@euromove.org.uk)

The Young European Movement is the quasi-official UK branch of the Young European Federalists (JEF). I state 'quasi-official', because although JEF describes itself as "the youth organization in the European Movement", the European Movement in the UK seems to want to distance themselves slightly from it. JEF describes itself in the following terms: "The Young European Federalists (JEF) is a supranational, political pluralistic youth organisation with about 15,000 members in over 25 European countries. The aim of JEF is to work for the creation of a European federation, as the first step towards a world federation, peace and a more free, just and democratic society ... JEF is funded by the Commission of the European Union, the Council of Europe, the Kingdom of Belgium and membership contributions. JEF is the autonomous youth organization of the Union of European Federalists and the youth organization in the European Movement". JEF holds seminars, produces publications, and issues a bi-monthly journal, **The New Federalist**, published in Brussels.

## **Young European Movement**

qv European Movement and Young European Federalists, above.

## **ii: Euro-Sceptic Organizations and Publications**

It should be noted that this list includes a number of groups and publications below, such as The Federation of Small Business, The Libertarian Alliance, The Freedom Association, International Currency Review amongst others, which are primarily concerned with wider issues. Euro-scepticism is simply part of their broader political or intellectual interests. It also includes a number of policy institutes, like the Institute of Economic Affairs and the Adam Smith Institute which, whilst independent, have published useful critical or reform-oriented material.

### **The Adamantine Partnership**

qv The New European, below.

### **The Adam Smith Institute**

Dr. Madsen Pirie, President

Dr. Eamon Butler, Director

50 Westminster Mansions

Little Smith Street

Westminster

London

SW1P 3DJ

Tel: 0171 222 4995

Fax: 0171 222 7544

The liveliest market-oriented think-tank and policy research group in the UK. It has published a number of works critical of Euro-statism, and the “EuroOmega” series advocating more lib-eral policies within the framework of the EU.

### **Alternative Europe**

Neil Swannick

16 Rathern Road

Manchester

M20 4QJ

Tel: 0161 445 6681

Currently holds meetings and conferences featuring Green and socialist oriented speakers. Neil Swannick is a member of the Socialist Movement, and AE also works with Labor MP's Jeremy Corbyn's Campaign for Non-Alignment, a unilateralist anti-NATO group.

### **Alternatives to Maastricht**

P. O. Box 188  
London  
SW1A 0SG

A socialist group, in which Labour MP Ken Livingstone is involved.

### **The Anti-Common Market League**

Peter Dul, Chairman  
Sir Richard Body MP, President  
13 Heron Road  
Twickenham  
Middlesex  
TW1 1PQ

Tel: 0181 892 0580

“Britain's future is to re-forge her strongest cultural and economic links, which all lie outside Europe and are strongest with the English-speaking world ...What Britain needs is association with NAFTA and full restoration of trade with the English-speaking world. This is a splendid alternative to the dismal future mapped out for us by Maastricht as a province of a Euro Super State which massively distorts our trade with the rest of the world ... But above all we should reverse the overthrow of the British Constitution caused by the Treaty of Rome, as amended by Maastricht, and once again have the dignity of self-government under laws made by our representatives in our Westminster Parliament”. The longest established Euro-sceptic organisation, set up in 1961 by John Paul, to oppose Macmillan's original moves to take Britain into the EC. It now largely works through the Parliamentary and literary work of its principal supporters, like Sir Richard Body. It issues a regular newsletter, **Britain** and occasional leaf-lets and pamphlets.

### **Anti-EU Car and Envelope Stickers**

Barrie Draper  
Spindleberry  
Gamberlake  
Axminster  
Devon

EX13 5JZ

**Anti-EU Christmas Cards**

Mrs. Gill Bush  
P. O. Box 19  
Poynton  
Cheshire  
SK12 1FL

**The Anti-Maastricht Alliance**

Dr. Helen Szamuely  
72 Loftus Road  
London  
W12 7EL

Tel: 0181 740 7194  
Fax: 0181 740 7194

An umbrella group set up in 1991 which also holds interesting monthly public meetings in the Westminster area. Dr. Szamuely is one of the most knowledgeable and perceptive critics of the EU.

**Bleedin' 'Arts**

Tel: 01444 461601  
Fax: 01444 461601

Produces a range of T-shirts, sweat shirts and car stickers with anti-federalist slogans.

**Britain**

qv The Anti-Common Market League.

**The British Weights and Measures Association**

Vivian Linacre, Director  
45 Montgomery Street  
Edinburgh  
EH7 5JX

Tel/Fax: 0131 5566080  
\*WWW: <http://users.aol.com/footrule/>

“ ... opposes wanton abandonment of our traditional weights and measures ... This opposition is for good reasons: freedom of choice, majority public opinion; avoidance of expense and loss; convenience and practicality; the value of cultural continuity; and preservation of a useful part of our heritage”. Publishes an occasional magazine, **The Yardstick**, edited by Robert Carnaghan.

### **The Bruges Group**

Dr. Martin Holmes & Dr. Brian Hindley, Co-Chairmen,  
Jonathan Collett, Campaign Director  
Suite 216  
The Linen Hall  
162-168 Regent Street  
London  
W1R 5TB

Tel: 0171 287 4414

Fax: 0171 287 5522

“The Bruges Group was set up in 1989 to campaign for a Europe less subject to centralised control than that emerging in Brussels. Its inspiration was Margaret Thatcher’s Bruges speech (she is the Group’s Honorary President) in which she remarked that Britain had not rolled back the frontiers of the state in order to have them re-imposed from Brussels ... Fundamental reform is required of the CAP, the CFP, the European Court and European Parliament in favour of national sovereignty. There has been no popular agreement to the huge transfer of power from the people to Brussels which has already taken place. Furthermore, economic and monetary union must be declared a non-starter. In the event that such re-negotiation is unobtainable from the current Intergovernmental Conference the Bruges Group advocated withdrawal from the EU to prevent Britain’s incorporation into a European Federal State.”

### **Business for Sterling**

The Rt. Hon. Lord Marsh, PC, Kt, Chairman  
Nick Herbert, Chief Executive  
18 Buckingham Gate  
London  
SW1E 6PE

Tel: 0171 931 7143

Fax: 0171 931 7136

Email: [info@bfors.com](mailto:info@bfors.com)

WWW: [www.bfors.com](http://www.bfors.com)

“[A] new, non-part political, organisation dedicated to promoting awareness of the potential consequences of UK participation in European Economic and Monetary Union”. Set up in July 1998.

### **Campaign Against Euro-Federalism**

John Boyd, National Secretary  
57 Green Lane  
Merseyside  
L45 8JQ

Tel/Fax: 0151 638 2780 & 0151 691 1746  
Email: caef@pop3.poptel.org.uk  
<http://poptel.org.uk/against-eurofederalism>

“For independence, jobs and against racism”. A Socialist organisation, formed in 1991, which sees the EU as a manifestation of “big capital”. Publishes pamphlets, leaflets, “Democrat Broadsheets”, and a bi-monthly newsletter, **The Democrat**.

### **Campaign for an Independent Britain**

Lord Stoddart of Swindon, Chairman  
Sir Robin Williams, Hon. Secretary  
Sir Richard Body, MP, President  
81 Ashmole Street  
London  
SW8 1NF

Tel: 0181 340 0314  
Fax: 0181 582 7021  
Email: 106342.2657@compuserve.com  
<http://web.ukonline.co.uk/stuart.n2/campaign>

“ ... seeks the repeal of the European Communities Act of 1972 under which EU directives take precedence over UK law. Once self-government has been recovered the United Kingdom would be free as an independent state to co-operate and trade with its neighbours in Europe and with countries elsewhere in the world without the restrictions that the EU imposes”. Publishes a regular newsletter, **Independence**. (The Campaign was originally set up as the Safe-guard Britain Campaign [not to be confused with the Labour Euro-Safeguards Campaign], which was later re-named the British Anti-Common Market Campaign, and subsequently the Campaign for an Independent Britain). Also publishes occasional pamphlets.



## **Campaign for United Kingdom Conservatism**

Rodney Atkinson, Director

Alderley

Meadowfield Road

Stocksfield

Northumberland

NE61 6AG

& P. O. Box 38

Abergavenny

Monmouthshire

NP7 5YF

Tel/Fax: 01873 890807

Tel: 01661 843226

Email: [manv74@dial.pipex.com](mailto:manv74@dial.pipex.com)

<http://ds.dial.pipex.com/town/place/qq28/democracy/atkinson.htm>

Rodney Atkinson has written a number of Euro-sceptic works, as well as, in conjunction with the Freedom Association's Norris McWhirter, having attempted to take legal action against treason involved in the abandonment of British sovereignty. His books, published by Compu-Print Publishing, are also available from this address.

## **The Centre for European Studies**

John Coleman, Director

Sir Richard Body, Director

14-16 Carroun Road

London

SW8 1JT

Tel: 0171 582 3996

Fax: 0171 582 7021

“ ... an educational charity which aims to carry out and support further research into European affairs, particularly topics raised by the **New European** which need further consideration. It supports practical projects in some instances as well as carrying its ideas into schools and universities. It will also sponsor books, pamphlets and research projects”. It has sponsored some work in Eastern Europe. Qv **The New European**, below.

## **Centre for the New Europe**

Fernand Keuleneer, President  
Paul Belien, Research Director  
Roularta Media Building  
Research Park  
De Haak  
1731 Zellik  
Belgium

Tel: 00322 4675730  
Fax: 00322 4675605  
Email: mpeeters@cne.be

A reform oriented think-tank which publishes a number of reports critical of statist policies within the EU.

**Centre for Policy Studies**

Tessa Keswick, Director,  
52 Rochester Row  
London  
SW1P 1JU

Tel: 0171 828 1176  
Fax: 0171 828 7746

A general think-tank associated with the Conservative Party. Has published a number of critical and reform-oriented papers on the EU.

**The Cheaper Food League**

Andrew Alexander, Hon. Sec.  
Sir Teddy Taylor, MP, Chairman  
East Wing  
Rousham  
Steeple Aston  
Oxfordshire  
OX6 3QX

Tel: 01869 347545

“ ... formed in 1987 to fight the Common Agricultural Policy of the European Economic Community ... Its members are a loose association of politicians, journalists, businessmen, farmers MPs ... and other interested individuals.” The CFL works principally through the writings and parliamentary work of its key members.

**City Concern Over Federal Europe**

45 Ringmet Avenue

London

SW5 5LP

Tel: 0171 283 1191

**Coalition for an Alternative Europe**

Postbus 54

1000 AB Amsrerdam

Holland

A socialist oriented group.

**Coalition for a Different Europe**

Postbus 92066

1090 AB Amsterdamn

Holland

Fax: 0031 206650166

Email: [ander.europe@aseed.antenna.nl](mailto:ander.europe@aseed.antenna.nl)

A socialist group.

**CompuPrint Publishing**

qv Campaign for United Kingdom Conservatism

**Conservatives Against a Federal Europe**

\*\*\*\* Lord Pearson of Rannoch, President

Mike Penning, National Campaign Director

Dr. Lee Rotherham, Campaign Secretary

3-4 Abbey Orchard Street

Westminster

London

SW1P 2JJ

Tel: 0171 799 2655

Fax: 0171 219 2031

Email: [100716.3202@compuserve.com](mailto:100716.3202@compuserve.com)

<http://cafe.org.uk>

“We see, in the attempted transfer of the British people’s power to make law and to govern ourselves, the breakdown of the Rule of Law ... Conservatives should seek substantial repatria-tion of decision making. If such an endeavour should prove to be impossible, our national aim should be to seek a separate relationship with the EU on a basis of Free Trade and Friend-ship”.

### **Conservative 2000 Foundation**

Rt. Hon. John Redwood, MP, Director  
Hywel Williams, Policy Director  
2 Wilfred Street  
London  
SW1E 6PH

Tel: 0171 630 6400

Fax: 0171 630 6669

Email: [mail@the2000foundation.org.uk](mailto:mail@the2000foundation.org.uk)

<http://www.the2000foundation.org.uk>

“The Foundation will be showing how and why a single currency is incompatible with British independence. It will demonstrate how powers can be repatriated. It will stay the palsied hand of the European Court as it creeps along our shores”. The personal think-tank of John Red-wood, who takes a generally Eurosceptic line. \* Just prior to publication it has been announced that the Foundation will be closed.

### **Conservative Way Forward**

Mark Allat, Secretary  
P. O. Box 66  
Westminster  
London  
SW1P 3JL

Tel: 0171 233 2023

“During her years in Downing Street Margaret Thatcher did so much to turn her vision of individual ownership and freedom of choice into reality. CWF was founded to defend and build upon these achievements, and develop still further these ideals within the Conservative Party”. The CWF is firmly Euro-sceptic in orientation and includes amongst its supporters Euro-sceptic Conservative MPs.

### **Corporate Europe Observatory**

c/o ASEED Europe  
P. O. Box 92066

1090 AB Amsterdam  
The Netherlands

Tel: 031 206682236  
Fax: 031 206650166

Email: [ceo@xs4all.nl](mailto:ceo@xs4all.nl)  
WWW: <http://www.xs4all.nl/~ceo/>

“ ... an Amsterdam-based non-profit foundation set up to monitor and report on the activities of European corporations and their lobby groups”. A socialist group opposed to free trade, “globalisation” and multi-national enterprise. Some of its data, focussing on the corporatist relationships of business with the EU is useful, but its general perspective is marred by its failure to distinguish between free markets and corporatism, and by its reactionary opposition to freedom and the free market.

### **The Criteria**

Stephen Pollard and Anne McElvoy, Organisers  
Contact via telephone/email only.

Tel: 0171 229 1170  
Email: [stephenpollard@compuserve.com](mailto:stephenpollard@compuserve.com)

An informal ‘New Labour’-oriented Euro-sceptic group which meets regularly to discuss European issues.

### **The David Group in the European Parliament**

Helen Hagenau  
The European Parliament  
Rue Belliard 97 - 113  
Mon 207  
B-1047 Brussels  
Belgium

<http://www.eurosceptic.org/david/>

“... an informal group within the European Parliament. The members of the group are MEPs from Denmark, Sweden and Finland who are critical or opposed to the Maastricht Treaty. The following parties or movements take part in the David group: From Denmark: The June Movement ... The People’s Movement Against the EU ... From Sweden: The Left Party ... The Green Party ... The Centre Party ... From Finland: The Centre Party ... The main aims of the

David group arec to coordinate activities among the MEPs whether they are directly related to the work of the Eurpean Parliament or the EU, or to the common Nordic back-ground”.

### **The Democracy Movement**

Chairman: Paul Sykes

Director: Russell Walters

Campaign Director: Marc-Henri Glendenning

2 Beaufort Mews

Fulham

London

SW6 1PF

Tel: 0171 610 0865

Fax: 0171 381 2062

Email: [referendum@entweb.co.uk](mailto:referendum@entweb.co.uk)

WWW: <http://www.referendum.org.uk>

In November 1997 the Referendum Movement, qv, with Lady Anabel Goldsmith as its Honorary President, relaunched itself with a new constitution, an appeal for funds, and plans for “a fightback by ordinary people against the political and business Establishment and the Brussels bureaucracy”.

In October 1998 the Referendum Movement also joined forces with Paul Sykes, the eminent Yorkshire businessman, to become the Democracy Movement. The Movement’s Chairman is Paul Sykes and its Vice-Chairman Robin Birley.

### **The Democrat**

qv Campaign Against Euro-Federalism, above.

### **Economic Affairs (formerly *The Journal of Economic Affairs*)**

qv Institute of Economic Affairs, below

### **The Edmund Burke Institute**

11 Herbert Street

Dublin 2

Eire

Tel: 353 1 678 5043

Fax: 353 1 661 8721

Email: [pmda@iol.ie](mailto:pmda@iol.ie)

<http://www.his.com/~chyden/ebi/>

Eire's free market think tank. It takes a generally euro-sceptical view.

**Eurofacts**

Ian Milne & Keith Carson, Editors

The June Press

P. O. Box 9984

London

W12 8WZ

Tel: 0181 746 1206

Fax: 0181 746 1206

“‘The Reality Behind Europe’ ... provides accurate analysis and balanced comment on Britain's place in the world and her commercial and security needs, on the basis that Britain must look far more to the wider world for her well-being than to Europe ... believes in government by British institutions answerable only to the democratically elected Westminster Parliament, and the undiluted sovereignty of the British people over that Parliament”. A fortnightly news-letter, with a monthly monograph supplement. Also distributes a wide range of Euro-sceptic books and pamphlets.

**The European-Atlantic Group**

Lord Judd of Portsea, President

The Earl of Limerick, Chairman

Elma Dangerfield, Director

6 Gertrude Street

Chelsea

London

SW10 OJN

Tel: 020 7352 1226

Fax: 020 7352 1226

Email: euro-atlan"group-2000.fsbusiness.co.uk

<http://www.eag.org.uk>

**The European Anti-Maastricht Alliance (TEAM)**

Helle Hagenau

The European Parliament

MON 207

Rue Belliard 97-113

B-1047 Brussels

Belgium

Tel: 0032 22844579  
Fax: 0032 22849144  
Email: hhagenau@europarl.eu.int

and

Tel/Fax: 0045 1817437795 Henrik Overgaard-Nielsen, Co-ordinator (Denmark)

“The European Anti-Maastricht Alliance (TEAM) was started at a meeting in Edinburgh in December 1992 but has since then been dormant. This was mainly due to the high level of activity of the participating organisations in referenda and election campaigns in their own or neighbouring countries. About 80 people representing 40 organisations from 16 countries participated in the second TEAM meeting in Copenhagen 1-3 March, 1997,. One of the aims of this meeting was to establish a more structured TEAM ... [it] adopted a constitution, elected a Board and set out a number of priority areas for its work ... [it established a} Board consist[ing] of a Co-ordinator and six other members”.

### **The European Economies Research Unit**

Dr. Brian Burkitt, Director  
Mark Baimbridge, Director of Research  
Philip Whyman, Research Fellow  
Department of Social & Economic Studies  
University of Bradford  
Richmond Road  
Bradford  
West Yorkshire  
BD7 1DP

Tel: 01274 384792/384802/384795  
Fax: 01274 385295  
Email: [m.j.baimbridge@bradford.ac.uk](mailto:m.j.baimbridge@bradford.ac.uk)  
[p.b.whyman@bradford.ac.uk](mailto:p.b.whyman@bradford.ac.uk)

“ ... specialises in the application of policy oriented research in relation to the economies of Europe, evaluating both qualitative and quantitative information concerning its past, present and future direction”. Its officers have produced an amazingly prolific and perceptive range of scholarly essays and monographs, published by both activist groups and academic journals.

### **The European Foundation**

Director, Russell Lewis  
Chairman, Bill Cash, MP  
61 Pall Mall



London  
SW1Y 5HZ

Tel: 0171 930 7319  
Fax: 0171 930 9706

“ ... campaigns for a reformed European Community of independent sovereign states ... to provide a forum for the development of ideas and policies for the furtherance of commerce, free trade & democracy in Europe, in GATT & elsewhere ... to resist by all lawful democratic means all and any moves tending towards the coming into being of a European federal or unitary state and for the furtherance and/or maintenance of such end”. Publishes a wide range of monographs and pamphlets and a regular magazine (10, issues pa), **The European Journal**, edited by David Matthews.

### **The European Journal**

qv The European Foundation, above

### **The Europe of Nations (EDN) Group in the European Parliament**

Rue Belliard 97-113  
B-1047 Brussels  
Belgium

Tel: 0032 2284 2211  
Fax: 0032 2284 9144  
<http://www.inform.dk/edn/> (Web Master: Jan Sturm)

“EDN consists of members from a variety of political groups and movements ... The group sees its most important aim to create a political environment where people can discuss alternatives to the existing Union of Maastricht. (We don't accept racism or racist groups) ... the political forum of the Maastricht-critical groups, movements and parties of Europe ... We are an active opposition to the federal ideas of the EU”.

### **The European Policy Forum**

Graham Mather MEP, President  
Frank Vibert, Director  
20 Queen Anne's Gate  
London  
SW1H 9AA

Tel: 0171 222 0733  
Fax: 222 0554 0554

“ ... established in April 1992 to tackle the agenda for Britain and Europe ... The emphasis is constructive, market-led and decentralist ... developing the frameworks for democracy ... developing new market solutions to economic and social problems.” Although it has published some critical and reform-oriented papers, most of its output is fairly turgid and conventional. One gets the impression that its activities are more oriented to business lobbying than political principle.

### **The European Research Group**

Sir Michael Spicer, MP, Chairman

Dan Hannan, Secretary

3 Dean's Yard

London

SW1A 3NR

Tel: 0171 219 3491

Fax: 0171 219 2991

“ ... founded in 1994. It brings together parliamentarians from 35 Centre-Right parties in 24 European countries opposed to political union .. ERG believes in an enlarged European Union of free-trading independent nation states. It wants national parliaments and governments to retrieve from Brussels those powers which do not need to be exercised at EU level”.

### **The Euro Realist**

Derek Bennett, Editor

53 Daisybank Crescent

Walsall

West Midlands

Tel: 01922 631970 & 0121 3592950

A monthly newsletter.

### **The Federation of Small Businesses**

2 Catherine Place

Westminster

London

SW1E 6HF

Tel: 0171 233 7900

Fax: 0171 233 7899

A general group concerned with defending the interests of small business. The Federation has passed resolutions against the handing over of more powers to the EU, against a single currency, and is concerned with harmful affects of Euro-regulation on small business.

**Fourth World Review**

John Papworth, Editor

Fourth World Educational Research Association Trust

24 Abercorn Place

London

NW8 9XP

Tel: 0171 286 4366

Fax: 0171 286 2186

“For Small Nations, Small Communities and The Human Spirit”. A bi-monthly magazine advocating an anti-capitalist, green and decentralist philosophy, \* which is also opposed to European super-statism.

**The Freedom Association**

Gerald Hartup, Director

35 Westminster Bridge Road

London

SE1 7JB

Tel: 0171 928 9925

Fax: 0171 928 9524

Email: 100703.2174@compuserve.com.uk

<http://www.pipemedia.net/~freedom/>

A broader conservative group. Its journal, **The Free Nation**, frequently publishes Euro-sceptic material and its founder, Norris McWhirter, has, together with Rodney Atkinson, attempted to take legal action over the loss of British sovereignty.

**Free Life: A Journal of Classical Liberal and Libertarian Thought**

qv The Libertarian Alliance, below.

**The Free Nation**

qv The Freedom Association, above

**Gilt Pound Sign Lapel Badges**

John Sellers

Badge Express  
Kyre Park  
Tenbury Wells  
Worcestershire  
WR15 8RP

Tel: 01885 410247  
Fax: 01885 410398

Gilt Pound Sterling lapel badges available in batches of 100 or more at 20 pounds per hundred.

**The Green Party of England and Wales**

1a Waterlow Road  
London  
N19 5NG

Tel: 0171 272 4474  
Fax: 0171 272 6653

John Norris, Convenor, International Policy Group & Joint  
Co-ordinator of its Review of Policy on Europe  
5 Beaumont Avenue  
Richmond Upon Thames  
Surrey  
TW9 2HE

Tel: 0181 948 2637  
Email: [john.norris@gexpress.gn.apc.org](mailto:john.norris@gexpress.gn.apc.org)

There is also an independent Scottish Green Party, and both are members of the Green Islands network of Green Parties in Britain and Ireland, and of the European Federation of Green Parties. Both parties are internationalist and Euro-sceptic in terms of opposing an EU western European superstate, but do seek wider co-operation at appropriate levels in the whole of Europe, particularly on ecological issues. The party's policy statement for the IGC, agreed by its Autumn 1995 Conference declared: "As presently constituted, the EU is fundamentally flawed. The GP seeks a positive reconstitution of the EU as a European Confederation of Regions, based on Green principles. This confederation would emphasize sustainability, rather than exploitation ... Green economics of regional and local production for need, rather than the Single European Market to profit transnational corporations, the geographical, cultural, social, political and economic diversity of Europe ... ". The party opposes many

specific EU policies, including the Single Market, EMU, CAP, CFP, Europol, EU control of migration, road and nuclear power development etc. It opposed the Maastricht Treaty and called for a referendum. It also opposes a Common Foreign and Defense Policy and an EU army, supporting instead European co-operation via the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, rather than the EU, WEU or NATO. The party's Autumn 1966 Conference committed it to argue for withdrawal from the present EU, given the lack of any prospect of adequate change from within.

### **Independence**

qv Campaign for an Independent Britain, above

### **Industry & Europe Data Centre**

Anthony Cowgill CBE, Director  
Highfield  
Longridge  
Sheepscome  
Stroud  
Gloucestershire  
GL6 7QU

Tel: 01452 814337

Fax: 01452 812527

Part of the British Management Data Foundation. Makes available a range of useful documents and publications on EU issues, generally of a Euro-sceptical outlook.

### **The Institute of Directors**

Tim Melville-Ross, Director General  
116 Pall Mall  
London  
SW1Y 5ED

Tel: 0171 839 1233

Fax: 0171 930 1949

Email: [businessinfo@iod.org.uk](mailto:businessinfo@iod.org.uk)

A general market oriented business group which, although not opposed in principle to the UK's continued membership in the EU, has published a number of critical reports on EMU and Euro-regulation.

### **The Institute of Economic Affairs**

John Blundell, Director  
2 Lord North Street  
Westminster  
London  
SW1P 3LB

Tel: 0171 799 3745  
Fax: 0171 799 2137  
Email: [iea@iea.org.uk](mailto:iea@iea.org.uk)  
WWW: <http://www.iea.org.uk>

The UK's leading free-market think-tank. It has published a number of useful monographs on the economic and constitutional issues involved in the European project, and articles in its quarterly journal **Economic Affairs** (formerly **The Journal of Economic Affairs**).

**International Currency Review**,  
Christopher Story, Editor  
108 Horseferry Road  
London  
SW1P 2EF

Tel: 0171 222 3836  
Fax: 0171 233 0185

A specialist financial journal which frequently features Euro-sceptical material.  
**The June Press**  
qv Eurofacts, above.

**Keep Our Pound**  
Martin Young  
South House  
Headington Hill  
Oxford  
OX3 0BT

Tel: 01865 761792

Signs and stickers opposing the Euro and supporting the Pound.

**The Labour Economic Policy Group**  
Austin Mitchell, MP, Chairman  
John Mills, Secretary

72 Albert Street  
London  
NW1 7NR

Tel: 0171 388 2259  
Fax: 0171 388 3454

A general Labour Party group concerned with economic policy and with a strong anti-monetarist orientation. On Europe the group has declared: "We fear that the EU will reinforce deflationary policies. We believe in strong partnerships with other countries in Europe and elsewhere, but not in monetary arrangements on a European scale, particularly EMU, which are all too likely to lock us into permanent deflation and economic decline."

### **The Labour Euro-Safeguards Campaign**

John Mills, Secretary  
Lord Stoddart, President  
Rt. Hon. Peter Shore, Chairman  
72 Albert Street  
London  
NW1 7NR

Tel: 0171 388 7212  
Fax: 0171 388 3454

Other officers and supporters of this group include Tony Benn MP, Lord Bruce, Tom Megahy MEP, Austin Mitchell MP, Nigel Spearing, Edward Barber and Charles Starkey. Its Economic Advisors are Brian Burkitt and Shaun Stewart.

### **Libertarian Alliance**

Dr. Chris R. Tame, Director  
25 Chapter Chambers  
Esterbrooke Street  
London  
SW1P 4NN

Tel: 0171 821 5502  
Fax: 0171 834 2031  
Email: [liberty@capital.demon.co.uk](mailto:liberty@capital.demon.co.uk)  
[chris@rand.demon.co.uk](mailto:chris@rand.demon.co.uk)  
<http://www.digiweb.com/igeldard/LA> (LA monographs)  
<http://www.freespace.virgin.net/old.whig> (Free Life magazine)

The UK's most radical pro-free market and civil libertarian think-tank and pressure group. Has published a number of papers on Europe, as well as dealing with the issue in its quarterly journal **Free Life: A Journal of Classical Liberal and Libertarian Thought** (DrSean Gabb, Editor).

**The London Miscellany**

Christopher J. K. Arkell, Editor  
32 Addison Grove  
London  
W4 1ER

Tel: 0181 994 2285

A general magazine of political and cultural comment which frequently includes Eurosceptic material.

**National Radical League**

Professor David Marsland, Director  
9 Stucley Road  
Osterley  
Middlesex  
TW5 OTN

Tel: 0181 572 7398

A more radical spin-off from the now defunct Radical Society of the 1980s. Resistance to Euro-domination (and in general an independent foreign policy serving British interests) is one of the main purposes, the others being to strengthen law and order, to encourage enterprise, and to replace the Welfare State with self-reliance.

**Nelson & Pollard Publishing**

Susan Nelson & David Pollard, Directors  
Folly Bridge Workshops  
Thames Street  
Oxford  
OX1 1SU

Tel: 01865 240048  
Fax: 01865 792277

A major publisher of Euro-sceptical books and monographs.



**The New Alliance**

P. O. Box 13199

London

SW6 6ZU

Tel: 0171 386 1837

Fax: 0171 386 1837

Email: [newalliance@mailexcite.com](mailto:newalliance@mailexcite.com)

<http://www.users.dircon.co.uk/~itns/newalliance>

“We aim to: heal divisions within the antifederalist movement; raise awareness of the need to be prepared for a referendum on any aspect of the EU ... ; explore the sort of Britain we could have once we leave the EU and thus refuting the lie of our opponents that there is no alternative; take part in active national campaigns, reaching the areas where existing groups are weak. We are all united in our belief that the current anti-EU movement has failed us in the past and if allowed to continue will fail us again in the future. The New Alliance is needed to work at grass-roots level amongst democratic, non-racist members of the anti-federalist movement as a whole”. Established in June 1997, \*\*\*\* with a National Co-ordinating Commit-tee made up of David Lott, Dr. Richard North, David Soutter, Douglas Ellison, Margaret Evans, Michael Holmes, and Paul Sharp. It also issues a series of factsheets.

**New Europe**

Janet Bush, Director

52 Walnut Tree Walk

London

SE11 6DN

Tel: 0171 582 1001

Fax: 0171 582 5852

Email: [info@new-europe.co.uk](mailto:info@new-europe.co.uk)

<http://www.new-europe.co.uk>

Set up in February 1999 as “an independent organisation covering all aspects of Britain’s membership of the EU” and declaring that “the UK should continue to be a fully committed member of the EU, displaying an innovative and constructive attitude to policy issues as they arise. We are not sceptics about the EU. We want to take the EU forward into the 21st century, particularly in relation to the enlargement of its membership and the development of democratic accountability for decisions taken at the level of the European Commission and Council. We are confident that the UK can prosper and thrive

while keeping the pound sterling .... Compulsory and irrevocable alignment of economic and social policies with continental Europe may turn out to be extremely damaging for the UK ... [a] single currency are cannot be assumed to be a zone of stability; a zone of growth; nor a zone of high employment”.

### **New European**

John Coleman, Editor

New European Publications Ltd./Adamantine Partnership

14-16 Carroun Road

London

SW8 1JT

Tel: 0171 582 3996

Fax: 0171 582 7021

“ ... a quarterly review covering the major aspects of European development. leaders of European thinking in the fields of culture, environment, politics, business and finance contribute their ideas about Europe’s future ... is distinctive also in that it considers all of Europe; not just the EU and its institutions, but also the Council of Europe, the European Economic Area and the Baltic Council, as well as Central and Eastern Europe, including the countries of the former Soviet Union ... [which] aims to explore the widest possible range of well-thought-out views ... but speaks of a ‘Europe of Many Circles’“. Contributors include pro-EU writers as well as Euro-sceptics. The journal is associated with The Centre for European Studies, qv above, and the Adamantine Partnership, which publish a wide range of books on European issues. The position of these related works are diverse, ranging from classical liberalism to the more “Left”, decentralist and environmentalist Euro-scepticism of the continent.

### **A Peoples’s Europe**

c/o Alan Simpson MP

The House of Commons

Westminster

London

SW1A 0AA

Tel: 0171 219 3000

“This is an attempt to open a genuine debate in the Labour Party about the disastrous effects of a single currency under the monetarist terms of the Maastricht Treaty”. Organised by Alan Simpson MP, Denzil Davies MP and Llew Smith MP and supported by 70 other Labour MPs and MEPs. The group’s

principle concern is with government expenditure cuts, “deflationary economics” as a result of the single currency, and the fact that “unelected bankers will rule Europe’s economies without any public right to remove them, reverse their policies or even influence’ their decisions”. It supports “a people’s Europe based on full employment, a safe and sustainable environment, and democratic control of its institutions”.

### **Politeia**

Dr. Sheila Lawlor, Director  
22 Charing Cross Road  
London  
WC2H OHR

Tel: 0171 240 5070

Fax: 0171 240 5095

A mildly euro-sceptic think tank associated with the Conservative Party.

### **The Referendum Movement**

“Both the Conservative and Labour Parties are committed to the Maastricht Treaty which has resulted in a major transfer of sovereignty to European institutions. Both parties have refused to submit the European issue to a public vote or referendum. Fundamental constitutional changes, relinquishing sovereignty, should require the consent of the people. The purpose of the Referendum Party is to present candidates whose single responsibility is to vote in Parlia-ment for such a referendum”. Founded by the late Sir James Goldsmith, who sadly passed away in July 1997, to fight the General Election of 1997 year. After Sir James tragic death, the Party relaunched itself in November 1997 as a movement with a new constitution. Lady Anabel Goldsmith is acting as Honorary President and Lord McAlpine as Chairman. It subsequently merged with Paul Sykes’ Euro Information Campaign to form the Democracy Movement, qv above.

### **Resistance News**

qv Youth Against the European Union, below

### **The Salisbury Review**

Roger Scruton, Editor  
33 Canonbury Park South  
London

N1 2JW

Tel: 0171 226 7791

Fax: 0171 354 0383

Email: [salisbury-review@easynet.co.uk](mailto:salisbury-review@easynet.co.uk)

Britain's leading journal of conservative thought. It frequently features Euro-sceptic essays.

### **Save Britain's Fish**

John Ashworth, Director  
Kirby Mills Industrial Estate  
Kirkby Moorside  
York  
YO6 6NR

Tel: 01751 433039

Fax: 01751 433073

Established to defend the British fishing industry against the depredations of the EU's fisheries policies, particularly the Common Fisheries Policy.

### **Scotland Against Being Ruled By Europe (SABRE)**

Iain McGregor, Secretary  
170 Portobello High Street  
Edinburgh  
EH15 1EX  
Scotland

Tel: 0131 657 4740

"The Maastricht Treaty - forced through by shameless intimidation and coercion of MPs and without a referendum - extends the authority of the EC to impose laws on the UK. The areas of interference, effected by the non-elected EU Commission, now include: Citizenship, Foreign Affairs, Defence, Security, Taxation, Economic Policy (eventually in the writ of a European Central Bank), Education, Training, Energy, Environmental Protection, Industry, Consumer Protection, Public Health, Road and Rail Building, Border Controls ... British people were told they were joining the Common Market or EEC. This became the European Community and now the European Union. Each stage reduced the power of the Parliament we elect. Now British ministers are outvoted on EU law-making by other member countries". Produces a number of leaflets and pamphlets.

**The Selsdon Group**

35 Brompton Road  
Knightsbridge  
London  
SW3 1DE

A historically significant pressure group within the Conservative Party. In favour of free mar-kets, and also of a Euro-sceptic orientation. Largely inactive now, but occasionally produces pamphlets.

**Sovereign Britain Action Group**

John A. Williams, Chairman  
P. O. Box 2886  
Sherborne  
Dorset  
DT9 5YP

Tel: 01935 817999

Fax: 01935 817999

“ ... an active non-party action group ... with the sole purpose of making the public aware of the wilting away of national sovereignty, common laws and rights to govern our country as we wish”.

**Spectre**

Steve McGiffen, Editor  
BP5 Bxl  
Rue Bellian 79-111  
1047 Brussels  
Belgium

Tel: 00322 5118426/2847505

Fax: 00322 2849505

“ ... a new international socialist review ... Our aim is to breach what in French is called the ‘pensee unique’, the stifling narrow limits into which European politics has become bound by the embracing of free market economics and its immediate goal, the Euro, by all major parties. We are socialist, internationalist and feminist.”

**These Tides**

David Wilkinson, Editor

BP No. 6  
Bxl 46  
B-1047 Brussels  
Belgium

Tel: 0032 2847167  
Fax: 0032 2849399  
Email: [dwilkinson@europarl.eu.int](mailto:dwilkinson@europarl.eu.int)

“ ... is an independent magazine. It is a sympathetic commentary on the Europe-wide opposition to the EU ... a unique addition to the EU-critical scene as the emphasis is on news about the various groups around Europe and their campaigns, rather than on information about the EU. A common theme is international cooperation between our groups and carries regular bulletins from TEAM. These Tides seeks to provide a service to all EU-critics and opponents, across the political spectrum. It acts as a market place for the exchange of ideas and information.”

### **The UK Independence Party**

Craig Mackinlay, Chairman  
80 Regent Street  
London  
W1R 5DE

Tel: 0171 434 4559  
Fax: 0171 439 4659  
Email: [ukip@btinternet.com](mailto:ukip@btinternet.com)  
<http://members.aol.com/ukip1/index.htm>

“The UKIP is dedicated to the maintenance of United Kingdom sovereignty by democratic means. It seeks the repeal of the Maastricht Treaty and British withdrawal from the European Union. It rejects provincial status for the UK within a European super-state, preferring its own vision of a diverse Europe of freely cooperating nation states.” There is also a Young UKIP group, qv **YUK!**, below. The Party’s founder and “Leader”, Dr. Alan Sked, resigned in August 1997, following a period of increasing internal conflict and the expulsion of some leading activists. The future of the Party is currently uncertain.

### **The Yardstick**

qv The British Weights and Measures Association, above.

**Young UKIP: The Youth and Student Group of the UK Independence Party**

80 Regent Street  
London  
W1R 5DE

Tel: 0171 434 4559  
Fax: 0171 439 4659  
Email: [ukip@btinternet.com](mailto:ukip@btinternet.com)

“ ... shares common aims and objectives with its mother organisation, but is working specific-ally amongst schools, universities and the young in general to warn them of the dangers of further European integration and the necessity of British withdrawal from the EU.. As an alternative to a bureaucratic super-state, it prefers UKIP’s vision of a diverse Europe of Freely co-operating nation states”.

**Youth Against European Union**

Glenn Forster, Chairman  
3 Hazebrouck Road  
Faversham  
Kent  
ME13 7PT

“... an action-based youth movement which campaigns against the EU. We inform young people of the dangers of European integration, and get them to actively resist it!”

**YUK!**

Adam Tebble, Editor  
80 Regent Street  
London  
W1R 5DE

Tel: 0171 434 4559  
Fax: 0171 439 4659  
Email: [ukip@btinternet.com](mailto:ukip@btinternet.com)

The magazine of the Youth and Student Group of the UK Independence Party.  
Qv Young UKIP, above.

**iii: The Principal European Union Institutions in Britain**

## **Central Bureau for Educational Visits and Exchanges**

10 Spring Gardens

London

SW1A 2BN

Tel: 0171 389 4004

Fax: 0171 389 4426

Email: Eurodesk@scec.dircon.co.uk (for Eurodesk Special)

<http://www.britcoun.org/cbeve/>

Not strictly an EU institution, the Central Bureau is a part of the British Council, and is funded by the Education Departments of the UK. It is, however, the UK National Agency for many of the EU education and training programmes. It administers the European Resource Centres for Schools and Colleges which provides teachers and pupils with “information” (i.e., propaganda) on Europe, and supports “the development of the European dimension in the curriculum” (i.e., more propaganda). It also issues the bi-monthly newsletter **Eurodesk Special** which “take an in-depth look at new and current European programmes and issues”. Eurodesk also operates an information service “specifically to meet the needs of professionals working in the fields of education, training and youth ... [to] help you to take advantage of European opportunities by providing information, guidance and networking services on EU programmes and funding [and] highlights the issues and potential of the European dimension in work with FE colleges, higher education, community education, adult education, youth work, careers services and voluntary organisations.” In other words, it works to subvert civil society by encouraging institutions and groups to jump on the Euro-gravy train of “grants” and “assistance” – i.e., bribes to establish loyalty to, and dependence upon, the new European super-state.

### **EP News**

qv The European Parliament, below.

### **Eurodesk Specials**

qv Central Bureau for Educational Visits & Exchanges, above.

### **The European**

qv The European Commission, below.

### **European Access**

qv The European Commission, below.



**The European Agency for the Evaluation of Medicinal Products (EMA)**

7 Westferry Circus

Canary Wharf

London

E14 4HB

Tel: 0171 418 8400

Fax: 0171 418 8416

**The European Commission**

Jean Monnet House

8 Storey's Gate

London

SW1P 3AT

Tel: 0171 973 1992

Fax: 0171 973 1900

WWW: <http://www.eec.org.uk>

A huge array of publications and pamphlets are available from its "infopoint". There is also a reference library open to the public. It also issues the periodicals **European Access** (bi-monthly), and **The European**.

**European Information Association**

Secretariat,

Catherine Webb

Central Library

St. Peter's Square

Manchester

M2 5PD

Tel: 0261 228 3691

Fax: 0261 236 6547

Email: [eia@cityscape.co.uk](mailto:eia@cityscape.co.uk)

Another hybrid group, part of the European Relay network.

**European Information Association Review**

Eric Davies, Editor

European Documentation Centre Libraries

University of Hull

Brynmore Jones Library

Hull

HU6 7RX

Tel: 01482 465941

Fax: 01482 466205

Email: e.b.davies@library.hull.ac.uk

**The European Parliament, UK Office**

2 Queen Anne's Gate

Westminster

London

SW1H 9AA

Tel: 0171 227 4300

Fax: 0171 222 4302

A monthly propaganda tabloid newspaper **EP News** is produced at the European Parliament in Brussels, and distributed in the UK.

**The European Resource Centres for Schools and Colleges**

qv Central Bureau for Educational Visits and Exchanges, above.

**(UK) Network of European Information Centres**

European Information Centre

London Chamber of Commerce and Industry

33 Queen Street

London

EC4R 1AP

Tel: 0171 489 1992

Fax: 0171 489 0391

“The network provides information on the EU which is especially geared towards small business. With constantly updated European documentation, access to the Commissions's data-bases, and privileged contacts within the European Commission ... “. The English part of the system established by the European Commission in 1987 which, as of writing, comprises 232 centres in 15 member states, as well as Iceland and Norway and “correspondence centres” in other non-EU nations.

**Relay Europe Ltd.**

112 Mallong Street

Lewes

East Sussex

BN7 2RJ

Tel: 01273 488666

Fax: 01273 488448

Email: realeur@pavilion.co.uk

“ ... is a European public affairs, networking and consultancy company which provides a number of services to the Representation of the European Commission in the UK. This includes the servicing of the National Network of Relays; project management of the Mobile Information Centre; loan service for Commission videos; sale and hire of flags; organisation of external events such as ... conferences. In addition, it operates commercially in the promotion of EU merchandising”. It also produces the useful reference book, **European Union Information: A Directory of UK Sources** and manages the EU Mobile Information Centre.

#### **iv: The Headquarters of the Principal European Union Institutions**

##### **The Committee of the Regions**

Rue Bellard 79  
B-1041 Brussels  
Belgium

Tel: 0032 2822211

Fax: 0032 2822896

##### **The Council of the European Union**

Rue de la Roi 175  
B-1048 Brussels  
Belgium

Tel: 0032 2856111

Fax: 0032 2857397/7381

Meetings are held in Brussels, except in April, June and October when they are held in Luxembourg.

##### **The Court of Justice of the European Communities**

L-2925 Luxembourg

Tel: 00352 43031

Fax: 00352 43032600

**The Economic and Social Committee**

Rue Ravenstein 2  
B-1000 Brussels  
Belgium

Tel: 0032 5469011  
Fax: 0032 5134893

**The European Commission**

Rue de la Loi 200  
B-1049 Brussels  
Belgium

Tel: 0032 2991111

**The European Court of Auditors**

15 Rue Alcide De Gasperi  
L-1615 Luxembourg

Tel: 00352 43981  
Fax: 00352 439342

**The European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions**

Wyattville Road  
Loughligtown  
Co. Dublin  
Eire

Tel: 003531 2043100  
Fax: 003531 2826456  
Email: [postmaster@eurofound.ie](mailto:postmaster@eurofound.ie)

**The European Investment Bank**

100 Boulevard Kinrad Adenauer  
L-2950 Luxembourg

Tel: 00352 43791  
Fax: 00352 437704

**The European Monetary Institute**

Postfach 102031

D-60020 Frankfurt am main  
Germany

Established 1 January 1994 to strengthen co-operation between the central banks of the EU and to prepare for the establishment of a future European Central Bank.

**The European Parliament**

General Secretariat of the European Parliament  
L-2929 Luxembourg

Tel: 00352 43001

Monthly plenary sessions are held in Strasbourg and committee meetings and additional sessions in Brussels. Before the Single European Act of 1986 it was named the "European Assembly".

**v: Other Sources of Relevant Information**

**The Bow Group**

92 Bishop's Bridge Road  
London  
W2 5AB

Tel: 0171 727 9845

Fax: 0171 792 3849

A Conservative Party affiliated group which has produced a number of publications on European issues, largely in support of the European project.

**\* Britain and Overseas**

qv Economic Research Council, below

**A Business Guide to European Community Legislation**

Chancery Lane Publications  
Baffins Lane  
Chichester  
West Sussex  
PO19 1UD

Tel: 01243 779777

“[A] comprehensive and easy to use source of references covering all the main areas of interest to the business community, including competition law, trade law, financial services, company law, employment law, environmental issues, and harmonisation of technical standards”.

**Butterworth's Law Directory**

Martindale-Hubbell in Association With the Butterworth Group  
Maypole House  
Maypole Road  
East Grinstead  
West Sussex  
RH19 1HU

“A Directory of Solicitors and Barristers in Private Practice, Commerce, Local Government and Public Authorities in England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales”. Published annually, the current, 13th edition (1997), lists specialists on “European Community” and “European Human Rights”, on p. 867.

**Centre for Economic Policy Research**

Richard Portes, Director  
25-28 Old Burlington Street  
London  
W1X 1LB

Tel: 0171 878 2900  
Fax: 0171 878 2999

“A non-profit educational charity established in 1983 to promote independent objective analysis and public discussion of open economies and the relations among them. Totally independent, without any institutional policy positions ... An extensive publications programme, including the Discussion Paper series, with complete coverage of the major topics in the European economic policy debate, and selected issues further afield”. The centre also publishes a report series on “Monitoring European Integration”.

**Centre for Socio-Legal Studies**

Wolfson College  
Oxford  
OX2 6UD

Tel: 01865 284220  
Fax: 01865 284221  
Email: [socleg@vax.ox.ac.uk](mailto:socleg@vax.ox.ac.uk)

The Centre's publications include a number on the European aspects of various policy issues.

### **Charter 88**

Exmouth House  
3-11 Pine Street  
London  
EC1R OJH

Tel: 0171 833 1988

Fax: 0171 833 5895

“Campaigns for democratic and constitutional reform in the UK and believes that reform must be undertaken with popular consent and recognize the relevance of developments within the EU. In this context, Charter 88 advocates increased openness and democracy within the EU and calls for genuine subsidiarity, placing decisions and power as close to individuals as is practical and is consistent with achieving political objectives”.

### **The Commercial Communications Compendium: A Directory of European Legislation and Policy**

The Advertising Association  
Abford House  
15 Wilton Road  
London  
SW1V 1NJ

Tel: 0171 828 2771

Fax: 0171 931 0376

“This 140-page loose-leaf publication details and explains all EU legislation affecting advertising, marketing and other commercial communications in Europe. The Compendium has sections which set out the origins, background, main points, policy development, chronology and definitions of each piece of legislation ... Where appropriate, the sections also include positions, activity accounts and policy statement of the UK Advertising Association. ... available as a ring binder or as a PC disk”.

### **Country Reports: European Union**

Rory Clarke, Editor  
Economist Intelligence Unit  
40 Duke Street

London  
W1A 1DW

Tel: 0171 493 6711  
Fax: 0171 491 2107  
Email: london@eco.com

A quarterly survey.

**The David Hume Institute**  
Professor Hector MacQueen, Director  
21 George Square  
Edinburgh  
EH8 9LD

Tel: 0131 6504633  
Fax: 0130 667911

A free market-oriented think tank which has produced a number of reports on European issues.

**DEMOS**  
Dr. Geoff Mulgan, Director  
9 Bridewell Place  
London  
EC4V 6AP

Tel: 0171 353 4479  
Fax: 0171 353 4481  
Email: mail@demos.co.uk  
WWW: <http://www.demos.co.uk>

A “left/post-modernist” oriented think tank which has so far only produced one publication on European issues.

**Dyson Bell Martin EC Bulletin**  
Richard Mundy  
Dyson Bell Martin  
1 Dean Farrar Street  
Westminster  
London  
SW1H ODY



Tel: 0171 222 9458  
Fax: 0171 222 0650

Email: [ecinfo@dysonbell.co.uk](mailto:ecinfo@dysonbell.co.uk)

“ ... a parliamentary agency and public affairs practice ... Based in Brussels and Westminster we provide specialist parliamentary and public affairs services in the UK and the EU”. This quarterly bulletin on EU news and issues is available free of charge.

### **Directory of EU Information Sources (The Red Book)**

Euroconfidential S.A.  
Rue de Rixengart 18  
B-1332 Geneva  
Belgium

Tel: 0032 6520284  
Fax: 0032 6520180

“... the most comprehensive source of contacts and published information on the EU. The information is organised under 11 different categories of sources including European Commission, European Parliament, other EU Institutions and Agencies, Press, Trade Associations, Lawyers, Universities, specialist Consultants, Grants and Loans, and other focussed activities and interest groups”. The work is available in both book and CD versions.

### **Economic Research Council**

Damon de Laszlo, Chairman  
James Bourlet, Hon. Secretary  
239 Shaftesbury Avenue  
London  
WC2H 8PJ

Tel: 0171 439 0271

Established in 1943 as a general think tank on monetary and economic issues the ERC has dealt with EU issues in its quarterly journal **Britain and Overseas**.

### **The Employment Policy Institute**

Southbank House  
Black Prince Road  
London  
SE1 7SJ

Tel: 0171 735 0777  
Fax: 0171 793 8192

An interventionist-oriented think tank on employment issues, the EPI has produced a number of reports on EU issues.

**The European Business Review**

MCB University Press  
60-62 Toller Lane  
Bradford  
West Yorkshire  
BD8 9BY

Tel: 01274 777700  
Fax: 01274 785202

“Always informative, sometimes provocative, ERB offers in-depth analysis of the issues that influence management decisions and corporate profitability. With its emphasis on European economic integration as an on-going process EBR offers insights into where Europe is really headed. It cuts through Euro-propaganda to detail the real opportunities and threats in Europe today”.

**Europe Information Service European Report**

Context Ltd.  
Grand Union House  
20 Kentish Town Road  
London  
NW1 9NR

Tel: 0171 267 8989  
Fax: 0171 267 1133  
Email: [sales@context.co.uk](mailto:sales@context.co.uk)

An “easy-to-read bulletin [which] covers a wide variety of EU activities and those of related institutions, including the European Court of Justice, the European Parliament and the European Commission. It also includes information on new European programmes and funds, and features regular news from other European organisations. Reports on impending legislation, business life, the internal market and its standardisation, EU policies, and relations with other European countries and with the rest of the world are included ... A separate section of EIS European Report Online contains the full text of EIS specialist publications - a range of titles giving more detailed coverage of

specific sectors”. This is available as an on-line service for an annual subscription varying according to desired access time.

**European Policy Analysis: Key Issues and Developments for Business (Formerly European Trends: Key Issues and Developments in the EC, EFTA and the Single Market)**

Garick Holmes, Editor  
Economist Intelligence Unit  
40 Duke Street  
London  
W1A 1DW

Tel: 0171 493 6711  
Fax: 0171 491 2107  
Email: london@eco.com

**European Union Brief**

Greg Myles, Editor  
Locksley Press  
Coolsara Park  
Lisbourn  
BT28 3BG

Tel: 01846 602194

“[A] handbook of EC law, practices and policy ... specifically tailored to the needs of busi-ness, professional, public and academic sectors”. A looseleaf publication to allow regular sectional updatings.

**The European Union Encyclopedia (Formerly *The European Community Encyclopedia and Directory*)**

Europa Publications Ltd.  
11 Bedford Square  
London  
WC1B 3JN

Tel: 0171 631 3361  
Fax: 0171 637 0922

“[A]ims to provide a comprehensive guide to the European Union, both as it operates today in the context of world affairs and in a historical perspective”.

Includes an A to Z, Essays on the EU, Directory of the EU, Statistical Summary of the EU, and a Chronology of the year's relevant events.

### **The European Round Table of Industrialists**

Rue Guimard 15  
B-1040 Brussels  
Belgium

Tel: 0032 5115800

A big business pressure group concerned that Europe has become a "high-cost, low growth economy ... losing its competitive advantage to more dynamic parts of the world". It declares that "Government and industry must find a way to work more closely together" and has produced a "Charter for Industry" to influence policy makers and to be put "into effect by means of practical policy decisions to rebuild the competitiveness of Europe". It also calls for a "European Competitiveness Council representing industry, government and science to advise and monitor the detailed implementation of the Charter". The ERTI is backed by such companies as Unilever, BAT, Fiat, Thyssen, Nestle, BP, Phillips, Pirelli, Olivetti, ICI etc.

### **European Union Politics**

Gerald Schneider, Editor  
Sage Publications,  
6 Bonhill Road  
London  
EC2A 4PU  
Tel: 0171 374 0645  
Fax: 0171 374 8741

"[A]n international journal that will provide the forum for advanced research on all aspects of the processes of government, politics and policy in the European Union ... The journal will publish high quality work on the theory of integration, decision making in the EU, the political aspects of fiscal and monetary policy integration, and the relations between the EU and the non-member states". Established in 1999. Three issues pa.

### **European Voice**

Jacki Davis, Editor  
Rue Montoyerstraat 17-19  
1000 Bruxelles  
Belgium

Tel: 0032 5409090  
Fax: 0032 5409070

“A weekly view of the Union for the Union”. A tabloid-sized newspaper published by The Economist Group. Pro-EU in editorial stance, but a useful source of slightly more digestible news about the EU.

**The Fabian Society**

Stephen Twigg MP, General Secretary  
Ian Corfield, Research Director  
11 Dartmouth Street  
London  
SW1H 9BN

Tel: 0171 222 8877  
Fax: 0171 976 7153  
Email: [fabian-society@geo2.poptel.org.uk](mailto:fabian-society@geo2.poptel.org.uk)

This long-established socialist group has published a number of papers on both sides of the European issue.

**The Family Policy Studies Centre**

231 Baker Street  
London  
NW1 6XE

Tel: 0171 486 8211  
Fax: 0171 224 3510  
Email: [fpssc@mailbox.ulcc.ac.uk](mailto:fpssc@mailbox.ulcc.ac.uk)

Have produced some publications on family conditions and policies in the EU.

**The Guide to the Governance of Britain in Europe, 1998/9**

Carlton Publishing  
410-420 Rayners Lane  
Pinner  
Middlesex  
HA5 5DY

Tel: 0181 429 0056  
Fax: 0181 429 3977  
Email: [carltongroup@compuserve.com](mailto:carltongroup@compuserve.com)  
WWW: [www.carlton-group.co.uk](http://www.carlton-group.co.uk)

A comprehensive guide to the governmental machinery and procedures of the EU.

**The Institute for Employment Research**

Professor Robert Lindley, Director  
University of Warwick  
Coventry  
CV4 7AL

Tel: 01203 524127  
Fax: 01203 524241  
Email: R.P.Larse@warwick.ac.uk  
<http://www.warwick.ac.uk/ier>

Established in 1981 out of the former Manpower Research Group of the Manpower Services Commission. Now funded largely by government departments and some private companies. Has produced a number of reports on aspects of the EU.

**The Institute for Fiscal Studies**

7 Ridgemount Street  
London  
WC1E 7AE  
Tel: 0171 636 3748  
Fax: 0171 323 4780  
Email: mailbox@ifs.org.uk

A specialised research institute, the IFS has produced a number of publications on fiscal issues relating to the EU.

**The Institute for Public Policy Research**

30-32 Southampton Street  
London  
WC2E 7RA

Tel: 0171 470 6100  
Fax: 0171 470 6111  
Email: [ippr@easynet.co.uk](mailto:ippr@easynet.co.uk)

This “Blairite/New Labour” think-tank has produced a number of publications on the economic, monetary and political aspects of the EU, largely with a positive orientation.

**The Institute of Community Studies**

18 Victoria Park Square

London

E2 9PF

Tel: 0181 980 6263

Fax: 0181 981 6719

Email: [institute@comstud.demon.co.uk](mailto:institute@comstud.demon.co.uk)

Has published a number of reports on European issues.

**The Journal of Common Market Studies**

Journals Division

Blackwell Publishers

108 Cowley Road

Oxford

OX4 1JF

Tel: 01865 791100

Fax: 01865 7911347

email: [inspcopy@blackwellpublishers.co.uk](mailto:inspcopy@blackwellpublishers.co.uk)

An academic journal on all aspects of European integration.

**Lobster**

Robin Ramsay, Editor

214 Westbourne Avenue

Hull

HU5 3JB

Tel: 01482 447558

Email: [robin@lobster.karoo.co.uk](mailto:robin@lobster.karoo.co.uk)

An irregular journal of “parapolitics” - investigations in class analysis, power structures, covert politics, “conspiracy” research and intelligence issues. Largely written from a “Left” perspective, but always striving to be accurate this is an indispensable journal for any serious student of contemporary politics. It has featured a number of articles relating to the EU issue.

**National Institute of Economic and Social Research**

2 Dean Trench Street

Smith Square

London  
SW1P 3HE

Tel: 0171 222 7665

Fax: 0171 222 1435

Email: [a.stewart@niesr.ac.uk](mailto:a.stewart@niesr.ac.uk)

<http://www.niesr.ac.uk>

Describes itself as “the UK’s leading independent economic research institute for almost sixty years - its early members included Sir William Beveridge and Lord Keynes ... publications have a reputation for combining academic work of the highest quality with the needs of business and policymakers”. As this might indicate, its work is almost universally orthodox interventionist. It has published a large number of studies of EU issues (some in conjunction with the Association for the Monetary Union of Europe), all favourably inclined or concerned with narrowly technical points.

**Philip Morris Institute for Public Policy Research**

6 Rue des Patriotes

B-1000 Brussels

Belgium

Tel: 0032 7321156

Fax: 0032 7321307

Email: [mercedes\\_pmi@compuserve.com](mailto:mercedes_pmi@compuserve.com)

“ ... a non-profit organisation [established in 1993] which aims to stimulate debate by publishing Discussion Papers and organising conferences and seminars that address major policy issues confronting today’s European decision-makers ... In November 1995, PMI launched a writing competition on the future of Europe”.

**The Policy Studies Institute**

100 Park Village East

London

NW1 3SR

Tel: 0171 468 0468

Fax: 0171 388 0914

A very “centrist” and conventional think tank, the PSI has also produced a number of publications on EU matters.



### **The Political Economy Research Centre**

Professor Tony Payne, Director

Elmfield Lodge

Elmfield

Northumberland Road

Sheffield

S10 2TY

Tel: 0114 222 0660

Fax: 0114 275 5921

Email: [S.McColm@sheffield.ac.uk](mailto:S.McColm@sheffield.ac.uk)

<http://www.shef.ac.uk/uni/academic/N-Q/perc>

A research centre set up in 1993 “in the belief that many of the perspectives of the past were no longer adequate to understand the deep-seated changes presently sweeping the political and economic world”. In reality its orientation can be summed up as being critical of classical, neo-classical and market oriented economics and as dressing up most of the assumptions of old style socialism, interventionism and “institutionalist” school economics in the post-modernist garb of “stakeholding”, cultural and “gender” perspectives etc. Amongst its research programmes are a number of interest to students of European issues, including the International Political Economy of Regionalism, Social Exclusion and the Development of European Citizenship (SEDEC), and Economic Cohesion of European Regions (ECER). Occasional Papers, Working Papers, Policy Papers, and a regular journal, **New Political Economy** are published.

### **The Public Finance Foundation**

3 Robert Street

London

EC2N 6BH

Tel: 0171 543 5600

Fax: 0171 543 5700

“ ... the independent research arm of CIPFA - the Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy ... provides an impartial forum for debate and the exchange of ideas on public expenditure and related aspects of public finance, and on the management and administration of public services.” Has published some material on, or organised seminars about, some aspects of European issues and the use of referenda.

### **The Regulatory Policy Institute & Regulatory Policy Research Centre**

Professor George Yarros, Director  
Hertford College  
31-33 Westgate  
Oxford  
OX1 1NZ

Tel: 01865 792858  
Fax: 01865 241885  
Email: [rprc@hertford.ox.ac.uk](mailto:rprc@hertford.ox.ac.uk)  
<http://users.ox.ac.uk/~rprc>

Has published a number of reports on European regulatory issues.

**The Royal Institute of International Affairs**

Chatham House  
10 St. James Street  
London  
SW1Y 4LE

Tel: 0171 957 5700  
Fax: 0171 957 5710  
Email: [101574.2670@compuserve.com](mailto:101574.2670@compuserve.com)  
<http://www..riia.org>

The Foreign Office-linked foreign policy studies institute, established in 1920, that has been a primary source of pro-federalist thought in the UK. Publishes a huge range of material on European and general foreign policy issues.

**The Social Market Foundation**

Stephen Pollard, Head of Research  
20 Queen Annes Gate  
London  
SW1H 9AA  
Tel: 0171 222 7060  
Fax: 0171 222 0310

So far this leading independent think tank has only produced a couple of items on European issues.

**Statewatch**

P. O. Box 1516  
London  
N16 0EW

Tel: 0181 802 1882  
Fax: 0181 880 1727  
Email: [statewatch-off@geo2.poptel.org.uk](mailto:statewatch-off@geo2.poptel.org.uk)  
<http://www.poptel.org.uk/statewatch/>

A Marxist-oriented group concerned with civil liberties and state power in the UK. Although often flawed in their analyses (especially regarding “the Right”) they have produced interesting material on EU policing and security policies and their threat to civil liberties. At their web-site is a useful database on “The State and Civil Liberties in UK and Europe”, which contains over 21,000 entries. Also issues a twice-yearly **Statewatch European Monitor** and operates **SEMDOC** - see below.

### **Statewatch European Monitor**

c/o Statewatch, qv above.

“Launched in September 1998, the twice yearly *Monitor* reviews all the latest developments in justice and home affairs issues”.

### **Statewatch European Monitoring and Documentation Centre on Justice and Home Affairs in the EU**

c/o Statewatch, qv above.

“SEMDOC holds thousands of documents, reports and pamphlets on justice and home affairs in the EU. Launched in 1997 ... to encourage critical research and investigative reporting”.

### **The Trade Policy Research Centre**

Hat and Mitre Court  
St. John Street  
London  
EC1M 4EL

Tel: 0171 251 0147  
Fax: 0171 251 0140

A free-market oriented think tank on trade issues. It has produced a number of reports relevant to European issues.

### **Understanding Global Issues**

European Schoolbooks Ltd.

The Runnings  
Cheltenham  
Gloucestershire  
GL51 9PQ

Tel: 01242 245252  
Fax: 01242 224137  
Email: ugi@esb.co.uk

Publishes a wide range of what it describes as “unbiased briefings on international topics in the news” suitable for upper form use at schools. There are a number on European issues and the EC/EU.

**The University Association for Contemporary European Studies**

The Secretariat  
King’s College London  
Strand  
London  
EC2R 2LS

Tel: 0171 240 0206  
Fax: 0171 836 2350  
Email: 100633.1514@compuserve.com

“Brings together academics involved in researching Europe with representatives of government, industry and the media who are active in European affairs ... [The] primary organisation for British academics researching the EU”. Publishes a number of very useful reference works, including **The Register of Courses in European Studies**, **The Register of Research into European Integration**, and the **Selective Bibliography of Books on European Integration**.

**The World Economy**

Professor David Greenaway, Editor  
Department of Economics  
The University of Nottingham  
University Park  
Nottingham  
NG7 2RD

Tel: 0115 9515151  
Fax: 0115 9514159

A free market-oriented academic journal on trade economics and policy.

## **vi: Pro-EU Internet Resources**

### **Euro MP**

Tony.Robinson@eurosocialist.be.btmail.com

Tel: 0032 843060

Fax: 0032 849026

“ ... the weekly newsletter of the largest political group in the European Parliament, the 214-strong Socialists led by Labour MEP Pauline Green”. Available free on request by email.

### **Europa Homepage**

<http://europa.eu.int/index.htm>

or <http://europa.eu.int/euoparl/bro en2.htm>

An official EU information site.

### **EuroInternet**

<http://fgr.wu-wien.at/nentwich/euroint.htm>

A massive official EU site detailing “Information Resources Related to European Integration in the Internet”, ie all resources in favour of the EU project.

### **The European Union FAQ [Frequently Asked Questions]**

<http://eubasics.allmansland.com/index.html>

An unofficial, but pro-EU, site edited by Roland Siebelink and Bart Schelfhout. A good summary of basic information about the EU, as well as links to other sites.

### **The European Union and the Internet**

<http://www.helsinki.fi/%7Eaunesluo/eueng.html>

Another unofficial site set up by Antero Aunesluoma of the Department of Political Science at the University of Helsinki. A very useful set of links to official EU sites, and other pro-EU sources of information.

### **Humanities HUB - European Studies**

<http://griffin.itc.gu.edu.au/gwis/hub/hub.europe.html>

A site based at the Faculty of Arts, Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia. A useful source for research on European subjects.

### **List of EU Databases Available Online**

<http://www.abako.dk>

Email: [dmb@abako.dk](mailto:dmb@abako.dk)

An unofficial list of EU databases available online, compiled by Markus Brandt. Much of the text is currently in Danish, but will be translated into English in due course.

### **Political Resources for the European Union**

<http://cunliffe.demon.co.uk/Politics>

A unofficial site set up by Matthew Cunliffe as “a comprehensive guide to politics in the EU and its Member States”. Contains some useful links to EU documents.

### **Various Newsgroups**

[talk.politics.european-union](#)

[eunet.politics](#)

[alt.politics.ec](#)

[\\*alt.politics.europe](#)

[alt.politics.europe.misc](#)

[soc.culture.europe](#)

The above newsgroups contain generally favourable discussion on EU issues.

## **vii: Eurosceptic Internet Resources**

### **The alt.politics.british Newsgroup**

Frequently contains vigorous discussion, pro and con, on the EU.

### **Peter Bogusz's Anti-EMU Website**

<http://www.sjgwp.co.uk/noemu>

An Anti-Single currency website created by former Referendum Party candidate Jim Bogusz. “[A]n opportunity for Businesses and Individuals to speak out against EMU and to speaj up for the preservation of our sovereign Parliament”. Lists pro- and anti-EMU companies, opportunities for the likeminded to place links, and provides a brief case against EMU.

**David Delaney's Eurofollies Web Site**

<http://www.kc3ltd.co.uk/profile/eurofollie/dtdelaney@compuserve.com>

“ ... a compendium of EU rules, regulations, policies and procedures which are harmful to democracy, business and liberty. There is also a list of measures wrongly attributed to the EU ... a page for all political parties, movements, organisations and persons who are critical or opposed to the existing development in the EU”.

**\* The Enemy Within: Eurofederalist Companies to Boycott, Eurofanatic Politicians to Vote Against**

<http://ds.dial.pipex.com/town/place/qq28/democrcay/enemy.htm>

A useful site created by Rodney Atkinson listing the principal corporate supporters of Eur-o-pean unification and the principal British Eurofanatic politicians.

**The Free Britain Euro-sceptic Web Site**

<http://www.freebrit.demon.co.uk>  
webmaster@freebrit.demon.co.uk (M. D. Phillips)

Extremely useful web site with links to other Euro-sceptic organisations, to official EU and other pro-EU sites, and the texts of the major EU treaties.

**Keele University Critical European Group Web Site**

<http://www.keele.ac.uk/socs/ks40/ceghome.html>

“CEG is a group of academics and students interested in scrutinising the value of our member-ship of the EU and evaluating alternatives to it”. Another useful site for information, arguments and links to other sites. Also contains the texts of a number of Euro-sceptic publications, including some not available in printed form. The site is maintained by Dr. Andy Fear.

**The Lamb and Flag**

<http://www.arts.unimelb.edu.au/fcf/ucr/student/1996/j.greenall/>

Not a pub, but an interesting site set up by Australian J. Greenall “For a greater understanding of Britain’s involvement in the EU”. Includes sections on current debate, Britain’s history in the EU, Famous Quotes, Who’s For Further Integration?, Who’s Against Further Integration?

### III: A SELECTED ANNOTATED EURO-SCEPTICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

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**Wotan, My Enemy: Can Britain Live With the Germans in the European Unity**, Robson Books, London, 1994. A personal account of Abse's view of the long estrangement between the German system of ideas - in politics, history and ethics - and that of Western Europe and the USA.

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& Siebert, W. Stanley, **Social Engineering in the European Community: The Social Charter, Maastricht and Beyond**, Current Controversies No. 5, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1993

Adonis, Andrew & Tyrie, Andrew, **Subsidiarity: No Panacea**, European Policy Forum, London, nd (December 1992). Critique of the idea that "subsidiarity" is an effective barrier to "creeping encroachment" from Brussels.

Alexander, Andrew (31 October 1997), "Know the EMU Type by His Feathers", **The Daily Mail** (London), p. 10. Explodes the myth that 'business' universally favours EMU. Argues that business supporters of EMU are generally the non-entrepreneurial, risk-averse administrative and bureaucratic types.

(24 November 1998), "Is This the Best They Can Do?", **The Daily Mail** (London), p. 4. Excellent brief demolition of the 114-signatory letter in *The Financial Times* claiming to express the "view of British business" in favour of EMU. See also Anon. (24 November 1998), below.

Alexandrakis, Nikolas, **The Lost Vision**, Minerva Press, 195 Knightsbridge, London, SW7 1RE, 1996. A little known autobiographical work by a former member of the European Commission Delegations. Alexandrakis is a supporter



of the European “dream”, a “democratic, humane, just and strong Europe” but argues that there is a “dangerously growing, behind the scenes, sub-centres of power, within the institution of the EC. Often these parallel, power- emanating sub-centres are run by individuals and their ‘clans’ with little consideration to meritocracy ... If in the course of service some persons dare to question their tactics, methods or objectives, then the signal is passed to the actors of the sub-centres: Elimination is the answer ... they strengthen and perpetuate their powers which guarantee them control and material prosperity even if it leads to the violation of the principles that they have been entrusted to guard ... The individuals involved in these Clans do not hesitate, in attaining their objectives, to bring to the surface neo-Nazi methods. The sole purpose of these methods is to castrate or even exterminate all forms of dialogue that dare to question the arbitrary use of the authority conferred upon them by the constitutionally elected European leaders.”

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Allason, Rupert, Spies, **Europe and the British Constitution**, Campaign for United Kingdom Conservatism, Abergavenny, Monmouthshire, 1999

Allatt, Mark (Spring 1995), “IGC ‘96: A Contract For Europe?”, **Forward** (Conservative Way Forward), No. 10. The Secretary of CWF puts forward a set of goals for Britain at the 1996 IGC, and argues for UK withdrawal to affiliate status with the EC if they are not attained.

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Andersen, S. S. & Eliassen, K. A. (1991), “European Community Lobbying”, **European Journal of Political Research**, 20. Concludes that the EU is more strongly affected by special interest lobbying than any of the member states.

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XLV(9), pp. 49-52. "[T]he move to a common currency is far more political than economic. There will be undeniable advantages - lower transaction costs and less risk for transactions and contracts among the participating countries; but, given the current absence of exchange or capital controls and the availability of well-developed hedging instruments, these advantages are easily overrated ... [S]imply adopting a common currency will accomplish little directly to ensure a harmony of fiscal, welfare and regulatory policies, and even less to encourage the geographic mobility of labour".

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and constructed by humans whose efforts on its behalf have made them a sort of saint”.

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be implemented by a centralised body acting on behalf of the whole group without any individual country suffering. Whether a small 'core' group of EU countries are sufficiently converged is an open question, but what is clear is that the UK, together other countries such as Italy, Ireland, Sweden and the Mediterranean countries, not to mention the East European nations which seek to join the EU ... are too different to participate effectively ... The potential cost of UK participation in the should not be underestimated ... the cost in terms of lost output, together with the combined waste and human suffering of mass unemployment, is likely to be substantial."

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(NB: For ease of reference I have standardised the name order alphabetically of the above items by the prolific team of Baimbridge, Burkitt and associates. This may not be the actual order on particular titles.)

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**Britain and European Union: Dialogue of the Deaf**, Macmillan, London, 1996. A persuasive account of the distinctive nature of British society and expose of the deliberate deceptions of the Euro-statists.

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**The Throw That Failed: Britain's Original Attempt to Join the Common Market**, New European Publications, London, 1995. See especially "The Results", pp. 116-138, for the author's assessment of the consequences of EU membership for Britain as a "disaster".

Bell MP, Sir Ronald (Autumn 1980), "The Future of Britain", **Conservative Trident Group Newsletter** (Conservative Trident Group, London), pp. 2-8. (This group no longer exists).

Bellini, James, **British Entry: Labour's Nemesis**, Young Fabian Pamphlet 30, The Fabian Society, London, May 1972. A socialist argument that "In general terms the dynamic of the European community ... is diametrically opposed to the long term interests of the mass of the population of that community". Bellini sees the EU as "clearly moving in the direction of supra-national monopoly capitalism ... the steady attrition of political power and the maximisation of private power at the level of multi-national, and hence supra-national, control".

Bercow MP, John, **Aiming for the Heart of Europe: A Misguided Venture**, Occasional Paper No. 33, Bruges Group, London, 1998

Berghahn, Volker R. at al (May 1996), "Ludwig Erhard: Father of the Economic Miracle and First German Eurosceptic", **The European Journal**, 3(8), pp. 14-15. An interesting extract that reveals that former German Chancellor Erhard, the architect of the German economic miracle, was opposed to the EU as a return to protectionism and corporatism.

ed., **Quest for Economic Empire: European Strategies of German Big Business in the Twentieth Century**, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 1996. Not a Euro-sceptic work, but an interesting collection of essays demonstrating that the contemporary drive by Germany to construct an integrated European economy has precedents in similar hegemonic moves in both the imperial and National Socialist periods.

Bernholz, Peter, (1992), "Constitutional Aspects of the European Integration", Borner, Silvio & Grudel, Herbert, eds., **The European Community After 1992: Perspectives From Outside**, Macmillan, London, pp. 45-60. A moderately critical view from a "public choice" economic perspective. Bernholz cautions that unless strong classical liberal constitutional measures are instituted there is a "danger that the positive influences [i.e., of European economic integration] may be lost if national regulations are replaced by Community regulation". The economics of politics clearly shows, in his view, that "every democratic market economy shows a tendency towards rising influences of pressure groups and increasing government action".

(1992), "The Completion of the Internal Market: Opportunities and Dangers From an Institutional Perspective", CEPS, ed., **The Macro-Economics of 1992**, Paper No. 42, CEPS, Brussels, Belgium. A moderately critical view from a public choice viewpoint.

(Fall 1990), "Institutional Requirements for Stable Money in an Integrated World Economy", **The Cato Journal**, The Cato Institute, 1000 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20001-0200, USA, 10(2), pp. 485-511. "[H]istorically the development of stable international monetary systems has been slow and has always been threatened by government interventions. Such systems usually emerged spontaneously and were not created by agreements among states". The best way to European monetary unification, in Bernholz's view, is national monetary discipline and legal space for the development of competing currencies.

et al, **A Proposal for a European Constitution: Report by the European Constitutional Group**, European Policy Forum, London, 1993

Biffen MP, Rt. Hon Sir (October 1969), "Tory Nationalism", **Solon**, 1(1), pp. 19-24. (This journal no longer exists; indeed, only one issue was ever published). A statement of his view of "Tory nationalism", with critical remarks on the EEC as "a managed and highly protective commercial organisation ... [with] ... no

satisfactory political arrangements to control the additional tier of government represented by the Commission in Europe”.

(1977), “The Europe of Tomorrow”, Idem, **Political Office or Political Power?: Six Speeches on National and International Affairs**, Centre for Policy Studies, London, pp. 19-23. Welcomes the prospective expansion of EEC membership as a way of weakening its existing statist and protectionist constitution.

(1977), “Open Trade: The European Opportunity”, **Ibid.**, pp. 31-39. documents the “evidence of the dangers of Common Market protectionism already in being and in prospect”.

(1997), “The Effect of European Monetary Union on the British Pensions Industry”, **New European** (Produced as part of *European Business Review*), 97(1), pp. 4-7

et al, **Maastricht: Game, Set and Match?. Some Key Arguments About the United Kingdom’s Future Status in the European Union**, Conservative Way Forward, London, 1993. A group of Euro-sceptic MPs challenge John Major’s assertions that his negotiations on the Maastricht Treaty was graced with a “game, set and match” victory for the UK’s alleged goal of constraining centralism.

Berry MP, Roger, **Against a Single Currency**, Fabian Pamphlet No. 572, The Fabian Society, London, November 1996. Argues that “it is clear that the economic benefits do not outweigh the costs ... the EU does not constitute an optimal currency area’ ... [or] ... circumstances in which it would be wise for individual member states to relinquish control of monetary policy, particularly the possibility of exchange rate adjustment”. Also attacks the role of a European Central Bank “because it would preclude democratic control of monetary policy and its agenda is firmly monetarist”.

Black, Conrad (December 1991), “Conservatism and the Paradox of Europe”, **The Salisbury Review** (London), 10(2), pp. 17-23; reprinted in Holmes, Martin, ed., **The Eurosceptical Reader**, Macmillan, London, 1996. “We should be in no doubt that the Euro-socialist led direction of Europe is aimed squarely at Federation, at the submergence of our distinctiveness and the marginalisation of our institutions”.

(Summer 1998), “Britain Has a Choice: We Should Take the American Option:”, **European Journal** (European Foundation), 5(9), pp. 8-9. An important brief statement of the case for Britain’s return to its “common Atlantic home”.

**Britain’s Final Choice: Europe or America?**, Centre for Policy Studies, London, 1998. A longer treatment of this subject.

Blight, Catherine (April/June 1984), “Agricultural Prices and Markets - the Domino Effect”, **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 4(3), pp. 36-37, 39

Body, Sir Richard, (1971), "The Agricultural Issues", Evans, Douglas, ed., **Destiny or Delusion: Britain and the Common Market**, Victor Gollancz, London, pp. 31-48

(September 1995), "The Tories' Moral Dilemma", **The Salisbury Review** (London), 14(1), pp. 25-27. A conservative discussion of the dichotomy between "rights" (in this context largely seen in the their pseudo-form of positive claims, rather than in the classical liberal sense) and duties, and its relevance to the issue of the EU.

**No Way to Feed a Nation**, Viewpoint Series 1, The Selsdon Group, London, nd (1975?)

**The CAP Doesn't Fit the British Farmer**, The Safeguard Britain Campaign, London, 1978

**Agriculture: The Triumph and the Shame**, Maurice Temple Smith, London, 1982

**Farming in the Clouds**, Maurice Temple Smith, London, 1984

**Red or Green For Farmers (And the Rest of Us)**, Broad Leys Publishing, Saffron Walden, 1987

**Our Food, Our Land: Why Contemporary Farming Practices Must Change**, Rider Publishing, London, 1991.

**Europe of Many Circles: Constructing a Wider Europe**, New Europe Publications, London, 1990. A proposal for a more liberal and less centralised European community. "Mega states are not made by God for the good of ordinary people; they are the artefacts of politicians who thirst for power". Sir Richard's other works on agricultural issues, above, all contain general critiques of protectionism, state interventionism and CAP. A more extended discussion of the theme argued in Coleman, John (1989), below.

**The Breakdown of Europe**, New European, London, 1998

Bolick, Clint, **European Federalism: Lessons From America**, Occasional Paper 93, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1994. A warning against the tremendous growth of centralised power even power even under American federalism, which possessed an independent judiciary and a liberal civic order - which Europe does not.

Bolton, John R. (September/October 1995), "The European Union, the United States and Former Yugoslavia", **The European Journal**, 3(1), pp. 8-9. A description of the disastrous effects of EU "foreign policy" initiatives in Yugoslavia.

Bonnal, Nicolas (November 1996), "Barbarians at the Gate?", **European Journal**, 4(2), p. 11. A critique of French statist cultural policy.

Bonner, William (Autumn 1997), "The Franco-German Monetary Conspiracy", **Fleet Street Letter** (271 Regent Street, London, W1R 7PA), Special Report, pp. 1-3. "Every day Continental Europe is falling deeper under the control of a Euro-regime more devoted to old- style Socialism, big government and big bureaucracy than any Old Labour hardliner and more corrupt than the wildest dreams of Conservative backbenchers. And if the British Government doesn't act strongly, in five years, Britain's real rulers will be based in Brussels and Strasbourg, not Whitehall. And the true government of Britain will be the faceless, unaccountable bureaucrats of the EU ... [I]f EMU happens, the consequences could make the results of ERM - 15% interest rates and £14 billion lost by the Bank of England - look like peanuts".

Booker, Christopher (June 1979), "Does Europe Exist?", Idem, **The Seventies: Portrait of a Decade**, Allen Lane, London, 1980/Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1980, pp. 127-130

(August 1995), "European Union: The Shadow Over Britain", **Freedom Today** (The Freedom Association), 20(4), pp. 8- 10

(1996), "Europe and Regulation: The New Totalitarianism", Holmes, Martin, ed., **The Eurosceptical Reader**, Macmillan, London, pp. 186-204

(24 January 1997), "A Very Curious Little Pamphlet", **Eurofacts**, 2(7), pp. 1, 3. A response to a pamphlet published by ACE (qv Directory, above), attacking Booker's work. Booker demonstrates that the ACE's critique is a farrago of distortion, dishonesty and mendacity.

\* (1997), "The Secret History of Metrication", **The Yardstick**, No. 5, pp. 6-9

Europe, The Hobhouse Lecture, King's School, Bruton, 6 February 1997. (Available from The Industry and Europe Data Centre). Argues that the "entire European project is so fundamentally flawed that it cannot work. It is beginning to set up strains and contradictions in our continent so deep and so severe that in the end it will very messily fall apart".

**The Mad Officials: How the Bureaucrats Are Strangling Britain**, Constable, London, 1994. Includes accounts of absurd and unjust Euro-regulation, and the way British bureaucrats further exploit it to extend state power.

**The Castle of Lies: Why Britain Must Get Out of Europe**, Gerald Duckworth, London, 1996. A penetrating and indispensable study of the economic insanity and political mendacity of the EU and a plea for Britain's departure from what the authors' call "this failed mess of a sentimental dream".

**Britain and Europe: The Culture of Deceit**, The Bruges Group, London, 2000 & North, Richard (18 September 1995), "Red Tape Alert: Prawns in a Game of Brussels Madness", **The Daily Mail** (London), p. 39. A particularly outrageous example of unjust Euro-regulation.

**The Great Deception: The Secret History of the European Union**, Continuum Publishers, London, 2003

NB: Christopher Booker's former regular column, with Dr. Richard North, "Red Tape Alert", in *The Daily Mail*, and now in *The Sunday Telegraph*, provides a constant stream of regulatory horror stories emanating from both European law and from home-grown British bureaucrats.

Boot, Alexander (Spring 1997), "Trust the Germans" , **The Salisbury Review** (London), 15(3), pp. 32- 35. Interesting speculations regarding the possible role of Russian and Germano-Russian goals coffin of free Europe".

Bootle, Roger (September 1992), "Danes Could Save Our Bacon", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 12(5), p. 21. "[T]here is little doubt that the EC is not an optimum currency area ... The Maastricht plans for monetary union are a dog's breakfast".

(Autumn 1995), "No City Case for Joining a Single Currency", **Forward** (Conservative Way Forward), No. 12, pp. 18-19

**The Economics of European Monetary Union**, HSBC Markets/HSBC Greenwell, Thames Exchange, 10 Queen Street Place, London, EC4R 1BQ, 1995. Argues that "there are no compelling economic arguments for Europe, or the central part of Europe, to form a monetary union ... there is every reason to worry about the quality of monetary management under monetary union".

Botsford, David, **Britain and the European Union: How We Got In and Why We Should Get Out**, Foreign Policy Perspectives 28, Libertarian Alliance, London, 1997. An incisive critique of the fascist-oriented and illiberal origins of the 'European ideal', the Machiavellian tactics of its proponents, and its threat to liberty.

Bourlet, Jim, **Toyota in Europe: A Monkey on a String**, Society for Business and Commerce, Keio University Press, 2-19-30 Mita, Minato-ku, Tokyo 108, Japan. An analysis of how the EU manipulated Toyota into its widely exploited pro-EU comments before the 1997 general election. Toyota was pressured into making politically useful statements by the discretionary power of the EU regarding regional development grants and other financial powers. A classic example of the political impact of corrupt corporatist power in the EU.

Bousfield, Ann (Spring 1997), "The European Democratic Deficit? The Strange Case of Integration by Stealth", **Reflections** (Edmund Burke Institute, Dublin), 1(1), pp. 13-15. "European integration, a process which began as an undemocratic subterfuge to circumvent the established allegiances of European peoples, could create, if it continues on its present course, a European statism that may diminish the civil and economic liberty of all Europeans".



Bowers, J. K. & Cheshire, P., **Agriculture, the Countryside and Land Use: An Economic Critique**, Methuen University Paperbacks, London, 1983. Includes a critique of CAP.

Boyd, John, (6 March 1996), "Why is the TUC Following the EMU Road?", **Morning Star** (London)

**Britain and European Union: Democracy or Superstate? (After Maastricht)**, Discussion Pamphlet 1, Campaign Against Euro-Federalism, Merseyside, 1889; 2nd edn 1991; 3rd edn 1993

**Democracy and Jobs, or Superstate and Unemployment**, Discussion Paper 2, Campaign Against Euro-Federalism, Merseyside, 1991

**European Union or Democracy and National Independence**, Discussion Pamphlet 3, Campaign Against Euro-Federalism, Merseyside, 1994. Major statements of the socialist case against the EU, which the author sees as a manifestation of transnational corporations and an oligarchical threat to democracy, national self-determination, real internationalism and to the working class.

Boyson MP, Rhodes (1978), "Patriotism, National Unity and Identity", Idem, **Centre Forward: A Radical Conservative Programme**, Temple Smith, London, pp. 136-166. A statement of his general views as well those on the EEC, which were at this time in favour of continued membership but not of federalism, direct elections or an enlarged Brussels bureaucracy.

Bramwell, A. C. (Spring 1987), "Dans le Couloir: The Political Culture of the EEC Commission", **International Journal of Moral and Social Studies** (Journals Ltd., Oxford), 2(1), pp. 81-92. An interesting account of the distinct (and often illiberal) political traditions of the different nations in the EEC. These do not bode well for the prospects of liberty or harmony within the EU.

Breeze, Adam, **Sir Leon's Visible Hand: Competition Enforcement in the European Commission**, Community Papers 1, International Freedom Foundation, London, 1992. (This organization no longer exists). Exposes the anti-competitive, anti-consumer practices of European Commission.

**Culture Vultures: The Imposition of Cultural Conformity**, Community Papers No. 2, International Freedom Foundation, London, 1992. A critique of the paternalist and statist cultural and "information" (ie propaganda) policies of the EU.

**Commissioners of Poverty: Assessing the EC's Overseas Aid and Development Policy**, Community Papers 3, International Freedom Foundation, London, 1992. A critique of EU aid policies as being "fragmented between various arms of the Brussels bureaucracy, together with a plethora of agencies, leading to divided accountability and conflicting priorities ... resulting in aid

funds being channeled to some highly questionable organisations ... [and creating] a 'dependency culture' [in its recipients]".

Bresciani-Turroni, Constantino (1950), "Inter-State Economic Relations and 'Greater Economic Areas'", Idem, **Economic Policy for the Thinking Man**, William Hodge, London, pp. 199-215. The great Italian 'Austrian School' economist attacks pre-war plans for pan-European economic autarchy, especially those put forward by National Socialist Germany. He points to the long tradition of support for such centralising super-statism in German political thought.

Bristow, Jennie (July/August 1996), "Who's Hiding Behind Europe", **Living Marxism**, Junius Publications, BCM JPLTD, London, WC1N 3XX, pp. 12-13. Good analysis of some of the concealed dynamics of the European issue in British political life. Argues that "There is nothing inherently xenophobic about being against the institutions of Europe, just as there is nothing internationalist about taking a pro-EU stance. The danger with Europe is that it devolves power further and further away from the electorate into the hands of officials and judges who represent the interests of Europe's powerful elites and are accountable to nobody else ... European institutions are the symbols of unaccountable power in an anti-democratic age". This journal, and its parent organisation the Revolutionary Communist Party, is a strange grouping. It combines amazingly perceptive rational and libertarian analyses – frequently identical in content and phraseology to the Libertarian Alliance and FOREST under the Directorship of Chris Tame - on the growing threats to liberty from health fascism, risk-mongering, and all the assorted moral panics of centrist and 'Leftist' authoritarianism and paternalism, with a notional commitment to Marxism. An exceedingly odd combination!

Brock, George (28 March 1997), "Europe Fiddles While Albania Burns", **The Times Literary Supplement** (London), p. 13. The former European Editor of *The Times* points out that "The euro is an economic means to a political end", the replacement of national independence by a super-state. He expresses scepticism as to the value and attractiveness such a project to the UK and argues that "A single currency open to allcomers will create tensions that may destroy the stability which the EU has helped to build".

Brogan, Patrick (1970), "Argument for Staying Out", Idem, **The Common Market**, Issues of Today, Times' Education Services, Times Newspapers Ltd., London. "The case for joining the EEC is first of all political and so is the case for staying out. People who want us to join are prepared for a loss of British sovereignty, people who oppose it are not ... It is not honest for pro-Europeans to pretend [that the parliaments and governments of the European states will eventually be reduced to so many Stormonts] it could never happen, and the

honest ones who do so are being foolish ... It is impossible to calculate the economic consequences of joining”.

Bruce of Donnington, Lord (January 1995), “Crooked Dealings in the European Union”, **The European Journal**, 2(4), pp. 4-5

Bryant, Sir Arthur (1969), “A Choice for Destiny”, Idem, **The Lion and the Unicorn: A Historian’s Testament**, Collins, London, pp. 287-291. “There are many arguments against Britain joining the Common Market. Some are political, some economic. But there is one over-riding one, which springs from the very meaning and purpose of democracy”.

**A Choice for Destiny: Commonwealth and Common Market**, Collins, London, 1962. The eminent High Tory historian’s case against joining the EEC.

Buchan, Alastair, ed., **Europe’s Futures, Europe’s Choices: Models of Western Europe in the 1970s**, Institute for Strategic Studies & Chatto & Windus, London, 1969. An older but still interesting study of different approaches to European co-operation. The author takes a mildly sceptical view of unification plans. “[I]t is a pity that the Eurocrats have come to think and speak of the future of Western Europe in terms of a new power bloc, a federalised super- state constructed out of its territorial and national parts, and welded together through the independent authority of the Community institutions in Brussels. For this is still the limited, national state writ large, and there is little in the analysis in the preceding chapters to suggest that this will provide the optimum prescription for solving Europe’s problems in the next decade.”

Buchanan, James M. (1990), “Europe’s Constitutional Opportunity”, Dahrendorf, Sir Ralf et al, **Whose Europe?: Competing Visions for 1992**, Readings 29, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, pp. 1-20. The Nobel Laureate and founder of constitutional economics discusses the opportunities for an effective liberal constitution for Europe. Only an effort based on an understanding of the “constitutional economics of competition” could prevent the “nightmare versions of regulatory ‘Brusselsisation’” and the eventual dissolution of the union, in his view.

(Winter 1991), “An American Perspective on European Constitutional opportunity”, **The Cato Journal**, The Cato Institute, 1000 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20001-0200, USA, 10(3), pp. 619-630. Stresses the importance of a firm classical liberal constitution for any effective market-oriented Europe. The lessons of American federalism, in his view, are clear. Only a severely constitutionally limited federalism could secure economic and political liberty.

**An American Evaluation of Europe’s Constitutional Prospects**, Centre for the Study of Public Choice, George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia, USA, 1992

Buckwell, A. E. et al, **The Costs of the Common Agricultural Policy**, Croom Helm, London, 1982

Budgen MP, Nicholas et al, **Dire Directives**, Christopher Gill MP, The House of Commons, Westminster, London, SW1P 0AA, 1996. (Available from Eurofacts). A selection of some of the worst EU directives by the “whipless eight” of Conservative Party Euro-dissident MPs.

Buitenen, Paul van, **Blowing the Whistle: One Man’s Fight Against Fraud in the European Commission**, ... (CHECK DETS) A personal account by the former assistant auditor of the EC in Brussels, who - in spite of extreme pressure and intimidation - publicly revealed to the European Parliament the internal corruption and fraud at its heart and which led to the resignation in March 1999 of the entire Commission. In spite of the truth of his revelations, the author was suspended from his post and publicly vilified.

Bukovsky, Vladimir (Autumn 2002), “Is the European Union the New Soviet Union?”, **The Salisbury Review** (London), 21(1), pp. 22-24. “In reality the EU today is based on a very firm ideology. It’s a statist ideology involving the preservation of socialism for ever but also the ideology of political correctness, which has become the rule”.

Bull, Brian (1991), “Powerful People in the New Europe”, **New European**, 4(4), pp. 14-16. A brief critique of the power-motive in politics, in which the author appeals to people to “think harder about power in the Community and who will wield it”.

Bunyan, Tony, **The Europol Convention**, Statewatch, London, 1995. The full text of the EU’s Europol Convention with a commentary on its 47 articles.

**Statewatching the New Europe: A Handbook on the European State**, Statewatch, London, 1993

ed., **Researching the European State: A Critical Guide**, Statewatch, London, 1997 forthcoming. Although this group’s work is marred by its Marxist perspective, and by hysterical misunderstandings of “the right”, these works contain useful material on the threat to civil liberties from EU policing plans.

Burkitt, Brian (1997), “Can Britain Viable Opt-Out of EMU?”, **European Business Review**, 97(6), pp. 263-266. “In rejecting EMU, no heavy costs are incurred. The benefits of low inflation and high employment can be obtained by pursuing coherent domestic policies, while arguments that both the role of the City of London and the UK’s success in attracting inward investment would be

endangered if Britain withdrew from the single currency, collapse under scrutiny”.

(December 1997/January 1998), “Single Currency Will Not Work”, **Labour Left Briefing** (P. O. Box 2378, London, E5 9QU), pp. 10-11

**Britain and the European Economic Community: An Economic Re-Appraisal**, British Business for World Markets, Shipley, West Yorkshire, 1975 (This organisation no longer exists, but copies are available from The European Economies Research Unit). A prescient and still relevant critique.

**Britain and the European Economic Community: A Political Re-Appraisal**, British Business for World Markets, Shipley, West Yorkshire, London, 1975 (This organisation no longer exists, but copies are available from The European Economies Research Unit). Another prescient and important analysis of the “profound consequences for the political process of representative decision-making which has evolved over the centuries in the UK. These are of even greater importance when assessing the desirability of EEC membership ... it must be stressed that the ultimate aim of the EEC is to evolve from a common market customs union into a full economic, and ultimately political, union”.

& Mishan, E. S., **1922 and All That - The Single EC Market: An Economic Appraisal**, New European, 4(5), Special Issue, 1991. Concludes that “EC membership has severely weakened Britain’s economy ... in the form of higher food prices ... net trade diversion ... a deterioration in UK competitiveness, and a slowing of growth, exports and employment an annual net outflow of resources ... to finance the Community budget ... EC membership also limits decisively the scope for self-government previously enjoyed by Britain”.

& Mullen, Andy, **The Euro: The Battle For British Hearts and Minds**, Congress For Democracy, London, 2002

Burstall, M. L. & Senior, Ian S. T., **Undermining Innovation: Parallel Trade in Prescription Medicines**, Choice in Welfare 13, IEA Health & Welfare Unit, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1992. How EC regulation of pharmaceutical prices has deterred research.

Bush, Stephen (June 1994), “Lowering the Voltage: Government by Stealth”, **The European Journal**, 1(8), p. 16. On an example of absurd “harmonisation”.

**Britain’s Future: Independence or Extinction?**, Prosyma Research, P. O. Box 19, Poynton, Cheshire, SK12 1FL, 1990

**No Middle Way**, Prosyma Research, Poynton, Cheshire, November 1990. A concise and very well argued account of the effect of fear and ruling class defeatism in Britain, and the threat of the emerging EU superstate. The author calls for a renewed commitment to industrial and economic development and to a global outlook.

**Britain’s Future: Business, Industry and a New Relationship With the European Union**, Prosyma Research, Poynton, Cheshire, 1998

& Bush, Gil, **The Meaning of the Maastricht Treaty**, Prosyma Research, Cheshire, April 1992. The first detailed analysis of the Treaty to be published.

Business for Sterling, **Business for Sterling: The Case for Keeping the Pound**, Business for Sterling, London, 1998

Butler, David & Kitzinger, Uwe, **The 1975 Referendum**, Macmillan, London, 1976. An interesting study. Also includes the full text of the official referendum leaflets, "Why You Should Vote Yes", "Why You Should Vote No", and "Britain's New Deal in Europe".

& Renney, Austin, eds., **Referendums: A Comparative Study of Practice and Theory**, AEI Studies No. 216, American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC, 1978. A useful and comprehensive study of the subject.

Butler, Sir Michael et al, **The Road to Monetary Union Revisited**, Institute of Directors, London, 1993

Butt, Ronald (1995), "The Question for Europe Is Not Federation But Democracy", **New European** (Produced as part of *European Business Review*), 95(4), pp. 2-6. "What the union has to worry about is not true federalism but integration without it .. the increase in the kind of bureaucratic imperialism that has already taken root in Brussels ... an undemocratic Leviathan".

(March 1977), "Our Parliament in Danger", **The European Journal**, 4(6), pp. 3-5

\* Buxton, Aubrey (Lord Buxton) (October 1995), "Euromania Has Become a Disease", **Contemporary Review** (London) 267(1557). Describes the attempts to stifle debate on European issues in the House of Lords.

Caleo, David P., **Europe's Future: The Grand Alternatives**, Horizon Press, New York, 1965/Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1967. An American defender of the continuing validity of national sovereignty examines the different visions of Europe. Although somewhat out of date, it nevertheless presents a useful argument against supranational "federalism".

Campaign Against Euro-Federalism, **Treaty on European Union: An Unauthorised Version to Consolidate the Rome Treaty, Single European Act and Maastrich Treaties on Political, Economic and Monetary Union**, Campaign Against Euro-Federalism, Merseyside, nd. A very useful compilation.

Caplan, Bryan, **Federalism as a Facilitating Practice for Government Cartelization**, Ph.D Dissertation, Princeton University, 1997. A technical but fascinating work of "public choice" economic analysis of American

federalism - but equally relevant to its emerging European cousin. “Many federal policies - including grants, mandates, and tax expenditures - closely resemble the instruments used by cartels to enforce anti-competitive agreements. Is it possible that many federal policies exist not to correct for interstate externalities or enhance equity, but to inhibit interstate competition? [This work] has two main aims: First, to develop an original model of federal-state interaction and political behaviour which allows for the possibility of anti-competitive behaviour in spite of political and economic constraints upon politicians’ decisions; second, to conduct some preliminary empirical tests of the model of government behaviour in general, and the cartelisation hypothesis in particular. The model reveals that typical federal policies are well-suited for anti-competitive purposes, and tend to exacerbate existing monopoly power of state governments. The empirical work shows that there is good evidence that federal policy hurts competition, and that the theoretical model may be profitably applied to other issues of federal-state interaction”.

Available at: <http://www.princeton.edu/~bdcaplan/econ.html>

Carlsen, Hannes Norup et al, **When No Means Yes: Danish Visions of a Different Europe**, The Changing European Order Series 4, The Adamantine Press, London, 1993. A collection of essays expounding the reasons for the Danish vote against acceptance of the Maastricht Treaty in June 1992.

Carter, A[nthony]. J. (1969), “EEC Not the Answer”, Idem, **Wrong Diagnosis, Wrong Remedies**, Discussion Paper No. 1, Economic & Social Science Reserach Association, London, 1969. “Joining the Common Market offers no simple escape route from Britain’s economic problems, which must be tackled at the roots”.

Cash, MP, Bill (1992), “Federation and the Political Engineers”, **New European**, 5(4), pp. 42-49. A critique of centralist federalism.

**A Democratic Way to European Unity: Arguments Against Federalism**, The Bow Group, London, 1990

**Against a Federal Europe: The Battle for Europe**, Gerald Duckworth, London, 1992

**Europe: The Crunch**, Gerald Duckworth, London, 1992. A brief statement of the arguments against the EU.

**British and German National Interests**, The European Foundation, London, 1998

*Britain and Europe: Challenging Questions for Tony Blair*, Kenneth Clarke and Michael Heseltine, European Foundation, London, 1999

**Associated, Not Absorbed - The Associated European Area: A Constructive Alternative to a Single European State**, The European Foundation, Londobn, 2000

& Smith MP, Iain Duncan, **A Response to Chancellor Kohl: A European Germany or a German Europe?**, The European Foundation, London, 1996

Cassell, Francis (1965), "Common Market and Common Currency", Idem, **Gold or Credit?: The Economics and Politics of International Money**, Federal Trust for Education and Research & Pall Mall Press, London, pp. 123-146. Although published by the pro-EU organisation the Federal Trust, this work dates from a period when it was slightly more frank in its goals. The author points out that common markets do not require common currencies, and that the project of monetary unification is primarily a political one.

"Cato", **Pride, Prejudice and Persuasion: How the Establishment Got Hooked on Europe**, David Rebdel, London, 1971

Chaffey, Julian & Kelly, Ruth (July/August 1995), "Where Profits Come From: Overwhelmingly From Outside 'EU14'", **The European Journal**, 2(10), pp. 5-7. A brief analysis of the true picture regarding British trade.

Chown, John & Wood, Geoffrey, **The Right Road to Monetary Union**, Inquiry 11, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 2 October 1989; also reprinted in (February/March 1990), **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 10(3), pp. 32-35, 44; further reprinted in Lewis, Russell, ed., **Recent Controversies in Political Economy**, Routledge & Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1992, pp. 324-333

**The Road to Monetary Union**, Discussion Paper, Institute of Directors, London, 1991

& Beber, Massimo, **The Road to Monetary Union Revisited**, Current Controversies 8, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1994. These papers present a moderate reformist case for a "parallel currency" ECU which could be used those who so desired, rather than full monetary union. This would also serve as a "testing ground for monetary union, allowing citizens of European countries to decide whether to proceed along that road rather than having it forced on them by the Brussels authorities".

Chrystal, Alec (August/September 1989), "Economics For Students: The Pros and Cons of EMU", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 9(6), pp. 38-40. A brief objective survey.

Clark, Colin et al, **British Trade and the Common Market: Plain Facts About the Common Market**, Stevens & Sons for Aims of Industry, London, 1962. Although a fairly non-committal and objective survey, and obviously very outdated now, what is interesting about this work is the observation by Clark, a distinguished free market economist, that "The overriding purpose [of the



“Common Market”] was to create a new unity, a powerful new nation in Western Europe, and everything else was secondary”. Clark also expressed the prescient fear that “in the hands of legalistic doctrinaires and job-hungry officials, the powers taken by an all-Europe authority are more likely to go too far than not to go far enough”.

Clarke, Antoine, **Euro-Skepticism Is Not Enough**, Foreign Policy Perspectives 24, The Libertarian Alliance, London, 1994. Criticises Euro-scepticism for ignoring domestic statism and (unfairly in this compilers view) taking a reactionary view of globalisation. Micklethwait, Brian, below, takes a contrary view.

Clements, Eric, **The Battle for Britain Begins: Why the Left Must Come to its Senses - The Grim Truth About ‘Europe’**, The Authpr, np, nd

Clover, Charles & Spencer, Richard (26 July 1993), “There Must Be Something in Their Water”, **The Daily Telegraph** (London), p. 4. A brief report on the selective prosecution of Britain over drinking water standards.

Cohen, Desmond (1983), “Growth, Stability and Employment”, Cohen, C. D., ed., **The Common Market: Ten Years After, An Economic Review of British Membership of the EEC 1973-1983**, Philip Allan, London, pp. 179-208. Argues that “the decision to join the EEC was always a political one ... If it was relative economic decline which was the concern at the time of entry, then EEC membership has done nothing positive to reverse the trend of many decades, and may actually have accelerated it ... if anything, the EEC had exacted negative effects on the economy”.

Coleman, John (1996), “An Open Letter From the Editor of *New European* to Chancellor Helmut Kohl”, **New European** (Produced as part of *European Business Review*), 96(1), pp. 1-3. A plea for decentralisation.

**Industrial Unrest, Inflation and the EEC**, Common Market Monitoring Association, Warsash, Southampton, Hampshire, nd (1979?)

**A Europe of Many Circles**, Discussion Paper 1, New European Publications, London, 1989

Coleman, Vernon, **England, Our England: A Nation in Jeopardy**, Publishing House, Barnstaple, Devon, 2004. Focuses on the EU’s plot to break the UK up via “regionalisation”. (CHECK PUB DETS)

Colen, Alexandra (Summer 1997), “Letter From Belgium”, **The Salisbury Review** (London), 15(4), pp. 14-17. On the political corruption in Belgium behind the paedophile murder cases.

Collett, Jonathan & Ball, Martin, **Conservative MEPs and the European People's Party: Time for Divorce**, Occasional Paper No. 36, Bruges Group, London, 1999. "A continued formal relationship between Conservative MEPs and the European Peoples party would be ludicrous. Their respective manifestos ... are completely at odds with each other. The Conservative manifesto proposed a wider Europe of sovereign nation states co-operating freely whilst the EPP manifesto wants concrete action to create a deeper, fully integrated federal Europe".

Common Market Monitoring Association, [**Anti-**] **Common Market News**, 1-8, Spring 1976 - Summer 1981. This multi-party group was set up by John Coleman, and its four-page tabloid newspaper contained articles covering all aspects of the topic which still repay reading now. (The final issue was called *Anti-Market News*). Other leaflets and pamphlets were also produced and conferences and seminars organised.

Commonwealth Industries Association, **Twelve Reasons Why Britain Should Not Join the European Common Market**, Commonwealth Industries Association, London, nd. And they were right!

Congdon, Tim (17 September 1990), "Is Europe on the Road to Serfdom?", **National Review** (New York) pp. 40-43

(1990), "European Monetary Integration in the 1990s: The Importance of the Legal-Tender Status of European Currencies", Idem et al, **The State of the Economy**, Readings 31, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, pp. 89-101

(Summer 1991), "In Defence of Sterling: A Critique of the Proposed European Single Currency", **Laissez Faire: A Quarterly Journal of Free Market Thought** (International Freedom Foundation), 1(1), pp. 43-46 (This organisation no longer exists). "A move to a single currency would end the identity of Britain, and also of every other member of the EU, as a distinct nation state. Mrs. Thatcher was correct to say that our sovereignty - our very existence as an independent nation - is at stake."

(October 1993), "Britain's Geopolitical Position & Interests", **The European Journal**, 1(1), p. 5. On the real alternative to the EU - world trade and economic progress.

(18 November 1994), "Goldsmith's Closed Book", *The Times* (London). A brief critique of Sir James Goldsmith's protectionist views in *The Trap*, qv.

(Winter 1996), "Death of Sovereignty", **The Salisbury Review** (London), 15(2), pp. 4-8

(1 March 1997), "Europe's Pension Time Bomb", **The Times** (London), p. 24

(March 1997), "In the City: The Coming Failure of EMU", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 17(1), p. 57. Argues that the collapse of the

single currency project is certain. There is ample room for discussion about the precise sequence of events which will lead to the abandonment of the project, but about the final outcome there can be no doubt”.

(10 February 1998), “There Won’t Be a Single Currency”, **The Daily Telegraph** (London), p. 22

(23 September 1999), “The Euro is Bad Business for Britain”, **The Daily Telegraph** (London), p. 28. “If Britain introduced the euro, its economy would be condemned to another boom-bust cycle. Moreover, in another crucial respect, this boom-bust cycle would be worse than its predecessors”.

**EMU Now?: The Leap to European Money Assessed**, Centre for Policy Studies, London, 1990. Argues that its costs are heavy, and benefits few.

Congress For Democracy, The, **The Case For An Independent Pound**, Congress for Democracy, London, 2001

Connolly, Bernard, (6 September 1995), “The Man Who Knew Too Much”, **The Times** (London). The author explains what led him to write his book, below.

(Summer 1996), “EMU: Out of Place, Out of Time”, **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 16(3), pp. 33-35

(May 2001), “A Dissident Speaks Out”, **The European Journal**, 8(6), pp. 2-4 \*  
A personal account of his kangaroo court trial by the EC for his exposure of its corruption.

**EMU and the Death of Sovereignty**, The Lantern Lecture, The British Housewives League, 24 Liverpool Road, Kingston Hill, Surrey, KT2 7SZ, 1996; reprinted as “The Death of Sovereignty”, *The Salisbury Review* (London), 15(2), Winter 1996, pp. 4-8

(10 February 1997), “Monetary Folly”, **National Review** (New York), XLIX(2), pp. 26, 28, 30-31. “It is impossible to understand the motivation of the single-currency project without understanding the almost religious hold that corporatism has on the European elites. Individualism, and the atomistic market capitalism that is its economic counterpart, is regarded by many Continental Europeans as the work of the devil”.

(19 March 1999), “The Worst of all Possible Europes”, *The Times* (London), p. 22. “If Europe is evolving at all, it is evolving not towards a nation-state but towards an empire, along the lines of the Prussian-dominated Wilhermine bureaucratic Reich ... [T]he effective destruction of national democracy will risk creating both political terrorism and tribal conflict”.

**The Rotten Heart of Europe: The Dirty War For Europe’s Money**, Faber & Faber, London, 1995; paperback edn, 1996; 2nd edn, 1999. An indispensable book by a former Euro-enthusiast and senior official of the European Commission. It exposes monetary union as a statist mechanism and power-play by a Franco-German axis.

Conquest, Robert (Fall 1999), "Towards an English Speaking Union", **The National Interest** (New York), No. 57, pp. 64-75  
(24 January 2000), "Victory, For Now", **National Review** (New York), LII(1), pp. 20- 22, 24. A brilliant attack on the EU project as corporatist, bureaucratic and illiberal nightmare, deeply divisive of Western civilisation.

Conservative Anti-Common Market Information Service, **The Common Market and You: Loss of Sovereignty in The Common Market**, Conservative Anti-Common Market Campaign, London, 1983. (This organisation no longer exists); reprinted in (June 1997), **Freedom Today** (Freedom Association), 22(3), p. 14.

Conservatives For European Reform, **European Community Specials**, Conservatives for European Reform, London, nd (1980?). At least two un-numbered and un-dated four page tabloid papers produced by this defunct group which supported the abolition of CAP, and the overhaul of the EC contributions system. It sought "to stop dumping and other unfair EEC trading practices" and "to restore a proper measure of sovereignty to parliament at Westminster". Articles dealt with the Britain's trade deficit with the EC, the dangers of the EC as a "protectionist bloc", the cost of CAP, the threat of socialism within the EC, the Single European Act, and the EC budget.

Conservative Trident Group, **Newsletter**. This group, chaired by the businessman Victor Montagu, existed in the late 1970s. A number of issues of its *Newsletter* were published, dealing with such topics, amongst others, as Britain's future, the EC and the British dairy industry and public spending. I have been unable to locate a complete set.

Conway, David (May 2001), "The Future of Liberty in the European Union", **The European Journal**, 8(6), pp. 30-35

Cooper, Andrew and Shaw, Marc, **The Social Security Costs of the Social Chapter**, HardData 4, The Social Market Foundation, London, July 1995. Concludes that the Social Chapter would put at risk the UK's policy of encouraging the switch from unfunded state to funded private pensions, "would broadly align the level of UK benefits with those of the least generous EC states ... [and] would add about £10 billion per year to our social security budget."

Corbet, Richard Hugh, ed., **Britain, Not Europe: Commonwealth Before Common Market**, Anti-Common Market League, London, May 1962. Contains a number of essays which are still relevant. In his Introduction Corbet argues that "The political federation of Western Europe, is the very purpose of the European Communities. But for official evasiveness, the purpose would not require

emphasis.” Corbet’s own essay, “The Federalist Pressures in Britain”, pp. 20-24 is a useful outline of the pro-EU movement at the time.

Corden, W[arner] M[ax] (March 1965), “The Theory of Customs Unions”, Idem, **Recent Developments in the Theory of International Trade**, Special Papers in International Finance No. 7, International Finance Section, Department of Economics, Princeton University, New Jersey, pp. 52-55. A good brief introduction to this area of economic theory, one central to an assessment of the value of the EU.

**Monetary Integration**, Essays in International Finance 93, International Finance Section, Department of Economics, Princeton University, New Jersey, 1972. A general critique of the idea of the necessity of monetary integration.

**Monetary Union: Main Issues Facing the European Community**, International issues 3, Trade Policy Research Institute, Hat and Mitre Court, St. John Street, London, EC1M 4EL, 1976. A cool look at the workability of monetary union. Corden also comments that “The initiative for European monetary integration was political rather than economic”.

Corporate Europe Observatory, Europe, Inc: **Dangerous Liaisons Between EU Institutions and Europe**, Corporate Europe Observatory, Amsterdam, 1997. “The evidence presented in this report shows how European industry lobby organizations systematically and successfully to shape the policies of the ... EU to their best interest, thereby bypassing democracy”. The report focuses on the European Roundtable of Industrialists, the Union of Industrial and Employers’ Confederations of Europe, the European Centre for Infrastructure Studies, the Competitiveness Advisory Group, the Association for the Monetary Union of Europe, and Transatlantic Business Dialogue. Although containing useful data, the report is marred by its dogmatic socialism, and its failure to distinguish between corporatism and the free market.

Corry, Dan & Michie, Jonathan, **EMU: The Left Debate**, Political Economy Research Centre, University of Sheffield, Elmfield, Northumberland, S10 2TY, 1996

Cottrell MEP, Richard, **The Sacred Cow: The Folly of Europe’s Food Mountains**, Grafton Books, London, 1987. A Conservative MEP’s critique of CAP.

Coughland, Anthony, **The EEC: Ireland and the Making of a Superpower**, The Irish Sovereignty Movement, Dublin, May 1979. A socialist critique of the EU. The author argues that “The EEC ... talk[s] a lot about peace, partnership and democracy ... Yet the structure they are trying to build is a tremendous threat to real democracy in Europe. It is a structure which makes it harder, not easier, for

ordinary people to influence the decisions affecting their lives. It subverts democratically elected national parliaments. It subordinates weaker EEC States politically to the stronger ones. It makes it well nigh impossible for national labour movements to encourage rational economic planning, full employment and controls on investment in the social interest”.

Courcy, Joe (April 1998), “Globalists v. the Nation State”, **The St. Croix Review** (Religion & Society, P. O. Box 244, Stillwater, Minnesota 55082, USA), 31(2), pp. 43-38. A good brief critique of world-government proposals.

(June 1999), “The Rise and Coming Fall of Socialist Europe”, **Ibid.**, 32(3), pp. 49-60

Cowgill, Anthony and Andrew, eds., **The Maastricht Treaty in Perspective: Consolidated Treaty on European Union**, British Management Data Foundation, October 1992; 2nd edn January 1996; 3rd edn October 1996; 4th edn, as **The Treaty of Amsterdam in Perspective ...**, 1998. (Available from the Industry & Europe Data Centre). An extremely useful version of the Treaty.

Crols, Frans (September/October 1996), “Frans Crols: There is Something Rotten at the Heart of Europe”, **The European Journal**, 4(1), pp. 13-14. The editor of Belgium’s leading business magazine discusses the political and moral corruption endemic in his country

Crossman, Richard, **The Case Against Entry: The United Kingdom and the European Community, The Answer to the White Paper**, Statesman and Nation Publishing, London, nd (1974?)

Culp, Christopher L. (August/September 1990), “Britain and the European Monetary System: An American Perspective”, **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 10(6), pp. 29- 31. “[C]urrency competition provides an alternative approach to monetary stability ... the EMS should be abandoned and replaced with a system of floating exchange rates. Moreover, regulations about currency acceptability should be fully liberalised”.

Curzon, Victoria, **The Essentials of Economic Integration: Lessons of the EFTA Experience**, Trade Policy Research Centre & Macmillan, London, 1974. Still relevant background reading.

Daley, Janet (Autumn 1989), “Europe Must Avoid the American Model”, **New European**, 2(3), pp. 34-37. On the real lessons of American federalism for the EU.

Damman, E., **The Future in Our Hands**, Pergamon Press, Oxford, 1979. An English translation of a Danish work expounding the decentralist and environmentalist critique of the EU.

Davidson, James Dale & Rees-Mogg, William (1993/94), "The New Germany and Europe", Idem, **The Great Reckoning: Protect Yourself in the Coming Depression**, Touchstone Books, Simon & Schuster, New York; 2nd edn, 1994. A sceptical view of the benefits of the EU, by former supporters.

Davies, Christie (April 1991), "Very Common Currencies", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 11(3), pp. 25-26. A satire on the EU mania for standardisation.

(1992), "How Nations Fall Apart", **New European**, 5(4), pp. 22-24. A leading sociologist warns about the difficulties of combining different ethnic groups in federal structures.

(May 2001), "Guilt, Humiliation and Dishonour: The Origins of the European Idea", **The European Journal**, 8(6), pp. 20-22 \*

Davis, E. Philip, **Can Pension Systems Cope?: Population Aging and Retirement Income in the European Union**, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, May 1996. An analysis of the pensions crisis in the EU.

Dearden, Stephen (February 1986), "EEC Membership and the United Kingdom's Trade in Manufactures", **National Westminster Bank Quarterly Review** (London), pp. 15-25. "The statistical evidence is too ambiguous to support the proposition that EEC membership has had a clearly deleterious affect upon the UK's manufacturing trade performance ... However, the magnitude of the deterioration in the UK's manufacturing trade performance, and the consistency of the decline across all of the UK's major industrial trading partners, must be a cause for considerable concern ... one might conclude, as did the Chairman of the House of Commons Trade and Industry Committee in May 1984, that if membership has not been especially harmful, it has not been especially beneficial either".

Democracy Movement, The, **EU Can't Be Serious: The Truth About Europe**, The Democracy Movement, London, 2000

Dick-Erikson, Torquil (April 1996), "European Fiscal Harmonisation - But Who'll pay for What?", **The European Journal**, 3(7), pp. 7-8

Dnes', Antony W. (August/September 1987), "Fishing For Privilege", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 7(6), pp. 14-16

**The European Communities' Common Fisheries Policy: A Critique**, Hume Paper 4, The David Hume Institute, Edinburgh, 1986.

Donges, Juergen B., **What Is Wrong With the European Community?**, Wincott Memorial Lecture 11, Occasional Paper 59, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1981. Argues that the early trade-creating effects of the early EC is now being counter-acted by external protectionism, cartelization, CAP, the EMS and social and economic regulation.

Dormael, Armand Van (April 1996), "The Single Currency Myth", **The European Journal**, 3(7), pp. 11-12

**The Power of Money**, Macmillan, London, 1997. Not a Euro-sceptic work, and the author's economics are not entirely sound, but he does outline aspects of the EMS debacle and expresses critical remarks about EMU. "Stable currencies are one of the necessary ingredients of European recovery. The concept of a single currency was the product of visionary political imagination. Innovative and intuitively appealing, it has acquired over the years a sentimental and symbolic value. Whether it would be economically beneficial if instituted, is a moot point."

Dorn, James A. (Fall 1990), "Global Monetary Order: 1992 and Beyond", **The Cato Journal** (The Cato Institute, Washington, DC), 10(2), pp. 307-314. An Introduction to an anthology of papers delivered to a joint Cato Institute/Institute of Economic Affairs Conference on "Global Monetary Order: 1992 and Beyond". Dorn argues that there is no reason to believe that a European central bank would bring about stable money. He also attacks the "tunnel vision that characterises the Delor Report's approach to monetary unification [that] blocks out competing visions that are more consistent with the European cultural diversity and freedom of choice that are supposed to characterise the new European order".

Douglas, Roy (October 1971), "Editorial: Free Traders and the Common Market", **The Free Trader** (Free Trade League, London), No. 331, pp. 3-4. "Britain has an infinitely preferable route out of [its] mess. That route is free trade. By all means let Britain seek reciprocal free trade with the Common Market" Let her also seek reciprocal free trade with North and South America, with Africa, with the Soviet Bloc, with China, with everybody else! If Britain can't get reciprocity, then it is in her interests unilaterally to remove her trade barriers, so that British costs of production may be reduced to the lowest possible level, and Britain is best equipped to send our goods across the tariff walls which others so foolishly build".

Douglas-Home, Jessica (December 1991), "Investing in Socialism", **The Salisbury Review** (London), 10(2), pp. 42-45. A powerful critique of the



European Bank for REconstruction and Development, supported by the EU, and its statist and anti-market orientation.

Dowd, Kevin (1989), "The Case Against a European Central Bank", **The World Economy** (Department of Economics, University of Nottingham, Nottingham, NG7 2RD), 12(3), pp. 361- 372

(Fall 1990), "Does Europe Need a Federal Reserve System?", **The Cato Journal**, (The Cato Institute, Washington, DC), 10(2), pp. 423-442

(June 1991), "Evaluating the Hard ECU", **The World Economy** (Department of Economics, University of Nottingham, Nottingham, NG7 2RD), 14(2), pp. 215-225. "The major monetary problem facing Europe is not the lack of monetary union or the absence of a supra-national bank, and what Europe needs above all is not so much a common currency but a sound currency. The key problem is inflation, and there is no reason to believe that either the hard ecu or the reforms proposed by Delors would ever get to grips with it".

(September 1991), "Which Way For Euro-Money Reform?", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 11(5), pp. 29-31. "The European central bank and the hard ecu are little more than the latest round in the smoke and mirrors game [politicians] play with the rest of us in which they try to divert our attention from what is really going on and their own responsibility for it."

(Winter 1995), "Regarding the Central Bank and Inflation: An Alternative View", **Review of Policy Issues**, 1(3), pp. 41-45. A response to Baimbridge and Burkitt (Winter 1995), above.

**How to End European Inflation: A Proposal to Deal With the Controversy Surrounding British Membership of the Exchange Rate Mechanism of the EMS**, Study Paper 4, The Bruges Group, December 1989

**European Monetary Reform: The Pitfalls of Central Planning**, Foreign Policy Briefing No. 28, The Cato Institute, Washington, DC, 27 December 1993; reprinted as "The Misguided Path to European Monetary Union: A Case Study in the Pitfalls of Monetary Central Planning", in Dowd, K. and Timberlake, Richard H., eds., **Money and the Nation State**, The Independent Institute and Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, New Jersey, forthcoming 1997. "The Maastrich Treaty is the wrong programme implemented by the wrong people for the wrong reasons. It is a classic example of the fatal conceit of central planners, who have the supreme arrogance to think that they can impose their will on peoples and markets alike in total disregard of economic rationality or even basic common sense".

Dreapir, Leo, **Independent Security and Foreign Policy or Superstate and Military Union?: Origins of the Western European Union, Part I, 1945-1992**, Campaign Against Euro-Federalism, Merseyside, nd (1992?). One need not accept the author's generally Marxist perspective to agree with his critical view

of the undemocratic and potentially militarist and expansionist character of the emerging European super-state.

Ebeling, Richard M., **Europe's Future in the 1990s: Free Trade or State Intervention?**, Future of Freedom Foundation, Fairfax, Virginia, 1990

Edwardes, Sir Michael, **Britain's Economic Destiny: A Business Perspective**, Occasional Paper No. 32, The Bruges Group, London, 1998. Foreword by Rt. Hon. Lord Lamont. "The only explanation for the Chancellor's statement is that he is drawn to EMU for political reasons but has decided, for the sake of public opinion, to argue for membership in terms of spurious economic advantages. These advantages do not exist ... Let us keep the pound so that Britain may be both free and rich".

Eichengreen, Barry (1992), "Is Europe an Optimum Currency Area?", Borner, Silvio & Grudel, Herbert, eds., **The European Community After 1992: Perspectives From Outside**, Macmillan, London, pp. 138-161. The answer is "no", which means that any attempt at a single fiat currency will have to go hand in hand with massive fiscal intervention and transfer payments in order to deal with the subsequent problems of economic adjustment.

Einzig, Paul, **The Case Against Joining the Common Market**, Macmillan, London/St. Martins Press, New York, 1971. Still as relevant now as when it was written. Einzig traces back the Common market's basic idea to that of Hitler's New Economic Order in Europe, lambastes the economics of the CAP and the general protectionist and cartelisation impulses of the EU. He also argues that the alleged economic benefits of the EU are vastly exaggerated and that by joining the CM Britain would reduce her status to that of an offshore island of Western Europe and abandon all hope of recovering her former national greatness.

Elliot, Nick (March 1989), "1992: Which Vision for Europe?", **The Freeman** (Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington on Hudson, New York), 39(3), pp. 116-121. Contrasts the free market vision of Europe with Delors style corporatism. The author believes that the statist impulse will fail, and holds to an optimistic view of the prospects for free market policies. "If it has the right ideas behind it, the EC could be the best opportunity for free trade and economic liberalism in this century".

Ellis, Frank (Spring 1999), "Die Endlosung der Europafrage?", **The Salisbury Review** (London), 17(3), pp. 7-11. "The creation of a state called Europe ... is all about the ambitions and pride of French and German politicians, with a fair few British collaborators. The liberal order of men and nation states, the benefits of which Europe has enjoyed since 1945, is an order of human existence and

commerce that will not survive the forced collectivisation of independent nation-states. And whether we are locked in to the bureaucratic monstrosity of the United States of Europe or no, we shall all pay the price in the Time of Troubles to come”.

Ellison, Douglas (November 1998), “Unfunded Pension Liabilities in the EU: An Update”, **European Journal**, 6(2), pp. 22-23

Eltis, Walter (January 1984), “EC Agricultural Prices: Are the French Still Physiocrats?”, **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 4(2), pp. 13-14  
**European Competitiveness and Employment Generation**, European Policy Forum, London, November 1995. Points out the differences between the policy orientations of Britain *vis a vis* the European Commission. “The British approach is to cut taxation while the Commission’s ... is to redistribute it. The British approach is to create conditions where workers can price themselves into jobs while the Commission rejects all approaches to labour market policy which would weaken social solidarity. The British approach is to allow those who control companies to take the strategic investment decisions while the Commission’s approach is to develop Master Plans and formulate strategic policies ... The British approach is to recognise that the protection of some European producers will undermine others who need to make use of their products while the Commission is still sometimes willing to protect”.

**Will There Be a Monetary Union and Should Britain Join?**, European Policy Forum, London, December 1995. Critique of the feasibility and benefits of EMU. Concludes with the comment that “There is a country which has achieved outstanding economic success with high employment, competitive manufacturing companies and a prosperous financial sector which does not maintain exchange rate stability with any other currency. If Britain remains outside EMU, the model for the maintenance of the market share of the City of London is surely Switzerland?”.

**The Creation and Destruction of the EMU**, Centre for Policy Studies, London, 1997

**Further Considerations on EMU**, Centre for Policy Studies, London, 1998  
Refutes the myths that EMU will lead to low interest rates, economic stability, or increased employment.

Engels, Wolfram et al (July/September 1985), “The CAP is Destroying the EEC”, **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), Special Supplement, 5(4), pp. i-xii

et al, **The European Social Charter: A Programme of Social Regulation for the Internal Market?**, Subcommittee on Social Policy of the European Group at the Frankfurt Institute, & Study Paper 3, The Bruges Group, London, 1989.

Erringer, Robert, **The Global Manipulators: The Bilderberg Group, the Trilateral Commission, Covert Power Groups of the West**, Pentacle Books, Bristol, 1989. A 'left-wing' journalist's balanced analysis of the Bilderberger and Trilateral organisations, two semi-secret elite policy discussion and formation groups. It includes an account of the role of one of the EU's major founding fathers, Dr. Joseph Retinger's, in Bilderberger, and of the CIA in promoting European unification. Readers should beware that, elsewhere, there is much over- dramatisation of the role of Biderberger and similar groups. "Conspiracy theory" approaches generally overestimate the power of "conspiracies", portray them as monolithic, and ignore the role and dynamics of ideas. Moreover, anti-semites have attempted to utilise evidence about such elite policy groups to bolster their own crackpot view of "Jewish" conspiracies. Researchers on EU issues should be sceptical about any alleged evidence or material emanating from the American newspaper *Spotlight*, published by an organisation called "Liberty Lobby". The fine name conceals the fact that this is a virulent National Socialist (Nazi) and anti-semitic organisation and promoter of "Holocaust Revisionism". No claim or alleged fact that it publishes should ever be accepted unless it can be independently verified!

European Commission, The, **Commission Regulation (EEC), No. 1677/88 of 15 June 1988 Laying Down Quality Standards for Cucumbers**. Reprinted by Nelson and Pollard, London, nd. The infamous 4 page "straight cucumber" directive that Jacques Delors denied existed. A great moment in European history.

European Foundation, The, **Economic and Monetary Union: What Would It Really Mean For Me?**, European Foundation, London, 1999. A response to the European Movement's *Economic and Monetary Union: What Would It Mean for Me?*.

European Research Group, **European Briefing**, a regular newsletter edited by Chris Jones, published by the European Research Group (Director, Bryan Gould MP) - not to be confused with the later body of the same name, below - from December 1976. In February 1982 the Group became The Labour Common Market Safeguards Committee

European Research Group, The, **The Business Agenda for a Free Europe**, European Research Group, London, nd (c1995?). A good selection of brief essays by major business leaders on EMU, the impact of the EU on small business, the lack of support for the EU in business opinion, CAP etc.

**A Europe of Nations: Conclusions of the European Research Group**, European Research Group, London, 1995. A rather wishy-washy paper, although it is decisively against monetary union. Has a foreword by John Major, in a

further example of his cynically duplicitous and unprincipled ‘all things to all men’ act.

**Labour’s Federal Agenda for Europe**, Policy Study 143, Centre for Policy Studies, London, 1996. Demonstrates that Britain as an independent state would disappear if the Labour Party implemented its declared federal approach.

**Submission to the Reflections Group on the 1996 Inter-Governmental Conference**, European Research Group, London, 1996

**The Legal Agenda for a Free Europe**, European Research Group, London, 1996. Includes a number of good essays (Trevor Hartley, “How To Tackle Judicial Activism”; Fernand Keuleneer, “Inflation of Rights, Devaluation of the Law: A Belgian View”; Sir Ivan Lawrence, “Time for a Change: A British View”; Dr. Erik Gothe, “National Constitutions & EU Judicial Power: A Swedish View”).

**The Euro: Bad for Business**, European Research Group, London, 1998. “In every other EU member, the single currency is seen as a political prize for which there may be an economic cost ... Only in Britain is the euro advocated on economic grounds. In order to make a an economic case for EMU, supporters have had to exaggerate its advantages while glossing over its costs ... EMU would drive up tax ... drive up borrowing costs ... Britain diverges too much ... EMU would exacerbate that divergence ... increase business uncertainty ... The Stability Pact could worsen the problem EMU would drag Britain into Europe’s pensions crisis ... would threaten the City’s competitiveness ... The benefits are exaggerated ... EMU would be like permanent ERM membership.”

**The Euro: Bad for Britain**, European Research Foundation, London, 1998

**First Congress for Democracy, Friday 18 December 1998: Report on the Statement, Resolution and Proceedings**, European Research Group, London, 1999

Evans, Douglas (1976), “The Superbloc Threat”, Evans, Douglas & Body, Richard, eds., **Freedom and Stability in the World Economy**, Croom Helm, London/Harper & Row, New York, pp. 104-110. “The primary characteristic of the superbloc is that it represents supremely an agglomeration or very high concentration of economic and political power. As the mercantilist system of thought coincided with the emergence of the nation state so the recent growth of the new mercantilism has coincided with the emergence of the superbloc. with its implicit belief that prosperity lies in economics of scale and political success in their ‘pooling’ of sovereignty. By linking the goal of the general prosperity with the maximisation of the gross product of the constituent states of the superbloc ... the belief has been promulgated that both prosperity and political potency in the modern world depend on the systematic agglomeration of gross products”.

(Spring 1989), “Is Mrs. Thatcher’s Europe Realisable?”, **New European**, 2(1), pp. 16. A supportive assessment of Mrs. Thatcher’s noted Bruges speech, arguing that it “stands a much better chance of realisation than the integrationists”.

(Winter 1988-9), "Summit Glitz Covers Glacial Pace of Agricultural Reform", **New European**, 1(4), pp. 37-41

(1991), "The Twin Commonwealths of Europe: Contemporary Options for a Greater Europe", **New European**, 4(2), pp. 17-31. "The nub of the author's criticism of the Community is that the supranationalism that is currently growing is not really internationalist in the sense of being open to the world but really nationalism writ large ...".

**The Politics of Trade: The Evolution of the Superbloc**, Trade Policy Research Centre & Macmillan, London, 1974. A free market economist's warning about the growth of protectionist trading blocs.

**While Britain Slept: The Selling of the Common Market**, Victor Gollancz, London, 1975

ed., **Destiny or Delusion: Britain and the Common Market**, Victor Gollancz, London, 1971. A still relevant collection of essays by both liberal and socialist opponents of the EEC. Includes essays on the economic effects, CAP, monetary union, the political impact on Britain, and the implications for Britain's global interests and for international affairs.

ed., **Britain in the EEC**, Victor Gollancz, London, 1973. A somewhat dated assessment of the early impact of entry into the EEC on Britain. However, the essays by Oppenheimer and Pickles, qv, are still worth consulting.

Evans, Tim (November 1993), "Death by Regulation: Brussels' Betrayal of the European Ideal", **Free Life: A Journal of Libertarian and Classical Liberal Thought** (The Libertarian Alliance), No. 19. pp. 4-5

**In Praise of Post-Modernity: A Libertarian Perspective on the Contradictions of Conservative Euro-Scepticism**, Political Notes 110, The Libertarian Alliance, London, 1995. A critique of nationalist opposition to the European project, and an attempt to understand its appeal. See Moore, Roderick, and Micklethwait, Brian, below for, respectively, a direct response and a different libertarian approach.

& Lewis, Russell, **Europe at Risk: The Bureaucratic Betrayal of the European Ideal**, Adam Smith Institute, London, 1994. The ideal of Europe as a free and open single market, the authors argue, is sinking beneath a tide of paternalist regulation. Particularly good on the role of "health fascism" and "safety"-mania used by Euro-statism to undermine individual freedom, free choice and the free market.

Evans-Pritchard, Ambrose (25 February 1992), "But Is It a Level Playing Field?", **The Daily Telegraph** (London). A good brief expose of practice of the alleged "single market" - where most of the other nations continue to rig their markets against Britain and fail to implement EU rules.

Fabra, Paul et al, **Maastricht II: Democracy, Nations and Europe**, Centre for the New Europe, Zelik, Belgium, 1997. "What we see happening in Europe today is that the member states of the EU, organised on democratic principles, are losing ever larger chunks of their sovereign authority, while the powers of the community, which is not organised as a democracy, are rapidly expanding. Reinforcing the European Parliament is not the proper cure for this absence of democracy ... there is no limit to the self-propelled expansion of judicial power in the EC, which inevitably will result in an inflation of [intrusive 'positive'] rights and a devaluation of the law ... democratic deficit cannot be cured by simply extending the powers of the European Parliament ... a democratic counterbalance requires a hard look at all of today's conventional 'European' wisdom".

Fallon MP, Michael, **The Rise of the Euro-Quango**, Adam Smith Institute, London, 1982. An outline of the burgeoning bureaucracy.

Farhi, Andre (1976), "Europe: Behind the Mythology", Nairn, Tom, ed., **Atlantic Europe?: The Radical View**, Transnational Institute, Amsterdam, pp. 82-93. A Marxist view of the EC as a manifestation of "European Capital". See also Galtung, Johan and Nairn, Tom below.

Fear, Andrew (September/October 1994), "Ancient History?", **The European Journal**, 2(1), pp. 15-16. The lessons of federalism in the classical world.  
(Spring 1996), "Euro-scepticism is Not Enough", **The Salisbury Review** (London), 14(3), pp. 23-25. A critique of those Euro-sceptics who are not willing to call publicly for total withdrawal. "The adoption of the tactic of advocating reform of the EU rather than disengagement from it by the Euro-sceptics has ... led to a far greater diminution of their case's credibility than would have been the case had they voiced their opposition to the EU more openly and forcefully ... they appear to the general public to pursue the politics of nihilism: always having plenty to complain about, but never presenting a positive vision of Britain's position ... [and of] ... supporting a better and more coherent alternative to it".

Feldstein, Martin (Summer 1993), "Why Maastricht Will Fail", **The National Interest** (Washington, DC), No. 32, pp. 12-19  
(November/December 1997), "EMU and International Conflict", **Foreign Affairs** (Council on Foreign Relations, New York), pp. 60-73; reprinted in **European Journal**, 5(3), pp. 3-7. Why EMU will not guarantee stability or peace.

Ferguson, Nial (8 April 1994), "Instead of Sinking With the EC, Why Not Swim Alone?", **The Daily Telegraph** (London). A historian's case for withdrawal from the EU.

& Minogue, Kenneth & Regan, David, **The Erosion of Democracy: Constitutionalism, Identity and the Threat of European Federalism**, Occasional Paper 14, Bruges Group, London, 1992. Two brief essays on the constitutional significance of Europe and of federalism, and one, by Professor Minogue, which is an especially penetrating analysis of what he sees as the “psychopathology” of “Euro-Philia”.

Fildes, Christopher (7 June 1997), “Euro-Train Subject to Delay”, **The Spectator** (London), p. 28. “[The euro] was an economic project designed for political ends, with all the contradictions that implies, and they are now apparent. Even if it holds the track and conforms to the timetable, that will not guarantee its destination”.

Finney, Nicholas, & Brady, Graham, **Towards an Employees’ Charter, and Away From Collective Bargaining**, Centre for Policy Studies, London, 1990. A critique of the collectivist nature of the EU’s Social Charter.

Fischer, Joschka (May/June 2000), “From Confederacy to Federation: Thoughts on the Finality of European Integration”, **The European Journal**, 7(7), pp. 16-17. A translation of the notorious speech by the German Foreign Minister on 12 May. The speech was fully approved by German President Gerhard Schroder, contradicting Prime Minister Tony Blair’s claim that it did not reflect the view of the German Government.

Fisher, Mike (December 1994), “How France Tilts the Level Playing Field”, **The European Journal**, 2(3), pp. 12-13

Flew, Antony \*\*\*\* (April-June 1996), “Thinking the Unthinkable”, **Right Now** (BCM Right, London, WC1N 3XX), No. 11, pp. 6-7. A brief argument for UK withdrawal from the EU.

(May 1996), “What’s Wrong With Nationalism?”, **The European Journal**, 3(8), pp. 15-16. A brief defence of nationalism.

Foders, Federic, **Reforming the European Union’s Common Fisheries Policy: Issues in Conservation and Policy Options**, European Policy Forum, London, February 1994

Forder, James (September/October 1995), “The Case for Monetary Union: Does the ‘Inconsistent Quartet’ Add Up?”, **The European Journal**, 3(1), pp. 22-23. How monetary union will inevitably lead to protectionism.

**Is European Integration Really the Friend of Free Trade?**, Politea, London, 1999



& Huhne, Christopher, **Both Sides of the Coin**, Profile Books, London, 1999. The case for (Huhne) and against (Forder) British entry into the Euro.

Fox, Edward (1996), "Why Referenda Are Part of the British Tradition", Goldsmith, Sir James, et al, **Speeches From the Brighton Conference 19 October 1996**, The Referendum Party, London, pp. 22-25

Fox, Howard (December 1952), "Advancing the Economic Unity of Europe", The Free Trader (Free Trade League, London), No. 269, pp. 16-18. Argues that transnational economic unity requires only free trade, not political unification.

Franck, Thomas A. & Weisband, Edward, eds., **A Free Trade Association**, New York University Press, New York, 1968/University of London Press, 1970. Papers from a conference at New York University under the auspices of the Centre for International Studies, and proposing a free trade association to include the USA, Canada and Great Britain but open to all. Douglas Jay, in his Foreword, argues that "with such immense possibilities, a policy by the UK of merely joining the EEC Six would be narrow, insular and parochial".

Franklin, Michael, Rich Man's Farming, Royal Institute for International Affairs and Routledge, London, 1989. A critique of CAP, and of similar agricultural protectionism in the US and Japan.

Frey, Bruno S. & Eichenberger, Reiner, **The New Democratic Federalism for Europe: Functional, Overlapping and Competing Jurisdictions**, Studies in Fiscal Federalism and State-Local Finance Series, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, 1999. Well-intentioned, albeit, in my view, foredoomed, proposals to create a genuine diversified, decentralised and competitive political order for the EU.

Friedman, Milton (22 May 1962), "Tariffs and the Common Market", National Review (New York)

(4 June 1973), "Alexander Hamilton and the Common Market", Idem, **An Economist's Protest: Columns on Political Economy**, Thomas Horton, Glen Ridge, New Jersey, 1972; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 1975; also published under the title **There's No Such Thing as a Free Lunch: Essays on Public Policy**, Open Court, LaSalle, Illinois, 1975, pp. 182-183. Compares the US Founding Father Hamilton's observations on the original American Confederation, in *The Federalist Papers*, to the current European situation. Concludes that it is unlikely that a viable "United States of Europe" will emerge.

(1982), "The European Community: Friend or Foe of the Market Economy?", **For a Free Society in the Coming Decade: Mont Pelerin Society 1982**

**General Meeting Papers**, 2nd edn, Institut Fur Wirtschaftspolitik, Universitat zu Koln, Germany, unpaginated

(19 November 1997), “Why Europe Can’t Afford the Euro”, **The Times** (London), p. 22. “A common currency is an excellent monetary arrangement under some circumstances, a poor one under others .. The US is an example of a situation that is favourable to a common currency ... In contrast, Europe exemplifies a situation unfavourable ... The drive for the euro has been motivated by politics, not economics. The aim has been to link Germany and France so closely as to make a future European war impossible, and to set the stage for a federal United States of Europe. I believe that adoption of the euro would have the opposite effect. It would exacerbate political tensions by converting divergent shocks that could have been readily accommodated by exchange-rate changes into divisive political issues”.

(24 November 1997), “A Bad Euro Deal”, *National Review* (New York); reprinted in **European Journal**, 5(3), p. 7. A further version of the above essay.

Fromkin, David, **The Independence of Nations**, Praeger Special Studies, Praeger Scientific, Praeger Publishing, New York, 1981. A judicious summary of the benefits and dangers of the nation state system. Concludes that its maintenance of diversity and competition will continue will continue to ensure its advantages. The author also attacks the facile idealism behind various forms of internationalism and supra-nationalism and sees it as a barrier to real international co-operation and the peaceful co-existence between nations.

Fulop, Christina (April/May 1988), “The Costs & Benefits of a ‘Duty to Trade Fairly’”, **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 8(4), pp. 33-34. A critique of both domestic UK legislation and the EEC Directive on Misleading Advertising.

Gabb, Sean, **A Bill of Rights for Europe**, EurOmega Project, The Adam Smith Institute, London, 1993. A reformist proposal for a libertarian bill of rights for the EU.

**The New Tyranny of Global, European and British State Control of Financial Transactions**, Legal Notes 232, Libertarian Alliance, London, 1995. On the growth of state control of banking and financial transaction, in both British and EU law, under the excuse of the failed “war on drugs”. The author demonstrates the ominous implications for freedom.

Gaitskell, Rt. Hon. Hugh, **Britain and the Common Market: Texts of Speeches Made at the 1962 Labour Party Conference by the Rt. Hon. Hugh Gaitskell MP and the Rt. Hon. George Brown MP, Together With the Policy Statement Accepted by the Labour Party**, The Labour Party, London, 1962.

The classic statement of the Labour Party's opposition to British entry into the EEC at that time.

Galtung, Johan (1976), "The Lome Convention and Neo-Capitalism", Nairn, Tom, ed., **Atlantic Europe?: The Radical View**, Transnational Institute, Amsterdam, pp. 101-105. A brief statement of the author's Marxist views. "The European Community is essentially an effort to preserve capitalism within the area formerly dominated by European colonial power."

**The European Community: A Superpower in the Making**, PRIO Studies from the International Peace Research Institute No. 1, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo/George Allen & Unwin, London, 1973. A socialist critique of the emerging European superstate. Flawed, but contains some interesting points.

Gardiner MP, George (9 March 1997), "Why I Must Bow Out of This Daft Pantomime on Europe", **The Sunday Times** (London), p. 2. The author's statement on resigning from the Conservative Party and joining the Referendum Party.

Gardner, John (December 1995), "The Latest EU Disaster: Forced Metrication", **Freedom Today** (The Freedom Association), 20(6), pp. 18-19, 26

Gates, David, **The False Alternative: Europe's Security Dilemma, Occasional Paper 60**, Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies, London, 1993. A fairly pessimistic view of the current abilities of the EU to organise a rational or effective security policy.

Gay, Oonagh & Winetrobe, Barry, **Referendum**, Research Paper No. 93/80, House of Commons Library, House of Commons, London, 20 July 1993. "This short note examines the past use of referendums in the UK, with particular reference to the 1975 referendum on membership of the EC, and summarises the arguments for and against a referendum in the UK. It also examines the debates during proceedings on the European Communities (Amendment) Bill 1992/93 over a referendum on ratification of the Maastricht Treaty."

Gelber, Lionel (1971), "Free World and the Politics of Free Trade", ed., **Destiny or Delusion: Britain and the Common Market**, Victor Gollancz, London, pp. 185-207. A critique of the "Europeanisation" of Britain as a threat to its real global interests, and to the cause of global free trade and individual liberty. The author also points out that "[E]ntry into the Common Market [is not about reducing distorted nationalism] ... Here, at rock-bottom, the contrast should be between a more intensive brand of sovereignty that may be set up across the Channel and a traditional one that would permit Britain still to co-operate extensively with others".

Geraschenko, Igor (June 1997), "Single Currency", **The London Miscellany**, No. 32, pp. 26-30. A critique of state abasement of the currency – i.e., inflation - and an account of the economic and political dynamics of how a single currency will be imposed in the EU.

George, Eddie (1995), "The Economics of EMU", **New European** (Produced as part of *European Business Review*), 95(5), pp. 1-7. Although not explicitly coming to a conclusion the Governor of the Bank of England outlines some of "potential economic risks", as well as benefits, of EMU.

EMU: Considerations For British Membership, Speech at a Royal Institute of International Affairs Seminar, 13 March 1996. (Available from The Industry and Europe Data Centre). A further warning of the "economic risks" of the EMU, its potential for becoming a "serious source of political discord", and the problems resulting from not possessing the safety valve of exchange rate adjustment.

Get Britain Out, **Vote Britain Out of the Common Market**, Get Britain Out (North), Horsforth, Leeds, nd. A brief leaflet expounding the general case against the EC.

Gibb, Nicolas, **Bucking the Market**, Adam Smith Institute, London, 1990. A critique of the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM), which concludes that "The move toward a common currency certainly would not lead to any firmer control of inflation ... it is likely, in many circumstances, to lead to excess demand. Furthermore, the anti-inflationary pressure that is believed to derive from membership of the ERM does not come about as a result of co-ordinated exchange rates but as a result of each member state conducting domestic policies which are anti-inflationary. Whether a European economy directed by a Central European Bank would conduct an anti-inflationary policy would ultimately be up to the policy makers."

Giddings, Philip and Drewry, Gavin, eds., **Westminster and Europe: The Impact of the European Union on the Westminster Parliament**, The Study of Parliament Group, Macmillan, London/St. Martin's Press, New York, 1996. Not a Euro-sceptic work, but nevertheless documents the growing loss of Parliament's sovereignty, and emphasizes the contrast between the British tradition of adversarial majoritarianism and the "culture of negotiation, persuasion and influence" (i.e., corrupt elitist corporatism) of the Continent.

Gill, MP, Christopher, **Speaking Out on Europe**, Occasional Paper 18, The Bruges Group, London, 1995. Five brief essays by one of the "Westminster Eight" of Whipless Tories, on the single currency, EU spending, national sovereignty, the CAP, and fishery policy.

**Then and Now**, Christopher Gill, Westminster, London, 1995. (Available from Eurofacts). A useful brief selection of statements by advocates of the EEC in the 1970s assessed against what came to pass.

**In Their Own Words: The Advocates of European Integration**, SEK Publications, London, 1996 (Available from Eurofacts).

Glendening, Marc-Henri (January/February 1999), "An Open Letter to Geoffrey Martin, Head of the European Commission in Britain", **European Journal**, 6(4), pp. 7-8. A brief but effective critique of the duplicity of the Commission.

Goguel, Francois et al, **A Europe for Europeans: A Series of Essays Promoting a Liberal approach for the European Community in the Fields of Subsidiarity, Monetary Union, Worker Rights and Global Trade Policy**, Occasional Paper 8, The Bruges Group, London, 1990

Goldsmith, Sir James, **The Trap**, Macmillan, London, 1994. Includes Sir James' critique of Euro-statism, his defense of a "Europe of nations" and his critique of total free trade.

**The Response**, Macmillan, London, 1995. Sir James responds to the principal critics of *The Trap* - Norman Macrae, qv below, John Kay, qv below, Tim Congdon qv above, Brian Hindley, qv below, Paul Goodman, qv below, and Chris Patten.

**The Referendum Party: Speech to the Federation of Small Business**, Newcastle Upon Tyne, June 1996, The Referendum Party, London, 1996. A good brief case against Euro-statism and in favour of a referendum on British involvement.

**Who Governs Britain?: Westminster or Brussels?**, The Referendum Party, London, 1996

et al, **Speeches From the Brighton Conference 19 October 1996**, The Referendum Party, London, 1996. An excellent collection of essays, dealing with the European Court of Justice, the constitutional significance of the EU, the economic effects of the EU, the role of Euro-propaganda, the destruction of British industries, the place of referenda in British constitutional history etc.

Goodhart, Charles (March 1997), "One Government, One Money", **Prospect** (London), pp. 10-11. The Professor of Banking and Finance at the LSE argues that "EMU may not vanquish the demons of the foreign exchange markets after all, but simply move them on to torment the bond markets instead".

**The Delors Report: Was Lawson's Reaction Justified?**, Special Paper Series 15, London School of Economics Financial Markets Group, LSE, London, 1992. "[The Delors Report] reads as if its authors were convinced that there is only one currently feasible strategy for the coming phases of European monetary unification: this is a federal strategy, a Hamiltonian strategy, to transfer

increasing powers to a federal centre of the United States of Europe. No alternative is even considered”.

Goodhart MP, Philip, **Referendum**, Tom Stacey, London, 1971. Written at a time when the leaders of the three main political parties were opposed to any form of referendum on British entry into the EEC. Goodhart both refutes the claims that referendums were un-British, and defends their role in a parliamentary democracy. Although an advocate of referendum on this and other topics, Goodhart was actually a supporter of British membership of the EC.

**The People's Veto**, The Bow Group, London, nd (1975)

**Full Hearted Consent: The Story of the Referendum Campaign and the Campaign for Referendum**, Davis-Poynter, London, 1976

Goodman, Paul (6 November 1994), “Protectionism is No Protection”, **The Sunday Telegraph** (London). A brief critique of Sir James Goldsmith's protectionism in *The Trap*, qv above.

Gordon, Bernard K. (May/June 1998), “The Natural Market Fallacy”, **Foreign Affairs** (Council on Foreign Relations, New York), 77(3), pp. 13-17. A critique of the idea that geographical proximity implies natural trade relations, a view the author sees as underlying regional trading blocs like the EU and NAFTA.

Gorman, Teresa MP (July 1978), “Europe Must Get Away From Formal Rules”, Ivens, Michael, ed., **International Papers on the Revival of Freedom and Enterprise**, Aims, London, pp. 34-35. “The EEC must divest itself of its obsession with formal rules and regulations and realise that innovation always departs from the norm and can only flourish in an atmosphere where people are left alone to do their own thing”.

(April 1995), “Bye Bye, Europe”, **The Individual** (Society for Individual Liberty, London)

**The Bastards: Dirty Tricks and the Challenge of Europe**, Sidgewick & Jackson, London/Pan Books, London, 1993. A gripping personal account of the blackmail, threats and even violence employed by the Conservative Party to coerce its MPs into voting for the Maastricht treaty.

& Gill MP, Christopher, **Not a Penny More**, Teresa Gorman, The House of Commons, Westminster, London, 1994. A brief account of the costs of the EU to Britain, written just before the European Finance Bill. “In 1973, when we joined the Common Market, nothing much was said about the cost. Today, the EU is the most expensive club in the world. Our gross membership fee is over £7 billion.”

Gould, Bryan (1993), “The Real Alternative for Labour”, **New European** (Produced as part of *European Business Review*), 93(2), pp. 2-3. “There is still

time to recognise that Maastricht was a false start and that it is best - in the interests of Britain and Europe - to draw a line under it and start again”.

Gowan, Peter & Anderson, Perry, eds., **The Question of Europe**, Verso, London, 1997. Includes a number of Euro-sceptic essays.

Graffham, Rt. Hon. Lord Young of (Autumn 1994), “Memo to Brussels: Lift Your Eyes to the World”, **Forward** (Conservative Way Forward), No. 9. “Out there, where our forefathers traded, lie growing and expanding markets ... We should get back again and start selling to rebuild our trading empire”.

Grahl, John & Teague, Paul (March/April 1989), “The Cost of Neo-Liberal Europe”, **New Left Review** (London), No. 174, pp. 33-50. A useful example of how contemporary Marxists see the EU as “neo-liberal” project

Grant, Charles (1996), “The Theory and Practice of Delorism”, Bond, Marilyn, ed., **Eminent Europeans: Personalities Who Shaped Contemporary Europe**, The Greycoat Press, London, pp. 285-308

**Delors: Inside the House That Jacques Built**, Nicholas Brearley, London, 1994. Not a Eurosceptic work (indeed, Grant is a supporter of federalism), but they are goldmine of information about Delors. Note, for example, in his own words, Delors’ “European model of society”, a typically Fascist rejection of Liberalism as “linked to individualism, its dominant trait is strongly egocentric, it separates the essence of our humanity, which is not only about worrying how to co-exist with the mutual limitation of our fantasies, but also about collaboration, devotion, a common destiny and sacrifice for the common future ... The individual should become a social being, participate in collective life or see his civic spirit fail”.

Grant, Robert (1982), “The Impact of EEC Membership Upon UK Industrial Performance”, Jenkins, Roy, ed., **Britain and the European Economic Community: Proceedings of Section F (Economics) of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Liverpool 1982**, Macmillan, London, pp. 87-109. “[W]hile there have been no obviously disastrous consequences for the growth of British industry as a result of EEC accession there is no evidence of any benefits being generated”.

Grauwe, Paul de, **Economics of Monetary Integration**, Oxford University Press, 1992. “[I]t is unlikely that the EEC as a whole constitutes an optimal monetary union ... Even the countries that most likely would be net gainers from monetary union ... would pay a price for relinquishing the national currencies ... The decision to go ahead with monetary union has clearly been inspired by the

political objective of European unification. In this dynamic toward political union many objections expressed by economists ... have been brushed aside. Either this is a wise decision only the future will tell for sure”.

Gray, Sam (Spring 1997), “The Bird That Will Never Fly”, **Ulster Review** (3 Glengall Street, Belfast, BT12 5AE, Northern Ireland), No. 22, pp. 26-28. “It seems clear that ... EMU holds great dangers for the UK’s economic and political system”.

Griffiths, Brian (1971), “The Implications of an EEC Monetary Union”, Evans, Douglas, ed., **Destiny or Delusion: Britain and the Common Market**, Victor Gollancz, London, pp. 92-108

Grimond, Jo & Neve, Brian, **The Referendum**, Rex Collings, London, 1975. The then Liberal Party leader, with another liberal academic, defends the employment of a referendum over UK membership in the “Common Market”. They deal with the use of referenda elsewhere in the world and their constitutional implications for Britain. Both authors were also supporters of the Common Market, and the book includes a number of now obviously naive arguments in its favour.

Haberler, Gottfried (1943), “The Political Economy of Regional or Continental Blocs”, Harris, Seymour E., ed., **Postwar Economic Problems**, McGraw-Hill, New York, pp. 325-44. Another major “Austrian School” economist who advocated free or freer trade in general opposition to customs unions or other forms of regional integration. He also wrote a number of essays in German exploring the same issues, not included in this bibliography.

(March 1964), “Integration and Growth of the World Economy in Historical Perspective”, **American Economic Review**, LIV, pp. 1-22. Argues that the “wave of world-wide integration [post World War II] has had more powerful and beneficial effects than the much more advertised and talked-about series of regional integrations”. He also feared that “attempts at regional integration in various parts of the world constitute an imminent danger to world-wide integration and further growth of multilateral trade”.

Hamma, Norika (1996), “Japan Ponders Single Currency Europe”, **New European** (Produced as part of *European Business Review*), 96(1), pp. 6-8. Argues that “the single currency is more a cause of perplexity than of enthusiasm where the Japanese perspective is concerned.”

**Disintegrating Europe: The Twilight of the European Construction**, Adamantine Studies on the 21st Century, New European Publications & Adamantine Press, London, 1996. A critique of existing Euro-statism and a vision of a decentralised and market-oriented alternative.



Hannan, Daniel, (December 1993), "EC's Growing Control of Taxation", **Freedom Today** (The Freedom Association), 18(6), p. 3. A brief statement of the centralist ratchet-effect over indirect taxation

(June 1995), "1996: Exit From Europe?", **The Salisbury Review**, 13(4), pp. 14-16. An incisive analysis of the "ratchet-effect" of power acquisition by both the European Commission and the European Court, and the already existing legal supremacy of EU law over British law. "With or without a boost in 1996, a United States of Europe will eventually emerge out of [existing] legal and political structures". Also points out that "Britain is especially badly hit by the Common External Tariff, and is often prevented from negotiating bilateral free trade treaties by the requirements of continental interest groups ... European tariff arrangements have, ... turned Britain into an artificial captive market for other EU exporters. Britain's annual trade deficit with the other Member States stands at around £9 billion. The UK was in fact in surplus with the EC until it joined in 1972. Since then, as a direct result of new tariff arrangements, it has run a substantial deficit in every year except 1980".

(7 November 1997), "Gordon Brown's Economic Criteria for EMU: Analysis of the Chancellor's Statement", **Eurofacts**, pp. 1-2. "It is impossible to believe that Mr. Brown or his friends in the CBI ... are genuinely persuaded by the economics of EMU. Their case falls in the terms which the Chancellor himself has set ... The only explanation for the Chancellor's statement is that he is drawn to EMU for political reasons but has decided, for the sake of public opinion, to argue for membership in terms of spurious economic advantage".

**Fresh Start in Europe**, The Bow Group, London, 1993

**Towards 1996: Britain in a Multi-Speed Europe**, Institute for European Defense and Strategic Studies, London, 1994. (This institute no longer exists). Argues that the emerging European super-state is inimical to British interests, and calls rather for its evolution into a looser, more pragmatic association of states based on a real free-trade area. Such an alternative could lead to wider and more successful European co-operation, the author argues.

Hanson, Charles (November 1996), "The Anti-Social Policy of the European Union", *The European Journal*, 4(2), pp. 18-19. A critique of the disastrous employment policies of the EU.

**Employment Policy in the European Community: Lessons From the USA**, Institute of Directors, London, 1994. Argues that deregulation, not "social" legislation on EU lines, creates jobs.

**Social Europe: The Economic Implications of Current European Social Policy**, Institute of Directors, London, 1996. Demonstrates that "the inflexibility, burdens and cost of 'Social Europe' imposed on employers are a major explanation of the unacceptably high unemployment in the EU".

Hanson, James (2 February 1997), “Don’t Let Europe Ruin It”, **The Spectator** (London), pp. 11-12. Lord Hanson, one of Britain’s most successful businessmen, attacks the “prescriptivism of Napoleonic law and the corporatism of European social policy” and the potentially disastrous effects of a single currency. He calls for the recognition and further promotion of Britain’s stake in world trade, but strangely does not bite the bullet of advocating British withdrawal from the EU.

Harper, John Lamberton, **American Visions of Europe: Frederick Delano Roosevelt, George F. Kennan and Dean G. Acheson**, Cambridge University Press, 1994. Not a Euro- sceptic work, but a useful study of American policy toward Europe, which included its attempts to engineer a European union.

Harris, Ralph [Lord Harris of High Cross] (1994), “A Glittering Prize in Maastricht’s Mud”, Idem, **No, Prime Minister!: Ralph Harris Against the Consensus, A Selection of the Shorter Writings of Ralph Harris on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday**, Occasional Paper 94, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 110-112. “[C]an this statist progression [i.e., to a super-state] be supported by Tories ... One clue may be a speech by Geoffrey Howe as Foreign Secretary in 1989 when he described Europe as ‘the necessary vehicle, the central fulcrum, the basic lever for Britain to exercise the influence it wishes to exercise in the world’. Such Foreign Office games-playing does not take into account the real world and is doomed to exacerbate national rivalries. Above all, it underestimates the glittering prize of true European integration, without Maastricht, through completing the single market in a liberal framework”.

Harrod, Sir Roy (July 1948), “European Union”, **Lloyds Bank Review** (London), n.s., No. 9, pp. 1- 20; partially reprinted as “Europe: Preferential Union or Free Trade Entente”, **The Free Trader** (Free Trade League, London), No. 243, pp. 86-91

(1950), “European Economic Co-operation: A British Viewpoint”, **Public Finance**, 5(4), pp. 538-47

(1962), “Economic Development and Asian Regional Co-operation”, **Pakistan Development Review**, 2(1), pp. 1-22

(1963), “The Common Market”, Idem, **The British Economy**, Economics Handbooks Series, McGraw Hill, New York, pp. 225-234. Harrod argued against a European customs union and in favour of the European Free-Trade Area. Although by no means a free marketer (he was Keynesian statist), Harrod favoured a worldwide inter-convertibility of currencies against European unification of currencies, “intra-union flexibility” against intra-European exchange-rate fixing, and opposed restrictions on capital movements. He also opposed attempts to achieve uniform tax and social-security systems, and

supported national independence, so long as nations avoided “unneighbourly policies”.

Hartley, Anthony, **The Irrelevance of Maastrich: Redefining the Atlantic Community**, Occasional Paper 53, Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies, London, 1992. (This institute no longer exists). A pessimistic view of the practicability of truly unified EU defence and military role.

Hartup, Gerald (December 1996), “Warning: Federalists Are Thinking ‘Beyond the Election ...’”, **Freedom Today** (The Freedom Association), 21(6), p. 20. A brief critique of the UK branch of the European Movement.

Haseler, Stephen et al, **Is National Sovereignty a Big Bad Wolf?**, Occasional Paper 6, The Bruges Group, London, 1990. It should be noted that Stephen Haseler has now abandoned a Euro-sceptic position.

Hawtrey, Ralph G., **Western European Union: Implications for the United Kingdom**, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1949. A moderately market-oriented economist, Hawtrey favoured an economic union of Western Europe, but feared that it might lead to a “formal federation” that attempted to overcome “the incompatibility of British political practices and habits with those of the Continent”. He thought a “joint council representing Governments” might be feasible, so long as the UK “would play its part in both the union and the Commonwealth”.

**Economic Aspects of Sovereignty**, Longmas, London, 1952. Very interesting background reading on this topic, although not directly addressing the issue of the EC/EU.

Hayek, Friedrich, **Monetary Nationalism and International Stability**, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1937. An indispensable background work of “Austrian School” monetary theory.

Hearnshaw, F. J. C., **The Socialists’ New Order**, Liberty Library No. 7, Society of Individualists, London, 1947. A still relevant critique of the various federalist, globalist and world governmental schemes being proposed in the pre- and post-war periods.

Heathcoat-Amory MP, David, **A Single European Currency: Why the United Kingdom Must Say ‘No’**, The Bruges Group, London, 1996  
**A Business View of EMU: A Survey of Business Opinion on the Single European Currency and Related Issues**, Nelson & Pollard, Oxford, 1996. Reports the results of a survey of leading businessmen which demonstrates the

preponderance of a Euro-sceptical opinion. Criticisms of the survey's methodology are also answered.

**A Market Under Threat: How the European Union Could Destroy the British Art Market**, Centre for Policy Studies, London, 1998. How EU tax proposals threaten to destroy another UK economic interest.

Heinsohn, Gunnar & Steiger, Otto (March 1997), "Why the Euro Will Be a Weak Currency", **The European Journal**, 4(6), pp. 17-18

Heilperin, Michael A., **International Monetary Economics**, Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1939/Studies in International Economics 2, Porcupine Press, Philadelphia, 1978

**The Trade of Nations**, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1947

**Studies in Economic Nationalism**, E. Droz, Geneva, 1960.

Three major works of "Austrian School" school theory on trade and international monetary issues. These books are indispensable background reading for anyone wanting to arrive at a scientific assessment of the claims for European Union.

Henesy, Paul De (July-August 1948), "A British-American Customs and Monetary Union?", **The Free Trader** (The Free Trade League), No. 243, pp. 82-91. On its greater economic rationality in comparison to the EC/EU.

Hibbs, John, **Which Route for Public Transport?: Implications of the European Single Market**, Community Paper 4, International Freedom Foundation, London, 1992. (This organisation no longer exists). Argues that there is "a major question mark over whether '1992' will really mean free access to the single market for British bus operators".

Hill, Malcolm (2000), "An Example of Protectionism: The European Union", Idem, **Slavery in a Land of Liberty: English Civil Liberty and Wage Slavery in Britain**, Othila Press, London, pp. 148-176

Hill, Stephen, ed., **Visions of Europe: Summing Up the Political Choices**, Gerald Duckworth, London, 1993. A collection of brief essays of varying quality, some fairly mundane, but others (on economic and legal matters, for example) incisive and valuable. The editor's own essay, "Fatal Flaws at the Economic Heart of Europe", pp. 174-184, is particularly useful.

Hilton, Adrian, **The Principality and Power of Europe: Britain and the Emerging Holy European Empire**, Dorchester House Publications, Box 67, Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire, WD3 5SJ, 1997. Written from an evangelical Protestant position, the author is particularly concerned with the issue of Roman Catholic power within the EU. Much of the book's critique of the illiberal and

oligarchical character of the EU can be shared by those who do not share the author's religious position or fears, however.

Hindley, Brian \* (1996), "European Union Anti-Dumping: Has the Problem Gone Away?", **Trade Policy Review 1996/97**, Centre for Policy Studies, London, pp. 34-42

(March 1997), "Does British Economic Policy have a Future?", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 17(1), pp. 4-8. "The net effect of withdrawal [from the EU] on the British economy would be small - certainly not large enough to stop British governments standing up for British interests in Europe".

**Europe: Fortress or Freedom?**, Occasional Paper 2, The Bruges Group, London, nd (1992)

**The Goldsmith Fallacy: Why Open Trade and the Gatt Are Best**, Rochester Paper 3, Trade Policy Unit, Centre for Policy Studies, London, 1994. A response to Sir James' *The Trap*, above.

& Howe, Martin, **Better Off Out?: The Benefits and Costs of European Union Membership**, Occasional Paper 99, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1996

Holland, Stuart, **Uncommon Market: Capital, Class, Power in the European Community**, Macmillan, London, 1980. A Marxist critique that argues that "the so-called common market is unequal and uncommon in character, bureaucratic in form, and at present tends to neutralise political power and disintegrate national economic and social structures." Although calling for a "counter vision of democratic internationalist and socialist community of European states", like most Marxists he offers no proposals as to how his vision would be any different from the actually existing practice of the totalitarian communism he professes to reject. His analysis is also based on the utterly bizarre and delusional assertion that the EU represents "laissez-faire driven to extremes". Like most Marxists he is also loathe to admit that anyone else could be right. He thus distances himself from other Euro-sceptics who, apparently, unlike himself, base their views on "prejudice" rather than "analysis". Mr. Holland now appears to be surfing on a new wave of the future and, having re-branded himself, currently enjoys a very unequal income as a Labour MEP.

Holloway, Edward, **The Case For an Atlantic Free Trade Area**, Economic Research Council, London, 1970?

& Wistrich, Ernest (1970), "Common Market or NAFTA?", Ivens, Michael & Bradley, Clive, eds., **Which Way?: Thirteen Dialogues on Choices Facing Britain**, Michael Joseph, London, pp. 215-232

Holmes, Martin (August\September 1989), "1992 and Beyond: Market Freedom or Collectivist Regulation", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs),

9(6), pp. 10, 11-12; reprinted in Lewis, Russell, ed., **Recent Controversies in Political Economy**, Institute of Economic Affairs & Routledge, London, 1992, pp. 302-305; also reprinted in Idem, **Beyond Europe: Selected Essays 1989-1993**, Nelson and Pollard, London, 1993, pp. 89-94

(Winter 1989-90), "Britain and the EMS: The Continuing Case Against Membership in Principle", *New European*, 2(4), pp. 24-30; reprinted in Idem, **Beyond Europe: Selected Essays 1989-1993**, Nelson and Pollard, London, 1993, pp. 1-10. "Britain's future prosperity ... can be assured irrespective of the exchange rate relationship with the EEC countries ... any move towards the creation of a single currency within the EC may lead to a Fortress Europe nightmare incompatible with Britain's growing and successful global investment and trading patterns."

(February 1992), "The Follies of the Common Agricultural Policy", **Freedom Today** (The Freedom Association); reprinted in Idem, **Beyond Europe: Selected Essays 1989-1993**, Nelson and Pollard, London, 1993, pp. 131-134

(Spring 1996), "European Federal Integration: The Case Against", *Voices of Maastricht II*, Gresham College, City University, pp. 11-22

(1996), "European Federal Integration: The Case Against", **Ama-gi** (Journal of the London School of Economics Hayek Society, The London School of Economics, Houghton Street, London, WC2 2AE, 1(1), pp. 10-11

(March 1997), "We Must Not Betray Eastern Europe", **The European Journal**, 4(6), pp. 9-12. "The problems faced by the Central and Eastern Europe Countries are the result of the shortsighted and short term policies of the EU. The EU is perpetuating an economic division of Europe long after other such divisions have evaporated".

**Whither the EEC: Protectionism or Free Trade?**, Foreign Policy Briefing No. 6, Conservative Students, 32 Smith Square, London, SW1P 3HH, 1991. "[I]t's the tragedy of the EC, with all the possibilities that could have opened up in the way it developed, that in the 1990s we may have to fight some of the same battles of the 1980s against protectionism, collectivism and bureaucratic regulation."

**Britain and the EMS: An Economic Analysis of the Continuing Case Against British Membership of the Exchange Rate Mechanism**, Occasional Paper 3, The Bruges Group, London, nd (1992?)

**Beyond Europe: Selected Essays 1989-1993**, Nelson and Pollard, London, 1993. A wide-ranging and incisive collection of essays dealing with EMU, relations with central and eastern Europe, the current situation in western Europe, and the issue of Britain's membership.

**The Conservative Party and Europe**, Occasional Paper 17, The Bruges Group, London, 1994. A brief analysis of the motives behind Conservative thinking on Europe, and the current dilemma that confronts the Conservative Party.

**From Single Market to Single Currency: Evaluating Europe's Economic Experiment**, Occasional Paper 20, The Bruges Group, London, 1995. A concise

and penetrating critique of the failure of the single market and the implications of EMU.

**John Major and Europe: The Failure of a Policy 1990-7**, Occasional Paper 28, The Bruges Group, London, 1997. “[W]hen it really mattered, Major supported European integration and was prepared to divide and discipline his party to the point of bitter conflict. But when it did not matter as much, when legislation was not necessary, Major made Eurosceptical noises to keep the party together”.

**Franco-German Friendship and the Designation of Federalism**, Occasional Paper No. 35, Bruges Group, London, 1999. “British hopes of exporting a deregulated, non-protectionist, flexible labour market, economic model to the continent are ... doomed. European monetary union - plus the political unification which will flow therefrom - is an alternative to Anglo- Saxon economic globalisation not a manifestation of it ... If the British people want to prevent their incorporation into a supranational, superpower Europe then they will have to do it themselves, by challenging the status quo of European Union membership”.

**European Integration: Scope and Limits**, Palgrave Publishers, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 2001

ed., **The Eurosceptical Reader**, Macmillan, London, 1996. An indispensable collection of essays, with sections on “The View From the Left”, “The View From the Right”, “Eurosceptical Political Economy”, and “Historical and Constitutional Euroscepticism”.

Holmes, Peter (1983), “The EEC and British Trade”, Cohen, C. D., ed., **The Common Market: Ten Years After, An Economic Review of British Membership of the EEC 1973-1983**, Philip Allan, London, pp. 16-38. Argues that “there was no reason to expect economic growth before we joined”.

Hoppe, Hans-Hermann, **The Economic and Political Rationale for European Secessionism**, Essays in Political Economy, No. 17, The Ludwig von Mises Institute, Auburn University, Auburn, Alabama, October 1993. The distinguished German anarcho-capitalist economist and philosopher argues why smaller states are more amenable to liberty and free trade, and why economic integration does not require political integration - *a la* the EU. He thus rejects the EU project of creating a super-state, and favours the fragmentation of existing states into smaller sovereign units.

Horsfield, Charlotte (March 1990), “European Legal Union”, **The Salisbury Review** (London), 8(3), pp. 16-18

(April 1994), “Justice or Rights”, **The European Journal**, 1(6), pp. 9-10. On the threat of European law to British common law.

(February 1996), “The Impact of European Union on Policing and Our Liberties”, **Freedom Today** (The Freedom Association), 21(1), pp. 16-17

(Spring 1997), "The Covenant of Europe", **The Salisbury Review** (London), 15(3), pp. 18-20. An analysis of the European constitution, and its contrast with Anglo-American constitutional traditions and practices.

Hoskins, W. Lee (1 April 1989), "A Market-Based View of the European Monetary Union", **Economic Commentary** (Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland)

Hoskyns, Sir John (Winter 1988-9), "The Danger of 'Euro-sclerosis'", **New European**, 1(4), pp. 17-18. A brief warning about the menace of corporatism in the EU.

House of Lords Select Committee on the European Communities, Session 1989-89, The, **5th Report, Fraud Against the Community - With Evidence**, HL Paper 27, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1989. An important document. The Committee is not keen to identify a definite estimate of total fraud, but it does not dismiss an estimate of £2 to £6 million from a budget income of £25 billion in 1987 suggested by one expert witness.

Howard MP, Michael, **The Future of Europe**, Policy Study 152, Centre for Policy Studies, London, 1997. Sets out the objectives to be achieved if the EU is to be turned into a true "Europe of Nations".

Howarth, Richard W. (October 1982), "Scrap the CAP", **The Journal of Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 3(1), pp. 46-49

(1996), "Agricultural Policy by the Year 2000 and Its Effects", Holmes, Martin, ed., **The Eurosceptical Reader**, Macmillan, London, pp. 205-218

**Farming For Farmers: A Critique of Agricultural Support Policy**, Hobart Paperback No. 20, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1985; 2nd edn, 1990

**Agricultural Support in Western Europe**, Research Monograph 25, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1971. Includes critical material on the CAP.

**The Common Agricultural Policy: An Expensive Lesson on the Dangers of Harmonisation by Regulation**, Occasional Paper 7, The Bruges Group, London, 1990

Howe, Martin (1993), "Justice and the European Super-State", Hill, Stephen, ed., **Visions of Europe: Summing Up the Political Choices**, Gerald Duckworth, London, pp. 104-109

(1996), "Our Future in Europe: Time to Stop Drifting", Howe, Martin & Welsh, Michael MEP, **Recommendations for the Intergovernmental Conference: Opposing Views**, Centre for Policy Studies, London, pp. 5-19. A good critique of federalism and a case for disengagement from the EU. Includes a response by Welsh and a counter-response by Howe



(March 1997), "The Legal Framework of the EC Single Market", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 17(1), pp. 9-15. "The UK loses out [in the EU] because of disparities between national legal systems, and because Community law is interpreted to serve the political objective of European unity. There are several possible intermediates between full EU membership and complete withdrawal. There is no legal barrier to the UK's exit from the EU should it wish to take that step".

**Maastricht and 'Social Europe': An Escape or an Entrapment?**, Nelson & Pollard, Oxford, 1992

**Monetary Policy After Maastricht: How Much Independence Will Britain Possess?**, Centre for Policy Studies, London, 1992. Concludes that the Treaty will render the opt-out of Stage 3 monetary union "so unattractive that the option looks unreal".

**Europe and the Constitution After Maastricht**, Society of Conservative Lawyers, 2 Harcourt Buildings, London, EC4Y 1AA, June 1992. An important in-depth examination, with proposals for legal measures to protect the British constitution from EU inroads.

**Europe and the Constitution After Maastricht**, Nelson & Pollard, Oxford, 1993. A scholarly but concise analysis of the constitutional significance of Maastricht.

**Maastricht and 'Social Europe': An Escape or an Entrapment**, City of London Concern Over Maastricht & Nelson & Pollard, Oxford, 1993

**Maastricht to Amsterdam**, Policy Study 153, Centre for Policy Studies, London, 1997. An incisive analysis of the Amsterdam Treaty. Shows that the European Union has acquired all the legal characteristics of a state.

Howell MP, Rt. Hon David, Britain, **Europe and the Asian Challenge**, Eurofacts Review, 1(4), London, March 1996. A brief statement in favour of global, rather than European, perspective for Britain.

Hulsman, John C. (March 2000), "The World Turned Rightside Up: New Trading Agenda for the Age of Globalisation", **European Journal** (European Foundation), 7(5), pp. 20-22. Argues for British entry into NAFTA, and a revived EFTA, in place of membership of the EU.

Hunt, Wayne (1992), "Federalism With a Bureaucratic Face", Robertson, Patrick, ed., **Reshaping Europe in the Twenty-First Century**, The Bruges Group & Macmillan, London, pp. 35-44

Hunter, Rod (June 1996), "The Subsidiarity Shibboleth", **The European Journal**, 3(9), pp. 21-22. Argues that faith in "subsidiarity" as a bulwark against centralization is misplaced.

Illseley, Matthew R., **The Future is a Foreign Country**, The Author, np, nd (2005); footnotes available separately at: <http://tfiafc.blogspot.com>

Institute of Directors Policy Unit, The, **EMU Briefing Papers**, Institute of Directors, London, 1998. Five brief papers on: "Should the UK Join EMU", "The Government's Position on EMU", "EMU: Economic or Political Project?", "EMU: Timetable 1998-2002", "EMU: Questions and Answers"

Issing, Otmar, **Europe: Political Union Through Common Money?**, Occasional Paper 98, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1996. The Chief Economist of the German Bundesbank argues that monetary union per se cannot create political union, but would generate pressures for greater political union.

**Economic and Monetary Union**, Speech to the 24th Economic Convention of the Austrian National Bank, Vienna, 11 April 1996. (Available from The Industry & Europe Data Centre). Issing calls for caution over the promises of a "golden age" as a result of EMU. He argues that the advantages of savings in currency exchange transaction costs have to be balanced by awareness of internal economic disharmonies and rigidities. "The aims of monetary stability and appropriate economic growth will not be automatically achieved by the Monetary Union".

Jacobs, Jane, **The Question of Separatism: Quebec and the Struggle Over Sovereignty**, Junction Books, London, 1981. Not a Eurosceptic book, and not a patch on her famous work on urban planning, but makes a number of perceptive remarks regarding the fact that bigger nations and supra-national formations are not necessarily more efficient or effective.

James, Derek, et al, **Bound to Fail: Britain's Membership of the Common Market**, Anti-Common Market League, Worcester Park, Surrey, 1987. A useful collection of brief essays covering most aspects of the subject: CAP, CFP, sovereignty, the Single European Act, the EMS, how entry into the EC was engineered, economic consequences, social policies, the loss of national self-confidence etc. Also includes a brief history of the Anti-Common Market League itself.

Jamiesen, Bill, (9 October 1994), "Focus: Audit of the EC", **The Sunday Telegraph** (London)

(September/October 1995), "The Flawed Economics of EMU", **The European Journal**, 3(1), p. 7

(28 April 1996), "Little to Lose By Saying Adieu", **The Sunday Telegraph** (London), p. 21

(June 1996), "Set Britain Free From Her European Straightjacket", **Freedom Today** (The Freedom Association), 21(3), pp. 6-7

**Britain Beyond Europe**, Gerald Duckworth, London, 1994. A very telling demonstration of the growing importance of Britain's worldwide commercial and financial opportunities - opportunities stifled by the rigidities and corporatism of the European Union and of any EMU.

**Worlds Apart?**, Occasional Paper 19, The Bruges Group, London, 1995. A concise statement of the above argument.

**Britain: A Global Future**, Nelson and Pollard, London, forthcoming 1997. A useful summary of the case for Britain's stake in global trade.

Jay, Douglas (19 September 1969), "One Way to Ruin Britain", **The Guardian** (London); reprinted as a leaflet, Anti-Common Market League, London, nd (1969?)

**After the Common Market: A Better Alternative for Britain**, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1968. Still a powerful statement for the case that the EU is "far too narrow and inward-looking a group for Britain - a world trading nation with vital economic and political links in all continents - to join". Jay attacks the "grotesque" CAP, the "fundamentally undemocratic nature of [the EEC] constitution and of its ruling bodies", the economic arguments in favour of British entry, and the unprecedented hand over of Parliamentary power. He concludes that "far greater advantages and opportunities would be open to us - even if we were not able to construct a newer and wider free trade area".

& Jenkins, Roy, **The Common Market Debate**, Fabian Tract 341, The Fabian Society, London, 1962. Although not opposed to international organisations, indeed, even favouring a world government, Jay offers a critique of entry into the EU on economic, political and democratic grounds. (Jenkins argues in favour of entry).

Jay, Peter (8 March 1980), "Europe's Ostrich and America's Eagle", **The Economist** (London); reprinted in Idem, **The Crisis of Western Political Economy and Other Essays**, Andre Deutsch, London, 1984, pp. 168-187. Warns that the liberal aspects of European unification could easily be swamped by the continent's traditional statism and power lusts, and the EU could become "a vehicle for the rebirth of nationalism in Europe on a superpower scale".

**Employment, Regions and Currencies**, Darlington Economics Lecture, Eurofacts Review, 1(7), London, July 1996. A powerful critique of monetary union.

& Stewart, Michael (Spring 1988), "Still On Course for Apocalypse 2000", **New European**, 1(2), pp. 28-32. A discussion of the ideas presented in their novel, below.

**Apocalypse 2000: Economic Breakdown and the Suicide of Democracy 1989-2000**, Sidgewick and Jackson, London/Fontana Books, London, 1987. A science fiction novel about a neo-fascist takeover of a future European super-state.

Jenkin MP, Bernard (Autumn 1994), "What Being in a Single Currency Would Mean", **Forward** (Conservative Way Forward), No. 9. "Why does anyone want a single currency? The answer is political. It is not an instrument necessary for prosperity, but a weapon for the architects of a superstate".

Jenkins, Lindsay (February 1996), "Behind European Federalism: Spinelli and the Crocodile Club", **Freedom Today** (The Freedom Association), 21(1), pp. 8-9.

**Godfather of the European Union: Altiero Spinelli**, The Bruges Group, London, 1996. A fascinating account of the Italian authoritarian Communist who is recognised as "founder of the federalist movement in Europe and father of European integration".

**Britain Held Hostage: The Coming Euro-Dictatorship**, Orange State Press, London, 1997

**Disappearing Britain, The EU and the Death of Local Government**, Orange State Press, London, 2005

Joerges, Christian & Ghaleigh, Navraj Singh, eds., **Darker Legacies of Law in Europe: The Shadow of National Socialism and Fascism Over Europe and Its Legal Tradition**, Hart, London, 2004

Joffe, Josef (4 December 1997), "The Euro: The Engine That Couldn't", **New York Review of Books**, XLIV(19), pp. 26-27, 30-31. "Never in the history of democracy have so few debated so little about so momentous a transformation in the lives of men and women. And so the train will probably leave the station on time, on January 1, 1998, but with screeching wheels and shaky couplings. If it goes off the rails, as economics and politics suggest it will, the consequences may contaminate much of what Europe has achieved during the last forty years."

Johnson, Boris (29 October 1997), "A Fight to the Death", **The Daily Telegraph** (London), p. 22. "EMU was the panic-stricken response of the French elite and their guilt-ridden German counterparts to German unification. The plan has no democratic legitimacy. Nothing like it has succeeded before ... EMU is the bureaucratic solution to a Franco-German non-problem ... EMU-scepticism is the global, outward-looking and above all, hip side of the argument".

Johnson, Gale, **Less Than Meets the Eye: The Modest Impact of CAP Reform**, Centre for Policy Studies, London, 1995. Shows how CAP, in spite of its massive cost, has not even succeeded in preventing the decline of rural employment.

Johnson, Harry G. (September 1958), "The Gains From Free Trade With Europe: Risks or Opportunity", **Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv**, 79(2), pp. 267-80. Argues that closer integration between UK and Western European economies could not be expected to produce more than modest material benefits.

(1965), "An Economic Theory of Protectionism, Tariff Bargaining and the Formation of Customs Unions", **Journal of Political Economy** (University of Chicago), XXVIII

(1966), "The Criteria of Economic Advantage", Worswick, G. D. N., ed., **The Free Trade Proposal**, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 31-36. A useful account by the eminent monetarist economist of the limits to the benefits to be expected from customs unions like the EU.

(1971), "The Implications for the World Economy", Evans, Douglas, ed., **Destiny or Delusion: Britain and the Common Market**, Victor Gollancz, London, pp. 164-172. "[T]he result [of British entry into the EEC] is likely to be a further decline in the world economic importance of Britain ... there is likely to be a substantial shift of industrial activity away from British towards continental locations ... The structure of the British economy is very likely to change markedly ... away from industrial production towards the production of services ... Accession of Britain to membership ... would constitute another major step towards the institutionalisation of regional discrimination as the basic pattern of international trade, in contravention of the basic general post-war trend towards non-discriminatory reduction of barriers to international trade generally ... The result would be adverse both for the developing countries ... and for Britain herself".

Johnson, Neville, **Britain and the Community: The Right Way Forward**, Policy Study 133, Centre for Policy Studies, London, 1993. Argues for a Europe of independent nations united by a single market.

**Can Self-Government Survive?: Britain and the European Union**, Centre for Policy Studies, London, 2000

Johnson, Paul (August 1992), "Europe: Miracle or Monster?", **Commentary** (American Jewish Committee, New York)

(18 December 1994), "The Real Threat to Our National Interest", **The Sunday Telegraph** (London), p. 25

(1994), "Handing Brussels Britain on a Plate", Idem, **Wake Up Britain: A Latter-Day Pamphlet**, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, pp. 41-60. A biting critique of the "greed, treachery and deceit" behind the emergence of the EU and the mockery of democratic process in the passing of the Maastricht Treaty.

(1 February 1997), "Eurocrats Rush In Where Hitler and Verwoerd Feared to Tread", **The Spectator** (London). A good brief attack on the proposal to set up a "European Union Centre for Monitoring Racism and Xenophobia" – i.e. PC

thought police and censorship of any criticisms of euro-superstatism and the tribalistic racism masquerading under the bizarre misnomer of “anti-racism”..

(1 March 1997), “The Jew Rifkind and a Dangerous Old Parsifal in a Hurry”, *The Spectator* (London), p. 22. On the continuity and nature of certain German attitudes.

Johnson, Tim (1992), “EC Employment Law”, Robertson, Patrick, ed., **Reshaping Europe in the Twenty-First Century**, The Bruges Group & Macmillan, London, pp. 187-193. A brief outline of the impact of EC law on British law to the date of writing.

Jones, E. L., (1976), “A New Essay on Western Civilisation in its Economic Aspects”, **Australian Economic History Review**, 16, pp. 95-109

**The European Miracle: Environments, Economics and Geopolitics in the History of Europe and Asia**, Cambridge University Press, 1981/2nd edn, 1987. A major academic work of great relevance to the issue of the EU. Jones demonstrates that it was precisely Europe’s polycentricity, its “disunity”, that was the basis of its growth and dynamism.

Jones, Newton, **The Common Market: Why Britain Should Not Join**, The Author, London, 23 August 1961

Josling, Tim (1996), “A New Agricultural Trade Policy for the European Union”, **Trade Policy Review 1996/97**, Centre for Policy Studies, London, pp. 22-37

Judt, Tony, **A Grand Illusion?: An Essay on Europe**, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1996. Although professing to be “enthusiastically European” and arguing that “no informed person could seriously wish to return to the embattled, mutually antagonistic circle of suspicious nations that was the European continent in the quite recent past”, this Professor of European Studies argues that “a truly united Europe is sufficiently unlikely for it to be unwise and self-defeating to insist upon it”. He correctly points out that “Throughout the interwar years, Fascists especially ... had spoken and written of the goal of a renewed, rejuvenated Europe, shorn of its ancient divisions and united around a common set of goals and institutions”. He concludes with a plea for “a continuing recognition of the proper place of the nation state ... [for recognizing] the reality of nation and states, and note the risk that, when neglected, they become an electoral resource of virulent nationalists”.

Kaldor, Nicholas [Lord Kaldor] (12 March 1971), “The Truth About the ‘Dynamic Effects’”, **The New Statesman** (London); reprinted as “The Dynamic Effects of the Common Market”, Evans, Douglas, ed., **Destiny or Delusion: Britain and the Common Market**, Victor Gollancz, London, 1972, pp. 59-91. A

detailed demolition of the view that EEC entry would have long term “dynamic effects”.

(16 July 1971), “The Distortions of the White Paper”, **The New Statesman** (London); partially reprinted in Barber, James & Reed, Bruce, eds., **European Community: Vision and Reality**, Croom Helm & The Open University Press, London, 1973, pp. 260-262. A critique of the optimistic assumptions of the government’s White Paper (The United Kingdom and the European Communities, Cmdd. 4715, HMSO, London, 1971) on the benefits of British entry in the EEC.

Kaletsky, Anatole (5 June 1998), “The Pound Is Political”, **The Times** (London), p. 24

(19 November 1998), “Blair’s Euro Con-Trick”, **The Times** (London), p. 24. “The single currency is deliberately designed to destabilise the European status quo in which economic policies are determined almost entirely by national governments. Monetary union will inevitably set up a powerful momentum for greater economic and political centralisation - and that was always the plan”.

Kappel, Heiner (September 1997), “A German View of the European Union”, **The Individual** (Society for Individual Liberty, London), pp. 3-4. The brief text of a speech to a CIB meeting by a member of the Hesse Parliament. “Now is the time and not later to say ‘Yes’ to a Europe of Nations and ‘No’ to a united Europe ruled by the Brussels Eurocracy”.

Kay, John (28 December 1994), “The Mercantilist Fallacy Must Not Entrap Free Trade”, **The Daily Telegraph**, (London). A brief critique of Sir James Goldsmith’s protectionist views in *The Trap*, qv.

Kendall, Frances (1990), “Referenda: Let the People Vote”, Vorhies, Frank & Grant, Richard J., eds., **Liberty and Prosperity: Essays on Limiting Government and Freeing Enterprise in South Africa**, Juta & Co., Kenwyn, & The Free Market Foundation, P. O. Box 785121, Sandton 2146, South Africa, pp. 252-262. A good brief case for the value of referenda in a democratic political order.

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King, Stephen, **European Monetary Union: Four Endings and a Funeral**, HSBC James Capel, Thames Exchange, 10 Queen Street Place, London, EC4 1BL, July 1996. Not exactly a Euro-sceptic work, but does conclude that “EMU will only prove successful if a more federal Europe arises, whereby fiscal and

monetary policy decisions are made increasingly at the European level. Whilst German politicians have increasingly accepted this as a fact of life, it is less clear that other countries have followed suit. The battles over sovereignty currently being fought within the UK's Conservative party could easily spread across Europe as a whole as economic pressure builds for greater centralization".

Kitson, Michael, **The Single Currency: Privatisation and the Private Finance Initiative**, UNISON, 1 Mabledon Place, London, WC1H 9AJ, 1997. A socialist critique by the public service union leader.

Klaus, Vaclav & Schwartz, Pedro, **European Union or Not?**, Centre for Research Into Post-Communist Economies, London, 2001. Klaus rejects the "Ersatz ideology ... of Europeanism ... another modern fatal conceit. Its concentration on the form, not on the substance, is a successful way of hiding its real substance. It may be a rational strategy on the side of its exponents to conceal its statist characteristics". Schwartz, an eminent economist, argues that Economic and Monetary Union is inimical to free economic development and to free trade worldwide.

Kohr, Leopold (26 September 1941), "Disunion Now: A Plea for a Society Based Upon Small Autonomous Units", **The Commonwealth** (1963), "Anatomy of Peace, or, Decentralization of Power", Dunn, Ted, ed., **Alternatives to War and Violence: A Search**, James Clarke, London, pp. 174-185

(1973), "Development by Common Market", Idem, **Development Without Aid: The Translucent Society**, Christopher Davies, Llandybie, Carmarthenshire, Wales, pp. 16-29. "What escapes many a modern nation builder striving for more rapid development through the greater economic integration of their states with their neighbours is that by far the fastest way of developing is by going it alone - unintegrated, unaffiliated, unco-ordinated".

(1991), "Disunion Now!", **New European**, 4(3), pp. 6-7. A brief statement of the decentralist position.

**The Breakdown of Nations**, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1957/Christopher Davies, Llandybie, Carmarthenshire, Wales, nd. A major theoretical statement of the case against bigness and large nations, and for a decentralist alternative.

**The Over-Developed Nations**, Henry Regnery, Chicago, 1964

**The Inner City: From Mud to Marble**, Y Lolfa Cyf, Tallybout, Dyfed, 1989

Kreling, Paul, **The Follies of British and European Monetary Policy**, Economic Notes 34, The Libertarian Alliance, London, 1990. A brief critique of the Exchange Rate Mechanism debacle and the folly of the EMS.



Kristol, Irving (2 February 1998), "Petrified Europe", **The Wall Street Journal Europe**. The distinguished neo-Conservative writer attacks the deluge of EU statism, its protectionist trade policies and the prospective effects of EMU.

Labour Common Market Safeguards Campaign, The, **The Common Market: The Cost of Membership**, Labour Common Markets Safeguards Campaign, London, nd (1977?)

Labour Euro-Safeguards Campaign, The, **Economic and Monetary Union: The Issue Labour Must Confront**, Labour Euro-Safeguards Campaign, London, 1996

Lal, Deepak (1990), "Alternative Roads to Economic Integration: The Case for Currency Competition in European Integration", **Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law**, 22(2/3), pp. 299-310; reprinted in Idem, **Against Dirigisme: The Case for Unshackling Economic Markets**, International Centre for Economic Growth, Institute for Contemporary Studies, 243 Kearny Street, San Francisco, California 94108, USA, 1994, pp. 209-221. On the two competing conceptions of integration embodied in the Thatcher and Delors visions of Europe, the "constructivist" (i.e., coercive, planned) versus the "spontaneous" (i.e., market created). "Imperial harmonisation will inevitably lead to a territorial state ... competitive harmonisation ... will lead to a concert of trading states ... free currency competition offers the best feasible solution for creating a stable monetary framework for monetary integration in Europe".

(1993), "Trade Blocs and Multilateral Free Trade", **Journal of Common Market Studies**, 31(3), pp. pp. 349-358; reprinted in Idem, **Against Dirigisme: The Case for Unshackling Economic Markets**, International Centre for Economic Growth, Institute for Contemporary Studies, San Francisco, 1994, pp. 253-263

(July 199), "EMU and Globalisation", **European Journal**, 6(8), pp. 16-18

**A Liberal International Order: The International Monetary System and Economic Development**, Princeton Essays in International Finance 139, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1980. Why schemes like the EMS are inherently unstable.

Lamfalussy, A. (October 1961), "Europe's Progress Due to Common Market?", **Lloyd's Bank Review** (London), ns, No. 62, pp. 1-16; reprinted in Krause, Lawrence B., ed., **The Common Market: Progress and Community**, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1964, pp. 90-107. "There seems to be no obvious figures which would point to a causal relationship between the establishment of the Common Market and the rapid growth of its members. It seem, in fact, quite possible to argue the other way around and to suggest that it is the "inherently" high rate of growth of Continental Europe which stimulated trade

between members of the EEC and made it possible to set up the Common Market, not vice versa”.

Lamont, Norman (1996), “Selsdon Group Speech, 11 October 1994”, Holmes, Martin, ed., **The Eurosceptical Reader**, Macmillan, London, 1996, pp. 97-109 (6 November 1997), “Honourable Friends and Federalists”, **The Times** (London), p. 20. Reveals that Ken Clarke once said to him that “the sooner the House of Commons becomes a county council the better”.

**Sovereign Britain**, Gerald Duckworth, London, 1995. A surprisingly good critique, for a politician, of the alleged benefits of the EU. Lamont argues that he could not pinpoint a single concrete economic advantage that unambiguously accrued to Britain as a result of EU membership.

Lansley, Andrew & Wilson, Richard (1997), “Europe and Britain’s Constitution”, Idem, **Conservatives and the Constitution**, Conservative 2000 Foundation, London, pp. 191-207

Laughland, John (1993), “Sovereignty Versus Federalism”, Hill, Stephen, ed., **Visions of Europe: Summing Up the Political Choices**, Gerald Duckworth, London, pp. 91-99

(September/October 1996), “Europe’s Anti-Democratic Agenda”, **The European Journal**, 4(1), pp. 18-19.

**The Tainted Source: The Undemocratic Origins of the European Idea**, Little, Brown, Boston, 1997/Warner Books, London, 1998. The definitive analysis of the Nazi and corporatist origins of the European project and an incisive defense of free markets and liberalism against corporatism, protectionism, statism and authoritarianism. An indispensable work. See also Stirk, Peter M. R., below

Lascelles, David, **The Crash of 2003: An EMU Fairy Tale**, Centre for the Study of Financial Innovation, 18 Curzon Street, London, W1Y 7AD, Pamphlet 25, December 1996. A critical view of EMU in the form of a predictive fantasy.

Lea, Ruth, **The Single Currency and Social Europe**, The Institute of Directors, London, April 1996. A very critical perspective on both, by the Head of the IOD’s Policy Unit,.

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& Howard, Natasha, **The Working Time Directive and the Social Chapter: Results of an IOD Member Questionnaire**, Institute of Directors, London, January 1997. A survey demonstrating the hugely detrimental results of EU social legislation on British business, together with a useful critical analysis of that legislation.

Lee, Adrian (June 1996), "European Union's Propaganda Offensive in Our Schools", *Freedom Today* (The Freedom Association), 21(3), pp. 8-9. An exposure of EU propaganda methods and claims.

(August 1996), "Time to Terminate Tory Euro-Marriage", **Ibid.**, 21(4), pp. 6-7. An expose of the European People's Party, the Christian Democrat bloc in the European Parliament, to which the Conservative party is affiliated.

Leach, Graham, **The UK and the Euro: Better Out Than In?**, Research Paper, Institute of Directors, London, 1999

Leach, Rodney \*\*\*\* (April 1998), "A Series of Gambles: Would EMU Really Be Good for British Business", **The European Journal**, 5(6), pp. 10-12

**After Maastricht**, The European Foundation, London, 1994

**Monetary Union: A Perilous Gamble**, The June Press, London, 1996; also reprinted in (Spring 1997), **International Currency Review** (London), 24(1), pp. 3-34

**Europe: A Concise Encyclopedia of the European Union from Aachen to Zollverein**, Profile Books, London, 1998. A useful reference work with a Euro-sceptic orientation

Leddin, Anthony & McNutt, Paddy (June 1991), "The Irish Experience of EMS", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 11(4), pp. 30-33. "Often extolled as an example to Britain, Ireland's membership [of EMS] has been a disaster".

Legg MP, Barry (August 1993), "The Next Challenge in Europe", **Forward** (Conservative Way Forward). Presents the author's case for abandoning the construction of a federal Europe, and a programme for doing so at the 1996 IGC summit.

Leslie, Ann (21 October 1996), "What the Murder of These Girls Tells Us About Corruption at the Heart of Europe", **The Daily Mail** (London), p. 8. The significance of the paedophile murder scandal in Belgium.

(1 February 1999), "Lies, Fraud and a Contempt for Democracy That Threatens Us All", **Ibid.**, pp. 16-17. A good account of the exposure by EU accountant Paul van Buitenen of the fraud and corruption in the EU - and of the European Commission's attempts to silence and smear him.

Letwin, Oliver (18 January 1998), "Thin End of Euro Wedge", **The Times** (London), p. 17. A brief critique of the duplicitous manner in which significant political and constitutional decisions are enacted by stealth by the Europhiles.

**Drift to Union: Wiser Ways to a Wider Community**, Policy Study 108, Centre for Policy Studies, London, 1989. Demonstrates that "the EC is quickly

becoming what its founders and most powerful advocates have always wanted it to be: a federal European Union. Those of us in Britain (and elsewhere) who did not understand this only have our own ignorance and the misinformed statements of our leaders to blame". Also discusses the option of a wider and loose European economic bloc.

Levin, Bernard (25 February 1994), "Europe's Threat to Liberty", **The Times** (London), p. 18

Lewis, Russell, (August/September 1989), "Bruges or Brussels?", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 9(6), pp. 6-8. The case for a Europe of Nations, united by free trade rather than statism and protectionism.

(February 1996), "Who's Afraid of the Germans?: Myth Versus Reality", **Freedom Today** (The Freedom Association), 21(1), pp. 6-7. "It used to be said, with a great deal of truth, that Germany was the locomotive which powered the European economy. Today, however, the old engine is running out of steam. The danger for Britain is that through integration in a German-led EU ... we shall be forced to disgorge the fruits of Thatcherism ...".

**Rome or Brussels ...?: An Economists' Comparative Analysis of the Development of the European Community and the Aims of the Treaty of Rome**, Occasional Paper 3, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1971. A seminal and prescient account of the contradiction between market oriented principles and centralised statism within the EEC - and its significance for the future. Russell Lewis was an early supporter of the free trade aspects of the EC and actually worked for the European Commission.

**Master Eurocrat: The Making of Jacques Delors**, Occasional Paper 13, The Bruges Group, London, 1991. An analysis of the anti-capitalist, quasi-fascist corporatism of the President of the European Commission.

**Delors, Germany and the Future of Europe: Articles and Reviews 1989-95**, Occasional Paper 21, The Bruges Group, London, 1995

**The Myth of Europe**, Occasional Paper No. 39, The Bruges Group, London, 2000

Lien, Charles Le (May 1996), "Overcoming the Sisyphean Project of European Monetary Union", **The European Journal**, 3(8), pp. 18-19. A critique by a pseudonymous senior French civil servant.

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Lingle, Chris (January 1991), "The European Community's Social Charter, Social Democracy and Post-1992 Europe", **Western European Politics**, 14(1), pp. 121-138. A critique of the corporatist character and economic harmfulness of the Social Charter/Chapter by a talented free market economist.

(1991), "Constitutional Consequences of the EC Social Chapter", **Policy** (Centre for Independent Studies, P. O. Box 92, St. Leonards, New South Wales 2065, Australia), 7, pp. 43-5

Lisle, Frederick de, M. P., & Forrest, William, A Constitution for Europe, EurOmega Project, Adam Smith Institute, London, 1990. A proposal for a liberal constitution, with provision for full withdrawal, for the EU, to restrain current tendencies to centralism & bureaucracy.

Littlejohn, Richard (1995), "When the Boat Comes In - For Good", Idem, **You Couldn't Make It Up**, Heinemann, London, pp. 28-36. "In 1975, the country voted to stay in what was then called the Common Market on the promise of free trade, cheap booze and fags and the ability to go on holiday without a passport. And nothing else. Since then the Common Market has become the European Economic Community, the European Community and now the European Union ... At no stage have the British people been consulted ... And the most frightening thing is that our own defence counsel ... the British Government, has sided with the prosecution ... They lied to us then and they are lying to us still. To prove my case, I dug out the manifestos of the Pro and Anti lobbies at the time of the 1975 referendum and compared them with what has actually happened ... in virtually every case the 'No' campaigners have been proved right ... What we have been subjected to by most of our leading politicians is a constant stream of lies and deception with regard to our membership in the EU.

(1995), "Who Do You Think You Are Kidding", **Ibid.**, pp. 37-40. A satire on EU supporters.

(1995), "EU-Positive", **Ibid.**, pp. 41-42. "Tory Euro-fanatics have grouped together under the banner 'Positive European'. It makes them sound as if they've got some terrible disease. Which they probably have. What other explanation for the Gadarene rush towards a European superstate? Perhaps we should start treating it as an illness ... Complete withdrawal is the only safe solution. Just say No".

Looney, William, **Drug Budgets: The Hidden Costs of Control. The Impact of European Drug Payment Reform on Access, Quality and Innovation**, Centre for the New Europe, Zellik, Belgium, 1995; 2nd edn, 1996

Lundestad, Geir, **'Empire by Integration': The United States and European Integration, 1945-1997**, Oxford University Press, 1998. Not a Eurosceptic work,

but a useful historical account of American policy regarding Europe, including its attempts to manipulate European integration.

McCue, James (December 1995), "The Union of European Socialist Republics", **The Salisbury Review** (London), 14(2), pp. 16-18. An effective comparison of the character of EU to that of the former Soviet Union.

(June 1997), "Burke's View of Europe", **The London Miscellany**, No. 32, pp. 22-24. A brief outline of the ominous parallel's between Burke's critique of the threat from Revolutionary Europe and the EU.

Edmund Burke and Our Present Discontents, Claridge Press, London, 1997. Contains further discussions of the common features of revolutionary Europe and the contemporary EU.

McWhirter, Norris (June 1996), "Euro-Allegiance and Euro-Treason: A Constitutional Analysis", **Freedom Today** (The Freedom Association), 21(3), pp. 13, 25

(October 1996), "10 Reasons For Withdrawing UK From the European Union", **Ibid.**, 21(5), p. 13

**The Heckler's Guide: The Big Questions on Europe and How to Put Them**, Freedom Association, London, April 1997. Also reprinted in (1 April 1997), **Freedom Today** (The Freedom Association), 22(2), pp. 22-24, under the slightly different title "A Guide for Hecklers at the Hustings".

**Europe's Subversion of Our Constitution**, Campaign for United Kingdom Conservatism, Abergavenny, Monmouthshire, 1999

MacLeod, Ken, **The Star Fraction**, Legend Books, London, 1995. A witty and perceptive satirical science fiction novel set in the near future - a future whose past includes the "War of European Unification". The novel won the Prometheus Award for libertarian science fiction.

Machlup, Fritz, **A History of Thought on Economic Integration**, Macmillan, London, 1977. Again, not a Euro-sceptic work in itself but an indispensable scholarly examination of its topic, from a basically "Austrian School" and pro-market economist. An objective examination of the fundamental economic arguments, pro and con, and of economic and political thinkers on both sides. It also contains excellent bibliographical guides. As one might expect, however, there is a note of scepticism regarding political and economic integration and its consequences. "A customs union or any regional trade bloc may be seen as a compromise between two groups of antagonists promoting seemingly irreconcilable principles of policy: free traders and protectionists. Having made the compromise, the former are happy about the abolition of barriers in intra-bloc trade, the latter about the continuation of barriers against extra-bloc imports. Does it make sense to ask who has made the greater concession in reaching

compromise? The question makes sense indeed, and the answer depends on the height of the barriers abolished and that of the barriers retained. But, as a matter of fact, a good many free-traders (with a 'more realistic' world-outlook) had not been seriously concerned about the tariff walls retained around the region and the trade discrimination which it implied, because (as eternal optimists) they counted on both a gradual lowering of the walls and a gradual pushing outward of the walls: more countries would join the union and a continuing growth of world trade would not only be admitted but actually desired and promoted. This optimistic prognosis has often been made, sometimes founded on a strange faith in the basic rationality of human action, including political action, sometimes on nothing but wishful thinking ... The two groups of friends of trade blocs and customs unions, those aiming at regional protection and those aiming at eventual worldwide trade integration, were greatly aided by a third group: those who cared far less about economic integration as an objective, but saw it as a catalyst of political integration. They were hoping that closer economic relations among the members of a customs union would lead to closer political ties and eventually to political unification”.

\* Macrae, Norman (6 November 1994), “Rebirth of the Great Protection Racket”, **The Sunday Times** (London) (12 December 1994), “Trading Places”, **The Sunday Times** (London). Two brief critiques of Sir James Goldsmith’s protectionist views in *The Trap*, qv above.

Malcolm, Noel (23 September 1989), “Europe’s Unholy Godfathers”, **The Spectator** (London). A brief discussion of the Nazi origins of the “European ideal”.

(24 July 1993), “The Ultimate in Shaggy Dog Stories”, **The Daily Telegraph** (London). On the idiocy of Maastricht.

(March/April 1995), “The Case Against Europe”, **Foreign Affairs** (Council on Foreign Relations, 58 East 68th Street, New York, New York 10021, USA), 74(2), pp. 52-68

**Sense on Sovereignty**, Centre for Policy Studies, London, 1992; reprinted in Holmes, Martin, ed., **The Eurosceptical Reader**, Macmillan, London, 1996, pp. 342-367

Marijnissen, Jan (1996), “The United States of Europe”, Idem, **Enough! A Socialist Bites Back**, Socialistische Partij, Vijverhofstraat 65, 3032 Rotterdam, Netherlands, 1996, pp. 109-126. A socialist critique of the EU based on faulty economics and the fanciful belief that it is a manifestation of the free market.

Marsden, Keith (1997), “The Social Chapter is a Tax on Jobs”, Idem, **Miracle or Mirage?: Britain’s Economy As Seen From Abroad**, Centre for Policy Studies, London

(1997), "The EU Means Lost Sovereignty and Lost Jobs", **Ibid.**

\*\*\*\* (May/June 2000), "NAFTA and EMU: Some Comparisons", **The European Journal**, 7(7), pp. 3-4. "[A] bureaucratic, over centralised EMU has performed less well than a more flexible NAFTA".

Marsland, David (June 1991), "The Social Charter: Rights and Wrongs", **The Salisbury Review** (London), 9(4), pp. 15-18. "The EC Social Charter is a socialist initiative arising out of socialist doctrines ... it should perhaps be called not the 'Charter of Fundamental Social Rights for Workers', but rather - in view of its inclination to corral us all in the bureaucratic embrace of state employment and state regulation - the 'Charter of Fundamental Rights of Social Workers'."

(December 1992), "Great Danes or German Shepherds?", **The Salisbury Review** (London), 11(2), pp. 33-36. A strong case against the EU and, like Andrew Fear, *qv* above, a plea for an "alternative vision of Europe".

**What Happens When European Socialists Unite ...?**, Aims of Industry, London, April 1997. Discusses "the threat to British interests which is posed by collaboration between the Labour Party and the bureau-socialist ruling elites of Europe ... The EC has become the engine room of mischievous intervention in the benign operation of the market and the campaigning base for resistance to free enterprise ... If we had read the publications of the founding fathers of 'Europe' - who were characterised at least as much by their anti-capitalism as their anti-communism - we would have been aware since the fifties that a sinister conspiracy was afoot: to establish a super-state on our continent; to dissolve the sovereign power of ancient, independent nations; and to subject the British people to bureaucratic, socialist control".

**Mightier Yet: The UK in Global Context**, National Radical League, London, May 1997. A plea for a rational and vigorous foreign policy. Rejects pessimistic views of alleged British weakness or inevitable decline. Also argues that "From the British point of view there is no benefit at all - and much cost in every sense of the term - from a European state of any sort".

**EC Propaganda and British Freedom**, National Radical League, London, 1998; reprinted in **The Salisbury Review** (London), 17(1), Autumn 1998, pp. 34-38. A devastating critique of the shameless propaganda contained in the European Commission booklet *What Exactly Is Europe?*, widely distributed in British secondary schools.

Marten MP, Neil, **The Common Market: No Middle Way**, Common Market Safeguards Campaign, London, 1974; reprinted in Holmes, Martin, ed., **The Eurosceptical Reader**, Macmillan, London, 1996, pp. 389-400

**The Common Market: Alternative Courses**, The Safeguard Britain Campaign, London, 1973? (This organisation no longer exists).

**The Common Market: A Challenge**, The Safeguard Britain Campaign, London, 1973?



**Concord of Europe**, The Safeguard Britain Campaign, London, 1977. “[The Treaty of Rome] should be revised on the basis of free co-operation between nation states rather than the bureaucratic centralisation and federal tendencies which are the hallmark of the Common Market today”.

Mattei, Roberto de (June 2001), “The Charter of Fundamental Right’s Totalitarian Spirit”, **The European Journal**, 8(7), pp. 2- 30 \*

Maude, Angus, **Why the Global Economy Needs Nations**, Adam Smith Institute, London, 1999

Meade, James E., **Problems of Economic Union, The Charles R. Walgren Lectures at the University of Chicago 1952**, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1953. A classic and very relevant analysis of the economic issues of international union or federation (by a supporter of such movements). Meade conclusions include: “If ... a single currency were instituted for the whole economic union ... national governments would have to surrender to the union authority a vast range of their monetary and fiscal functions ... The union authorities will have to concern themselves very deeply with what are often considered to be purely domestic issues both of economic welfare and of national defense. Otherwise the objects of the large integrated market risks frustration ... It is altogether too simple minded to argue, as is sometimes done, that we can form a federation or other type of economic union which transfers to some supranational body just to obtain precisely defined economic functions and which leaves the national governments thereafter complete freedom in the design of their own domestic economic policies - whether socialist or private enterprise, whether planned or unplanned, and whether controlled or competitive. The implications of economic union are much more far-reaching than that; and it is no accident that in the federal democratic states which really work in the modern world more and more economic power is passing from the member states to the central union”.

**The Theory of Customs Unions**, North-Holland Publishing, Amsterdam, 1955. A major work of economic theory. Important background reading.

**UK, Commonwealth and Common Market: A Reappraisal**, Hobart Paper 17, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1962; 3rd edn 1970; 1st edn reprinted in Harris, Ralph, ed., **Freedom or Free For All?: Essays in Welfare, Trade and Choice**, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1963; 2nd edn, 1965, pp. 95-156. A work that concludes that “The UK could and should join the EEC if it has real promise of becoming a liberal, outward-looking institution. But she should not if it is designed as a tight, parochial European bloc”.

**The Common Market: Is There an Alternative?**, Hobart Paper 17 Supplement, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1st & 2nd edns, 1962. A defense of EC’s advantages as expansion of free trade, but outlining effective alternatives such as unilateral free trade.

**The Building of the New Europe: National Diversity Versus Continental Uniformity**, Occasional Paper 28, David Hume Institute, Edinburgh, January 1991; reprinted in Baldassarri, Mario & Mundell, Robert, eds., **Building the New Europe, I: The Single Market and Monetary Unification**, Macmillan, London, 1992; also reprinted in Meade, James E., **Liberty, Equality, Efficiency: Apologia pro Agathotopia Mea**, Macmillan, London, 1993, pp. 189-233. A further ambivalent assessment of the EC/EU from this author. "[T]here are at present extremely strong reasons for preserving a large measure of freedom for the various countries of Europe to experiment in different diverse forms of liberal economic policy and institutions. On the other hand, it is maintained that there are powerful arguments in favour of building a strong centralised union structure to control and unify certain economic policies and institutions in order to obtain certain clear communal objectives".

**The Economic Argument**, Common Market Debate No. 2 (Body, Richard, ed.), Open Seas Forum, London, nd

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Meltzer, Allan H., **The Problems of Monetary Union - and a Better Alternative**, On the Issues, American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC, May 1996. "The proponents of the EMU are correct in seeing the opportunities for improvement in the monetary system. They are wrong to believe that a single currency for the existing nations of Europe - too disparate in some respects, too limited in others - is the best approach. A much better solution for Europe, and for the rest of the world, can be realised by voluntary arrangements that benefit all countries without fiscal transfers or a world or regional central bank".

Messerlin, Patrick (1993), "Why Such Blindness?: European Union Trade Policy at the Crossroads", **Trade Policy Review 1994**, Trade Policy Unit, Centre for Policy Studies, London.

(1996), "European Film Policy: La Grande Illusion", **Trade Policy Review 1996/97**, Centre for Policy Studies, London, pp. 7-21

Micklethwait, Brian (31 January 1997), "Get Out Now", **TANSTAAFL Times** (The Libertarian Alliance), No. 7, pp. 5-6. Argues that the EU "was never intended to be an expression of economic liberty, more a bastion against it".

Migue, Jean-Luc, **Federalism and Free Trade**, Hobart Paper 122, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1993. Argues that real federalism in a free trade and free migratory area minimises domestic intervention and promotes economic

welfare. But this form of competitive federalism only works if national/local decisions are not superseded by vast central powers covering the same fields within trade blocs and supranational orders.

Miles, David, **A Single European Currency: The Options for the UK**, Merrill Lynch & Company, Global Securities Research and Economic Group, London, March, 1995 (Available from The Industry and Europe Data Centre). Merrill Lynch's Senior UK Economist argues that "The economic case for the UK joining a European currency union at some point is not overwhelming; the case for joining such a union early - even if several others do - is weak".

Miller, David, **On Nationality**, Oxford Political Theory, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995. A distinguished social democratic political philosopher defends the legitimacy of national independence. See also Tamir, Yael, below.

Miller, Robert C. B., **Ireland and European Monetary Union: The Making of a Tragedy**, Edmund Burke Institute, 11 Herbert Street, Dublin 2, Eire, 1996

Miller, Roger LeRoy (1975), "The Economics of a Common Farm Policy", Idem, **The Economics of European Welfare Issues**, Harper & Row, New York, pp. 51-56

Mills, John, **Tackling Britain's False Economy**, Macmillan, London, forthcoming 1997. The Secretary of the Labour Economic Policy Group includes a critique of the EU and of EMU in this general work.

ed., **The Common Market: Labour and the General Election**, Labour Common Market Safeguards Committee, London, June 1978. Argues that "A critical socialist approach to the problems associated with EEC membership will help us to realise the overriding necessity for socialist policies in Britain. The Community's inadequacies are merely a reflection at international level of the policies that have brought us recession and mass unemployment at home".

ed., **The Common Market: Enough Is Enough, Labour Common Market Safeguards Campaign**, London, June 1980. "[W]e see Britain's future outside the EEC not as a second best alternative, but as far the best way ahead for the British people. On all the major counts we have nothing to lose from leaving the EEC and much to gain".

ed., **The Common Market: The Way Out**, Labour Common Market Safeguards Committee, London, June 1981. Attacks the Common Market for its alleged "outdated belief in free market forces and its ideological approval of deflationary monetarism ... [which] ... are totally incompatible with the type of rational and balanced economic development which is the Party's aim". Also argues that "The problems associated with leaving the Common market have been exaggerated".

Mills, Paul & Schluter, Michael (December 1998), "Should Christians Support the Euro?", **Cambridge Papers** ( P. O. Box 27, Cambridge, CB3 9QG; Tel/Fax: 01223 501631; Email: cppaer@campublic.co.uk), Vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 1-4. "Based on the biblical principles derived for judging economic and political structures, our conclusion is that any pragmatic benefits to EMU are outweighed by both the economic costs and risks, and the centralisation of power that will result".

Milne, Ian, (December 1995), "The Folly of European Monetary Union", **Freedom Today** (The Freedom Association), 20(6), pp. 12-13

(October 1996), "What Is Required to Restore Britain's Sovereignty", **Ibid.**, 21(5), pp. 10-12

(10 January 1997), "Intellectual Shipwreck", **Eurofacts**, pp. 1-2. A critique of the European Movement's publication, *The Other Side of the Coin*.

**Maastricht: The Case Against Economic and Monetary Union**, Nelson & Pollard, Oxford, 1993

**Defining British Interests: Jobs, Trade and Investment**, Eurofacts Review, 1(2), December 1995. Argues that Britain's commercial interests lay in global, rather than European, trade and finance.

**Britain as an Independent Sovereign State: The Institutional and Constitutional Implications**, Eurofacts Review, 1(5), April 1996. Concludes that membership of the EU is incompatible with being an independent sovereign state.

**A Cost Too Far?**, CIVTAS, London, 2005. Foreword by Rt. Hon. Lord Weatherill.

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turn out to be, at best, insignificant. In view of the size of our domestic market, to say nothing of our expanding Commonwealth market, the view that significant economies of large-scale production will be denied us until we have access to a European Customs Union is incredible. A good argument has not been invoked to support the view that a larger integrated trading area must necessarily increase business efficiency. Nor, finally, is there any justification, economic or historical, for the belief that close economic contact with a Customs Union will tend to stimulate growth in our economy”.

(March 1993), “Has EC Membership Brought Economic Benefits to Britain?”, **The Salisbury Review** (London).

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**The Common Fisheries Policy: End or Mend?**, Campaign for an Independent Britain, London, 1996. A Labour Party MP outlines the disastrous effect of EU fisheries policy upon the British fleet and fish reserves.

& Stewart, Shawn, **Stop the Rot From the Top**, Labour Economic Policy Group, 72 Albert Street, London, NW1 7NR, 1996. An effective critique of EMU, albeit over-stating the benefits of devaluation and disregarding the evils of inflation.

& Wienir, David, **Last Time: Lessons For Labour From the Sixties**, Bellew Publishing, London, 1997

Mobbs, Sir Nigel, & Boardman, Lord, & Kalms, Sir Stanley, & Ivens, Michael, **European and Monetary Union: The Choice for Britain**, Aims of Industry, London, 1998. A critique by three leading businessmen (Boardman was former Chairman of National Westminster Bank and former President of the Association of British Chambers of Commerce; Mobbs was Chairman of Slough Estates and Bovis Homes Group; Kalms was Chairman of Dixon’s Group). “If the EU, through EMU, controls the monetary policy of the member states, and this, as is now threatened, extends to the control of fiscal policy, it must inevitably result in the control of political policy - and to a federal state”. (Boardman)

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Murray, John (1992), "The European Economic Community", Idem, **Conservative Concern**, The Author, np, pp. 85-108. "It is a curious paradox that only by abandoning the notion of a political union of Europe ... can we bring about the new European free market; for it cannot be free while politicians interfere with its workings. There is more future in keeping open house than organising a closed shop".

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O'Sullivan, John (6 August 2001), "The Curse of Euri-Nationalism", **National Review** (New York), pp. 33-36

Obdam, Jack, **The Rape of Britannia**, The Pentland Press, Brockerscliffe, Witton le Wear, Durham, 1992 (Foreword by Enoch Powell). "[T]he whole nation has been tragically and deliberately misinformed about the far-reaching implications of membership of the EC". A wide-ranging critique by a former Liberal Party member.

Oppenheimer, Peter M. (1973), "The Problem of Monetary Union", Evans, Douglas, ed., **Britain in the EEC**, Victor Gollancz, London, pp. 99-128. \* "[H]istory shows no clear movement towards larger currency areas. The past hundred years have seen, on balance, a growing integration of the world economy" without the necessity of unified monetary spheres. Also emphasises the continued importance of exchange rate adjustments.

Palmer, Terry, **Euroslavia ... Can You Escape It?**, Pallas Publishing, 47 York Road, Brentford, Middlesex, TW8 OQP, 1997. A science fiction novel about a future totalitarian EU superstate.

Pannick QC, David (8 October 1992), "An Alien Legal Tradition", **The Times** (London). A brief statement of the essential difference between British and EU law.

Papworth, John (1991), "Revolt: Scandinavianisation", **New European**, 4(4), pp. 22-23. A noted environmentalist and decentralist thinker appeals for regionalism and ethnic autonomy as an alternative to state centralisation.

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Peacock, Allan (March 1992), "The Political Economy of Centralisation in the European Community", **Journal des Economistes et des Etudes Humaine**,

Institute for Humane Studies Europe, 35 Avenue Mac-Mahon, 75017 Paris, France, 3(1)

Pearson, Lord Rannoch et al, "European Communities (Amendment) Bill [H.L.] - Second Reading", **Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)**, House of Lords Official Report, 577(48), Friday 31 January 1997. The interesting second reading debate on Lord Pearson's Bill to withdraw Britain from the EU. The speeches by the Lords Pearson, Taverne, Bruce of Donnington, Charteris of Amisfield, Kingsland, Moran, Earl of Clanwilliam, Exmouth, Wyatt of Weeford, Stoddart of Swindon, Belhaven and Stenton, Tebbit, Willoughby de Broke, Harris of High Cross, Liverpool, and Vinson are all worthy of note.

**What is the Point of the European Union?: A Brief Summary of Our Relationship with 'Brussels', Including the Case for the United Kingdom to Leave the EU, and the Case to Stay**, Memorandum to Opinion Formers, The Author, np (London), October 2004

& Pollard, Stephen, **Should We Stay or Should We Go: Two Views on Britain and the EU**, Civitas, London, 2005

Pedersen, Knud P. (1992), "The Case for the Small Nation-state in the Light of Denmark's 'No' to Maastricht", **New European**, 5(4), pp. 16-21 (November 1995), "The Nordic Challenge to Euro-Federalism", **The European Journal**, 3(2), pp. 12-13. Views from the Chairman of the International Committee of the Danish People's Movement Against the EU.

Pedersen, Roy, **One Europe - 100 Nations**, Channel View Books, London, 1993. A call for a "feasible future pattern of European self-governing territories", a radically decentralised "Europe of the Regions".

Perroux, Francois, **L 'Europe Sans Rivage**, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1954. A pessimistic view of the extent to which the EU would be a liberal economic order. Emphasises the dominance of both public and private monopolistic and oligopolistic interests and state interventionism.

Peirce, William S. (1991), "Unanimous Decisions in a Redistributive Context: The Council of Ministers of the European Community", Vaubel, R. & Willett, Thomas D., eds., **The Political Economy of International Organisations**, The Political Economy of Global Interdependency Series, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1991, pp. 267-285. A public choice analysis of corporatist influence in the EU. Concludes that "The government of the European Communities seem well suited to administer the industrial policy of Colbert".

People's Europe, **The Single Currency: Axing Labour's Programme**, People's Europe, London, 1996. An attack by this Labour Party group. "If the UK is

forced into a single currency, all effective economic policy will be transferred from an elected government to European bankers, beyond our control. The first casualty would be public expenditure cuts of £18 billion."

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Peters, Mike (December 1966), "The Bilderberg Group and the Project of Unification", **Lobster** (214 Westbourne Avenue, Hull, HU5 3JB), No. 32, pp. 2-9. Deals with the same subject as Atkinson, above, but from a Marxist perspective.

Pickles, William (1967), "The EEC System", Moncreiff, Anthony and Kitzinger, Uwe, eds., **Britain and the Common Market 1967: Seven BBC Broadcasts**, British Broadcasting Corporation, London, pp. 35-42. Emphasises the politically chaotic nature of the EEC and the existence of "two closely interlocked bureaucracies, both without any kind of democratic control".

(1971), "Political Hopes and Political Realities", Evans, Douglas, ed., ed., **Destiny or Delusion: Britain and the Common Market**, Victor Gollancz, London, pp. 109-121

(1973), "Political Prospect", Evans, Douglas, ed., **Britain in the EEC**, Victor Gollancz, London, pp. 191-208.

**Not With Europe: The Political Case for Staying Out**, Fabian Tract No. 336, The Fabian Society, London, April 1962. Like Peter Shore (below), Pickles, at the time Senior Lecturer in Political Science at the LSE, bizarrely sees the EEC as the product of "exponents of laissez-fair" and embodying "reactionary economic methods". In this paper, however, he emphasizes the important differences in political culture between Britain and Europe, the impact of the EU upon the British constitution and law and upon Parliamentary sovereignty.

**Britain and Europe: How Much Has Changed?**, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1967. Argues that "all true federations concentrate the main powers at their centre and leave only secondary powers to the constituent states".

Pinto-Duschinsky, Michael (23 October 1998), "Selling the Past: The Dangers of Outside Finance for Historical Research", **Times Literary Supplement** (London), pp. 16-17. In a general essay about the corruption of historical research by outside funding (e.g., by German companies attempting to conceal complicity with the National Socialists and the holocaust), the author also comments on the subversion of the universities by the EU: "Universities are an important battleground in the struggle over Britain's national identity. The European Commission has made heavy investments in schemes designed to implant the teaching of politically correct university course on the emerging European institutions. Departments of politics and modern history have been generously

provided with Jean Monnet professorships and lectureships. ... The Jean Monnet professors are expected to participate in 'reflection groups' on such subjects such subjects as the Euro ... The scale of the 'Jean Monnet Project' is huge. There are as many as 409 Jean Monnet chairs at universities in the EU, including 90 in Britain. Since 1990, the programme has supported 1,722 'new teaching activities', including university courses and modules on European Studies. 146 initiatives (including 39 chairs) have been on the history of European integration and 348 on European political studies. There is special funding for research on 'the memory of the people who built Europe'. The 'Europaeum'Ç', which links Oxford with a set of European universities, was established with private funding and the avowed objective of creating a pro-European elite. There appears to be no equivalent anti- federalist funding".

Portillo, Michael, **Democratic Values and the Currency**, Occasional Paper 103, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1998. Argues that transferring decision-making from "democratic member-states to the undemocratic EU" will not promote harmony and security, but is "highly dangerous, because disillusion and grievance provide a breeding ground for nationalism and extremism ... We should turn from the headlong rush towards European political integration, in which the single currency is a decisive step". Also reprints a recent article by Martin Feldstein, former Chairman of the US Council of Economic Advisors, from Time magazine, in which he argues that the EMU will not prevent inflation. Feldstein also argues that "a European political union is more likely to be a source of conflict than a foundation for European harmony".

Powell, J. Enoch (1971), "The Common Market", Idem, **Still To Decide** (Wood, John, ed.), B. T. Batsford, London/Elliot Right Way Books, Kingswood, Surrey, 1972, pp. 213-244

(1971), "Size and Well Being", Harper, F. A., ed., **Toward Liberty: Essays in Honour of Ludwig von Mises on the Occasion of His 90th Birthday**, September 29, 1971, Institute for Humane Studies, Menlo Park, California, pp. 84-93. A scholarly critique of the idea, often employed in pro-EU polemics, that size is a vital factor for economic well-being.

(May 1973), "The European Communities and the Free Economy", **The Freeman** (Foundation for Economic Education), 23(5), pp. 259-268

(1976), "Sovereignty", Evans, Douglas & Body, Richard, eds., **Freedom and Stability in the World Economy**, Croom Helm, London/Harper & Row, New York, pp. 88-94; reprinted in Idem, **Reflections of a Statesman**, below. "The essence of the loss of independence is to bind oneself in advance to do whatever others may decide. The latter is the nature of the Treaties of Rome and Brussels". Also attacks the "inherent contradiction" in the idea of "pooling sovereignty".

(Autumn 1982), "Our Loss of Sovereignty", **The Salisbury Review** (London), 1(1), pp. 28-29

(March 1988), "By Our Consent", **Ibid.**, 6(3), pp. 22-24. "The deliberate development of the European Economic Community into a political state is now not merely visible but no longer sedulously concealed. Freedom of trade, intercourse and investment between nations is compatible with diversity of national laws and fiscal systems. The Community on the contrary asserts with increasing rigour the doctrine that trade can only be genuinely free between those who live under the same laws, have the same systems and levels of taxation and use the same currency. The doctrine is false."

(Winter 1989-90), "My View of the Common European Home", **New European**, 2(4), pp. 10-14

(October/November 1990), "Introduction" [to a reprint of his 1963 IEA Occasional Paper on Exchange Rates and Liquidity, **The Salisbury Review** (London), 11(1), p. 23. Emphasises its relevance to current issues of European monetary reform.

(December 1991), "Powell Speaks Out on Europe", **Freedom Today** (The Freedom Association), 16(6), p. 10

(1991), "The EEC", Idem, **Reflections of a Statesman: The Writings and Speeches of Enoch Powell** (Collings, Rex, ed.), Bellew Publishing, London, pp. 465-484

(September 1992), "A New Continental System", **The Salisbury Review** (London), 11(1), pp. 4-6

**Common Market: The Case Against**, Elliot Right Way Books, Kingswood, Surrey, 1971

**Common Market: Renegotiate or Come Out**, Elliott Right Way Books, Kingswood, Surrey, 1973

**Enoch Powell on 1992** (Ritchie, Richard, ed.), Anaya Publishers, London, 1989

Price, Victoria Curzon (1982), "The European Community: Friend or Foe of the Market Economy?", **For a Free Society in the Coming Decade: Mont Pelerin Society 1982 General Meeting Papers**, 2nd edn, Institut Fur Wirtschaftspolitik, Universitat zu Koln, unpaginated; also published under the same title in (1983), **Ordo**, P. O. Box 720143, D-70577, Stuttgart, Germany, 34, pp. 85-95

(1989), "Three Models of European Integration", Dahrendorf, Sir Ralf et al, **Whose Europe?: Competing Visions for 1992**, Readings 29, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, pp. 23-38

(1991), "The Threat of 'Fortress Europe'", Buchanan, James et al, **Europe's Constitutional Future**, Readings 22, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, pp. 53-68. A critique of internal regulation and external protectionism.

(March 1997), "Britain's Future in Europe: A Personal View", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 17(1), pp. 16-22. A more optimistic assessment of the balance between market and state in the EU. The author supports continued British membership but with pressure for a more "open and flexible" EU.



**The Essentials of Economic Integration**, Macmillan, London, 1972. An early statement of the argument that freeing trade was the essential element in economic integration, and that "harmonisation" was unnecessary.

**1992: Europe's Last Chance? From Common Market to Single Market**, Wincott Memorial lecture, 19, Occasional Paper 81, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1988. On the economic advantages of the single-market, and the threat of Brussels' central regulation

Pryce-Jones, David (June 1997), "European Union: A Disaster in the Making", **Commentary** (American Jewish Committee, New York), 103(6), pp. 32-37; reprinted as "European Union", **The Salisbury Review (London)**, 16(2), pp. 17-21. "A utopian experiment is mustering, the destructive forces it claims to be combating ... The national interests of Britain, France, Italy and Germany remain what they were. On the day these interests collide, there will be nothing but except the Euro and a half-formed latent anti-American ideology to hold together the artificial scaffolding that is Brussels, and ward off a general collapse in anger, disillusionment and violence".

Quigley, Carroll, **The Anglo-American Establishment**, Books In Focus, New York, 1981. Not a Euro-sceptic work, but a scholarly analysis of the background and origins of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, one of the major sources of pro-federalist thought.

Rabkin, Jeremy, **Why Sovereignty Matters**, American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC, 1999. Not a critique of the EU, but a relevant attack on the growth of government by treaty, multinational pacts and agreements - and why this minimises the accountability of power and democratic government.

Radlett, David (December 1998), "Constitutional Government", **The European Journal**, 6(3), pp. 9-10. A critique of the politicised nature of the Court of Justice of the European Commission. "The ledgermain of the Court and its apologists dazzles both their audience and themselves. It bestows dignity to meanness and magnifies the small-mindedness of the whole project. It gives authority to the despotism that would otherwise be regarded as contemptible. It exalts in the name of freedom that which is but base servitude. If the idea of constitutional government requires the restraint of governmental power, then the antics of the Court of Justice demonstrates that it is, at heart, unconstitutional".

Radnitzky, Gerard (March 1990), "Quality or Equality in 1992?", **The Salisbury Review** (London), 8(3), pp. 35-39. Asks whether Europe will move toward a genuine liberal order of sovereign states or "the socialist and centralizing notions" of Delors and the Social Charter/Chapter.

(1991), "Towards a Europe of Free Societies: Evolutionary Competition or Constructivist Design", **Ordo**, P. O. Box 720143, D-70577, Stuttgart, Germany, 24, pp. 139-169. A distinguished philosopher attacks the statist social engineering inherent in Euro-federalism.

(1992), "The Idea of Europe: From Limited Government to Unlimited Democracy", Guender, C. David & Montsopoulos, Evangelis, eds., **The Idea of Europe: Its Common Heritage and Future**, Professors World Peace Academy, New York, pp. 69-116

Ramb, Bernard-Thomas (April 1996), "Costs and Uses of the Planned European Currency", **The European Journal**, 3(7), pp. 13-15

Rand, Ayn (1991), "Britain's 'National Socialism'", Idem, **The Ayn Rand Column**, Second Renaissance Books, Oceanside, Calif. [now at: 143 West Street, New Milford, Connecticut 06776, USA], pp. 74-77

(1991), "Nationalism vs. Internationalism", Idem, **The Ayn Rand Column**, Second Renaissance Books, Oceanside, Calif., pp. 78-81. Two brief essays, originally published in 1962, by this century's leading libertarian philosopher. She welcomed the free market elements of European co-operation, and attacked its national(ist) socialist opponents. But she also attacks what she calls "supra-nationalism" and the abandonment of national independence.

Reading, Brian (1993), "Economic Realities Facing Europe", Hill, Stephen, ed., **Visions of Europe: Summing Up the Political Choices**, Gerald Duckworth, London, pp. 135-149

**The Fourth Reich**, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London, 1995. Argues that Euro-corporatism is incompatible with German economic success and will ultimately be rejected by Germany.

Redwood, Dr. Heinz, Redwood, Dr. Heinz, **The Price of Health: The Link Between Research in the Pharmaceutical Industry and Health Care Systems in the Developed World**, Adam Smith Institute, London, 1989. Deals with the detrimental effects of EU regulations on innovations in pharmaceutical treatments.

Redwood MP, John (31 March 1996), "The Double Peril That Lurks in the Single Currency", **The Mail on Sunday** (London)

(27 March 1996), "The Euro-Superstate: The Case Against", **The Guardian** (London)

(29 March 1996), "Saving Europe From Itself", (Source not known). "We must say that a single state forged out of the different languages, tempers, histories and cultures of the European peoples cannot work. We must show that there is a different and better way, a way that looks outward, thinks globally, and welcomes

the new technology that can keep us prosperous in a fast changing world. A Euro-state with too much law and tax from Brussels would cut us off from the opportunity that the world and its dynamic changes offers".

**Europe 1992: The Good and the Bad**, Centre for Policy Studies, London, 1989

**The Single European Currency**, TESLA & Conservative 2000, London, 1995.

A critique.

**Action Not Words**, The Conservative 2000 Foundation, London, 1996. Includes a number of brief essays and speeches on trade, the single currency, fisheries policy, and the European Court of Human Rights.

**Our Currency, Our Country: The Dangers of European Monetary Union**, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1997. A wide-ranging critique.

"You cannot have a single currency, a single interest rate, a single banking policy, a single budget and a single finance minister or Central Bank governor. You are led inevitably to a single taxation policy and a single economic policy. You are close to creating a single government ... A Europe of nations is the only Europe that can work."

Reed, Jack, **What Price Europe?: The Inside Story**, Fleet, Hampshire, 1990

Rellet, David (March 1997), "On the Guardianship of Justice", **The European Journal**, 4(6), pp. 23-24. "The European Court of Justice is simply a part of the machinery of government of the Community, as unrepresentative and unelected as any other parts of that machine ... It exists as an attempt to confer legitimacy on the politicians' drive towards unity".

Rettinger, Joseph, **Joseph Retinger: Memoirs of an Eminence Grise** (Pomian, John, ed.), Sussex University Press, Brighton, 1972. Interesting background reading on the role of one of the founding fathers of the EU.

Riboud, Jacques, **A Stable External Currency for Europe**, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1991, with a Foreword by Sir Alan Walters. A critique of the ECU and an alternative proposal for an independent, private and voluntary currency, the "eurostable".

Roarty, Michael J. (February 1985), "The EEC Common Agricultural Policy and Its Effects on Less Developed Countries", **National Westminster Bank Quarterly Review** (London), pp. 2- 17

Roberts, Andrew, **The Aachen Memorandum**, DAW Books, New York, 1994/Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London, 1995/Orion Books, London, 1996. A witty science fiction novel about a future European super-state.

Roberts, Ben C. (1989), "The Social Dimension of European Labour Markets", Dahrendorf, Sir Ralf et al, **Whose Europe?: Competing Visions for 1992**, Readings 29, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, pp. 39-50. A brief outline of the extent of, and proposals for, social regulation in the EU.

(1992), "Industrial Relations in Europe", Robertson, Patrick, ed., **Reshaping Europe in the Twenty-First Century**, The Bruges Group & Macmillan, London, pp. 171-186. On the dangers of corporatist and collectivist policies in Europe.

(Fall 1989), "Does the EC Really Need a Social Chapter?", **International Freedom Review** (International Freedom Foundation), 3(1), pp. 63-68. (This organization no longer exists). The answer: no, it is economically harmful.

**Delors Versus 1992?: A Review of the Cost of Social Harmonisation in the European Community**, Occasional Paper 1, The Bruges Group, London, nd (1989?)

et al, **The Bruges Group Looks at the Charter of Fundamental Social Rights Issued by the Commission of the European Communities on 2nd October 1989**, Study Paper 1, The Bruges Group, London, 1989.

Robertson, Sir Dennis (August 1948), "Western European Economic Union", **The Listener** (London); reprinted in Idem, **Utility and All That, and Other Essays**, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1952/Augustus M. Kelley, New York, 19??, pp. 148-156. (CHECK DATE) A mildly sceptical view by a major economist of the prospects for the then contemporary proposals for European. "(It) would have been wiser ... if the leaders of opinion ... had spoken more in terms of co-operation and less in terms of union, more in terms of policies and less in terms of plans" (emphasis in original). He warned against the early indications that "what internal free trade for Europe really means (is) bigger and better international cartels, their activities tempered and guided by the intervention of anxious and conscientious Government, each striving to reduce to a minimum the disturbance of the particular interests, and above all the displacement of the particular class of labour, committed to its care". He also warned against the interventionist appetite for predication arithmetic - (the) passion for accurate information about the inherently unknowable" and admonished the supporters of European unification with the words: "Do not try to capture the notion of Western European economic co-operation, which is a sound and sensible notion appealing to everybody, for your own particular philosophy of highly centralised planning; or it will be disunion, not union, that you create".

Robertson, K. G., **1992: The Security Implications**, Occasional Paper 43, Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies, London, 1989. A pessimistic view of the crime and security implication of European unification. The author's emphasis on the need to strengthen various British police and

security agencies as a result of unification can be seen (by those who value our civil liberties) as another reason for opposing the EU.

Robertson, Patrick (August/September 1989), "The Road From Bruges", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 9(6), pp. 8-10. How the single market and harmonisation are being used for illiberal ends of protectionism and the creation of a super-state.

ed., **Reshaping Europe in the Twenty-First Century**, The Bruges Group & Macmillan, London, 1992. A useful collection of critical essays against Euro-statism together with proposals for liberalisation within the EU.

Robbins, Lionel (Lord Robbins) (July 1950), "Towards the Atlantic Community", **Lloyds Bank Review** (London), n.s., No. 17, pp. 1-24; reprinted in Idem, **The Economist in the Twentieth Century**, Macmillan, London, 1954, pp. 170-97. Argues for an Atlantic, rather than European or Western European Community, because the latter would tend toward a restrictive regionalism.

**Economic Planning and International Order**, Macmillan, London, 1937. A major work of "Austrian School" economic theory. Also reveals the author's own ambivalence regarding the federalism and world government projects.

Robinson, Anne (1990), "European, Economic and Monetary Union and European Political Union: Two Separate Conferences or One Potential Constitutional Crisis for the States of the European Community?", **New European**, 3(4), pp. 37-41.

(September/October 1995), "Pension Funding in Europe: A Ticking Bomb", **The European Journal**, 3(1), p. 12. The Director General of the National Association of Pension Funds briefly outlines the pension crisis in Europe.

Roepke, Wilhelm (18 May 1953), "How to Integrate Europe", **The Freeman**, Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington on Hudson, New York 10553, USA. On the superiority of free trade and limited government over federalism and statism. Roepke was the major intellectual father of the German "Economic Miracle".

(September 1958), "European Free Trade - The Great Divide", **The Banker** (London), 108, pp. 580-8. "The common market and the free trade area alike can improve the use of resources and raise productivity only to the extent that the removal of tariffs hurts producers inside, not outside, the union ... However, ... the distortions of the common market are likely to be much more enduring or harmful than those of the free trade area: for they will be aggravated by the effects of its supranational economic planning".

(1960), "International Centrism", Idem, **A Humane Economy: The Social, Framework of the Free Market**, Henry Regnery, Chicago/Liberty Fund, Indianapolis, 1970, pp. 242-

(10 March 1964), "Report on an Uneasy Common Market", **National Review**, 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York, 10016, USA, pp. 195-196. A Classical Liberal critique of the EEC as protectionist, centralist and socialist, by a supporter of real (i.e., decentralised) "federalism".

(Summer 1964), "European Economic Integration and Its Problems", **Modern Age**, Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 14 South Bryn Mawr, Suite 100, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania 19010, USA), VIII, pp. 231-244

**International Economic Disintegration**, William Hodge, London, 1942. An "Austrian School" classic on the disastrous effects of neo-mercantalism and economic nationalism.

**International Order and Economic Integration**, Reidel Publishing, Dordrecht, Holland, 1959. Another classic of "Austrian School" economic theory. Roepke argued that worldwide economic integration could only take place on the basis of free trade, without nationalist deformations of any sort. "Functional", sectoral and regional "integrations" - like the EC/EU - were, in his view, obstacles to real integration.

Rothbard, Murray N. (1995), "Exit the Iron Lady", Idem, **Making Economic Sense**, Ludwig Von Mises Institute, Auburn, Alabama 36849-5301, USA, pp. 220-222

(1995), "'Attacking' the Franc", **Ibid.**, pp. 260-263

(1995), "The Keynesian Dream", **Ibid.**, pp. 272-273

(1995), "Free Trade in Perspective", **Ibid.**, pp. 303-306

(1995), "The NAFTA Myth", **Ibid.**, pp. 306-310

(1995), "Is There Life After NAFTA?", **Ibid.**, pp. 310-313. In these collected essays the late Professor Rothbard, this generation's leading "Austrian School" economist and "anarcho-capitalist" libertarian thinker lambastes ERM and the statism of the EU. He exposes as utterly spurious the claims of both the EU and its American counterpart, NAFTA, to be movements toward real free trade and market oriented orders.

Rotherham, Lee, **Health and the Nation**, The Bruges Group, London, 2004. On the creeping takeover of UK health policy by the EU.

Rowley, Chris, **The Party's Over: Labour and the European Union**, Occasional Paper 22, The Bruges Group, London, 1996. A Labour Eurosceptic's discussion of the Labour party's vacillating views and the continuing dilemma facing them.

St. John Parker, Michael (April 1994), "An Educational Agenda", **The European Journal**, 1(6), pp. 17-18. On EU social engineering via education.

Saco, Giuseppe (September 1991), "Saving Europe From Itself", **Commentary** (American Jewish Committee, New York), 92(3), pp. 36- 40. Not exactly a Euro-sceptic work, but the author outlines the inability of the EU to arrive at a coherent or unified foreign policy in the Gulf Crisis. He attributes this to the incompatibility of the different political and economic projects embodied in the EU.

Safeguard Britain Campaign, **The Common Market: Who Was Right?**, Safeguard Britain Campaign, London, nd (1976). A brief four-page demolition of the promises made by the pre- Marketeers in the 1975 Referendum - and the subsequent reality. The prime movers of this multi-party group were Labour MP Bryan Gould, Douglas Jay, and Sir Robin Williams. The group also produced a regular newsletter, *Common Market Watchdog*, and various leaflets. I have so far been unable to locate a complete set. The Campaign was later re-named the *British Anti-Common Market Campaign*, and subsequently *The Campaign for an Independent Britain*, which still exists.

Salin, Pascal (Fall 1990), "The Choice of Currency in a Single European Market", **The Cato Journal** (The Cato Institute, Washington, DC), 10(2), pp. 363-376. Argues that "There is no logical link between a unique market ... and a unique currency. A unique market ... is perfectly compatible with as multiplicity of currencies and monetary systems, and there are reasons to prefer competitive approaches to monetary integration".

(August/September 1989), "Monetary Union or International Monetary Order?", **Economic Affairs**, 9(6), pp. 13-16. The case against the EMS and monetary union.

(1989), "European Monetary Integration: Monopoly or Competition", Vaubel, Roland, et al, **A Citizen's Charter for European Monetary Integration**, Occasional Paper 5, The Bruges Group, London, pp. 21-31

(1992), "A European Central Bank?", Robertson, Patrick, ed., **Reshaping Europe in the Twenty-First Century**, The Bruges Group & Macmillan, London, pp. 128-140. Argues that currency competition (and, ideally, free banking) is superior to a coercive European central bank. Concludes that "Refusing to join the EMS would be the best contribution the British government could make to real European integration".

(December 1993), "Beyond Maastricht: Why Monetary Union?", Walter, Robert, et al, **Monetary Union: Visions of the Future of Europe**, European Policy Forum, London, pp. 31-36. Argues for an independent, commodity-based and competing currency rather than EMU.

(Summer 1996), "Some Adverse Effects of the Maastricht Treaty", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 16(3), pp. 22-28

**European Monetary Unity: For Whose Benefit?**, Institutum Europeum, Brussels, 1980 (This institute no longer exists)

ed., **Currency Competition and Monetary Union**, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1983

Samuelson, Robert J. (13 January 1997), "Europe's New Nutty Money", **Newsweek** (New York). The eminent economist rejects a single currency as "a lunatic idea".

Sampson, Anthony, **The Essential Anatomy of Britain: Democracy in Crisis**, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1993. Although a long-standing supporter of Europe unification Sampson admits that the EC has been promoted in Britain by "a process of deliberate deception".

Schmieding, Holger (Autumn 1992), "Policies of the European Community Toward Newly Liberated Countries", **Policy** (Centre for Independent Studies, P. O. Box 92, St. Leonards, New South Wales 2065, Australia), 8(1), pp. 30-36. Reveals the lack of enthusiasm of the EU to extend trading relations to the newly emerging market economies, and the importance of doing so.

(Summer 1995), "Review of M. J. Artis & N. Lee, eds., *The Economics of the European Union: Policy and Analysis* (Oxford University Press, 1994)", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 15(3), p. 50. A good brief review of a major academic text which is clearly utterly biased in its discussions. This is typical of most current academic work on the EU, much of it actually funded from EU sources.

**Maastricht: A Dead End of European Integration?**, Discussion Paper 192, Kiel Institute of World Economics, University of Kiel, Germany, 1992

**Europe After Maastricht**, Occasional Paper 91, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1993. Argues that Maastricht represented an abandonment of beneficial economic liberalism and a move toward monetary union and social regulation and subsequent economic inefficiencies.

Scholefield, Anthony, **The Death of Europe: How Demographic Decline Will Destroy the European Union**, Futurus, London, 2000

Schwartz, Anna J. (Summer 1996), "European Monetary Union: Prospects and Problems", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 16(3), pp. 29-32. Argues that the concept of the EMU is a "fatal conceit" which flies in the face of contemporary trends toward devolution, diversity and the reduction of bureaucracy.

Schwartz, Pedro (Fall 1990), "The Single European Financial Market", **The Cato Journal** (The Cato Institute, Washington, DC), 10(2), pp. 357-361. Includes a brief rejection of the EMS and an argument that "The best [monetary] arrangement would be to have freely floating, freely competing national (and pri-



vate?) currencies". Hopes for a "larger, freer Europe ... [that] the liberals thought of ... first".

(1989), "Is the Principle of Subsidiarity a Solution?", in Goguel, Francois et al, **A Europe for Europeans**, Occasional Paper 8, The Bruges Group, London, pp. 13-17. Brief critique of subsidiarity and of a European Central Bank.

**Back From the Brink: An Appeal to Fellow Europeans Over Monetary Union**, 26<sup>th</sup> Wincott Memorial Lecture, Occasional Paper 101, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1997. In a soundly based on the economic analysis of optimum currency areas, Schwartz emphasis the critical absence of easy labour mobility both within and between the proposed participants of EMU. He concludes that EMU is a "dangerous experiment" and that, if it proceeds, Britain should not participate but "set an example from within the EU of what can be achieved by a competitive, deregulated private economy with a floating and well-managed currency".

Schnapper, Dominique, **Community of Citizens: On the Modern Idea of Nationality** (1994 in French), Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1997. A defence of liberal nationalism.

Scott, Noran (1993), "Protectionism in Western Europe", Salvatore, Dominic, ed., **Protectionism and World Welfare**, Cambridge University Press, pp. 371-395. A brief overview of growing protectionist tendencies in the EU.

Selbourne, Earl of (1912), "The Referendum", Anson, Sir William R. et al, **Rights of Citizenship: A Survey of Safeguards for the People**, Frederick Werne, London, pp. 198-232. An analysis and advocacy of its use.

Selgin, George A. (Fall 1990), "Why Does Europe Want a Federal Reserve System?", **The Cato Journal** (The Cato Institute, Washington, DC), 10(2), pp. 449-453. And his answer is: not to benefit its citizens, but to extend their own power to exploit by inflation and taxation.

Selsdon Group, The, **Maastricht: A Factual Guide to the Draft Treaties, With Political Analysis**, The Selsdon Group, London, nd (1991). Although based on the early drafts of the treaty, this pamphlet contains some apposite criticisms.

Sennholz, Hans F., **How Can Europe Survive?**, D. Van Nostrand, New York, 1955. A neglected but major work from an "Austrian School" economist. A goldmine of information on the socialist origins of the European unification project and a telling critique of state centralism. Only free trade and a roll-back of state interventionism can lead to international harmony, peace, prosperity and effective "unification", Sennholz argues.

Sexton, Stuart (October 1993), "The European Dimension of Freedom", **The European Journal**, 1(3), pp. 5-6

**The Maastricht Treaty in Plain English**, Ipset Education Unit, Warlingham Park School, Chelsham Common, Warlingham, Surrey, CR6 9PB [Tel: 01883-626844/Fax: 01883 625501], September 1992. The text of the Treaty and a useful critical commentary.

Shaw, Peter, **Separate Ways: The Heart of Britain**, Duckworth, London, 2000

Sheldrake, John, **All Those in Favour: The British Trade Union Movement and Europe**, Occasional Paper 16, The Bruges Group, London, 1994. A brief view by a Labour Party supporter of the dilemma facing the trade union movement over the EU.

Sheehan, James M., **Two Years After NAFTA: A Free Market Critique and Assessment**, Competitive Enterprise Institute, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 1250, Washington, DC 20036, 1995. A critique of the North American "common market" as an interventionist and corporatist scam.

Shibata, Hirofumi (1967), "The Theory of Economic Unions: Comparative Analysis of Custom Unions, Free Trade Areas and Tax Unions", Shoup, Carl S., ed., **Fiscal Harmonisation in Common Markets**, Columbia University Press, New York; reprinted in Robeson, Peter, ed., **International Economic Integration**, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1971. Useful background reading.

Shore, Chris (November 1995), "The Impact of European Identity' on National Identities", **The European Journal**, 3(2), pp. 21-24. Outlines the growing number of coercive EU cultural and media policies.

**Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration**, Routledge, London, 2000. A critical analysis of the deliberate attempt to engineer a European "identity" by EU elites.

Shore, Peter, **Europe: The Way Back**, Fabian Tract 425, The Fabian Society, London, October 1973. A laughable socialist attack on the EEC for allegedly embodying a "dominant pro-business philosophy and laissez-faire" and for freeing business enterprise from democratic state control! However, more accurately Shore also argues that Britain's real economic and external interests are global, and not primarily or exclusively European. He also adds that "We must stop confusing the internationalist creed of socialism, the obligation that arises from recognising that we are involved one with another in the whole of mankind with the desire to create a 'West European' super state".

Siebert, Stan (June 1994), "Regulation of Labour Markets in the European Union", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 14(4), pp. 31-35. "We are seeing a move towards labour market regulation which could impose significant costs on British business".

Simpson, R. & Walker, R., eds., **Europe: For Richer or For Poorer**, Child Poverty Action Group, 1 Bath Street, London, EC1V 9DX, 1993. Although originating from a socialist front masquerading as a charity, and one notorious for its advocacy of precisely the statist policies that create both child and adult poverty, this particular publication contains an excellent critique of the impoverishing effect of the Common Agricultural Programme (CAP) both for European consumers and 'Third World' food producers.

Sked, Alan (1997), "European Union: Bad For Britain, Bad For Europe", Idem, **An Intelligent Person's Guide to Post-War Britain**, Duckworth, London, pp. 60-85. "The cure for Europe's problems is for her leaders to be satisfied with a continent of free-trading, politically independent, democratic states. European Union, on the other hand, is the wrong future, not merely for Britain, but for Europe - and indeed the world, which does not need and does not want a European Superstate".

**Cheap Excuses, or, Life, Death and European Unity**, Target Paper 1, The Bruges Group, London, February 1991. A critique of the idea of a common European foreign policy, based on the shambles of European policy over the Gulf War.

**'Good Europeans'**, Occasional Paper 4, The Bruges Group, London, 1989. Argues that European "unity" is actually un-European and a betrayal of what has led to European strength and vitality. He draws on the work of Professor E. L. Jones, *qv* above.

**Time For Principle: Case Studies on the Use of Diplomacy to Obscure Fundamental Conflicts**, Monograph 1, The Bruges Group, London, 1992. A penetrating critique of the effects of the Maastricht Treaty, in the context of previous diplomatic deviousness and the dangers of evasive and unprincipled "negotiations".

Smedley, Oliver (1976), "The Common Market", Idem, **What Is Happening to the British Economy?**, The Reliance School of Investment, Saffron Walden, Essex, pp. 125-146. (This organisation no longer exists). A still relevant critique by the late founder, in 1961, of the Keep Britain Out Campaign. Smedley argued from the start that the alleged free-trade aspects of the EEC were a fraudulent mask for a supranational, protectionist and illiberal statist system.

**OUT: The UK in the EEC Spells Disaster**, Classic Press for the Free Trade Anti-Common Market Party, London, June 1986. (This Party no longer exists.) A

by no means outdated attack on the dire economic consequences of the EEC and its grave implications for political freedom.

Smith, Fred, **Europe, Energy and the Environment: The Case Against Carbon Taxes**, Competitive Enterprise Institute, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 1250, Washington, DC 20036, January 1992. A critique of European central planning to determine the "desired" amount of energy use.

Smith, Gavin (1992), "Why Sovereignty Matters", Robertson, Patrick, ed., **Reshaping Europe in the Twenty-First Century**, The Bruges Group & Macmillan, London, pp. 45-53

**The European Court of Justice: Judges or Policy Makers?**, Occasional Paper 10, The Bruges Group, London, 1990. Demonstrates, as Lord Denning states in his Introduction, that "our sovereignty has been taken away by the European Court of Justice ... that all the European directives ... must be enforced by the national courts; even though they are contrary to our national law ... are a supreme law overriding all our national laws".

Stelzer, Irwin M. (6 October 1996), "America Will Feel the Pain of European Monetary Unit", **The Times** (London); and as a leaflet in On the Issues, American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC, November 1996. On the detrimental effects of EMU on both Europe and the USA.

Social Security Committee, House of Commons, The, **First Report: Unfunded Pension Liabilities in the European Union**, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 23 October 1996. A major report on the significance of the high level of unfunded public pension liabilities in Europe on the sustainability of a single currency.

Somerton, Irina (January 1996), "The Foundations of Political Union", **The European Journal**, 3(4), pp. 11-12. Outlines how the foundations of European political union have already been established by various acts, including the Single European Act of 1986.

Spicer MP, Sir Michael, **A Treaty Too Far: A New Policy for Europe**, Fourth Estate, London, 1992. A general critique of federalist statism and a plea for a loser union with effective co-operation.

**The Challenge From the East and the Rebirth of the West**, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1996. On the fallacies of protectionist Euro-statism and the folly of isolating oneself from the opportunities and dynamism of the Asian economies.

Stanbrook, Lionel, et al, **Barriers to British Export Competitiveness in Europe: The Commercial Communications Sector**, The Advertising

Association, London, 1997. Not exactly a Euro-sceptic work, but one that details some of the many statist and anti-competitive features of EU policy regarding advertising and marketing.

Steil, Benn (September/October 1994), "'Social Correctness' is the New Protectionism", **The European Journal**, 2(1), pp. 8-10

Stein, Gabriel, **Mounting Debts: The Coming European Pension Crisis**, Politeia, London, 1997. A good account of the problem of massive unfunded pension liabilities in the EU. EU fiscal harmonisation could well lead to the British taxpayer bailing out other EU governments.

Stein, Peter et al, **The Hidden Costs of Regulation in Europe**, European Policy Forum, London, 1995

Stirk, Peter M. R. (1989), "Authoritarian and National Socialist Conceptions of Nation, State and Europe", Idem, ed., **European Unity in Context: The Interwar Period**, Pinter Publishing, London, pp. 125-148. A supporter of the European project reluctantly admits that Nazi views do have some relation to his cause. "The ultimate vacuity of the national socialist image of Europe should not be taken as a sanction for dismissing them as pure propaganda against which we can set some true European heritage ... These conceptions may be obnoxious or deluded, or usually both, but role in shaping the idea and reality of Europe was no less significant for that". For a fuller discussion of this subject by Euro-sceptic see Laughland, John (1997), above.

Stone, Norman (August/September 1989), "European Community or Imperial Superstate", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 9(6), pp. 16, 18-20; reprinted in Lewis, Russell, ed., **Recent Controversies in Political Economy**, Institute of Economic Affairs & Routledge, London, 1992, pp. 297-302. The distinguished historian argues that "There have been very, very few cases of successful cooperation, within a single body, by people of different language and nationality ... Cooperation between states and nations is inevitable, and thoroughly desirable ... But let us not pretend that this cooperation needs to have anything very considerable in the way of supra- national bureaucracy, in the manner of the Hapsburgs".

Story, Christopher (1993), "The EEC I: Maastricht - A Can of Worms", **International Currency Review** (London), 22(1), pp. 3-6  
(1993), "The EEC II: Lies, Misrepresentations and Fantasy", **International Currency Review** (London), 22(1), pp. 69-72

(Spring 1997), "The Forthcoming Global Currency Crisis: The Destruction of National Currencies May Destabilise the World Economy", **International Currency Review** (London), 24(1), pp. 3-34

(Spring 1997), "The European Union Collective: The Revolutionary Course of the European Union and the Hazardous Venture of EMU", **Ibid.**, pp. 35-42

(Spring 1997), "The European Union Collective: The European Movement and the Comintern", **Ibid.**, pp. 49-51. Focuses on the role of Joseph Retinger.

(Spring 1997), "Understanding the Nature of the European 'Union'", **Ibid.**, pp. 53-58. "Modern British politicians have failed to grasp - even at this late stage - that the EU is a collective, functioning on collectivist principles, which exists for the purpose of superseding constituent states; and that Britain can never 'reform' it."

(Spring 1997), "The Organisation, Control and Abolition of EU Currencies", **Ibid.**, pp. 73-89

Much useful analysis can be found in Story's work, whether one accepts or not the perspective drawn from the work of the Soviet defector Anatole Golitsin which infuses it.

**The Leninist Origins of the European Union**, Campaign for United Kingdom Conservatism, Abergavenny, Monmouthshire, 1999

Strauss, Erich, **European Reckoning: The Six and Britain's Future**, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1962. A largely outdated work, but it does raise a number of objections to economic claims made by pro-entry propagandists.

Streit, Manfred E. (Summer 1992/3), "The Maastricht Treaties: Building Fortress Europe", **Policy** (Centre for Independent Studies, St. Leonards, New South Wales, Australia), 8(4), pp. 8-10. The successor to Hayek in Freiburg University's Chair of Economics, the author attacks the "truly hair-raising" aspects of Maastricht - protectionism, lack of democratic control, programmed centralisation, egalitarian social policy. "[B]ureaucratic integration from above and imposed uniformity by decree could endanger Europe's most precious assets: rich diversity, openness, freedom and limited government. Let us not reinvent in the West of Europe the statism that has failed so abysmally in the East".

(1994), "The Economic Constitution of Europe: From Rome to Maastricht", **Constitutional Political Economy**, Centre for the Study of Public Choice, George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia 22030-4444, USA, 5, pp. 319-353

Stuart, Douglas T., **Can Europe Survive Maastricht?**, Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College, Pennsylvania, 1994 (Available from Eurofacts). Argues that the EU has led to a diversion of attention from the vital foreign policy goal of extending the West European "zone of peace" eastward and southward, and that Maastricht has made it harder for Western European nations

to develop programmes of reconciliation with Central Europe and the southern Mediterranean.

Symposium (December 1997), "Roundtable on EMU: Here It Comes, But Will It Work?", **Prospect** (London), No. 25, pp. 34-40. Includes contributions from two sceptics, Bernard Connolly and Annatole Kaletsky. Amongst other observations, Connolly points out that "Let no one believe that monetary union, or for that matter the EU itself, is a special purpose association for pursuing common interests. It is not. It is a way of producing political union via a single currency".

Symposium, "The Case Against Britain Adopting the Euro", **Chartered Institute of Bankers' Magazine** (Financial and Business Publications, 95 Wigmore Street, London, W1H 9AA), January 1999. A collection of brief statements: Rodney Leach, "Facing the Full Facts", Marc Glendening, "The Bigger Picture", Austin Mitchell, "Sterling: Reasons for Keeping the Pound", and a disgustingly typical piece of slimy and ignorant evasiveness by the "Conservative" Shadow Chancellor, Francis Maude, "Patience Will Pay".

Szamuely, Helen (March 1993), "The European Arts Festival", **Salisbury Review** (London), 11(3), pp. 13-15. A critique of EU subsidised arts programmes.

(1994), "The New Tower of Babel", **New European** (Produced as part of *European Business Review*), 94(2), pp. 10-11. On the linguistic problems of, and manipulation of language in, the EU.

(April 1994), "Eurospeak Or Newspeak", **The European Journal**, 1(6), pp. 19

(July/August 1994), "Myths, Muddles and Half-Truths", **The European Journal**, 1(10), pp. 16-17. A critique of the EU's attempt to debunk Euro-lunacy stories.

(1994), "The New Tower of Babel", **New European** (Produced as part of *European Business Review*), 94(2), pp. 10-11. A critique of the linguistic frauds perpetrated by the EU and its propagandists.

(June 1996), "Lies, Damned Lies and the Common Fisheries Policy", **The European Journal**, 3(9), pp. 14-15

(June 1996), "Europe's Impact on British Democracy", **Freedom Today** (The Freedom Association), 21(3), pp. 16-17

(July/August 1996), "Radio Armenia Comes to Europe", **The European Journal**, pp. 6-8. Draws telling parallels between old-style Communist policies and EU programmes.

& Jamieson, Bill, **A 'Coming Home' or a Poisoned Chalice?**, Centre for Research into Post Communist Economies, London, 1998. "Widening the EU is not the opposite of deepening. Under EU proposals further integration will be necessary to keep a union of disparate states together. But attempts to harmonise the economies of 20 countries are doomed to fail ... The EU is more concerned with its social model than with free trade, and it is intent on imposing that model

regardless of whether it is appropriate for the transition economies of central and eastern Europe. Genuine free trade agreements are not on the agenda. Existing states members and new entrants will have to pay a heavy political cost for enlargement. The new members stand to lose their economic and political sovereignty and their efforts to create a democratic political and free market system will be jeopardised".

& Cahn, Robert W. & El-Droubie, Yahya, **Alien Thoughts: Reflections on Identity**, Occasional Paper No. 38, Bruges Group, London, 1999. "It is part of the essential Britishness of Britain, as perceived by outsiders, to cherish liberty and the rule of law ... She cannot do so while her own institutions are being dismantled and her history is being devalued; she cannot do so until she regains her independence and her understanding of what that independence is for. National liberty and individual liberty are inextricably bound up with each other" (Szamuely).

Tamedly, Elisabeth L., **Socialism and International Economic Order**, Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho, 1969. A little known, but penetrating, "Austrian School" work on trade theory and international relations. Indispensable background reading.

Tamir, Yael, **Liberal Nationalism**, Studies in Moral, Political & Legal Philosophy, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1993. A similar work to that of David Miller, above. Argues for the continued viability of nationalism as a concept, as opposed to conservative, chauvinist and racist abuses of it in theory and practice.

Taylor, A. J. P. (Osborne, Peter, ed.), **Professor A. J. P. Taylor on Europe: The Historian Who Predicted the Future**, Occasional paper 26, The Bruges Group, London, 1997. A reprint of prescient and critical essays from 1962-1971, by one of the leading UK post-war historians.

Taylor, Harold, **The Last Stop - Amsterdam**, The Selsdon Group, London, 1997. Sees the Amsterdam Treaty as the final point of a long trail of political deception.

Taylor QC, John (1996), "Is Britain Still a Sovereign Nation?", Goldsmith, Sir James, et al, **Speeches From the Brighton Conference 19 October 1996**, The Referendum Party, London, pp. 30-35

Taylor, Michael, **A Single European Currency: A Policy Document**, Institute of Directors, London, 1995. A work that is particularly good on the fiscal implications of a single currency, the necessity of massive intra-Union fiscal



transfers. Argues that "There need be no serious consequences if the UK did not participate in monetary union".

Tether, C. Gordon (1977), "The Dilemma of Anti-Marketism", Idem, **The Banned Articles of C. Gordon Tether**, The Author, Worplesdon, Surrey, in assoc. with John Coleman, Warsash, Southampton, pp. 30-31. On the situation following the 1975 Referendum.

**The Great Common Market Fraud**, Pentacle Books, Bristol, in association with The Safeguard Britain Campaign, London, nd (These bodies no longer exist). The former "Lombard" columnist of *The Financial Times* argues that "There is no doubt that Britain was taken into the European Common Market on the basis of a false prospectus. There was no justification for the claims that were made about the blessings that joining the EEC would confer on the nation". He also argues that "The pro-Market lobby clearly feels that keeping Britain in the dark offers the best hope of locking Britain irreversibly into a United States of Europe before the public realises what it has been committed to ... There is an element of starry-eyed idealism in the pro-Market lobby - people who genuinely believe that the true interests of the peoples of Western Europe would be advanced by welding them into a European Super-State ruled by a European Super-Government. But it derives its formidable fire-power in the main from international Big Business interests - giant multi-national, industrial and financial conglomerates who have a considerable vested interest in the removal of national boundaries and the emergence of a 'one-world' political and economic system".

Teodorczuk, Tom, **Ultimate Vindication: The Spectator and Europe, 1966-1979**, The Bruges Group, London, 2000

Thatcher, Margaret [Baroness Thatcher] (December 1992), "Thatcher Condemns Maastricht", **Freedom Today** (The Freedom Association), 17(6), p. 6

**Britain and Europe: Text of the Speech Delivered in Bruges by the Prime Minister on 20 September 1988**, Conservative Political Centre, London, October, 1988; reprinted in Holmes, Martin, ed., **The Eurosceptical Reader**, Macmillan, London, 1996, 88-96; also reprinted as **Bruges Revisited: The Text of the Speech Delivered in Bruges by the Rt. Hon. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, OM, FRS, on 20th September 1988**, Occasional Paper No. 34, Bruges Group, London, 1998

**Margaret Thatcher: The Collected Speeches** (Harris, Robin, ed.), HarperCollins, London, 1997. Includes her major speeches on Europe.

Thomas, Hugh, **A Europe of Diversity: Britain, Spain and Catalonia in the Europe of 2000AD**, Policy Challenge, Centre for Policy Studies, London, September 1989. A criticism of federalism from a supporter of "a Europe of real diversity".

Thomson, Kenneth (August/September 1988), "The Costs of the CAP", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 8(6), pp. 6-8; reprinted in Lewis, Russell, ed., **Recent Controversies in Political Economy**, Institute of Economic Affairs & Routledge, London, 1992, pp. 305-310

Toner, Michael & White, Christopher, **Bluff Your Way in the EEC, EC, EU**, Ravette Publishing, Horsham, West Sussex, 1996. A humorous glossary with a serious message.

Tonypandy of Rhondda, Lord (1996), "Defence of Our British Parliament", Goldsmith, Sir James, et al, **Speeches From the Brighton Conference 19 October 1996**, The Referendum Party, London, pp. 15-18. The former Labour Party MP and Speaker of the House of Commons warns of the threat to the British constitution.

Toynbee, Arnold J., **A Study of History**, Abridgement of Vols. I-VI by D. C. Somerwell, Royal Institute of International Affairs, Geoffrey Cumberlege & Oxford University Press, 1946. Toynbee was Director of Studies at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chattham House), one of the main sources of federalist thought in the pre-War period. Toynbee (like his daughter the vile *Guardian* journalist Polly Toynbee) was consumed with a hatred of freedom, and never met an enemy of Western Civilisation he didn't like. Although a vigorous critic of what he called "the parochial sovereign state", and an equally vigorous exponent of a federal state for Europe, Toynbee's ambitious philosophy of history would actually seem to contradict the desirability of such an alleged solution to international problems. The creation of what he calls a "Universal State" (by which he actually means a unified political order which prevents wars between the states of a particular civilization) seems, on the basis of his study, to inevitably herald the doom of every civilization which attempts it. Moreover, such supra-national formations (of which the EU is clearly an example) also represent another manifestation of a symptom of what in his philosophy of history is seen as civilizational decline - and one which he explicitly denounces - "a tendency towards standardization and uniformity: a tendency which is the correlative and opposite of the tendency towards differentiation and diversity which we have been found to be the mark of the growth stage of civilizations ... [There is a] contrast between the diversity of growth and the uniformity of disintegration".

Tumlrir, Jan (1983), "Strong and Weak Elements in the Concept of European Integration", Fels, Gerhard & Muller, Hubertus, eds., **Reflections on a Troubled World Economy: Essays in Honour of Herbert Giersch**, Macmillan and The

Trade Policy Research Centre, London. Contrasts the beneficial aspect of the EU, its removal of internal trade barriers, with its harmful aspect,

Tutt, Norman, **Europe on the Fiddle**, Christopher Helm, London, 1989. A good account of the massive financial corruption and frauds endemic to the EU.

Tyrie, Andrew, **A Cautionary Tale of EMU: Some Mistakes, Some Remedies**, Policy Study 121, Centre for Policy Studies, London, 1991. Not exactly a Euro-sceptic work, although the author admits that "the origins of [the] pressure [for EMU] lies in politics, not economics". He admits that EMU "will require a handing over to a central European authority of a large number of functions presently exercised by the Bank of England, often under the supervision of the Treasury", and admits that "This undoubtedly represents a reduction in British control over its own affairs". However, he adds that this "by no means necessarily constitutes a shedding of sovereignty". He urges "Britain should drop the rhetoric of sovereignty, which has been an impediment to her full participation in the debate [over EMU] ... [A]rmed with the greater credibility which would result [from this], Britain should engage her Community partners in a thoroughgoing debate both about the economic benefits to be derived from monetary union, which have been exaggerated, and about the merits of different types of monetary integration, which have been neglected". Tyrie clearly favours one of the alternative monetary schemes, like Sir Alan Walters' commodity based standard.

Utley, T. E. (10 November 1986), "Duped by a European Smoke-Screen", **The Daily Telegraph** (London); reprinted in Idem, **A Tory Seer: The Selected Journalism of T. E. Utley** (Moore, Charles and Heffer, Simon, eds.), Hamish Hamilton, London, 1989, pp. 135-137. An essay written just after the European Communities (Amendment) Bill received Royal assent. "Lord Denning, who is not to be despised in such matters, has put it plainly: 'Gone is the concept of national sovereignty - to be replaced by European unity' ... A political elite has so far imposed its views on the people".

Vanberg, Viktor (March 1993), "Constitutionally Constrained and Safeguarded Competition in Markets and Politics With Reference to a European Constitution", **Journal des Economistes et des Etudes Humaines**, Institute for Humane Studies Europe, 35 Avenue Mac-Mahon, 75017 Paris, France, 4(1), pp. 3-28. Drawing on the public choice economics of constitutionalism, Vanberg proposes a "competitive federalism", as opposed to "centralist federalism", for Europe.

Vander Elst, Philip, **Resisting Leviathan: The Case Against a European State**, Claridge Blasts 3, Claridge Press, London, 1991. A vigorous conservative critique.

**The Principles of British Foreign Policy**, Occasional Paper 27, The Bruges Group, London, 1997. A penetrating discussion of Britain's distinctiveness *vis à vis* continental Europe, its traditional role in opposing the recurring attempts to create a united Europe, and the dangers of such unification to freedom and democracy.

Vanthoor, Wim P. V., **A Chronological History of the European Union, 1946-1998**, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, 1999. A useful chronology. Moreover, the author also concludes that the creation of a supranational political order - a superstate - was always the intentions of the founders of the EU.

Vaubel, Roland (1978), "Real Exchange-Rate Changes in the European Community: A New approach to the Determination of Optimum Currency Areas", **Journal of International Economics**, 8, pp. 319-339

(December 1978), "The Money Supply in Europe: Why EMS May Make Inflation Worse", **Euromoney**, pp. 139-42

(1984), "Private Competitive Note Issue in Monetary History", Salin, Pascal., ed., **Currency Competition and Monetary Union**, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague

(1986), "A Public Choice View of International Organization", **Public Choice**

(Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, Spuiboulevard 50, Gr Dordrecht 2331, The Netherlands), 51, pp. 39-57; reprinted in Idem & Willett, Thomas D., eds., **The Political Economy of International Organisations**, The Political Economy of

Global Interdependency Series, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1991 pp. 27-45. Argues that "There are several reasons to believe that international

organization supply more transfers to interest groups than the national bureaucracies would do". This is because such bodies like the EU, "[raise]

information costs more for the general public, who has to pay, than for the well-organised pressure groups, who benefit. If some country receives more than

they pay, international organization may also serve to disperse the costs of such programmes more widely than would be possible on a national basis". Structures

like the EU thus serve to encourage "dirty work", and "adverse selection", as manifest in agricultural subsidies, cartelisation, protectionism, subsidisation and

so on. Moreover, such depredations are camouflaged by ideology: "Most international agencies operate under the cover of some internationalist ideal:

international (or group) solidarity, co-operation, integration, peace, etc which immunises them against public criticism". Also see Peirce (1991) above.

(1990), "Currency Competition and European Monetary Integration", **Economic Journal**, 100(104), pp. 936-46

(November/December 1993), "The Danger of Europe's Democratic Deficit", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 14(1), pp. 45-48. Argues that

the EU's "democratic deficit" should not be remedied by expanding the powers of

the European Parliament, but rather by increasing the role and powers of the national legislatures.

(1993), "European Currency Union: Problems and Prospects", Robinson, Colin, ed., **The State of the Economy, 1993**, Readings 39, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, pp. 107- 116. "We do not know whether the EU is a desirable currency arera. The only way of finding out is to admit free and undistorted competition among the member central banks and currencies".

(1994), "The Breakdown of the ERM and the Future of EMU: Explanations, Predictions and Simulations From a Public Choice Perspective", Cobban, David, ed., **European Monetary Upheavals**, Manchester University Press, pp. 32-58

(1994), "The Political Economy of Centralisation and the European Community", **Public Choice** (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, Spuibopulevard 50, Gr Dordrecht 2331, The Netherlands), 81, pp. 151-90.

(1994), "The Public Choice Analysis of European Integration: A Survey", **European Journal of Political Economy**, 10, pp. 227-249

(1995), "Social Regulation and Market Integration: A Critique and Public Choice Analysis of the Social Chapter", **Aussenwirtsschaft/The Swiss Review of International Economic Relations**, No. 1

(Summer 1996), "The Battle Over EMU", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 16(3), pp. 17-21

(March 1997), "The Importance of Being at the Margin", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 17(1), pp. 23- 25. Emphasis the importance of widening membership of the EU in order to discourage centralisation.

**Strategies for Currency Unification: The Economics of Currency Competition and the Case for a European Parallel Currency**, Kieler Studien 156, Institut fur Weltwirtschaft un der Universitat Kiel, J. C. B. Mohr, Tubingen, Germany, 1978. The definitive, highly detailed, argument that "the traditional coordinational approach to European monetary unification is inferior to the parallel-currency approach".

**Choice in European Monetary Union**, Occasional Paper 55, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1979. A critique of the EMS proposals, and an argument in favour of currency competition. Vaubel is the principal exponent of the application of currency competition theories (developed by Rothbard, Hayek, Dowd, White, Selgin and other free banking advocates) within the EU.

**The Centralisation of Western Europe: The Common Market, Political Integration and Democracy**, Hobart Paper 127, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 1995. Contrasts beneficial and spontaneous "market integration" with centralisation and "political integration".

& Willett, Thomas D., eds., **The Political Economy of International Organisations**, The Political Economy of Global Interdependency Series, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1991. An anthology of public choice oriented essays on federal and international organisations. Two specific essays by Vaubel and Peirce, qv, applying this approach to the EU.

Vibert, Frank (1991), "Europe's Constitutional Deficit", Buchanan, James et al, **Europe's Constitutional Future**, Readings 22, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, pp. 69-95

(1991), "The Powers of the European Parliament: The Westminster Deficit", Buchanan, James et al, **Europe's Constitutional Future**, Readings 22, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, pp. 97-120

(1991), "The New Europe: Constitutionalist or Centralist", Buchanan, James et al, **Europe's Constitutional Future**, Readings 22, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, pp. 69-95

In these essays Vibert criticizes the existing centralist, bureaucratic and undemocratic aspects of the EU, opposes expanding the powers of the European Parliament. He also makes various reformist proposals relating to national parliaments and the EU's constitution, and argues that "The constitutional model offers the best hope for a new flowering of democratic diversity in as wide as possible a European setting ... Britain should firmly reject any step towards a centralist Europe. Instead it should take the lead and encourage its partners in Europe to broaden their vision and look to build a new constitutional basis for a new Europe".

**Europe and the Constitution**, A Manchester Paper, Charter 88 Trust, Exmouth House, 3-11 Pine Street, London, EC1R 0JH, nd (1993). Calls for an "active agenda ... for the development of the constitutional framework for Europe ... [which] offers the best possibility of developing decentralised practices and safeguards in the EU within which Britain can maintain its own vigorous constitutional life".

**A Non-Coercive Union: The Constitution For Europe**, European Policy Forum, London, 1995

**Europe: A Constitution for the Millennium**, Dartmouth Publishing, Aldershot, Hampshire, 1995. Argues that "the best way to approach political union in Europe would be to put in place a well considered constitutional framework ... It is only through those processes that will minimise coercion in the Union that the people of Europe will reap the mutual benefits of political association while, at the same time, retaining their individual freedom".

Viner, Jacob, **The Customs Union**, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York, 1950. A classic work on trade theory. Indispensable background reading.

Vizinczey, Stephen (26 April 1992), "Why the EC Bureaucracy Can't Work, Won't Work", **The Sunday Telegraph** (London). A good brief critique.

(September 1992), "Keeping the Europe We Know", **The Salisbury Review** (London), 11(1), pp. 34-36. An effective refutation of the "Big Lie" that "free trade and free circulation of people and capital ... are only available through a

huge EC bureaucracy ... What we are getting is not free trade but a regulated economy, a command economy of the very same kind that has already driven the communist states bankrupt".

Walters, Sir Alan (Fall 1988), "A Critical View of the EMS", **The Cato Journal** (Cato Institute, Washington, DC), 8(2), pp. 503-6; reprinted in Dorn, James A. & Niskanen, William A., eds., **Dollars, Deficits and Trade**, Cato Institute, Washington, DC & Kluwer Academic, Dordrecht, 1989, pp. 289-292

(1993), "Moving to European Monetary Union?", Robinson, Colin, ed., **The State of the Economy, 1993**, Readings 39, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, pp. 99-106. "The irony is that the movement to monetary union, which began as a French attempt to exert some control over German monetary policy is likely to end in the complete domination of European monetary arrangements by Germany".

(November/December 1993), "Europe - Past Imperfect", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 14(1), pp. 32-36. "The last 13 months have surely demonstrated that with more or less open capital markets, pegged exchange rates are often domestically perverse and exhibit inherent instability".

(Winter 1996), "View From Washington: The Euro and Europe", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 16(5), p. 48. "The fundamental reason for monetary union is that it will begat a highly centralised European Federal behemoth. The single currency is the surreptitious road to the United Corporatist States of Europe".

(Winter 1996), "The Euro and Europe", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 16(5), p. 48

(1996), "The Effects of Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and the Single Currency ", Goldsmith, Sir James, et al, **Speeches From the Brighton Conference 19 October 1996**, The Referendum Party, London, pp. 36-43

**Sterling in Danger: The Economic Consequences of Pegged Exchange Rates**, Institute of Economic Affairs & Fontana/Collins, London, 1990. Includes a critique of the EMU.

Walker, John (December 1998), "Regional Chambers", **The European Journal**, 6(3), pp. 8-9. "The constitutional changes being implemented ... are potentially so far reaching that there will come a time when Westminster's existence will be questioned due to it having little or no legislative power left. This is being achieved by a combination of downward devolution to the Regions for administration direct from Brussels and upward devolution of other policy areas to EU Institutions".

Walker, Sir David, **The Financial Revolution in Europe**, Speech to the British American Chamber of Commerce, 19 June, 1996. (Available from The Industry and Europe Data Centre). The Executive Chairman of the Morgan Stanley Group

gives a pessimistic assessment of the effects of EU policy. He also sees very limited gains to business from EMU.

Walker-Smith, Sir Derek (May 1962), "British Sovereignty and the Common Market", Corbet, Richard Hugh, ed., **Britain, Not Europe: Commonwealth Before Common Market**, Anti-Common Market League, London, pp. 12-15. Argues that British entry into the EU would entail "The sacrifice of sovereignty would be unparalleled in our history, and at variance with our constitutional practice and tradition ... In ... important respects the sovereignty of parliament ... would be fettered and prejudiced. Nor would ... the rule of law, remain unscathed, for English judges would be interpreting what would be in effect continental laws drafted in an idiom different from our own".

Watkins Jr., William J. (July 1995), "Peace for Europe?", **The Freeman** (Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington on Hudson, New York), 45(7), pp. 448-450. Refutes the notion that the EU is necessary to preserve peace in Europe. Argues that its statism and social engineering are more likely to create dissension and war.

Watrin, Christian (1992), "Europe's Position in a Changing World Economy", Robertson, Patrick, ed., **Reshaping Europe in the Twenty-First Century**, The Bruges Group & Macmillan, London, pp. 143-160. On the superiority of a "Europe of nations" to federalist unification.

Weigall, David & Stirk, Peter, eds., **The Origin and Development of the European Community**, Leicester University Press, 1992. Not a Euro-sceptic work, but this excellent anthology of historical documents underlines the statist motivations and mendacious manipulations of the creators of the European Union.

Weigl, Jiri (May 2002), "The Concealed Risks of European Integration", **The European Journal**, 9(7), pp. 23-24. "Multinational states have always been victims of escalating national hostilities and conflicts, and engendered the most extreme nationalist ideologies".

Weiler, J. H. H., **The Constitution of Europe: 'Do the New Clothes Have an Emperor?', and Other Essays on European Integration**, Cambridge University Press, 1999. An invaluable impartial documentation of the true nature of the European project - statist political unification by stealth.

Weissman, Steve et al (1978), "The CIA Backs the Common Market", Agee, Phil, & Wolf, Louis, eds., **Dirty Work: The CIA in Western Europe**, Lyle



Stuart, New Yrk/Zed Press, London, 1981, pp. 201-203. A brief account by Marxist journalists.

Werner, Anthony (Spring 1962), "Free Trade or the Common Market", **The Free Trader** (Free Trade League, London), No. 312, pp. 13-15. "[T]he present progress [in Europe, created by freeing trade] is ... the sugar coating to a very bitter pill".

West, Katherine, **Economic Opportunities For Britain and the Commonwealth**, Discussion Paper 60, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, 10 St. James' Street, London, SW1Y 4LE, 1995. (Available from Eurofacts). Not exactly a Euro-sceptic work, but useful in supporting the case for Britain's global economic opportunities.

Whetstone, Linda (October 1983), "Interest Groups Nobble the CAP", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 4(1), pp. 53-54  
(April-June 1984), "Agricultural Prices and Markets: The Domino Effect", **Ibid.**, 4(3), pp. 36-37, 39  
(December 1985/January 1986), "Earn Votes by Cutting the CAP", **Ibid.**, 6(2), pp. 20-22  
(April 1997), "Cultivating the European Vote Crop", **Freedom Today** (The Freedom Association), 22(2), pp. 6-8. A critique of CAP.  
(June 1992), "A Students' Guide to the CAP", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 12(4), pp. 37-39  
& Howarth, Richard, **Agriculture**, The EurOmega Project, Adam Smith Institute, London, 1991. A critique of European agricultural policy.

White, Lawrence H. (Fall 1990), "Competition or Cartelization Among European Currencies?", **The Cato Journal** (The Cato Institute, Washington, DC), 10(2), pp. 377-380. Another rejection of a European central bank and a brief statement of the case for currency competition.

Whittaker, John (March 1998), "Fiscal Constraints and Financial Regulation in Economic and Monetary Union", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 18(1), pp. 51-55. "[S]erious studies of the economic consequences of EMU find no evidence that it would provide more than a small net benefit for the UK, whilst there are considerable risks of economic damage".

Wieland, Alex (June 2001), "The Nazi Underground's Post-war Plan for a United States of Europe", **The European Journal**, 8(7), pp. 31-33 \*

Williams, Colin (April 1994), "The Social Protocol in Action", **The European Journal**, 1(6), pp. 5-7

Williamson, John, **Proto-EMU as the Alternative to Maastricht**, European Policy Forum, London, July 1995. A moderately sceptical paper that argues that "the benefits and costs of EMU are not such as to justify a strategy of making a sudden jump to monetary union, technically feasible as that would be".

Wilson, David (May/June 1999), "In a Lonely Place: Britain and the World on the Eve of the Millennium", **European Journal**, 6(7), pp. 3-4. An excellent brief analysis of the "Mitteleuropean fantasy" of euro-federalism. "Britain is now landlocked into a continental Fortress Europe - a *dirigiste* autarky of 'Little Europeans', specifically designed to subvert the British trading state".

Winder, George (September 1959), "Free Enterprise and European Unity", **The Free Trader** (Free Trade League, London), No. 305, pp. 17-21. "[A]ll the unity that is required can be attained without the loss of sovereignty ... To unite Europe in wealth and strength, it is not the sovereignty of many States which has to be destroyed, but the fatal belief of her peoples in State Economic Planning".

(Spring 1961), "Commonwealth or Common Market?", **The Free Trader** (Free Trade League, London), No. 309, pp. 13-14

(Spring 1962), "Editorial: The Free Trade and the Common Market" **The Free Trader** (Free Trade League, London), No. 312, pp. 11-12. "If we join the Common Market, we must impose tariff barriers against the greater part of [the] huge trade with the Commonwealth for no greater purpose than to abolish them against our far smaller trade with the Community" ... [The terms of the Treaty of Rome] are primarily proposals for the final abandonment of Free Trade in Great Britain, and the full establishment of the mean and malicious restraints of Protection".

Winnifrith, Sir John (October 1971), "The Real Cost of This Plunge Into the Dark", **The Free Trader** (The Free Trade League, London), No. 331, pp. 9-11. (This organization no longer exists). Reprinted from **The Evening Standard** (London) this article by the former Permanent Undersecretary at the Ministry of Agriculture exposes the falsehoods regarding the increased food costs due to EC membership in the government's White Paper.

Wingfield-Stratford, Esme, **The Price of Liberty**, Blackie and Son, London, 1944

**The New Patriotism and the Old**, Macdonald, London, nd (1939/40?)

**Beyond Empire**, Phoenix House, London, 1964. The late Wingfield-Stratford was a prolific and important conservative philosopher and historian who is now virtually totally forgotten. One important aspect of these works, and of his thought in general, are their emphases on England's cultural and political "divorce" from Europe. There was, in his view, "a spiritual gulf deeper than the

channel fixed between continental *imperium* and insular *libertas*, between an ancient empire that was always seeking to re-universalize itself, and a commonwealth in embryo ... ". Wingfield-Stratford was an opponent of the statist and imperialist principle *per se*, even when embodied in British Imperialism, which he saw as a dangerous intrusion into the development of British civilization. He welcomed peaceful and cosmopolitan cooperation and trade. He opposed schemes which attempted to merge sovereign states into inorganic and artificial unions or leagues but adhered to an ideal of a "Commonwealth of Liberty" which could be united only on the basis of free trade and a shared ideological and spiritual commitment to liberty. He explicitly defended Britain's "treason against Europe" and all attempts (of which Hitler's was the then current one) to unify it. The "anarchy of sovereignties" in Europe, in his view, had enabled a distinctive British civilisation, a far more libertarian one, to emerge from its broader European heritage.

Wolf, Martin (1982), "The European Community's Trade Policy", Jenkins, Roy, ed., **Britain and the European Economic Community: Proceedings of Section F (Economics) of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Liverpool 1982**, Macmillan, London, pp. 151-177

(April 1995), "Cooperation or Conflict?: The European Union in a Liberal Global Economy", **International Affairs** (Royal Institute of International Affairs), 71(2), pp. 325-337. Contrasts the EU ideal of internal free trade with its external protectionism, based on long-exploded neo-mercantilist assumptions.

(1996), "One Market, One Money", Taylor, Christopher, ed., **European Monetary Unity: The Kingsdown Inquiry**, Action Centre on Europe and Macmillan, London, pp. 143-152

(March 1997), "Old Wine in New Bottles", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 17(1), pp. 38-43. Exposes the various protectionist fallacies masquerading under the cloak of concern for workers or for the environment, and for "harmonisation" of standards.

**The Resistible Appeal of Fortress Europe**, Centre for Policy Studies Trade Policy Unit, Rochester Paper No. 1, London/American Enterprise Institute, Washington, D. C., 1994. On the menace of centralisation and neo-mercantilism. "Europe does not ... need to become a mercantilist super-State, with a capital in Brussels ... it would be economically counterproductive. Europe's choices should, for the most part, be decentralisation and liberal trade, not harmonisation and protection".

et al, **The Politics and Economics of a Single Currency**, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1997. A collection of largely critical essays.

Wood, Geoffrey E. (1989), "Banking and Monetary Control After 1992 - A Central Bank for Europe?", Dahrendorf, Sir Ralf et al, **Whose Europe?: Competing Visions for 1992**, Readings 29, Institute of Economic Affairs,

London, pp. 51-67. Argues that a common internal market does not need a common currency or a supranational central bank. Allowing currency competition between existing central banks could bring stable money to Europe, Wood argues.

(1990), "One Money For Europe: A Review Essay", **Journal of Monetary Economics**, 25, pp. 313-22

(Fall 1990), "Currency Competition and European Monetary Performance", **The Cato Journal** (The Cato Institute, Washington, DC), 10(2), pp. 381-387. Further support for currency competition rather than central banking and a single currency.

(April 1993), "Economic Fallacy Exposed, XXIII: Social Dumping is a Problem", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 13(3), p. 33

(March 1997), "The Ins and Outs of European Monetary Union: Some Public Policy Issues", **Economic Affairs** (Institute of Economic Affairs), 17(1), pp. 30-37. "[T]here may be minor adverse consequences [from not joining EMU], but they are only a possibility. What is clear is that claims that there will be major adverse consequences - higher inflation or interest rates, or lower growth, for example - are entirely without foundation".

& Coleman, David B. (1992), "The EMU Treaty: Some Economic Reflections", Robinson, Colin, ed., **The State of the Economy 1992**, Readings 37, Institute of Economic Affairs, London, pp. 117-136. "This paper has taken as given that Europe is going to proceed to monetary union, and has considered whether the Union Treaty is well designed to achieve that goal. The overall conclusion has to be that it is not particularly well designed. In particular the monetary convergence conditions are not well specified, while the fiscal ones are possibly harmful. It is not clear that the objective of price stability for the ECB is readily definable; and how to achieve it is not straightforward, given the monetary disturbances that forming the Union will inevitably entail. The relationship between the ECB and Ecofin is at best disruptive of the orderly conduct of policy. There is the threat of over-regulation of the banking system. And the fiscal consequences of EMU are both serious and largely neglected. All-in-all, whatever one's view of the objective of EMU, the Treaty which is intended to produce the Union gives cause for concern. It does not seem to be thought out as one would wish of a Treaty with an objective so disruptive of existing institutional arrangements. Indeed, it could be said that the Treaty bears the hallmark of politically inspired haste rather than of statesman- inspired judgment".

Wood, Graham, **Maastricht: A Christian Dilemma**, Graham Wood, 19 North Road, Ripon, HG4 1JP, 1993. A thoughtful monograph arguing that the Maastricht Treaty presents a "fundamental and unprecedented challenge to our Parliamentary democracy, to the concept of the nation state ... and also in some respect to the traditionally held Christian view of the state".

Wooley, Wesley T., **Alternatives to Anarchy: American Supranationalism Since World War II**, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana, 1988. Not a Eurosceptic work, but one providing interesting information on the background of pro-federalist and supranationalist thought in the post-war.

Wood, Graham, **The European Constitution, Questions and Answers: A Plain Man's Guide**, Campaign to Reject the European Constitution, Poppleton, York, 2005

Worcester, Robert, **How to Win the Euro Referendum: Lessons From 1975**, Foreign Policy Centre, London, 2000. Not actually a Eurosceptic work, but its smug, sinister statist elitism and boastful pride in the ability of pollsters and consultants to "manage" public perceptions should be read by all.

Glendening, Marc (Summer 2000), "Book Review [of *How to Win the Euro Referendum*]", *The European Journal* (European Foundation), 7(9), pp. 22-23. A useful analysis of the above work by one of the brightest of the younger Eurosceptic intellectuals and activists.

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Young, Peter, **European Pharmaceutical Policies**, Adam Smith Institute, London, 1990. On the threat of EU licensing regulations to the British pharmaceutical industry.

#### IV: A CHRONOLOGY OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY/EUROPEAN UNION AND RELEVANT EUROPEAN EVENTS, 1920-2002

1920: Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi (1894-1972) of Austria organises a "European Congress" in Vienna. Further Congresses were held in Berlin (1930), Basle (1932), Vienna (1935) and New York (1943).

1922: Coudenhove-Kalergi establishes the Pan-European Union to campaign for a united Europe.

1923: Coudenhove-Kalergi's book **Pan-Europa** published (Paneuropa Verlag, Vienna; English edition as **Pan-Europe**, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1926), and he issues a periodical of same name.

1926: "The Proposed European Economic Union", a favourable assessment by Robert Somers Brookings, the former businessman and then academic, published widely in American and European newspapers. Written after his attendance at the first Pan-European Economic Conference in October 1926, it is subsequently reprinted in his book, **Economic Democracy: America's Answer to Socialism and Communism**, Macmillan, New York, 1929, pp. 24-39, together with two editorials commenting on it from the 'New York Times' and the 'Washington Post'.

1930: Aristide Briand, a leading French Socialist politician and statesman puts forward, as French representative at the League of Nations in Geneva, a formal proposal for "a system of European Federal Union". His memorandum was considered in detail by a special study group chaired by the League's Secretary-General Sir Eric Drummond, before fizzling out.

The following documents were published:

Commission of Enquiry of European Union, **Documents Relating to the Organisation of a System of European Federal Union**, VII(4), League of Nations, Geneva, 1930. An "analytical summary" of the opinions of participating governments, and a record of those replies made to a British memorandum on the proposed union.

**Report by the Secretary-General to the Assembly on the Work of the Commission of Enquiry for European Union**, VII(9), Ibid, 1931. A discussion

of resolutions from the second session, together with a memo from the International Labour Association, and proposals from governments.

**Minutes of the Third Session of the Commission, May 15-21, 1931**, Ibid, 1931. In fact a discussion of the broader world crisis.

**Report of the Secretary-General to the Assembly on the Work of the Commission of Enquiry for European Union**, Ibid, VII(8). Refers to the establishment of a special committee to study a possible "Pact of Economic Non-Aggression".

**Report by the Committee of Experts Appointed to Examine the Monetary Normalisation Fund Scheme**, Ibid, II A23, 1932

1930: The former French Prime Minister (1924-1925) Edouard Herriot publishes an English language translation of his **The United States of Europe**, George C. Harrap, London.

1937: Sir Arthur Salter's **The United States of Europe and Other Essays** (Arnold-Foster, W., ed.), George Allen & Unwin, London, published.

1940: Sir William Ivor Jennings' **A Federation for Western Europe**, Cambridge University Press, published.

1940: Labour MP Ronald W. Gordon Mackay publishes **Federal Europe, Being the Case for European Federation Together With a Draft Constitution of a United States of Europe**, Michael Joseph, London, 1940. Foreword by Norman Angell. It is reprinted as **Peace Aims and the New Order, Being a Revised and Popular Edition of 'Federal Europe' outlining the Case for European Federation Together With a Draft Constitution of a United States of Europe**, Michael Joseph, London, 1941

1943: Coudenhove-Kalergi draws up a constitution for a "United States of Europe", and submitted it for approval to the foreign ministers of the Allied powers.

1943: A Pan-European Conference is held at New York University (the fifth of Pan- Europa's Conferences), addressed by 16 speakers including Coudenhove-Kalergi. A "Declaration of Aims and Principles of a European Federation" is released on 5 June 1943. A mimeographed Report of the Conference is also released.

1943: Coudenhove-Kalergi's **Crusade for Pan-Europe** published (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York)

1944: Francis A. Ridley & Bob Edwards MP publish **The United Socialist States of Europe**, National Labour Press, London.

1945: The Federal Trust for Education and Research set up in the UK to promote federalism.

16 November 1946: Sir Winston Churchill delivers a speech to both houses of the Belgian Parliament supporting the idea of a "United States of Europe, which will unify this continent".

19 September 1946: Sir Winston Churchill delivers a speech in Zurich again endorsing a "United States of Europe". In spite of attempts to use these statements as propaganda by European federalists, all objective commentators admit that it was also quite clear that Churchill did **not** see the UK as an integral part of such a body, but as a "friend and sponsor".. The primary British obligation, in his view, was to another "natural grouping", the Commonwealth, and to Britain's world role.

1947: The Economic Commission for Europe, based in Geneva, a regional commission of the United Nations, established to promote technical, industrial and economic cooperation.

1947: Francis A. Ridley's **Unite or Perish! USSE, United Socialist States of Europe**, Independent Labour Party, London, published.

March 1947: The Treaty of Dunkirk signed, the first postwar European security pact.

March 1947, The Ligue Independent de Cooperation Europeene (renamed the European League for Economic Cooperation in 1948), established. It emphasises voluntary cooperation as a means of integration, rather than formal political institutions.

5 July 1947: Coudenhove-Kalergi sets up a "European Parliamentary Union", with himself as its first Secretary General.

29 October, 1947: Creation of the Benelux economic union (Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands).

1948: Labour MP Robert Mackay restates his socialist case for a united Europe, **Britain in Wonderland**, Victor Gollancz, London, 1948

1948: The European Movement set up, with its HQ in Brussels.



1948: The Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) set up to oversee the European Recovery Programme established under the Marshall Plan. It was the forum in which discussions began which led to the Messina Conference and the Treaty of Rome. The formation of the EEC and of EFTA split the OEEC which in 1960 reformed as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), with the US and Canada as full members. Other nations, including Japan, joined later. The OECD has assisted in the setting up of such organisations as the International Energy Agency and the Group of Seven (G7) and works closely with the European Commission.

March 1948: **First Report** of the European Customs Union Study Group issued in Brussels, covering meetings between 16 nations held 10-14 November 1947, 2-6 February 1948, 18-23 March 1948.

17 March 1948: The Treaty of Brussels signed, an agreement on mutual military assistance and economic assistance and economic, social and cultural cooperation between the UK, France and the Benelux countries. It provided the basis for NATO and for the WEU (established by the modified Brussels Treaty of 1954).

7 May 1948: The Congress of European opens at the Hague, organised by the International Committee of the Movements for European Unity. Sir Winston Churchill, its President-of- Honour, calls for a "European Assembly" as "the voice of a United Europe". The Congress adopts a "Message to Europeans" calling for "a united Europe, throughout whose area the free movement of persons, ideas and goods is restored". It also leads directly to the establishment in October 1948 of the European Movement and to the Council of Europe in 1949.

October 1948: The European Movement established.

1949: The College of Europe founded in Bruges, Belgium, following a resolution adopted by the European Cultural Conference. Partly financed by the EU, although not a formal EU body.

5 May 1949: Statute of the Council of Europe signed. The founder members were: the UK, Denmark, Norway, Ireland, Sweden, Italy, Luxembourg, France, the Netherlands, Greece, and Belgium. The Council's three main institutions are: the Committee of Ministers, the Parliamentary Assembly, and the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities. It also established the European Commission of Human Rights and the Court of Human Rights.

1950: Iceland, Turkey, and West Germany join the Council of Europe.

1950: The European Broadcasting Union (EBU) established and based in Geneva.

1950: The European Cultural Centre established in Geneva on the basis of a resolution at the 1949 Congress of Europe, to propagate and encourage European culture.

9 May 1950: In a speech inspired by Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman, the French Foreign Minister, proposes that France, West Germany and any other European country wishing to join, should pool their coal and steel resources - the Schuman Plan. French Socialist economist Pierre Uri helped draft the Plan. (He later drafted the Treaties establishing the European Coal and Steel Treaty of 1951, the EEC and Euratom).

4 November 1950: The Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms signed in Rome, to come into force on 3 September 1953. It has been amended several times since 1950 and protocols have been added. The European Commission of Human Rights is set up in Strasbourg, composes of members elected by renewable six-year terms by the Committee of Ministers. Judges of the European Court of Human Rights are elected by the Parliamentary Assembly. The Convention has been supplemented by the European Social Charter of 1965 and the European Convention for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment of 1989.

18 April 1951: The "original six", Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands sign the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) Treaty in Paris - The Treaty of Paris.

1952: Coudenhove-Kalergi re-establishes his Pan-European Union, which later became a member of the European Movement (although later breaking away).

27 May 1952: The Treaty establishing the European Defence Community (EDC) is signed in Paris. The Treaty provides for a European army, a common budget and common institutions, including a directly elected Common Assembly, and also for the Assembly to study ways of creating a federal organisation with clear separation of powers and a bicameral parliament.

June 1952: The ECSC starts operating.

1953: Coudenhove-Kalergi's book **An Idea Conquers the World** published (Hutchinson, London)

1953: The European Union of Women set up

1953: The European Conference of Ministers of Transport, a twice yearly event, established.

10 February 1953: The ECSC starts operating for coal, iron-ore and scrap.

1 May 1953: The ECSC starts operating for steel.

July 1953: The European Organisation for Nuclear Research (CERN) established under the auspices of the UN. It is not formally associated with the EU.

1954: The European Cultural Foundation set up in Geneva as an offshoot of the European Cultural Foundation. (It moved to Amsterdam in 1960). It works through educational institutions to promote cross-border cooperation in the social, cultural, educational and environmental fields linked to European integration.

20-23 October 1954: Following the London Conference, agreement on a modified Brussels Treaty are signed in Paris and the Western European Union (WEU) comes into being.

30 August 1954: The French National Assembly votes against the Treaty for a European Defence Community.

6 May 1955: The Western European Union established, based initially in London (but moved to Brussels December 1991), to organise European cooperation in defence. A Council composed of foreign and defence ministers meets twice yearly. A WEA Assembly is based in Paris, whose members are drawn from representatives to the Parliamentary Assembly of the council of Europe, also meeting twice yearly to debate security issues. Its precise status and role as changed over the years.

1-2 June 1955: At a meeting in Messina, the Foreign Ministers of the "six", agree to extend European integration to all branches of the economy. A committee set up under Paul-Henri Spaak (the Spaak Committee) recommends the creation of an "Economic Community".

July 1955: The Conference of Members of Parliament from the member countries of NATO established. It was named the North Atlantic Assembly in 1966. An international forum for parliamentarians to discuss defence and security issues. It meets in plenary session twice a year, with more frequent committee and subcommittee meetings, and is based in Brussels.

October 1955: Action Committee for the United States of Europe (ACUSE) set up by Jean Monnet following his resignation as President of the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1954. It acted as a highly influential trans-national pressure group for closer European integration.

1956: Austria joins the Council of Europe, after Soviet troops withdraw from its territory.

25 March 1957: The Treaties of Rome, establishing the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Authority (Euratom) are signed by the original six.

1958: The Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederations of Europe (UNICE) founded (originally under the name the Union of Industries of the European Community). The principle European-level lobbying organisation for business.

1 January 1958: The Treaties of Rome enter into force and the EEC and the Euratom Commissions are set up in Brussels.

July 1958: The Stresa Conference on implementing CAP is held. Its most important decision was to support agriculture through guaranteed prices rather than direct income aids.

1959: The European Conference of Postal and Telecommunications Administrations (CEPT) established within the Universal Postal Union (which was founded in 1874).

January 1960: The European Free Trade Association (EFTA) Convention is signed in Stockholm by Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom, after a failure to agree with the EEC on a wider European free trade area.

May 1960: EFTA starts operating.

1961: The Anti-Common Market League set up in the UK.

1961: The European Social Charter (not to be confused with either Social Chapter or the EC's 1989 Charter on the Fundamental Social Rights of Workers) agreed in Turin by the Council of Europe. It entered into force in 1965.

1961: Comité Européen de Normalisation (CEN) set up to establish technical specifications for manufactured goods in all fields except electrical goods (for which CENELEC is later established in 1973).

18 July 1961: The Bonn Declaration made by the Six in favour of political union.

9 August 1961: Harold Macmillan's Conservative government applies for negotiations for EEC entry.

8 November 1961: EC Negotiations with Britain start in Brussels.

1962: The Council of Europe adopts Herbert von Karajan's orchestral arrangement of the main theme of the last movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony (a setting of Schiller's Ode to Joy) as the European Anthem.

14 January 1962: The basics of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) are agreed.

January 1962: Norway requests negotiations on EEC membership.

30 July 1962: the CAP is introduced.

14 January 1963: General de Gaulle announces his veto on UK membership of the EEC.

22 January 1963: The Franco-German Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation signed in Paris.

1964: The Costa v ENEL Case (6/64) of the Court of Justice declares the primacy of Community law over "domestic legal provisions". (See also 1970)

1965: The European Social Charter (not to be confused with either Social Chapter or the EC's 1989 Charter on the Fundamental Social Rights of Workers) comes into force.

31 March 1965: The Commission proposes that, from 1 July 1967, all EC members' import duties and levies be paid into the Community Budget and that the powers of the European Parliament be increased.

8 April 1965: The Merger Treaty, merging the executives of the three Communities and establishing a Single Council and a Single Commission of the European Communities is signed. It entered into force on 1 July 1967.

1 July 1965: France begins a boycott of EEC institutions in order to protest the proposed establishment of supra-national institutions - the "empty chair crisis". They establish the principle of the National Veto.

1966: France withdraws from NATO.

29 January 1966: The "Luxembourg Compromise" is agreed. France resumes its seat on the European Council in return for retention of the unanimity requirement where major interests are at stake.

11 May 1966: Agreement made that on 1 July 1966 all tariffs on trade between member states shall be removed, and the common external tariff shall come into effect - thus completing the EC's custom union.

10 May 1967: Denmark, Ireland and the UK (under Harold Wilson's Labour government) re-apply for EEC membership.

1 July 1967: The institutions of the ECSC, the EEC and Euratom are merged into a single European Commission, which replaces the former Community executive Commissions. A single "European Parliament" (albeit still officially called the European Parliamentary Assembly), replaces the three virtual Assemblies of the Communities (although these have always been the same people acting in different capacities).

27 November 1967: General de Gaulle objects, in a press conference, to proposed UK entry.

December 1967: France, under General de Gaulle, continues to oppose UK membership, and the Council of Ministers fails to reach agreement on re-opening negotiations with the applicant states.

1 July 1968: The EEC customs union is completed (18 months ahead of schedule), abolishing all internal customs duties and quotas. The Common External Tariff is also established and the CAP is also completed.

18-19 July 1968: The Six adopt the basic regulations for the common transport policy.

28 July 1968: The single market for dairy and beef products is introduced.

29 July 1968: Decision made to remove last remaining restrictions on the free movement of workers.

10 December 1968: Commission Vice-President Sicco Mansholt announces "Agriculture 1980" (the Mansholt Plan), a 10 year plan to modernise farming in the Six.

4 February 1969: French President General de Gaulle invites British Ambassador to a private meeting to discuss his concerns about the federalist direction of the EC. He indicates that he might prefer a looser free trade area.

28 April 1969: General de Gaulle resigns as French President, and George Pompidou is elected President on 15 June.

July 1969: De Gaulle's successor President Pompidou announces that he does not in principal oppose UK membership of the EEC.

1-2 December 1969: The Hague Summit agrees on strengthening EEC institutions, enlarging membership, developing further political co-operation, including foreign policy, establishing an "Economic and Monetary Union" (EMU), and giving the Community its own resources.

10 December 1969: A back-bench motion calling for a Referendum on British membership of the EC is defeated in the House of Commons.

19-22 December 1969: The Marathon European Council meeting agrees on permanent arrangements for financing the common farm policy, to provide the Community with its own resources from 1978 and strengthening the European Parliament's budgetary powers.

1970: The Werner Report published, an early blueprint for EMU. It inspired the 1971 "Snake" currency system and reinforced the commitment by heads of state to move to a single currency by 1980.

10 February 1970: The British White Paper **Costs and Benefits of Entry** (Cmnd 4289) is published.

4 March 1970: The Commission submits a three-stage plan for full EMU.

22 April 1970: A Treaty is signed in Luxembourg providing for the gradual introduction of an own-resources system for the EU. The budgetary powers of the European Parliament are also extended.

18 June 1970: The Conservatives, under Edward Heath, win the British General Election.

30 June 1970: Membership negotiations opened between the EEC and Denmark, Ireland, Norway and the UK.

20 October 1970: Common Fisheries Policy established by European Council Regulation 2141/70.

19 November 1970: The Foreign Ministers of the Six meet for the first time in Munich to discuss foreign policy.

1971: The Pompidou Group set up, on the initiative of French President Georges Pompidou, to encourage cooperation in the "war on drugs". (Since 1980 it has met within the framework of the Council of Europe).

1971: The Open Seas Forum established "to promote the idea of a wider free trade area, based upon the principles of EFTA"

1 February 1971: Common fisheries policy negotiations begin.

24 March 1971: The first measures of the Mansholt Plan initiated.

20 May 1971: Edward Heath meets in Paris with French President Georges Pompidou

8 July 1971: British government issues White Paper recommending entry into the EC.

28 October 1971: The British House of Commons approves the principle of joining the EEC by a vote of 356 to 244.

22 January 1972: Britain signs the Treaty of Accession in Brussels.

March 1972: A working party chaired by French political scientist Professor Georges Vedel publishes the Vedel Report, requested by the Commission. It proposes increased legislative powers for the European Parliament.

March 1972: The "Snake" alignment of member state currencies introduced.

24 April 1972: The currency "snake" is established, in which the six agree to limit the margin of fluctuation between their currencies to 2.25%

May 1972: The Irish vote for EEC membership in a national referendum.



13 July 1972: The British House of Commons passes the European Communities Act by a vote of 301 to 284.

September 1972: The Norwegians vote against EEC membership in a national referendum.

October 1972: The Danes vote for EEC membership in a national referendum.

19-20 October 1972. The first summit meeting of EEC heads of government in Paris. The goal of EMU by 1980 is re-affirmed. Future summits are known as the European Council.

1973: The European Trade Union Confederation (originally established in 1958 as the European Secretariat within the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) set up. Seeks to influence European legislation affecting the interests of trade unions by lobbying the European Commission, the European Parliament (especially the Economic and Social Committee). It holds a conference every three years.

1973: CENELEC set up to lay down technical specifications for electrical goods.

1 January 1973: Denmark, Ireland and the UK join the EEC.

January 1973: A preferential trade agreement between the EEC and most EFTA members comes into effect.

December 1973: Copenhagen European Council meeting.

28 February 1974: The British General Election installs a new Labour Government under Prime Minister Jim Callaghan.

1 April 1974: British Prime Minister Jim Callaghan requests a renegotiation of the terms of British entry in the EEC.

2 April 1974: President Pompidou of France dies. Giscard d'Estaing is elected President 18 May.

4 June 1974: British Prime Minister Callaghan presents a more detailed list of topics for renegotiation.

19 October 1974: Another British General Election re-elects a Labour government.

30 November 1974: Helmut Schmidt, the German Chancellor, addresses the Labour party Conference.

9-10 December 1974: European Council meeting in Paris Commissions the Tindemans Report on European Union. Agrees in principle to direct elections (as opposed to the prior system of appointment by national legislatures) to the European Parliament and to the details of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). The European Council is also established in order to institutionalise the periodic summit meetings.

1975: The Tindemans Report, drawn up by Belgian Prime Minister Leo Tindemans at the request of the European Council, is published. It examines the steps which might be taken to greater European integration and closer connections to the citizenry. The European Commission's contribution to the Report contains the first reference to "subsidiarity" in the Community context.

1975: The European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training established to advise the Commission on social policy.

1975: The European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, a EU body, set up and located in Dublin, in order to research and advise the Commission on these topics.

1975: Jean Monnet dissolves ACUSE.

1975: The European Space Agency established. It is not formally associated with the EU.

2 January 1975: Sir Con O'Neil opens the Britain in Europe (BIE) office, to campaign for continued British membership.

7 January 1975: The National Referendum Campaign (NRC) is publicly announced, to campaign for British withdrawal from the EEC.

23 January 1975: The first government statement on referendum procedure is made by Harold Wilson's Labour administration.

26 February 1975: A White Paper on Referendum (Cmnd 5925) is published in the UK.

11 March 1975: The first formal European Council meeting of the European Council in Dublin. A settlement on British renegotiation is arrived at.

March 1975: The Regional Development Fund starts operating.

11 March 1975: The House of Commons votes in favour of holding a referendum, by 312 to 262 votes.

18 March 1975: The Labour Cabinet votes, 16 votes to 7, to endorse the renegotiated terms of British entry.

26 March 1975: The Britain in Europe campaign is publicly announced.

9 April 1975: The House of Commons votes to endorse the continuation of British membership in the EEC, by 398 to 172 votes.

10 April 1975: The House of Commons votes on the second reading of the Referendum Bill, by 312 to 248 votes.

26 April 1975: The Labour Party Special Conference recommends a No vote.

5 June 1975: A national referendum in the UK supports continued UK membership in the EEC. 64.5% of the electorate vote, 67.2% (17,378,581) voting Yes and 32.8% (8,470,073) voting No.

June 1975: Greece applies for EEC membership.

22 July 1975: Treaty signed amending certain financial provisions of the Treaties. The budgetary powers of the European Parliament are strengthened and the Court of Auditors is established. It enters into force on 1 June 1977.

September 1975: Lome Convention signed, associating ACP (African, Caribbean & Pacific states) with certain EEC benefits, like the European Investment Bank & the European Development Fund.

1-2 December 1975: Rome European Council summit agrees on the European passport and European elections (planned for 1978). It is also agreed that Community Ministers of the Interior/Home Affairs should meet to discuss common concerns, especially relating to law and order. In 1976, following several terrorist and hostage cases, it was decided to invite ministers of justice to participate in an informal group which was not an official Community body. Hence, participating ministers were not obliged to answer questions from MEPs about Trevi matters. The resulting "Trevi Group" first meets on 29 June 1976.

1976: The Common Market Monitoring Association and its publication **Market News** set up by John Coleman. The organisation existed until 1981.

1976: **European Briefing**, edited by Chris Jones, set up in the UK by the European Research Group (whose Director was Bryan Gould the Labour MP). (This ERG not to be confused with a later group of the same name set up in 1994). It ceased publication in 1982.

1976: The European University Institute (EUI) established and based in Fiesole, near Florence. Offers postgraduate course leading to masters degrees and doctorates. It is also the repository of European Communities archives, but is not a formal EU body.

January 1976: The Tindemans Report on economic and political unification published.

February 1976: The Council of Ministers recommends that Greece be admitted to the EC over a phased period.

29 June 1976: The first "Trevi Group" meeting is held.

12-13 July 1976: Brussels European Council summit agrees on total number of seats in the European Parliament.

1977: The European Patent Convention is signed by the Benelux countries, France, Germany, Switzerland and the UK. The European Patent Office is now based in Munich.

March 1977: Portugal applies for EEC membership.

5 April 1977: The Presidents of the European Parliament, and the European Commission, and the President-in-Office of the Council of Ministers, sign a Joint Declaration on Fundamental Rights. It is reiterated in the Preamble to the 1986 Single European Act.

July 1977: Spain applies for EEC membership.

5-6 December 1977: Brussels European Council summit agrees on the introduction of the European Unit of Account from 1 January 1978. (This was later replaced by the ECU in 1981).

1978: The European Democrat Union established near Salzburg as an association of Conservative and Christian Democratic parties within and without the EEC. In the 1980s it became a part of the International Democrat Union which includes the US Republican Party and Japanese and Australian "centre-right" parties.

April 1978: The JET (Nuclear Fusion) project, under the Euratom Treaty, is established at Culham in Oxfordshire.

April 1978: Trade Agreement between the EEC and China.

6-7 July 1978: At the Bremen European Council meeting France and Germany propose the European Monetary System (EMS) to replace the "snake".

October 1978: Formal negotiations opened with Portugal for accession.

4-5 December 1978: The Brussels European Council meeting commissions the "Three Wise Men" to report on Community institutions.

1979: The *Cassis de Dijon* judgment of the European Court of Justice, which established that a product lawfully manufactured and on sale in one member state may be imported into another without restriction.

February 1979: Formal negotiations opened with Spain for accession.

13 March 1979: The European Monetary System (EMS) comes into operation.

7-10 June 1979: The first direct elections to the European Parliament are held.

29-30 November 1979: Dublin European Council meeting discusses the British budget problem for the first time.

1980: The Crocodile Club (named after the restaurant in which it met) established by Alberto Spinelli and other MEPs to lobby for increased federalism. It gained a semi-official status as the Federalist Intergroup for European Union, and produces a newsletter, **Crocodile**.

June 1980: European Council and Western Economic Summit at Venice.

September 1980: Co-operation agreement between the EC and Brazil.

1981: The European Institute of Public Administration established at Maastricht a study centre for lawyers, academics and civil servants concerned with integration. Although not formally an EU body members of the governments of EU states and of the Commission make up its Board of Governors.

1 January 1981: Greece joins the EEC.

1 January 1981: Second Lome Convention comes into force.

October 1981: EEC foreign ministers agree to the "London Report", strengthening and extending European political co-operation.

26-27 November 1981: European Council Meeting discusses the Genscher-Columbo proposals on European Union.

February 1982: The Labour Common Market Safeguards Committee set up.

6 July 1982: European Parliament passes a resolution giving guidelines for the reform of Treaties and the achievement of European Union.

1 January 1983: Negotiations on the workings of the Common Fisheries Policy completed.

March 1983: Brussels European Council meeting. Outline agreement on budgetary control, financing of the Community, and CAP reform.

17-19 June 1983: The Stuttgart European Council adopts the Solemn Declaration on European Union (the Stuttgart Declaration).

July 1983: The Albert-Ball Report, **Towards European Economic Recovery in the 1980s**, by economists Michael Albert (France) and James Ball (UK), commissioned by the EP, published. Drew attention to the EEC's failure to create a true Single Market and to sponsor research and development in order to compete with the US and Japan.

1984: The European Research Cooperation Agency (ESPRIT) established to fund advanced information technology research by firms, universities and research institutes.

February 1984: The European Parliament approves the Draft Treaty establishing the European Union (EU), largely written by Alberto Spinelli.

14 & 17 June 1984: The second set of direct elections to the European Parliament held.

25-26 June 1984: The Fontainebleau European Council held. It is agreed to reduce UK budgetary contributions, a reduction demanded by Mrs. Thatcher since 1979. The Ad Hoc Committee for Institutional Affairs, the Dooge Committee, established to "make suggestions for the improvement of the operation of European cooperation". Its interim report is published in November

1984 and its final report in March 1985. The Committee for a People's Europe (the Adonnino Committee) is also established. Many of its proposals were later enacted in the Maastricht Treaty.

1985: The European Commission adopts the European Flag (22 five-pointed gold stars on a dark blue background) for general use by Community institutions. (It had been originally devised by the Council of Europe for its own use, adopted by the Parliamentary Assembly in October 1955 and by the Committee of Ministers December 1955).

1985: The European Research Cooperation Agency (EUREKA) established to encourage cross-border research projects in advanced technology.

1985: Action Committee for Europe set up to act as a successor group to Monet's ACUSE, which had been dissolved in 1975, qv.

1985: The Council of Ministers of Culture in the EU start a scheme of selecting an annual "Cultural Capital of Europe".

1 January 1985: Jacques Delors is appointed President of the European Commission.

March 1985: The European Council, decides to give priority to the creation of a single market by 1992, and instructs the Commission to create a detailed programme and timetable - the Lord Cockfield White Paper.

March 1985: The Final Report of the Dooge Committee is published, calling a "qualitative leap" and the creation of "a genuine political entity ... i.e., a European Union".

June 1985: The European Commission publishes the Cockfield White Paper, **Completing the Internal Market**.

14 June 1985: The Schengen Agreement signed in Schengen, Luxembourg, where the Benelux countries, France and West Germany agree "on the gradual abolition of controls at the common frontiers".

28-29 June 1985: The Milan European Council meeting approves the Commission's Cockfield White Paper. It also establishes an Intergovernmental Conference to examine various matters, including Treaty reform. The decision to establish the Conference is the first time at a Summit meeting that a decision is taken by majority vote.

July 1985: Commission Green Paper on agriculture published.

2-3 December 1985: The Luxembourg European Council agrees in principle to extend qualified majority voting in order to complete the Single Market programme by the end of 1992 and to increase the powers of the European Parliament.

1 January 1986: Spain and Portugal join the Community.

16 January 1986: The European Parliament accepts the Report of the All-Party Committee of Inquiry into "the rise of fascism and racism in Europe".

17 & 28 February 1986: The Single European Act is signed in Luxembourg and The Hague.

11 June 1986: The Presidents of the European Parliament and of the European Commission, and the President-in-Office of the Council of Ministers sign a "Joint Declaration Against Racism and Xenophobia". It has no legal force but is part of the "acquis Communautaire".

2-4 December 1986: The Luxembourg European Council meeting agrees the principles of the Single European Act (SEA). The Act incorporates various Treaty revisions, including the confirmation of the objective of completing the internal market by 1992.

1987: The Cheaper Food League set up in the UK to campaign against CAP.

1987: The Association for the Monetary Union of Europe (AMUE) set up. A business pressure group for a EU single currency, funded by leading European multinational like Philips, BP, Volkswagen, Fiat, Alcatel, Rhone-Poulenc and most major banks.

1987: Europartenariat, a business cooperation scheme for small and medium sized enterprises, run by the European Commission, becomes operational.

14 April 1987: Turkey applies to join the EEC.

1 July 1987: The Single European Act enters into force. It provides the implementation provisions for the Single European Market, and codifies the agreement on majority voting in the Council on a range of issues, and European Co-ordination in the Sphere of Foreign Policy (also known as European Political Cooperation, which was raised in the Davignon Report of 1970)



July 1987: The European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students (ERASMUS) comes into effect, promoting student exchanges.

27 October 1987: The Western European Union adopts a joint security policy platform in The Hague.

1988: Paolo Cecchini's Commission report, **1992: The European Challenge**, published, identifying the impediments to the Single Market.

1988: Youth for Europe established as a EU scheme, and renewed for the period 1995-9. It is funded from the EU Budget, to finance projects relevant to young people in the fields of education, "equal treatment" and citizenship - ie social engineering and propaganda for European unification.

February 1988: A special European Council meeting in Brussels agrees to increase and widen the EEC's budgetary base. Measures to significantly reduce CAP expenditure and to double expenditure on regional and social funds are agreed upon.

27-28 June 1988: The Hanover European Council meeting calls on a Committee chaired by Jacques Delors (the Delors Committee) to produce a report on how the EEC might progress to EMU (the Delors Report).

20 September 1988: Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's delivers her "Bruges Speech" at the College of Europe, Bruges, on the future of the EC. Whilst not rejecting British participation in the EC, she reasserted the importance of national sovereignty and of national diversity.

October 1988: The Bruges Group set up by Patrick Robertson in Britain (formerly launched in 1989), to campaign against centralisation and federalism in the EU.

January 1989: Jacques Delors is re-appointed President of the Commission for another four years.

April 1989: The "Delors Committee" presents its report. It outlines a scheme for a three- stage progression to EMU, building on the EMS.

May 1989: The European Training Foundation (ETF) set up on the basis of a December 1989 European Council decision. In October 1993 it was decided to locate it in Turin.

15 & 18 June 1989: The third set of direct elections to the European Parliament are held.

26-27 June 1989: The Madrid European Council meeting agrees that Stage 1 of the programme to bring about EMU will begin on 1 July 1990.

17 July 1989: Austria applies for EEC membership.

December 1989: The Commission advises the Council of Ministers to reject Turkey's application for EEC membership.

8-9 December 1989: The Strasbourg European Council meeting accepts the Charter on the Fundamental Social Rights of Workers, the Social Charter. (It was then given a legal basis in the Agreement on Social Policy or the Social Protocol of the Maastricht Treaty, called the Social Chapter.) Qualified majority is extended in social policy in the Treaty.) It also agrees to establish an Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) on EMU at the end of 1990. Both decisions are taken by eleven votes to one, with the UK voting against in both cases. It is also agreed to set up the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

1990: Britain enters the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM).

25-26 April 1990: The Dublin European Council meeting discusses the main issues for the IGCs on political union and EMU.

28 April 1990: Extraordinary European Council meeting in Dublin on German reunification.

7 May 1990: The Council of Ministers decide to set up a European Environment Agency, to gather data and advise on environmental issues. Following a Council decision on 29 October 1993 the Agency is based in Copenhagen.

29 May 1990: The Agreement establishing the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) is signed in Paris.

19 June 1990: The Schengen Agreement on the elimination of border checks is signed.

4 July 1990: Cyprus applies to join the EEC.

16 July: Malta applies to join the EEC.

3 October 1990: The re-unification of Germany takes place.

27-28 October 1990: A special Rome European Council meeting agrees that Stage 2 of EMU will begin on 1 January 1994.

21 November 1990: Charter of Paris for a New Europe signed by those nations participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. It effectively marks the end of the Cold War. It reiterated the concepts of the Helsinki Final Act, and transformed the CSCE from a negotiation process to a permanent institution.

14 December 1990: The two IGCs on EMU and on Political Union are opened at the Rome Summit.

1991: The European Community Humanitarian Office (ECHO) established within the Commission to make the provision of humanitarian aid more efficient.

28-29 June 1991: The Luxembourg European Council meeting agrees a German proposal to establish Europol, to facilitate EU-wide police cooperation. The decision is later embodied in the Maastricht Treaty.

1 July 1991: Sweden applies for EEC membership.

14 October 1991: President Mitterand of France and Chancellor Kohl of Germany inform the European Council that they propose to form a Franco-German corps in which the armed forces of other WEU states could participate.

21 October 1991: Agreement is reached on setting up a European Economic Area.

November 1991: The NATO summit meeting in Rome sets up the North Atlantic Cooperation Council for NATO countries to discuss and coordinate positions with central and eastern European and Baltic states without giving them membership in NATO.

December 1991: A Hague conference agrees a European Energy Charter to open cross- frontier cooperation in the energy market, particularly between eastern and western Europe.

9-10 December 1991: The Maastricht European Council meeting agrees to the Treaty on European Union (The Maastricht Treaty). The Treaty is based on the "three pillars": the European Communities, a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), and co-operation in the fields of Justice and Home Affairs (JHA).

It also creates "citizenship of the European Union" and set up a Committee of the Regions. Because of John Major's refusal to accept the Social Chapter, it was removed from the Treaty and signed by the other 11 member states as a separate Social Protocol.

7 February 1992: The Treaty on European Union is formally signed at Maastricht by EEC Foreign and Finance Ministers to enter into force in November 1993.

18 March 1992: Finland applies to join the European Union.

25 March 1992: Norway applies to join the EEC.

May 1992: Switzerland applies to join the EU.

2 May 1992: The Agreement on the European Economic Area is signed in Oporto. It is a free trade area comprising the EU states, Iceland, Lichtenstein, and Norway. Switzerland initially signed, but after a referendum in December 1992 withdrew.

22 May 1992: La Rochelle meeting at which timetable for setting up a Franco-German corps of 35,000 troops agreed.

2 June 1992: The Danes reject the Treaty of European Union by 50.7% to 49.3% in a national referendum.

20 June 1992: The Irish vote in favour of the Maastricht Treaty in a national referendum.

26-27 June 1992: Lisbon European Council meeting agrees on guidelines for the enlargement of the Community.

16 October 1992: Birmingham European Council meeting agrees the "Birmingham Declaration" on "a Community close to its citizens", which includes a definition of "subsidiarity".

September 1992: There is a crisis in the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM), a central pillar of EMU. The Bank of England raises interest rates and loses control over the value of Sterling. The Italian Lira also suspends membership in ERM.

20 September 1992: The French endorse the Treaty of European Union by 50% to 49% in a national referendum.

October 1992: The Danish government publishes **Denmark in Europe**, laying down various opt-outs and exceptions from the Maastricht Treaty prior to a second Referendum.

November 1992: Norway applies to join the EU.

December 1992: The Swiss vote against ratifying the European Economic Area by 50.3% to 49.7% in a national referendum. Switzerland's application to join the EU is suspended.

11-12 December 1992: The Edinburgh European Council meeting agrees on several key issues: Danish opt-outs from the Treaty of European Union and any future Common Defence Policy; a financial perspective for 1993-9; the opening of accession negotiations in early 1993 with Austria, Finland, Sweden and Norway. The Edinburgh "Growth Initiative" adopted, which includes temporary loans to help finance infrastructure development and a new European Investment Fund, a Cohesion Fund, and doubling the structural funds.

December 1992: The European Anti-Maastricht Alliance is formed.

1 January 1993: The Single Market is introduced.

18 May 1993: In a second national referendum in Denmark, following massive pro-EU propaganda, the Danes vote 56.8% to 43.2% to ratify the Treaty of European Union.

21-22 June 1993: Copenhagen European Council meeting discusses Commission White Paper **Growth, Competitiveness and Employment**. Enlargement of the EU, "transparency", and fraud discussed.

August 1993: Following turbulence in the currency markets, the bands for all currencies in the ERM apart from the Deutschmark and the Guilder are increased to 15%.

October 1993: A German Constitutional Court ruling enables Germany to become the last member state to ratify the Treaty of European Union.

October 1993: Agreement to establish the European Agency for Safety and Health at Work, based in Spain, to assist the Commission.

29 October 1993: Brussels extraordinary European Council meeting discusses Stage 2 of EMU, sites of various EU bodies, Common Foreign and Security Policy, and Justice and Home Affairs cooperation.

1 November 1993: The Treaty of European Union (The Maastricht Treaty) enters into force. It creates a "three-pillar" structure, with a new Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) replacing the Single Act provisions in this field, and codifying co-operation in the field of Justice and Home Affairs. It re-expands the scope of the EEC, including provisions for an Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) with a single European currency planned for the future. The EEC is renamed simply the European Community (EC).

10-11 November 1993: Brussels European Council meeting adopts action plan on basis on the **Growth, Competitiveness and Employment** White Paper. It also agrees on a Pact on Stability in Europe.

1994: An annual "European Cultural Month" scheme is initiated for cities outside the EU.

1994: The European Research Group set up in the UK to campaign for a more liberal EU.

1994: The European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (EMCDDA), an EU body, set up and based in Lisbon.

January 1994: The Second Stage of EMU comes into effect.

January 1994: The European Economic Area enters into force.

1 January 1994: The European Monetary Institute (EMI) comes into operation to facilitate central bank cooperation and monetary policy coordination and to monitor the functioning of the EMS.

March 1994: Austria, Finland, Sweden and Norway agree accession terms with the EU.

1 April 1994: Hungary applies for EU membership.

8 April 1994: Poland applies for EU membership.

9 & 12 June 1994: The fourth set of direct elections to the European Parliament are held.

June 1994: The Austrians vote in favour of accession to the EU by 66.4% to 33.6% in a national referendum.

24-25 June 1994: The European Council meets in Corfu. Unemployment is discussed again, and 11 priority projects for trans-European networks are discussed. A Reflection Group to prepare the 1996 IGC is established.

16 October 1994: The Finns vote in favour of joining the EU in a national referendum.

13 November 1994: The Swedes vote in favour of joining the EU in a national referendum.

27-28 November 1994: The Norwegians vote against joining the EU in a national referendum.

December 1994: The European Energy Charter Treaty signed by all European countries, including the republics of the former Soviet Union.

9-10 December 1994: The Essen European Council discusses unemployment, trans-European network, fraud, and strategies for integration of central and eastern European countries.

1995: The European Medicines Evaluation Agency starts to operate, based in London, funded by the EU Budget and by pharmaceutical companies.

1 January 1995: Austria, Finland and Sweden join the EU.

23 January 1995: Jacques Santer becomes President of the European Commission (until 2000)

21 March 1995: The Pact of Stability in Europe is signed in Paris.

26 March 1995: The Schengen Agreement comes into force.

2 June 1995: The Reflection Group on the IGC holds its first meeting.

26-27 June 1995: The European Council meets in Cannes.

October 1995: Franco-German Corps operational.

29 March 1996: Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) in Turin.

21-22 June, 1996: Meeting of EU heads of state in Florence, focusing on progress towards EMU and also discussing proposals for a revamped ERM after the start of EMU.

26 June 1996: A public statement by nine distinguished liberal academics in Germany warns of the dangers of growing EU social regulation and state interventionism.

November 1996: EMU Convergence Report published.

1996: Sir James Goldsmith sets up the Referendum Party in the UK to campaign for a national referendum on membership of the EU.

December 1996: Meeting of EU heads of State in Dublin.

31 January, 1997: Second Reading in the House of Lords of Lord Pearson of Rannoch's European Communities (Amendment) Bill. The first time a Bill calling for withdrawal from the EU had ever been introduced in an EU parliament.

14 June 1997: Intergovernmental Conference (IGC), Amsterdam. Finalises the Amsterdam Treaty.

19 July 1997: Sir James Goldsmith dies

16-17 October 1997: Amsterdam Treaty to be signed.

November 1997: Ministerial meeting on employment in Luxemburg.

12-13 December 1997: European Council Prime Ministerial meeting to decide which Eastern European countries will be invited to start negotiations to join the EU.

By the end of 1997: The beginning of the third stage of EMU should be set. If not, the third stage is planned to start on 1 January 1999.

January 1998: Britain takes over Presidency of EU.

2-3 May 1998 (provisional date): A Special Summit to be held in Brussels to decide the founding members of EMU. The exchange rate for the euro-currency also to be set.

16-17 June 1998: EU Summit in Cardiff

1 July 1998: The European Commission will confirm which member states fulfill the Maastricht criteria.



1 July 1998: Austria takes over EU Presidency

1 January 1999: The scheduled start of the third stage of EMU, assuming the date has not been changed by the end of 1997. There will be an “irrevocable” establishment of member states' membership at this time and the ECB will be entirely responsible for monetary policy.

1 January 1999: Germany takes over EU Presidency

June 1999: European Parliamentary Elections

January 2000: A new spending package takes effect

By 1 January 2002: Assuming that EMU goes ahead on 1 January 1999, the ECB will start issuing Euro banknotes, and start to exchange national notes and coins for Euros.

By 1 July 2002: Six months after the introduction of Euro coins and notes existing national currencies will lose their legal status.

By end of 2002: Derogations on the Common Fisheries Policy run out and full equal access comes into effect.

## **Publication Details**

The Euro-Sceptical Directory, was published by The Bruges Group, London, 2002 Unfortunately I was unable to obtain any funding to maintain a constantly updated version of this valuable resource. When I have time I do add entries to this internet version, but, although it is very comprehensive listing up to the time of print publication, following that date there is much valuable material that I simply have not had the time to incorporate.

The listing of organisations and publications herein, and their contact details, are obviously out of date. An up to date listing of relevant links can be found, however, at the website of my organisation, the Libertarian Alliance: <http://libertarian.co.uk>

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